HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

SEVENTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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1907.

[Cd. 3737.] *Price* 11*d.*

CONTENTS.

COMMISSIONS

VICTORIA, R.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Nathaniel Lindley, Knight, Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records, Chairman; Our right trusty and entirely-beloved Cousin and Councillor Schomberg Henry, Marquess of Lothian, Knight of Our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Our right trusty and entirely-beloved Cousin and Councillor Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter; Our right trusty and entirely-beloved Cousin and Councillor George Frederick Samuel, Marquess of Ripon, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Commander of Our Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Companion of Our Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor James Ludovic, Earl of Crawford, Knight of Our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor Archibald Philip, Earl of Rosebery, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight of Our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle; Our right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor William Baliol, Viscount Esher; Our trusty and well-beloved Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice, Esquire (commonly called Lord Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice); the Right Reverend Father in God William, Bishop of Oxford; Our right trusty and well-beloved John Emerich Edward, Baron Acton; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford, Knight of Our Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edward Fry, Knight; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Edward Hartpole Lecky; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte, Knight Commander of our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Deputy Keeper of the Records; and Our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Esquire, Doctor of Civil Law; Greeting.

WHEREAS We did by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and by subsequent Warrants, authorise and appoint certain noblemen and gentlemen therein respec-

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tively named, or any three or more of them, to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry into the places in which documents illustrative of history or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference, as by the tenor of the original Commission under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, does more fully and at large appear.

Now know ye that We have revoked and determined, and do by these Presents revoke and determine, the said several Warrants, and every matter and thing therein contained.

And whereas We have deemed it expedient that a new Commission should issue for the purposes specified in the said Warrant, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine:

Further know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you the said Sir Nathaniel Lindley; Schomberg Henry, Marquess of Lothian; Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury; George Frederick Samuel, Marquess of Ripon; James Ludovic, Earl of Crawford; Archibald Philip, Earl of Rosebery; William Baliol, Viscount Esher; Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice; William, Bishop of Oxford; John Emerich Edward, Baron Acton; Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford; Sir Edward Fry; William Edward Hartpole Lecky; Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte; and Samuel Rawson Gardiner to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry as to the places in which such papers and manuscripts are deposited, and for any of the purposes set forth in the original Commission under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

And for the purpose of carrying out the said inquiry We do hereby authorise you to call in the aid and co-operation of all possessors of manuscripts and papers, inviting them to assist you in furthering the objects of this Commission, and to give them full assurance that no information is sought except such as relates to public affairs, and that no knowledge or information which may be obtained from their collections shall be promulgated without their full licence and consent.

And We do further by these presents authorize you, with the consent of the owners of such manuscripts, to make abstracts and catalogues of such manuscripts.

And We do hereby direct that you, or any three or more of you shall form a quorum; and that you, or any three or more of you, shall have power to invite the possessors of such papers and records as you may deem it desirable to inspect, to produce them before you.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, do report to Us from time to time, in writing under your hands and seals, all

and every your proceedings under and by virtue of these Presents.

And for the better enabling you to execute these presents We do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint Our trusty and well-beloved James Joel Cartwright, Esquire, Master of Arts, to be Secretary to this Our Commission.

Given at our Court at Saint James's, the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, in the sixty-first year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's command,
M. W. RIDLEY.

VICTORIA, R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to our right trusty and well-beloved Arthur, Baron Stanmore, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George; Greeting.

Whereas by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, We were pleased to appoint our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Nathaniel Lindley, Knight, Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records, and the several noblemen and gentlemen therein named, or any three or more of them, to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry into the places in which Documents illustrative of History or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the Owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference.

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your fidelity, discretion, and integrity, have authorized and appointed and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you the said Arthur, Baron Stanmore, to be one of Our Commissioners for the purpose aforesaid in addition to and together with the Commissioners whom We have already appointed.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the fourteenth day of March, one thousand nine hundred, in the sixty-third year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's command,
M. W. RIDLEY.

VICTORIA, R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records, and Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Nathaniel, Baron Lindley, one of Our Lords of Appeal in Ordinary; Greeting.

WHEREAS We did by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, appoint Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Nathaniel Lindley, Knight, Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records, together with the several other noblemen and gentlemen therein respectively named, or any three or more of them, to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry into the places in which documents illustrative of history or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference, as by the tenor of the original Commission under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, does more fully and at large appear:

AND whereas the said Sir Nathaniel Lindley—now Nathaniel, Baron Lindley—has humbly tendered unto Us his resignation of the Office of Chairman of the said Commission, to which he was appointed by virtue of Our said Warrant, bearing date the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven:

NOW KNOW YE that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, discretion, and ability, have authorized and appointed and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, to be Chairman of Our said Commission in the room of the said Sir Nathaniel—now Baron—Lindley.

AND we do further by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Nathaniel, Baron Lindley, to be one of Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry, in addition to and together with the Commissioners whom We have already appointed.

Given at Our Court at Osborne, the twenty-eighth day of July, one thousand nine hundred, in the sixty-fourth year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's command,
M. W. RIDLEY.

EDWARD, R.

EDWARD THE SEVENTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS it pleased Her late Majesty from time to time to issue Royal Commissions of Inquiry for various purposes therein specified:

AND whereas in the case of certain of these Commissions, namely, those known as—

The Historical Manuscripts Commission;

* * * *

the Commissioners appointed by Her late Majesty, or such of them as were then acting as Commissioners, were, at the late

demise of the Crown, still engaged upon the business entrusted to them:

And whereas we deem it expedient that the said Commissioners should continue their labours in connection with the said inquiries notwithstanding the late demise of the Crown:

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in the zeal, discretion, and ability of the present members of each of the said Commissions, do by these Presents authorize them to continue their labours, and do hereby in every essential particular ratify and confirm the terms of the said several Commissions.

And We do further ordain that the said Commissioners do report to Us under their hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of such of their number as may be specified in the said Commissions respectively, their opinion upon the matters presented for their consideration; and that any proceedings which they or any of them may have taken under and in pursuance of the said Commissions since the late demise of the Crown, and before the issue of these Presents, shall be deemed and adjudged to have been taken under and in virtue of this Our Commission.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the fourth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and one, in the first year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

CHAS. T. RITCHIE.

EDWARD, R.

Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Lord Chief Justice of England; and Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Archibald Levin Smith, Knight, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records; Greeting.

Whereas it pleased Her late Majesty by Warrant, bearing date the twenty-eighth day of July, one thousand and nine hundred, to appoint you the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, to be Chairman of the Royal Commission, issued on the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, to make inquiry into the places in which documents illustrative of history or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference:

And Whereas you, the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, did humbly tender unto Her late Majesty your resignation of the Office of Chairman of the said Commission:

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, discretion, and ability, have authorized and appointed, and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Sir Archibald Levin Smith, to be Chairman of the said Commission in the room of the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, resigned:

And we do further by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, to be one of Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry in addition to and together with the Commissioners already appointed.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the fourteenth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and one, in the first year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
CHAS. T. RITCHIE.

EDWARD, R.

Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor William Heneage, Earl of Dartmouth; and Our right trusty and well-beloved Cecil George Savile, Baron Hawkesbury; Greeting.

Whereas by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the fourth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and one, We were pleased to authorize the members of the Commission known as the Historical Manuscripts Commission to continue their labours notwithstanding the late demise of the Crown:

And Whereas by a subsequent Warrant, bearing date the fourteenth day of March, Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Archibald Levin Smith, Knight, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records, was appointed to be Chairman of the said Commission, and Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Lord Chief Justice of England, to be a member thereof:

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, discretion, and ability, have authorized and appointed, and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said William Heneage, Earl of Dartmouth, and Cecil George Savile, Baron Hawkesbury, to be members of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in addition to and together with the Commissioners already appointed.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the twenty-ninth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and one, in the first year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
CHAS. T. RITCHIE.

EDWARD, R. & I.

EDWARD THE SEVENTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor John Morley, Member of the Order of Merit, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Civil Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved Charles Harding Firth, Esquire, Master of Arts, Fellow of All Souls College, and Professor of Modern History in our University of Oxford; Greeting.

WHEREAS vacancies have been created amongst the Members of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts by the death of Our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, and of Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Edward Hartpole Lecky:

NOW KNOW YE that We, reposing great confidence in you, do by these Presents appoint you, the said John Morley and Charles Harding Firth, to be two of Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said Commission as set forth in the Warrant under the Sign Manual of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, dated the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety seven, in the room of the said Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, and William Edward Hartpole Lecky, deceased.

Given at Our Court of Saint James's, the twenty-seventh day of July, 1904, in the fourth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

A. AKERS DOUGLAS.

EDWARD, R. & I.

EDWARD THE SEVENTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillors: Richard Henn, Baron Collins, Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, and Sir Herbert Hardy Cozens-Hardy, Knight, Keeper and Master of the Rolls and Records, Greeting.

WHEREAS, You, the said Richard Henn, Baron Collins, have tendered unto Us your resignation of the Office of Chairman of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, to which you were appointed by Warrant under our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the eighteenth day of November, one thousand nine hundred and one:

AND whereas We repose great trust and confidence in the zeal, discretion, and ability of you, the said Sir Herbert Hardy Cozens-Hardy:

NOW KNOW YE that We have authorized and appointed and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Sir Herbert Hardy Cozens-Hardy, to be Chairman of the said

Commission, in the room of you, the said Richard Henn, Baron Collins, resigned.

And we do further by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Richard Henn, Baron Collins, to be one of Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

Given at Our Court of St. James's, the first day of May, 1907, in the seventh year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
H. J. GLADSTONE.

EDWARD, R.

Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Richard Henn Collins, Knight, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records, and the several other members of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts; Greeting.

Know ye that We have authorized and appointed, and do by these Presents authorize and appoint Our trusty and well-beloved Richard Arthur Roberts, Esquire, to be Secretary to the said Commission in the room of James Joel Cartwright, Esquire, deceased.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the thirty-first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and three, in the third year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
A. AKERS DOUGLAS.

SEVENTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it Please Your Majesty,

We, your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire what papers and manuscripts belonging to private persons would be useful in illustrating Constitutional Law, Science, and the General History of the country, to which their respective possessors would be willing to give access, respectfully beg leave to present this our Seventeenth Report to Your Majesty.

Since the date of our last Report, certain changes have occurred in the body of Your Majesty's Commissioners. By Royal Warrant, dated 27th July, 1904, the Right Honourable John Morley, O.M., and Mr. Charles H. Firth, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, were appointed additional Commissioners, and by Your Majesty's further Royal Warrant, dated 1st May, 1907, the Right Honourable Lord Collins having resigned the Chairmanship of the Commission on his appointment to be a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, the Right Honourable Sir Herbert H. Cozens-Hardy, Master of the Rolls, was appointed to the vacancy, and Lord Collins made an additional Commissioner.

The only loss that Your Majesty's Commissioners have suffered since the date of their last Report has been that occasioned by the lamented death of the Right Honourable the Earl of Liverpool, Lord Steward of Your Majesty's Household. His lordship took great interest in the work of the Commission and was constant in his attendance at its meetings.

The ordinary work of inspection and preparation and editing of Reports has been carried on, in England, by the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, Rev. W. D. Macray, Mr. Walter Fitzpatrick, Mr. J. Horace Round, Mr. William Page, Mr. Reginald Lane Poole, Mrs. S. C. Lomas, Mr. W. J. Hardy, Mr. F. H. Blackburne Daniell, Mr. H. F. Brown, Mr. W. H. B. Bird, Mr. J. M. Rigg, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Mr. E. H. Purnell, and the Secretary of

the Commission; in Scotland, by the Rev. Henry Paton; and in Ireland, by Mr. C. Litton Falkiner and Mr. J. M. Rigg.

Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans has continued his inspection of manuscripts in the Welsh language.

The principal collections examined and in the majority of cases reported upon, in some instances in continuation of Reports previously issued, are the following:—

The Stuart papers belonging to Your Majesty; the manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Portland, the Marquess of Lothian, the Marquess of Salisbury, the Marquess of Bath, the Earl of Egmont, the Earl of Guilford, the Earl of Verulam, the Earl of Ancaster, Viscount Galway, Lord Middleton, Mr. J. B. Fortescue, Lady Du Cane, Colonel Bruce, the Royal Institution of Great Britain (American Manuscripts), the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Exeter, the Dean and Chapter of Wells, the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, Major Money-Kyrle, Mr. F. H. T. Jervoise, Sir William Clayton, the City of Salisbury, the Towns of Aldeburgh and Southwold, the extinct Boroughs of Orford and Dunwich, Captain Howard V. Knox, Miss Eyre-Matcham, Mrs. Wykeham-Martin, Colonel Bruce, and others.

For *Wales*, the manuscripts in the Welsh language in the British Museum.

For *Scotland*, the Laing MSS. in the University of Edinburgh; and the manuscripts of Lord Polwarth, Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, and Sir John Graham, K.C.M.G.

For *Ireland*, the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, the Earl of Egmont, and the Convent of Franciscans at Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

Reprints.—Certain of the Reports of Your Majesty's Commissioners having gone out of print, opportunity has been taken to revise them to some extent before their re-issue, and to change the form in which the earlier reports appeared, so as to make the re-issues correspond in size with those published since 1885 in 8vo. The work of revision has been laborious and has occupied a large portion of the time of one of the Inspectors, with the result, however, that the value and accuracy of the reports have been greatly increased. The reports so treated are the Eighth Report, Appendix, Part I. (two sections), and the Tenth Report and Part IV. of the Appendix. As at present arranged, this work will be continued so as to complete the Appendix, Part I., to the Eighth Report, and to provide for the re-issue of Appendix, Part II., of the same Report, and Appendix, Part IV., to the Twelfth Report.

Mr. W. More-Molyneux, the life owner of the very valuable and historically interesting collection of MSS. at Loseley Park, Surrey, which were partially reported upon in 1879 (*see Seventh Report, App. p.* 590), has, with the concurrence of the trustees of the estate, placed in the charge of Your Majesty's Commissioners

at the Public Record Office, London, certain of the manuscripts, relating chiefly to the office of Master of the Revels, which was held in the XVIth century by Sir Thomas Carwarden, on the understanding that facilities should be given to historical students to use them for their researches. A catalogue of the MSS. so deposited has been compiled, pending a more detailed report upon them at some future time.

As an appendix to the present Report is given (1) a complete List of the Reports issued by Your Majesty's Commissioners, showing the year of issue, parliamentary papers, numbers, and price of each volume; (2) a List showing the names of the Owners of Manuscripts upon whose collections reports have been presented to Parliament up to date, and the places of deposit of the respective collections at the time when the reports were drawn up; and also indicating the more considerable groups of papers comprised in them; and (3) a List of the Collections arranged according to county. Similar lists have in the past proved to be of much service.

We append abstracts of the contents of the Reports made by Inspectors on our behalf and presented to Parliament since the date of our Sixteenth Report.

THE STUART MSS.

The Stuart MSS.

The second and third volumes of the Calendar of the Stuart MSS., belonging to Your Majesty, published in 1904 and 1907, cover the twelve months from 1st March, 1716, to 28th February, 1717, which include James' sojourn at Avignon.

At the beginning of the period, the rising in Scotland was practically over, and James and the Duke of Mar had just arrived at Paris, from which James retired to Commerci. As the Duke of Lorraine refused to allow him to reside in his territories, he was forced to go to Avignon, the objections to Deux Ponts and Switzerland, the other places suggested, being insurmountable. He reached Avignon about 1st April, where he was soon afterwards joined by the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar and others of his followers. Before leaving Paris, he dismissed Berwick and Bolingbroke from his service, the latter on the grounds that he had neglected to send supplies to Scotland, and that he was distrusted by the Bishop of Rochester and other friends in England. The Jacobites were much alarmed by Bolingbroke's subsequent conduct, fearing that he was purchasing a pardon from King George by disclosing the names of the persons who had been in communication with James. Accounts will be found of the movements of the Jacobite forces in Scotland after the departure of James and of their final dispersal, and also of the escape of many of the leaders, and of the sufferings, perils, and escapes of many of lower rank.

The Stuart MSS.

Notwithstanding the failure of the rising, the Jacobites continued active. The Duke of Leeds suggested that the Mediterranean fleet might by his influence be induced to declare for James. In April, Ezekiel Hamilton brought over a report of a meeting in London at which Lord Arran, the Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Henry Goring were present. The latter communicated the opinion of his friend, General Webb, that with 6,000 regular troops he would undertake to beat all the forces which could on a sudden be brought together in England. Lord Portmore, too, declared that he would join any attempt that might be made in England. Later in the year, there was a project of putting Gibraltar, of which Portmore was Governor, and Port Mahon, through Lord Forbes, Lord Granard's eldest son, into the hands of James and by his means into those of the King of Spain. Portmore and his wife, formerly Catherine Sedley, the mistress of James II., received with great satisfaction the messages sent them by Queen Mary.

The Earl of Oxford entered warmly into the Jacobite interest, and in August sent over Captain Ogilvie to represent to M. de Torcy and the French ministry the unpopularity of King George and the feeling in James's favour in England. This representation was to be made as if it came spontaneously from Lord Oxford, though it was really concerted with James's friends. Captain Ogilvie on his return from Avignon carried a letter from Mar to Oxford, and also letters to the Earls of Nottingham, Orford, and Aylesford, and to Admirals Byng and Jennings and, under cover to Menzies, the Jacobite agent in London, letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Bishop of Rochester, and an instrument appointing the latter to be James's Resident in England. The Bishop had already received a power to manage the collection of money in England for the Swedish expedition, and Lord Arran had been appointed commander-in-chief in Great Britain during his brother's absence.

Menzies was to do his utmost to promote confidence between Oxford and the Bishop, and a perfect understanding was, if possible, to be effected between them and Shrewsbury. He succeeded in bringing the Bishop and Shrewsbury to deal directly with Oxford, but the harmony between the Bishop, whose temper was notorious, and Oxford, did not last long. Early in January the former left London in some displeasure at the latter. Their jealousies and skirmishes had contributed not a little to create such a caution and reserve as were inconsistent with vigorous resolutions in concert.

Ogilvie's return to England was delayed, that he might be the bearer of the very important Swedish proposals made to Dillon, James's agent in Paris, with James's answers.

It was suggested that advances should be made to Argyle and his brother, Ilay, who had been dismissed from all their offices by King George. In the papers of the following year there is much on this subject, and matters went so far

that Ilay was created an English earl (title not specified) by James in March, 1718. This Jacobite peerage has been hitherto unknown.

David Floyd had a second interview with Marlborough, the substance of which was "crying, swearing, protesting, promising by all that's sacred, but Floyd knows not what to "make of all that." The account of the first interview was submitted to Berwick, who declared that Marlborough had for many years been in correspondence with himself, and had always given assurances of his zeal for James, but to that hour had never explained in what manner he intended it.

Many of the papers relate to dissensions among the exiles. In particular the Earl Marischal quarrelled bitterly with Mar, alleging that he had been passed over by the latter, and complaining that he had been left behind when James and Mar sailed from Montrose. Mar was also charged with having endeavoured to make terms for himself with Argyle.

The two principal objects of the Jacobite foreign policy during this period were to prevent an alliance between King George and the Regent, as they knew that the former would insist on James being forced to leave Avignon and to withdraw to Italy, and secondly, to secure the assistance of Sweden and for that purpose to effect a peace between that kingdom and Russia.

As Sir John Erskine of Alva was going on his own affairs to Hamburg, he was ordered to write to General Hamilton, who was with Charles XII., and to proceed as he advised. He carried with him a letter from James to Charles XII. and a power to treat. He did not reach Lübeck till 21st August, and in the meantime an interview had taken place between Sparre, the Swedish ambassador to France, and Baron Görtz, Charles's confidential minister, in consequence of which Sir John was ordered to proceed no further till he received further instructions.

In September Görtz went to Paris, and on the 26th Dillon sent to Mar the demands which had been concerted between Görtz and Sparre. The covering letter of Dillon is printed in Vol. II., and the demands themselves have since been found and will be calendared in Vol. IV. Sparre admitted that he was acting without his master's orders, but did not doubt that the King, if he received satisfactory assurances of assistance from the English Jacobites, would send him full powers to conclude a treaty.

At the beginning of October, Mar replied that James would certainly agree to the project in general, but the way of executing it must be by directions from England, as things there altered so much every day that no one at Avignon was a competent judge. Nothing certain could be said as to money till they heard from England. It should be further considered what could be done to enable Scotland to join, and Ireland also, if only to prevent troops being sent over to England. It was impossible to send a force to the West of Scotland from

Sweden, which could be done only from France or Spain, and that was impossible without letting the Regent or the King of Spain into the secret, about which Dillon was to consult Sparre. If the Irish troops in France and Spain could be obtained, they would be of great use. If neither the Regent nor the King could be trusted, what was required for Scotland must come directly from the King of Sweden. Mar was doubtful if he could do that and also send what was necessary for England, but of that Sparre was the best judge. In that case the landing should be near Inverness, and Ireland must be managed by volunteers and supplies sent clandestinely from France and Spain.

On 2nd October, Mar forwarded to Lord Oxford and the Bishop of Rochester the Swedish proposals, with his observations on them, and desired the Bishop to communicate them to Lord Arran and the Duke of Shrewsbury, if the latter could be induced to own to the Bishop his friendship for James, and to anyone else he thought fit. Their joint advice on the whole, with particular answers to the points referred to those in England, and a plan for the whole affair was expected with all speed. Lord Oxford was desired to suggest to the Regent, through M. de Torcy, as from himself without James's knowledge, how much it might contribute to his personal interest to befriend James. Captain Ogilvie accordingly proposed to M. de Torcy what he had been ordered to do in Lord Oxford's name, but de Torcy informed him that an engagement was almost finished between the Regent and King George, and, till the Regent had a return to that, nothing would be hearkened to. Even a connivance that James might use the interest of his friends in France to procure what he might want, could not be granted.

Sparre promised to send a translation of the memoir from Avignon to the King of Sweden without delay, but found the number of troops required very considerable. He showed the utmost willingness to unite James and his master.

Görtz in November insisted in a letter to Sparre that his plan must be accepted as a whole. A formal treaty at present was impossible. The requisite sum might be supplied as a loan. 300,000 *crowns* would be sufficient for the present.

By December nearly 20,000*l.* were in the Bishop of Rochester's hands, half of which would be consigned to Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador in England, who had been ordered by Görtz to give assurances that 12,000 troops would be furnished. Both Shrewsbury and Portmore considered that some sure means must be found to prevent Holland from assisting King George.

As a disagreement arose between Sparre and Görtz, Dillon asked that the latter might come to Paris without delay. He arrived there on 8th January, and on 12th Dillon wrote that he had had several conferences with him, and that he was fully authorised and now come most seriously to the point.

Over 30,000*l.* had been collected in England by 12th

January, but 70,000*l.* at least was insisted on as a *sine quâ non*, so on the 26th James wrote to press the Bishop of Rochester not to lose a moment in complying with this demand. The Stuart MSS.

The 27th, Mar sent George Jerningham, agent of James in Holland, powers to treat with Görtz in the same terms as those of Görtz from his master. The utmost secrecy was necessary. Dillon had agreed with Görtz that James was to give a million French *livres* and that the King of Sweden was to transport into England, 8,000 foot, 500 horse mounted, 3,500 horse with their accoutrements ready to mount, 30,000 arms, a train of artillery, &c., on or before 20th April. Nothing had been entered into in writing, which Mar believed would be delayed till James and the King met. Arrangements were to be made for James and Ormonde joining the expedition.

All these plans were disconcerted by Gyllenborg's arrest on 29th January—9th February, and the seizure of his papers. Mr. Cæsar, Sir Jacob Banks and Jerningham's brother were also arrested, but Mr. Cæsar was soon afterwards released on bail and Sir Jacob discharged. Görtz escaped from Amsterdam but was arrested at Arnheim. All his papers of importance had been burned.

The most important result of Sir John Erskine's mission was not contemplated when he left Avignon. He sent his nephew, Sir Henry Stirling, from Lübeck to Copenhagen, where the Czar was, to his brother, Dr. Erskine, the Czar's confidential physician, who had great influence over his master, to induce him to favour an accommodation between Sweden and Russia on condition of the former assisting James. Sir Henry wrote from Copenhagen that both the Czar and Dr. Erskine were eager to serve James, and wished King George at the devil. Could Charles XII. be brought to reason, the affair were done, but he was obstinate.

This is that Dr. Erskine about whom the Czar assured Secretary Stanhope that he could not believe he had so far forgotten himself as to enter into such a criminal correspondence without orders, and that he had forbidden him to hold any correspondence with his relations who had been engaged in the late rebellion, even about their family affairs!

On 12th October, Mar first heard from Sir J. Erskine of the Czar's favourable dispositions. The chief obstacle to the Czar's assisting James was the determination of Charles XII. to continue the war, so James used his utmost endeavours to induce him to make peace. Though on 17th November Dr. Erskine wrote that the difficulties were too great to allow the Czar to assist James, he assured Charles Erskine, Sir John's brother, who had been left in Holland to carry on the negotiation, that the Czar was willing to make up matters with Charles XII. and that both should unite with James. He desired that Mar should send him a colonel, whom he would take into his service to serve as a channel of communication between him and James. C. Erskine was sent to Görtz by the Czar but missed him, as he had gone on the above-mentioned

The Stuart MSS.

mission to Paris, and his arrest immediately on his return prevented any negotiations through him.

It was intended to send a person to Vienna to improve, if possible, the Emperor's displeasure at the alliance between England and France. Walkinshaw of Barrowfield was sent there in November, and was received more civilly than he had expected. The Czar had offered to assist the Emperor against the Turks in order to enable him to aid James, but the Emperor was not inclined to come into measures with the Czar, and was indignant at his troops being quartered in Mecklenburg, where they committed great outrages, and in other parts of the Empire. It was suggested to the Imperial ministers that they should come to terms with the Czar on condition of his evacuating the Empire and employing his forces against the Turks.

Applications were also made to the Courts of Turin and Madrid but without result. Alberoni, who was all powerful at the latter Court, though professing the greatest goodwill to James, maintained the utmost reserve, saying that the pear was not yet ripe. A small sum, however, was sent to James through the Count of Castelblanco.

The Jacobites considered that James's marriage was of the greatest importance as, should he die childless, the House of Savoy would succeed, who were not only Roman Catholics but foreigners. Such an event would extinguish the hopes of the Jacobites.

The person most desired, to whom James appears to have been really attached, was the daughter of Charles Philip, the Elector Palatine, who had just succeeded his brother. In September, the Elector returned an unfavourable answer, due to his fear of making his powerful neighbour, King George, an irreconcileable enemy.

The match suggested through Queen Mary and civilly declined by James, it appears by a paper lately discovered at Windsor, was an offer by Prince James Sobieski, son of the late King of Poland, of the hand of his youngest daughter, whom James, as is well known, eventually married. The Prince offered a portion of 800,000 *livres* to be paid immediately, and 200,000 subsequently.

A daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse was also suggested. She had the advantage of being a Protestant, which would be acceptable in England.

James was taken ill in September. The illness was not supposed at first to be serious, but early in October he became much worse, and a surgeon had to be sent for from Paris, who on the 21st performed a serious operation for fistula. His recovery was slow, but without complications.

Early in October, Queen Mary was informed that the preliminaries of the treaty between the Regent and King George had been signed and that James would be turned out of Avignon by force, if he would not leave voluntarily, and that he must go beyond the Alps. The Jacobites were at first for

his standing out to the end, but the arguments of the French Foreign Minister and threats of the withdrawal of the pensions paid by France to him and Queen Mary obliged him to leave. As an additional inducement, apparently, a reasonable maintenance was promised him. He left Avignon on 6th February, crossed Mont Cenis on the 21st and, though the King of Sicily showed him hospitality in his passage through his dominions, he could not get any good out of him. The Stuart MSS.

Several allusions to designs against James's person occur.

A large number of documents in the Appendix to Vol. II. relate to Queen Mary's claims for payment of her jointure as provided by the Treaty of Ryswick, and there is a detailed account of the execution by James II. of his last will.

The Appendix to Vol. III. contains a very full narrative of the attempted surprise of Edinburgh Castle in September, 1715, by one of the principal actors in it. It failed, because the rope ladder did not arrive in time.

During this period, James bestowed the title of Duke of Northumberland on Lord Wharton, who visited him in October with great professions of zeal for his service. The warrant was drawn up in December, but ante-dated October the 2nd. Tullibardine and the Count of Castelblanco were created dukes in the Scottish peerage. Two other English peerages were created and eight Scottish, and General Dillon was created a baron and viscount of Ireland. The Garter was conferred on Mar, and the Thistle on Ormonde and Panmure.

An account of the numerous ciphers used in these volumes is given in the Introductions.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

The fourth volume of the Belvoir MSS. consists of three sections, dealing respectively with—

(i.) Ancient Charters, Cartularies, &c.

(ii.) Letters and Papers, supplementary to those noticed in the three previous volumes.

(iii.) Books of Household and other Accounts.

i.

So far back as 1869, Mr. Horwood drew up for the Commission a preliminary report on the contents of the muniment room at Belvoir Castle. It was restricted, however, to a single page, nor was the arrangement of the muniments at the time such as to admit of systematic examination. A very great improvement has now been effected. The gradual classification of the documents has resulted in restricting the contents of the room almost exclusively to muniments, comprising charters, deeds, cartularies, and court-rolls. With the exception of the court-rolls, the great majority of the muniments are still preserved in the numbered drawers described by Mr. Horwood; but they have been sorted into separate packets, each of them labelled with the Duke of Rutland: Vol. IV.

Duke of Rutland: Vol. IV.

name of the place to which they relate and entered in the manuscript catalogue prepared by their late custodian, Mr. W. A. Carrington. The whole of this superb collection of several thousand documents is now in perfect order, and the services rendered to the topographer and genealogist by Mr. Carrington's years of labour are very great.

As might be expected from the interesting fact that the historic estate of Belvoir has descended to its present owner from its Domesday tenant *in capite*, the collection is rich in early deeds; but the number of these is partly due to the circumstance that the Benedictine Priory, founded by the Domesday holder at the foot of the castle hill, was obtained at the Dissolution by his descendant, the Lord of Belvoir, who thus became possessed of the charters granted by his ancestors to that foundation.

Another great division of the Duke's muniments relates to his Derbyshire estates, inherited from the Vernons of Haddon. These are unfortunately divided at present, some being preserved at Haddon Hall, to which place they were transferred in 1833, while the rest are at Belvoir. Here again, as in Leicestershire, the bulk of the family documents is swollen by monastic charters, those of Darley Abbey being early and of some importance. No charters of this Abbey are mentioned in the *Monasticon* as at Belvoir.

The remainder of the ancient charters, &c., can only be described as miscellaneous. They relate to a singular variety of districts, ranging from Norfolk to Somerset, and from Northumberland to the Isle of Wight.

In dealing with so vast a mass of material, it has only been possible to make a selection and to notice those documents which appear to be of special interest to the historian, the topographer, and the genealogist. Special attention has been paid to twelfth century charters, in which this great collection is remarkably rich. Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., Richard I., and John, are all represented here by original charters. It also contains private charters of the first half of the 12th century. The early date of some of these documents has been somewhat obscured hitherto owing to their having been assigned to the 13th century. The exceedingly fine charter of Henry II., confirming an exchange of lands in Normandy and in Berkshire, was labelled and catalogued as a charter of Henry III., and the documents connected with it similarly mis-dated in consequence, while a charter of Hugh, Earl of Norfolk, which is certainly not later than 1175, was tentatively assigned to the reign of John. It has been endeavoured, in this report, to date, as far as possible, the early documents dealt with and to identify the places to which they relate. The exceptional cases, also, notes have been added referring to other documents with which they are closely connected, and which are helpful to their comprehension. Attention may be specially drawn here to the occurrence of a "Master J. Grim" as master of the schools of Oxford in 1200, he being so styled by the Pope,

and named in conjunction with the priors of St. Frideswide's and Osney. This is an earlier name of a bearer of that important office than any yet discovered.

The seals with which this collection abounds have been duly noted where they are of interest, especially where they bear coats of arms.

ii.

The additional letters printed in the present volume include some correspondence relating to the English expedition against Scotland in 1549, when the second Earl of Rutland was Lord Warden of the East and Middle Marches. They further illustrate the difficulties caused by the employment of foreign mercenaries, and the desertion of the English troops, largely owing to their repugnance to the monotonous duty of garrisoning the small and insanitary forts of the time. The reins of government were being wrested out of the hands of the Protector Somerset, and in view of the social troubles during which his administration came to an end, it is not surprising to find that the Earl suffered from insufficient supplies of men and money. He draws attention to his enormous charges, which cause him to regret soliciting a command, and he expresses his inability to continue the great drain upon his private resources.

In a letter of 1590, the fifth Earl of Rutland, then an undergraduate at Cambridge, refers to the bad state of the roads between Belvoir and Cambridge, even in summer. There is another letter from Thomas Screvin, a trusted servant to the family, regarding the Earl of Essex's conspiracy in 1601, in which the fifth Earl was involved. An interesting paper, about 1620, draws attention to abuses in the church, and contains suggestions for their reform. It states that the name of Puritan had become so odious that many persons simulated vice or superstition in order to avoid being called by this name. There are also many notes on legal abuses, in which, among other things, the great growth in counsels' fees and in the number of attorneys are animadverted upon. It states that within the memory of a man then living there were only three attorneys in Lincolnshire, against ten or twelve score at the time when these notes were drawn up. There are several letters of Romish priests dealing with the negotiations with the Pope prior to the projected Spanish match of Prince Charles, which illustrate the jealousy between the Benedictines and the Jesuits. In 1626, we have a letter from the Countess of Rutland describing the hostile feelings of the Parliament towards Buckingham, her husband's son-in-law. From the Civil Wars we have depositions, referred to in a previous volume, regarding the violent conduct of Sir Gervase Lucas, a former servant of the Earl, when he seized Belvoir Castle for the King.

There is some further correspondence regarding Lord Lexington's diplomatic mission to the King of Denmark in

1693. In 1705, a correspondent of the first Duke of Rutland, writing from Newmarket, rejoices that no Jacobite Lord was present at the race-meeting there. The list of Old Masters at Houghton in 1740 is worthy of note.

There is some military correspondence from America in 1763-6, some of which is addressed to the famous Marquis of Granby, then Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. In one letter, an English officer gives his impressions of his journey to West Florida. The volume includes two more letters of the younger Pitt, in one of which he acknowledges the Marquis of Granby's letter of condolence on his father's death; an account of the bad state of the defences of Plymouth dockyard in 1779; reports to the Duke of Rutland of the proceedings of the Lord George Gordon rioters in London; and a letter of Sir Joshua Reynolds, condoling with the Duke upon the death of his brother, Lord Robert Manners, who was killed in the sea fight off Dominica in 1782, and who is described by Reynolds as "the most promising youth in the whole navy." A bill of this great artist for pictures painted by him for the Duke or sold to him is of interest. In this connexion the account of the acquisition of a painting by Gerard Dow for the Duke, and of the repairs of a Murillo may be mentioned. Finally, we may draw attention to the letters of Captain Molloy, who commanded the line-of-battleship *Cæsar* at the battle of the first of June, regarding the preparing and sailing of the fleet and of the delays that occurred in the granting of a court martial to enquire into his conduct at the battle, which Lord Howe had censured.

iii.

The extracts from the Household Books, which include one belonging to Sir Thomas Lovel, a prominent minister in the reigns of Henry VII. and his son, bear but an infinitesimal proportion to the contents of the books themselves. The extracts illustrate the stately housekeeping of a wealthy, noble family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and bring before us the great retinue of servants, many of them young men of good families, maintained by the Earls of Rutland. The Appendix contains an abstract of a book giving the names of those in the "retinue" (using that word in the technical sense, so familiar to students of constitutional history) of Sir Thomas Lovel. They number considerably over thirteen hundred.

The great variety of subjects of interest upon which light is thrown by the extracts from the household book render it impossible to do more than draw attention to a few features in them. Local and family history, social customs, the manner of living, food, drink, the history of prices, trade, amusements, costume, and innumerable other subjects receive illustration from them. They contain many old terms, and are otherwise

of philological value. Amusements are well represented, including bull-baiting, bear-baiting, dancing bears, cock-fighting, dog-fighting, juggling, billiards, and tilting. Gambling, generally for moderate stakes, frequently finds record in the payment of losses; the winnings do not appear, except in the form of deductions from money paid for losses. Horse racing and wagering upon it was in high favour, and there is much matter in the latter part of the seventeenth century that should be of value for the history of racing and of several famous race meetings.

Earlier, there are payments to the boy-bishop, to mummers, for masques, and for Christmas plays, and numerous gifts to minstrels and companies of players belonging to neighbouring noblemen, gentlemen and towns. In one case, the players come from so far as Wigan. Royal players are found among the recipients of the gifts of the Earls of Rutland.

A specially interesting entry records payments in 1613 to Shakespeare and Richard Burbage, the former receiving 44*s.* in gold for an *impreso* for the Earl, the latter a like amount for painting and making it. The payments occur among others for the preparations for a tournament which was held on the 24th of March, and the *impreso* seems to have been a device and motto borne by the Earl. Shakespeare himself uses the word in this sense in "Richard the Third." On the occasion of another tournament, Burbage receives payment "for my Lorde's shelde and embleance." References to attendance at playhouses in London occur about the same time.

The numerous payments for tobacco and pipes, the price of the former sometimes running very high, show how widely spread the use of this narcotic was among the nobility, and how little effect King James's fulminations against its use had, even in Court circles. There are interesting details of the cost of travelling, and those relating to continental journeys throw light upon the methods of raising money abroad and the cost of the conveyance of letters and parcels. In 1670, tea was a necessary part of the Earl of Rutland's equipment for a journey in England.

The accounts contain some interesting payments for books, principally during the time of the third Earl, who was described by Camden as *juris scientia et omni politiori eruditione ornatissimus*, a character supported by the nature of the books bought by him. Randle Cotgrave is recorded to have received a gratuity from the next Earl for presenting him with a copy of his famous French Dictionary. There are numerous payments in connexion with the education of this Earl's son at the University of Cambridge. After the latter's succession to the title, we find him making a gift to a poor scholar of Grantham "for his better furtherance to Cambridge": he bestows a gift upon a young gentleman towards his tutor's fees in the University; and he defrays the costs of burying a poor sizar, whose College debts he paid. This Earl died at Cambridge.

The number of successful claimants upon the bounty of the

Duke of Rutland : Vol. IV.

Earls of Rutland is very great. Officers of the Court share in the receipt of gratuities, and such high officials as the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Privy Seal, and judges receive yearly presents of plate. The Earls make presents on New Year's Day to the sovereigns, receiving in return gifts from the Royal Jewel House, which by the time of James I. had become so fixed in value that we have entries of the payment by the Earl to the officers of the Jewel House of the excess in value of certain cups. The Earls frequently receive presents from the nobility, gentry, clergy, and others, which mostly take the form of contributions to their table. Some of the presents, such as buzzards, bustards, bitterns, sea-gulls, porpoises, and a dish of minnows, arrest the attention of the modern reader. Among the extracts are included a treatise written in 1611, on the provisioning of the Earl of Rutland's household, in which we find recorded the quantities and prices of the stores required, the places whence they were obtained, notes on the measures used, hints as to selecting and keeping them, and the like.

The accounts include numerous payments to physicians and apothecaries for their fees, and a curious entry of a payment to a "woman phisician at Bingham in the Vale." We find evidence of the persistency in the belief in the medical efficacy of precious stones, in the payment in 1598 for two bezoar-stones, which were esteemed as preservatives against poison. The seventh Earl was somewhat more sceptical, for he buys two gray stones "whose virtue is to cure the stone in the bladder or kidneys," on condition that he may return them after a twelvemonth's trial and receive back most of what he had paid for them. A new coach bought in 1598 was provided with a seat and a bed inside. A Sedan chair was used in 1641 to convey a dead body to Belvoir for burial. The cost of the magnificent Rutland tombs in Bottesford Church are recorded in the accounts.

In art we have several payments for portraits, including one of the fifth Earl presented to the notorious Mrs. Fitton. The artist's name in connexion with portraits are Mr. Peak, Paul Vansomer, William Larkins, Hoskins, Vandereyden, and the celebrated miniaturist Hilliard or Hildyard. There is also a reference to Inigo Jones as a "picture maker." Young ladies of the family buy ready-made clothing in Cheapside in 1652.

Among the subjects of more general interest, attention may be called to the expenses of the first Earl in accompanying Henry VIII. to Calais in 1532, on the occasion of the meeting with Francis I. of France, and in the expedition to Scotland in 1542, when he was Lord Warden of the Marches; and the detailed account of his son and successor, who was also Lord Warden, of his expenditure during the expedition to Scotland in 1549-50; charges in connexion with the funeral of Mary, Queen of Scotland: the lists of guests who dined with the fifth Earl on the eve of Essex's conspiracy in 1601, and the account of the provisions supplied to him during his imprisonment in the Tower; the cost of entertaining James I. on his visits to

the Earl of Belvoir in 1603, 1612, 1614, 1616, and 1621; notes of payment of the heavy dowry paid by the Earl to Buckingham, upon his daughter's marriage to the latter; the details of the fifth Earl's expenses during his voyage to Denmark in 1603, whither he was dispatched by James I. to carry the Order of the Garter to the King of Denmark, the King's father-in-law; and also of his expenses during previous journeys to Holland in 1598 and to Ireland in 1599, and of the sixth Earl to Holland in 1619. The sixth Earl was an "adventurer" for 200*l.* in the voyage to the River Amazon in 1619. In 1623, he received payment from the Crown for his "interteynement as Lord Generall into Spaine" for 190 days from 1st May, whither he went in the train of Charles I. and of Buckingham, his son-in-law. The passage of Charles I. through Grantham in August, 1641, on his momentous journey to Scotland, also finds record in the accounts.

Duke of Rutland: Vol. IV.

DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Duke of Portland: Vol. VIII.

The documents calendared in Vol. VIII. of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland (Vol. VI. of the Harley Papers), belong chiefly to the period from 1700 to February, 1708, when Robert Harley held successively the posts of Speaker of the House of Commons and Secretary of State, and may be broadly divided into three principal groups:—i., petitions and memorials; ii., documents relating to the Navy; and iii., papers on Scottish affairs. In addition to these, however, there are several papers (of an earlier date) on English ecclesiastical matters, and a certain number of miscellaneous letters and other documents.

Of the above groups, the first is by far the largest. It comprises petitions and requests sent to Harley himself, as Speaker or as Secretary, and also a considerable number addressed to the Queen or to Parliament, which were, no doubt, handed over to him for his opinion or decision; the whole series forming an important supplement to those of the same period preserved in the Public Record Office.

Their subject-matter is too varied for detailed description, but the two largest classes are requests for allowances, pensions, rewards, or employments; and prayers for pardon, principally for petty theft, burglary and housebreaking, or horse-stealing, all which offences were at that time punishable by death. Other groups of petitions relate to ships and seamen; to patents, passes or licences; to foreign prisoners in England or Englishmen abroad wishing to return; to the claims and necessities of officers' widows, and other miscellaneous matters.

Amongst the numerous and interesting papers relating to the Navy and Admiralty, special attention may be drawn to an account of Torrington's court-martial, written by or on behalf of Rear-Admiral de Schey, who was one of the principal witnesses. This is the more interesting as the minutes of the court-martial are wanting. Also, to a narrative, by an eye-

witness, of the attempt on Camaret Bay in 1694; a defence of Sir George Rooke's conduct in not intercepting the Toulon squadron in the spring of 1696; numerous papers relating to the notorious pirate, Captain Kidd; Edmund Dummer's criticisms on abuses in the Navy, and his remarks concerning the court-martial on Admiral Sir John Munden; a paper discussing the question of the position of a neutral prince in regard to belligerents "arming out of his ports"; an interesting account of the battle of Malaga (August, 1704) by the French Admiral, the Comte de Toulouse; and many papers in connexion with the well-known case of the East Indiaman *Worcester*—seized by the Scots in 1705, in reprisal for the arrest of one of the Scots East India Company's ships in the Thames—and her unfortunate commander, Captain Thomas Green. In company with his chief mate and gunner, he was hanged in Scotland, on a false charge of having piratically attacked the *Happy Return* at Madagascar and murdered Captain Drummond, her commander.

A good specimen of the courage and enterprise of the British seamen is given in the report by Captains Camocke and Saunders to the Secretary of the Admiralty in June, 1706. The two captains took their ships out from Kinsale, and in less than a fortnight captured five prizes, all of which they brought safely into harbour at Waterford.

The third and perhaps the most interesting group of papers consists of letters from Scottish correspondents, giving much information in regard to proceedings in Scotland, and especially in the Scottish parliament, at the time when the Acts of Succession and Supply, and the proposed union with England, were the burning subjects of the day.

From William Carstares, Principal of Edinburgh University, one of the chief advisers of the English government as to Scottish affairs, and a strong advocate of the Union, there are no fewer than twenty-three letters, ranging in date from 1702 to 1708, which fill up many gaps in his published correspondence. There are nine letters from William Paterson, the patron of Defoe; three from the Duke of Hamilton (one of them a long and interesting epistle to his brother, the Earl of Orkney); and eight, in the form of news-letters, from an unnamed correspondent. Also, one or more from the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Leven, David Fearne, and John Stirling.

In addition to these letters, there is a curious and interesting document, giving a list of the noblemen and gentry of Scotland, with additions in another hand, apparently David Fearne's, stating their supposed views in regard to matters of church and state. This was probably sent up by Fearne to Harley about the end of the year 1705.

At the beginning of the volume will be found a few papers upon ecclesiastical matters, belonging to the time of the first Sir Robert Harley, including a petition from Dr. Henry Rogers, prebendary of Hereford, of whom there are several notices in vol. i. of the Report on the Harley papers; a certificate from

the sub-dean and prebendaries of Westminster to the "Committee for demolishing monuments of superstition and "idolatry," stating that in obedience to the behests of their new masters, they had left off the "ancient custom of that "church to minister the communion in wafers, had set the communion table east and west in the body of the church, had "broken and defaced crosses, crucifixes and pictures, and had "taken away all the candlesticks upon the communion table"; and a petition from some "ministers in the counties near "London" representing the deplorable condition of the puritan incumbents of the churches from which the episcopal clergy had been "outed"; complaining of the insufficiency of their maintenance, the uncertainty of their tenure and the need of money for the repair of the churches, and desiring relief either from the taxes or out of the lands of the Bishop or Dean and Chapter.

To these ecclesiastical papers follow petitions concerning the vexed question of the claimants to the office of postmaster, Colonel Lockhart's debts at Dunkirk, the pay for Sir Robert Harley and his regiment, and the rights of the Courteen family in the Barbadoes. But amongst these miscellaneous papers, the most curious and entertaining is a narrative by Sir Robert Harley (second son of the first Sir Robert and Brilliana Conway) of his energetic and successful efforts to effect the restoration of Charles II. Ignoring (except by a vague word of apology) the fact that his first commission was in the Parliament army, and that as late as 1648 he had discovered and frustrated a royalist plot to surprise Ludlow Castle, he proceeds to narrate, with extreme self-satisfaction, his exertions in the King's cause, for the sake of which he had even overcome his "horror and disdain" of republican plotters and had become partakers in their most secret councils, in order to use them to bring about Cromwell's ruin. He it was who persuaded Bradshaw to oppose Oliver's promotion; who brought about the fall of Richard; who held Lambert back many days from marching against Sir George Booth; who by "engaging a "considerable part of the army to his purpose" succeeded in having Lord Fairfax chosen General in Yorkshire, and persuaded him to accept the post; who wrought upon Monck to grant many points on which he had hitherto held back, and who, being sent down to the west, managed the troops there with such "great dexterity" that only a mere handful joined Lambert at Edgehill, instead of the four thousand who had engaged to do so. Then Monck sent Harley to the King to desire his speedy coming to London, but at this point, where we might expect a final note of victory, the narrative breaks off into an apology, and it is evident that the "King maker" had fallen under suspicion by reason of his correspondence with his brother, Colonel Edward, at Dunkirk; the result being that instead of being rewarded with places and honours, he was accused by Clarendon of holding meetings with commons-

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wealth men, and his regiment was shipped off to Tangier, the usual place of exile for Oliver's old soldiers.

Harley's narrative has its counterpart in one calendared in the report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS., where a certain Mr. Collins proves, at any rate to his own satisfaction, that "he it was that did bring in the King."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

Marquess of Salisbury: Part XI.

Part XI. of the Calendar of the Cecil Manuscripts at Hatfield deals with the year 1601. In the month of February of this year occurred the outbreak of the Earl of Essex. The papers in the volume relative to this event are numerous, and from them may be gathered many details of that "dismal day," as it appeared to the actors in it in retrospect. Among the rest, Sir John Leveson's story of the manner in which he, coming by accident upon the scene, kept Ludgate against Lord Essex and his companions is exceedingly interesting.

The excitement over, there were early found those who hastened to explain that their part in the proceedings was wholly the result of casual misfortune. Of this number were the Earl of Bedford, Francis Manners, Sir Francis Knollys, and others of humbler station. But the majority could not so excuse themselves. As their action, however, led swiftly to their undoing, so repentance followed with equal swiftness. There was scarcely any interval between the noisy shouting of rebellion and, in most cases, almost abject appeals for mercy. The few who could not escape the extreme penalty faced death with dignity, but the Calendar shows that those who were spared made numerous appeals and brought many influences to bear to mitigate their punishment.

As regards the chief figure in these stormy scenes, there is no great body of information, and nothing of a novel character. One letter only is addressed to him, which has nothing to do with plots and alarms. In it the writer discourses of the variation of the compasses and the use of the celestial and terrestrial globes. There are, however, many personal references to the Earl of Essex, and an account of the final pathetic scene in the courtyard of the Tower. There are also interesting letters from his widow, "suffering from the weight of God's "finger," to Sir Robert Cecil, appealing to him for help, and expressing her gratitude for the "essential benefits" come to her by his means.

Letters from the Earl of Southampton, his wife and mother; from Lord Sandys and his wife; the young Earl of Rutland; Sir Henry and Lady Neville; Dr. Fletcher; Lord Monteagle; Sir John Davis; Sir Ferdinando Gorges; Edward Blount—the men all of them concerned in Lord Essex's so-called rebellion, show what misfortune the Queen's "favourite," by his action, brought upon his friends, and how many of them turned to Sir Robert Cecil for aid in their extremity, and had occasion

to testify to the good results of the intervention of the Queen's Chief Secretary.

Sir Robert Cecil's connexion with the University of Cambridge calls forth a few letters, referred to below. Other letters relate to the offerings made to him, evidently numerous, but not of any great value in themselves. During this year he was pressed into service as godfather on more than one occasion. There are hints of his building operations, and particulars of the profits arising from his private mercantile adventures. His son is mentioned in affectionate terms. Sir Robert Cecil's name may have been canvassed in loose talk in tap-rooms, but he received ample tokens of the esteem and affection in which he was held by serious-minded men. There are a larger number of drafts of letters emanating from himself than in any previous volume, including a portion of the correspondence with George Nicolson, the English Agent in Scotland. An interesting personal letter is that to the parishioners of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, in which, out of his "great love for "that quarter where I had my birth and breeding," he promises to contribute to the cost of certain necessary alterations in "the "street for the ease of passengers and making the street fairer "and sweeter on both sides of the way," and urges their execution before the beginning of term.

The series of familiar correspondence from Sir Robert Cecil's kinswoman, the Dowager Lady Russell, continues in this volume. The "poor lady," his "desolate wronged aunt" or "desolate unfortunate aunt," as the case might be, was ever ready to call for his aid in order to redress her grievances against others, and he himself, on one occasion, when a footman of hers had been "enticed" from her service "by some secretary "of yours and promised 7*l.* a year and four suits of apparel," was enjoined not to break the Tenth Commandment.

With regard to the Queen, despite the evidence of the Essex outbreak, it may be said that there was at this epoch very little disposition among her subjects to dispute or derogate from her personal supremacy. Her throne and person were, in the eyes of the vast majority of them, "sacred." "One thing," the Primate remarks, "we must all rejoice in: that, so far as can "be conceived by all external actions and tokens, she hath the "love of her people."

It was said of her, in the course of the year, that she was "never better." She moved about freely. An amusing *contretemps* occurred on one of her expeditions when, in the spring of the year, she was riding in the company of the Scottish Ambassador. Being at Chelsea, she wished to go into the house and gardens of the Earl of Lincoln, but was kept out in so rude a fashion that the Earl's enemies "wanted "not a colour to say" that it was by his direction. "After "a great knocking at both gates, some of your people did not "only show themselves within, but some of them looked out

"of the house and over the walls." The Earl of Lincoln had to pay for this mischance the price of a dinner to the Queen "and "anything that belongs to it," a somewhat costly penalty. During the Queen's "progress" later in the year through Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Surrey, the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, was her host at Stoke, and as a good courtier expressed himself ready to provide, "a gown and jewel, what-"soever you think fit . . . for I would give that which "shall be acceptable whatsoever it cost."

There are some interesting letters from William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, who succeeded his father on the latter's death in the beginning of the year 1601. They are chiefly filled with extravagant statements of his distress at being banished from the Queen's presence on account of his intrigue with Sir Edward Fitton's "poor daughter Mary," and with appeals for permission to travel abroad, which he obtained before the close of the year.

Ecclesiastical matters are but meagrely illustrated in this volume. Among the few is the case of Stephen Egerton, Incumbent of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, a divine with strong puritan leanings, and therefore not a favourite of his diocesan. A sermon preached on the day of the Essex Rebellion did not meet with the Bishop's approval, and Egerton was consequently restrained from his week-day exercises. From the fact of popularity, "a wonderful concourse of people to his "church above others," the Bishop also "argued a schism." Sir Robert Cecil was appealed to on Egerton's behalf by a sympathiser, and the appeal did not fail to have an effect.

Several documents noticed in this volume relate to the University of Cambridge. Sir Robert Cecil in this year succeeded the Earl of Essex as Chancellor of this University, and to him, "upon whom depended the good and happy estate "of their weak body," its authorities turned for support when, as they averred, they were "almost trodden under foot through "the unstayed headiness of their evil-affected neighbours." The causes of complaint against these neighbours, the townsmen of Cambridge, are set out. An alderman of Cambridge, "a turbulent and factious townsman against our University," also invaded their privileges in connexion with purchases of provisions at Stourbridge fair made by one of the Queen's purveyors.

The Provost and Fellows of Dublin University College made known their desire to make Sir Robert Cecil their Chancellor, and to place themselves under his "honourable protection."

The present volume, like those preceding it, yields some information with regard to the fortunes and position of the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith in England. Two priests, by name Middleton and Hunt, were executed after trial at the Lancaster Assizes, having previously been sent up to London. The county of Lancaster was one of the strongholds of the older form of religion. The Bishop of Chester

complains that in his efforts to "reform that most infected "parish of Garstang," he had met with great resistance and "but small assistance from the justices and officers, whose "coldness and slackness have been my great hindrance."

Further north, the Bishop of Carlisle intimates the presence in his diocese of a "whole pack of most dangerous persons," meaning thereby the recusants and their supporters, and he breaks out into the exclamation—"God knows what heart's "grief hath come unto me since my first coming into this "woeful and broken country."

The Bishop of London had his own opinion of the views and intentions of the recusants, and, moved by the rumours of an impending attack from the Spaniards, felt called upon to utter a warning in Sir Robert Cecil's ear.

On the other hand, those professing the Roman creed in Yorkshire were, a little earlier, taking heart. Lord Burghley says, apropos of "mercy showed of late to the offenders in these "late actions of rebellion": "There is much talk hereof "amongst the Papists as a persuasion to the Government here "to carry a sweeter hand over them. If Her Majesty dealt "so mercifully with them that were in the predicament of "treason, why should there be so hard a course taken against "her faithful subjects (as they term themselves) for their "consciences only."

A description of the Archpriest Blackwell's personal appearance is given by one John Byrde, an informer, who furnishes a lengthy account of the proceedings of priests ranging "as "wolves amongst sheep about the city and countries without "keepers"; he himself being desirous of employment in the service of apprehending these offenders.

Parliament was summoned to meet in October, 1601, after an interval of some four years. Of the members of the House of Lords, there were several who desired to be excused from attending, chiefly on account of bodily infirmity.

With regard to the lower House, we have aspirants like Dr. Christopher Parkins and Henry Lok, who desired nomination to serve as burgesses, and one instance at least where a knight was elected unwillingly. There are numerous instances where the nomination of representatives was left to the choice of Sir Robert Cecil, which he exercised in one case by designating an ecclesiastic for the vacancy.

Incidents, and those of a stormy character, are related as occurring on the occasion of the election in Denbighshire.

Of the proceedings of Parliament during its session, which terminated in December, there are scarcely any particulars. There is a record of the views of members in Committee "upon "the Bill of levying treasure for the defence of the realm." The notes of the Archbishop of Canterbury against the Bill touching pluralities are merely referred to in a covering letter. So of researches among the Exchequer Records showing "how

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"the King did charge the maritime shires by way of contri-"bution, and sometime by way of taxation," and of a speech in course of preparation.

In two directions did it become necessary during the year 1601 to send a military force across the seas—East to the Low Countries, West to Ireland. Hence arises considerable information concerning the levying, apparelling, and arming of soldiers, both foot and horse, and the character of the men raised; and also concerning the methods of transporting and victualling them.

The military events in the Low Countries are minutely described in lengthy letters from the seat of war, written to Sir Robert Cecil, from one part of the field by the Earl of Northumberland, and from another by captains of English companies employed there, among whom Captain, afterwards Sir John Ogle, Captain Holcroft, Captain Wigmore, and Captain Ridgeway were the chief correspondents. There are detailed accounts of the incidents of the siege of Rheinberg.

In the meanwhile at Ostend had begun the famous siege which was to outlast the Queen's life, contrary to the expectation of both besiegers and besieged. At the earnest solicitation of the States General, Sir Francis Vere undertook the direction of the defence of the place. To aid in the defence, a body of troops was sent from England in addition to the English companies already on the spot in the pay of the States General. In connexion with their transport to the scene of operations some interesting side-lights are thrown on methods and manners, both English and Dutch. Of the occurrences of this struggle the accounts are many and graphically told in the letters of the captains of the English companies, whose names have been already mentioned.

The chief feature of the papers in this volume connected with the affairs of the Kingdom of Scotland is that they include a larger portion than before of the correspondence carried on between Sir Robert Cecil and George Nicolson, the English Agent there.

The designs of the Master of Gray, the dealing with Powrie Ogilvie, and the embassy of the Earl of Mar are among the matters discussed in lengthy letters. The apprehension which had been excited in the King's mind that the Queen had it in purpose "to do injury to others and to bring infamy upon "her own actions and counsels by seeking to bequeath her "crown and people to be governed by a branch of that root "whereof the whole kind is odious to all Englishmen," is dismissed by Sir Robert Cecil as manifestly "unjust and "absurd." In another letter he relates the substance of Earl Huntly's advances to himself, and the nature of his replies, and in the last letter of this correspondence in this volume sets out the terms offered by the Queen for the levies of men in Scotland for service in Ireland.

With regard to Border matters, a letter to Lord Scrope sketches the policy which the Queen would have him pursue

towards Scotland, "so as to carry things in their right sense," and concludes with a hint as to the manner of government of the Wardenry with which she would be best pleased. Correspondence between King James and Lord Scrope shows the latter as a man not easily overborne where he thought himself to have right on his side—an attitude for which he gained the Queen's approval.

The number of papers bearing upon the history of Ireland is comparatively small, and for the first half of the year particularly so. Advice how to govern Ireland, and explanation "of the pride and present strength of the mere Irishry, and "of the weakness of the nobility and gentry of the English "race of Ireland," was offered to Sir Robert Cecil. Hugh Cuffe sets out in a petition, presented with the object of compelling the undertakers in Munster to fulfil their duties, measures to be adopted for re-settling the lands wasted by war.

In a letter written in August to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Robert Cecil explains the situation of affairs as regards Ireland and the reasons for preparing provisionally for the sending of a force to Ireland in view of the fact that a Spanish fleet had been seen at sea with an army of four or five thousand men, "purposely directed" for that kingdom. The Spanish landing, long foreseen, actually took place on the 25th of September at Kinsale. This gave rise to much press of business, but to no great alarm. "I doubt not," writes Cecil, "but such shall be Her "Majesty's fortune as Munster shall prove their sepulchre." This confident hope was in the main realised, but the present volume has little to tell concerning the manner in which it was brought to pass, except as regards the levying and transport of the forces sent over to reinforce the Lord Deputy.

Foreign visitors to England during the course of the year included the Duke of Bracciano, nephew of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; the Duc de Nevers; the Baron de Dona, from Bohemia; and the Duc de Biron, who came on a mission from the King of France. Particulars as to the manner in which the last was entertained may be gathered from several letters.

A Scottish noble, who also was among the visitors, on his way from France, was the Duke of Lennox.

Students of naval matters, voyages, and travels may turn for material to letters of Sir Thomas Fane, Richard Staperr, Captain Charles Leigh, William Stallenge, Sir Anthony Sherley, Sir John Gilbert, and others. The last named, Sir John Gilbert, as Governor of Plymouth Fort, was engaged in a petty quarrel with Mr. William Parker, the Mayor of the town, which occasioned several strongly-worded letters.

There are many other subjects which continue to receive illustration in this instalment of the Calendar; for example, the relations of England with European countries in addition to Spain, France, and the Netherlands. There are news-

letters containing intelligence from Rome and Venice, while the affairs of Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and the Empire are dealt with in letters from James Hyll, Matthew Greensmith, Francis Cherry, Dr. William Bruise, Sir Richard Lee, John Allsop, and others.

Other miscellaneous subjects to which attention may be shortly drawn are:—

The complaint of Sir Thomas Hoby against the son of Lord Eure and other gentlemen of misconduct in his house, which was the subject of investigation in the Star Chamber.

The doubtful marriage of the daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis to the Earl of Bath.

A view of the mischiefs of "tippling houses," and a recommendation of their partial suppression.

The choice by the Queen of the Bishop of Winchester as a proper person to undertake the care of the education of a young noble, "considering that the best education of such "children hath always been in the houses of the most reverend "and grave persons of your Lordship's quality, where they "may be seasoned with a true sense of religion and virtue and "inured to a fashion of living fit for the nobility of their "birth."

The proposal of a second marriage made to the widow of Sir H. Palavicino by Sir Robert Cecil and the Earl of Shrewsbury on behalf of Oliver, son and heir to Sir Henry Cromwell.

A suggestion of Lord Chief Justice Popham, throwing some light on the food of the common people and the state of the country in the summer of 1601.

The "thirst" of the townsmen of Bury, "being mechanical "and tradesmen," for a corporation, and the consequences which opposers thought were likely to ensue if the townsmen's desire were granted.

The ruinous condition of Warwick Castle and Sir Fulk Greville's proposition with regard to it.

The financial results of employment in the public service abroad as set forth by Dr. Giles Fletcher, "four times "employed in Her Highness' service out of the realm, once "ambassador, thrice as agent, and special Messenger from her "Highness, without any recompense or allowance from Her "Majesty."

The reward paid by the Queen to "Derycke Peyterson, "a printer," for "a map of the genealogy of the House of "Nassau and of the besieging of divers towns in those parts."

The alarm caused by the great numbers of "negars and "blackamoores" which had "crept into the realm—mostly infidels without understanding of Christ and His gospel," and the method employed for collecting them and getting them out of the country; and

The petition of Mr. Thomas Digges, "published lately in "print," discussing the two sorts of protestants—"protestants "of religion and protestants of state"—and the papists.

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The papers calendared are those which now rank as Vols. I. and II. of the Harley Papers at Longleat under the title of "Select Autograph Letters, &c., 1516 to the middle of the 18th "century." In the Catalogue of the Longleat MSS. in the Fourth Report of Your Majesty's Commissioners, they are placed under the heading of "Letters found in the Library, "&c."

These Harley papers were taken to Longleat by the Lady Elizabeth Bentinck (eldest daughter of the second Duke of Portland, and grand-daughter of the second Earl of Oxford), who married Thomas, Viscount Weymouth, afterwards created Marquess of Bath.

Some of these "Select Autographs" were seen by Strype, and many of them were printed, or partially printed, by him in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Life of Cranmer*, &c. He gives them as being "*penes* D. G. H. Eq. aur." No name with these initials is found amongst his list of sources, but in the Preface to the *Memorials* he states that he has had access to the papers "of a gentleman of quality, descended from a secretary of the "Lord Treasurer Burghley under Queen Elizabeth." This secretary was Michael Hicks, and the gentleman of quality was Sir William Hicks, of Ruckholt, bart.—*i.e.*, "Dominus "Guillielmus Hicks, Eques auratus," this being the exact form in which his name appears upon his monument.

It is evident that Strype not only had the perusal of these documents, but got possession of them. He stated that some of the Ruckholt papers had actually been given him by Sir William, others being a loan. The statement was in reference to what are known as the Fox papers, but no doubt it applied to the Hicks papers as well. In 1699 Sir William was declared a lunatic; the papers remained in Strype's hands, and in 1711 he sold the Fox papers, and evidently the Hicks papers also, to Robert Harley.

The Fox papers were included in the collection sold to the British Museum, but the Hicks papers, or most of them, remained at Welbeck until carried, with others, to Longleat by Lady Elizabeth. What her method of selection was we cannot tell, but that there was a selection is evident from the fact that many of these early papers are endorsed with Roman numerals of a distinctive type, and that numerals of exactly the same form are found upon papers still at Welbeck—viz., those calendared in Vol. II. of the Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS., under the heading of "Royal and other letters and "papers" (pp. 5-21).

The papers of the time of Henry VIII. include three sign manuals of the King and five letters from Cardinal Wolsey, all signed by himself, and one of them holograph; also letters from

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the Princess Mary, Archbishop Cranmer, the Earl of Southampton, Thomas Cromwell, and Richard Pace, the ambassador; all signed originals, and most of them holograph. Such of these as have been printed by Strype are only briefly calendared in the present volume; a long and interesting despatch from Wolsey to Wiliam Knight, ambassador with the Archduchess Margaret, has, however, been given in full, as it is only partially printed by Strype, and Mr. Brewer, in his Calendar, lamented that the original had not been found.

Of the reign of Edward VI. there are many letters from Archbishop Cranmer to Cecil, and a letter from the Earl of Warwick to Lord Chamberlain Darcy, in relation to the proposed match between the young King and the Lady Isobel of France.

Philip and Mary's reign is characteristically represented by an order for the bestowal upon Weybridge Church of certain "parcels of stuff" for use in the ancient services of the church, now restored, consisting of two vestments, "with all the "apparells," and three altar frontals.

These early papers were doubtless "collected" by Michael Hicks, who as secretary to Lord Burghley, and afterwards to Sir Robert Cecil, would have unusual facilities for obtaining possession of old documents; but with the reign of Elizabeth we come to papers which probably came directly into Hicks' hands.

On p. 16 is a letter from Cecil to Randolph, English agent in Scotland, sent at the same time as a memorial now at Hatfield, warmly seconding its object, but giving Randolph powers to "suspend" any parts of its contents which he might think wiser not to put before the Scottish government. Following this is a pathetic note from Katherine Gray, sister of Lady Jane, to her imprisoned husband, the young Earl of Hertford, and a long and interesting letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Queen touching the "waytye matter" of her Majesty's marriage.

Two papers in what may be termed the Hicks portion of the collection bear relation to Mary Queen of Scots. The first is the drawing of a shield, boldly blazoned in heraldic colours, of Queen Mary's own arms of Scotland and France, but bearing a scutcheon of pretence with the arms of England as used by Elizabeth—*i.e.*, of England and France quarterly. This is endorsed by Cecil: "The first devise to sett the armes of "England in the Scot. Quene's name."

The second is a much more interesting document. It is endorsed: "A note of things written in the glasse windowes at Buxtons," and is a sort of diagram in four columns. The windows were probably those of the great guest hall which had been lately built by the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose custody Mary then was.

The contents of the diagram are very varied:—Anagrams of the names of the Queen and the young King of Scots; monograms of their initials; verses written either by or in the name of the Queen, bewailing her sad lot, and others in honour of St. Anna (the patron saint of the wells) and of Buxton itself; lines in Latin, French, Italian or English by various well-known people of the time, and little sketches of flowers with appropriate words. The dates are 1573, 1575, 1576, and 1580, these being precisely the years when Queen Mary was at Buxton; and amongst the contributors to this curious "album" are the Queen herself, the Earls of Leicester and Pembroke, Lord and Lady Talbot (Shrewsbury's son and daughter-in-law), Sir W. Knollys, the Countesses of Essex and Sussex, and Nau, the Queen's secretary.

The drawings are by a man who signs T. G., or in one case T. Gter (without any mark of contraction), and probably the whole thing is in his writing, although there is an evident attempt to imitate the signatures; that of Leicester, for instance, being remarkably like his own hand.

Shrewsbury's guest hall was burnt down, and there is no mention of these writings in any of the old notices of Buxton. Possibly they were destroyed at the time of the Scottish Queen's death.

Passing by original letters of Archbishop Whitgift and Sir Francis Drake, printed by Strype, and of Sir Walter Ralegh, printed in Edwards' *Life of Ralegh*, we come to two letters in relation to the dispute at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1588, when Anthony Hickman was put out of his fellowship. The first of these letters is from the Archbishop to Burghley (Chancellor of the University), upholding the Master's action against Hickman; the second from Hickman himself, protesting that the proceedings were contrary to the statutes of the College.

There are three letters from Thomas Bodley, the Queen's agent and counsellor at the Hague, written in 1589, after Lord Willoughby had resigned his command in the Netherlands, leaving Sir Francis Vere in charge of the English forces there, which fill up a gap in the series of Bodley's despatches at the Public Record Office. When Bodley wrote, Sir Francis Vere was about to start with Count Neuwenar (or the Count de Mœurs, as the English generally called him) to the relief of Rheinberg. His second letter relates the successful encounter of the English with the enemy, as a result of which provisions were safely taken into Rheinberg.

Passing at this point from warlike operations abroad to measures of defence at home, we have a thoughtful letter from the Earl of Pembroke concerning the safe-guarding of Milford Haven, then a port of great importance, especially in connection with traffic with Ireland.

The next letters are from Sir Robert Cecil, congratulating Hicks on his absence from the Court, which had been given up

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to tedious suits and suitors, and from Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, enumerating the many wants of the troops in Ireland.

These are followed by letters from Ralegh and Sir John Hawkins to Burghley on the subject of the prize carrack, *Madre de Dios,* and by others from Ralegh, which, being only partially and not very accurately printed by Strype and Edwards, are given in full in the Report.

A curious document, doubtfully dated, but endorsed 1595, is a fragment of *Titus Andronicus,* partly taken from the first act, partly from the fifth, with a delicate pen and ink drawing above, the whole being, as stated in the old endorsement, in the hand of Henry Peacham, the author and artist.

Under date July 8, 1596, is a spirited and detailed account by Lord Admiral Howard, of the descent on Cadiz, the taking or burning of the ships there, and the capture of the town.

The first document of James I.'s reign is a signed letter from the King himself, confirming Sir Henry Cockes in the place of Cofferer of the Household, which he had held under the late Queen. This is followed by a note of the later stages of the new King's journey to his capital.

In August, 1603, a short holograph note, written to Hicks, gives Cecil's opinion on the result of the investigation of the charges against Cobham, Ralegh and their companions. The popular view of Ralegh's religious opinions (although a very mistaken one) is probably expressed by the doggerel verses ascribed to him, printed on p. 52 of the Report.

A short holograph letter from Ralegh to Hicks, written in November, 1604, is followed by a longer and more important one, without address. A cancelled endorsement appears to suggest that it was written to Sir Robert Carr, but this is hardly possible. On the whole, Cecil seems best to fulfil the requirements, but some points in the letter militate against this theory. The next letter from Ralegh is that already alluded to, written to Sir Robert Carr upon the news that the favourite had obtained a grant of the Sherborne estate. It is given in full, as there are several verbal differences between this copy and that at the British Museum, from which it was printed by Edwards. There is one more letter of Ralegh's in the collection, printed by Strype.

A letter from Sir Robert Cecil, now become Lord Salisbury, to Prince Henry, written in December, 1608, after many complimentary expressions, states that he had sent his son, Lord Cranbourne, abroad, having " broken Moses' law, by which the " married couple should for the first year rejoice together."

On p. 57 of the Report is a letter from Queen Anne of Denmark to her husband, undated, as are most of her extant letters. Her statement that she had no maids of honour, and her suit about her Chamberlain, appear to point to the very beginning of the reign; but the internal evidence as to its date is conflicting.

In two letters to the Prince of Wales, widely differing in character, Sir Edward Vere gives the latest news from the Low Countries, and Dr. Donne, with many high-flown expressions, offers one of his books for his Highness' acceptance.

In the spring of 1611, Sir William Monson reports the capture of Lady Arabella Stuart and her ladies, on their way to France, and the absence of all news of her husband, Mr. Seymour, in the *Charles*; and a year later Prince Henry lays before his father his views concerning matrimonial negotiations with France and Spain, and the Marquis of Hamilton offers his thanks to the Prince for support of his claim to the Duchy of Chatelherault.

In this year, 1612, the Earl of Salisbury died; Michael Hicks ceased to be secretary, and it is impossible to say how the documents of the next three or four decades came into the Harley collection.

On p. 61 of the Report is a very curious advertisement of a "raffle," at which many rare and costly things were to be won by "chance at dice," and where ladies were promised a separate room, "and a banquet for such as venture money." The whole thing looks like a plan to evade the laws against gambling. One of the articles mentioned is a "china bedstead"; the word china at that time meaning not only porcelain, but what we now call lacquer-work.

There are several original letters from Sir Henry Wotton, but all have been printed in the *Reliquiæ*, excepting one to Lord Treasurer Suffolk, dated from Venice in 1618, describing the "horror and confusion" there on discovery of a conspiracy planned by the French.

On p. 63 is a letter from the Earl of Suffolk advocating the claims of the Old Merchant Adventurers' Company against its younger rival, and this is followed by a holograph note from the young Electress Palatine to her "only dear brother," Prince Charles, and two letters from her husband the Elector to King James, giving an account of his negotiations with the Princes of the Empire in connexion with the approaching election of the Emperor, for which high office the Duke of Bavaria, and Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, were the chief candidates.

There is one other letter from the Electress (under her later title of Queen of Bohemia) written on the death of the Earl of Southampton in 1624.

Bearing date "Midsummer Eve, 1618," is a gossiping letter of news. The Spanish complaints against Ralegh; rumours as to the "pretenders" for the vacant office of Secretary of State, in which the name of the successful candidate, Sir George Calvert, does not appear; the Star Chamber censure on a "minister of London" for Jewish opinions, the new creation of peers, and Buckingham's hospitalities to King and Prince are all touched upon in turn.

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Towards the end of 1621, the Duc de Rohan addressed an urgent appeal to King James on behalf of the French Huguenots, which forms a curious contrast to the two letters from the Marquis of Buckingham to his "dear dad and gossope," which immediately follow it. Both these letters are holograph, and signed "Your Majesties' most humble slave "and dog Steenie."

Only two documents in the collection bear upon the Spanish match—a letter written when it seemed almost a *fait accompli*, and a list of the very magnificent "guifts and presents" of Prince Charles at his departure out of Spain.

The documents of the time of the Long Parliament and Civil War are few and miscellaneous. They include two letters from Secretary Windebank to his eldest son, written after his flight to France; a letter from Sir Kenelm Digby to Sir Robert Harley, praying for release from constraint on account of his health; holograph notes—(1) from Prince Maurice on behalf of cretain merchants, and (2) from King Charles to one of his nephews, probably Maurice, as he was then in the West; and lastly, a letter from Lord Craven to Major.-Gen. Massey in relation to Massey's project of taking service under the States of Venice.

The above letters may, perhaps, have belonged to the original papers of the Harley family, but at this point we come to a series of papers which have found their way into the collection from quite a different source—viz., the correspondence and other papers of Col. Gervase Holles. Running parallel with them is another series, consisting of holograph letters from Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, to his wife, written immediately before and during his embassy to Spain (with Lord Cottington), in 1649-51. It might be surmised that these letters were sent by Lady Hyde to Col. Holles and never returned; but there are also later letters from Clarendon to his daughter-in-law, written during his exile; it is, perhaps, therefore, more likely that they were acquired by the Harleys in a different way. Hyde's letters, being mostly earlier in date than the Holles correspondence, may be taken first. He writes to his wife very affectionately, lamenting his absence, and looking eagerly forward to the time when they shall be together again. From France he wrote that, though he could not complain of the air, yet he was not at all taken with the delights of the country, and preferred "old England," for meat, drink, lodging, and even for wine. As the travellers approached Spain, the weather became stormy and cold. At St. Sebastian, which they reached at the end of October, they could get no fire, were laughed at "for asking for a chimney," and were compelled to "clap on" as many garments as they possibly could, to keep themselves warm. "This," exclaimed Sir Edward, "is your hot air of Spain." On their tedious journey to Madrid, they found the accommodation so bad, that as he

said, the little inn in his village of Picton at home was better than the best in that country. They reached the capital in time to see the "gallantry and glory" of the entertainments attending the Spanish Queen's entry there, and as the spring approached, the climate became much more to Hyde's liking, the weather in February being warmer than an English May.

In the autumn, Hyde had hoped that King Charles would go to Ireland, and quickly gain possession of the island, but after this project was abandoned he became much less sanguine about the future. Meanwhile, he thought it wiser and more honest for the King's followers to leave England, the "madness" there being such that he did not see how they could "sleep "quietly in that cursed air, or be long out of a gaol," except by straining their consciences.

At the end of February, 1651, Hyde was at last able to leave Madrid and set out for home. This time the journey was taken alone, for Lord Cottington liked the Spanish air so well that he had taken a house in Valladolid, and intended to live and die there. Cottington had spent much time in the country in earlier days, first as secretary to the English Embassy, and then as envoy, but he was not destined to enjoy the Spanish air much longer, as he died in 1652.

Hyde was detained some time on his way home by a severe attack of gout, but reached Antwerp at the beginning of June. His letters show the patience and brave endurance of hardships, characteristic of the King's chief followers as a whole in that sad time of exile. He occupied the tedious time in Madrid by collecting books and learning Spanish, and urged his wife to see that the children studied French, "the girl as well as the boys," so that they might have tongues enough amongst them.

There are many letters from Hyde to Col. Holles, in 1652-4 and in 1657-60; but these are chiefly in relation to Holles' own affairs, and especially his proposed journey to England.

Three letters, written after the Restoration, bring this fine series of Hyde's letters to an end. The first of these was addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, assuring him of his own affection, but warning him that the "world" was not being just to him in his absence abroad, and even hinting that it might be well if he were rather more prudent; the other two are graceful, affectionate notes to his "dear daughter," Lady Cornbury.

The Holles papers in this collection mostly consist of letters written to Col. Gervase Holles during the exile. Gervase Holles was the son of Freschville Holles, of Lincolnshire, a "cousin" of the Earl of Clare and Denzil, afterwards Lord Holles, and also of the young Earl of Strafford. Gervase Holles sat for Grimsby in the Long Parliament, but was disabled in 1642. He raised a foot regiment for the King, was present at many of the battles of the Civil War, and was taken

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prisoner at the siege of Colchester in 1648. He was not very severely treated, as is shown by a pass given to him by Fairfax in the November of that year, permitting him to go on parole to London and thence into Lincolnshire, he having engaged to render himself to the Marshal General within three months, and meanwhile not to act against the Parliament. Just at the end of the three months, the young Earl of Strafford sent Holles a friendly letter, urging him to go abroad if possible, and offering Mrs. Holles a home with his sisters, if her husband could not better dispose of her. He could not, at that time, obtain the desired permission, but later in the year he was allowed to go to Holland, where he remained until the Restoration.

One of his correspondents was Sir George Radcliffe, to whom he was probably drawn by their mutual interest in the young Earl of Strafford. In the early days of the Civil War, Radcliffe had been placed by Charles I. about the person of the Duke of York, and in 1649, Charles II. again gave him a position in the Duke's household, of which Lord Byron was the head.

Radcliffe's letters, written from Paris, give news from the French court, and narrate the doings, hopes and fears of the exiled cavaliers. There are also letters from the Duke of Ormond, Dr. George Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and Robert Boyle, the philosopher. But Colonel Holles' most regular correspondent was Thomas Ross, who was in Flanders in attendance upon, or at any rate in company with, a young member of the Stanley family, probably a son of the late Earl of Derby. Ross (who afterwards became librarian to Charles II.) was much respected and trusted by the King and his chief advisers, and he also kept up a correspondence with England, so that he was able to send a considerable amount of information to his friend Holles, at Rotterdam. In the May of 1658, after the collapse of the royalist design upon England, he wrote as follows:—

> "As to our friends in Engiand, their condition is deplorable and I feare much, that wee shall lose some very considerable either by banishment into forraine plantations or the scaffold. Where the fault of this damned failing lyeth, you may judge, when I am assured by Nic. Armorer—one of their prime agents—that since they have bin their, they had opportunities, that had the King bin there in his shirt only, his business could not have failed. Oh excellent management! who hereafter will rely on our promises!"

At the beginning of August he informed Holles of the results of the "consults" at Antwerp:—

> "I believe our journey to Germany will bee layed aside, for though our agent there intimates that all the electors approve of the King's appearing there, yet it is opposed by Pignaranda—the Spanish Embassador—whom wee dare not oppose, hee being a person whom wee are to hope much of the assistance—if any doe come—which the Spaniard will allow us. In the meane time, the Emperor, who was to

bee yesterday crowned at Franckford, hath written a very kinde letter to the King, and promiseth to doe all that lyeth in his power to serve him; but how farre that promise will reach time must shew. If either hee or Spaine doe us any good, I feare wee shall bee to seeke, how and where to put ourselves into action, our hopes in England depending (for all that I can heare) wholly upon the death of the tyrant, and the rest is from Ireland. What can bee said of that will scarce bee knowne, untill my Lord Muskerry and Sir George Hamilton (who are believed to bee now at Paris, returned from Spaine) come hither."

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A month later, his hopes of the "death of the tyrant" were fulfilled, and his next letters are written in a rather impatient vein, fearing that the more phlegmatic counsellors with the King may "lay a clog" on hopeful undertakings. Two or three times it was proposed to send Colonel Holles as an agent to England, but each time, difficulties came in the way, in the shape of either crushed hopes or lack of money.

In March, 1659, Ross gives an interesting account of an interview with one of the "grandees," probably Hyde.

In the following June, he reports that "the game is already "begun," Parliament in great distraction, the army unsatisfied. "They have voted old Cromwell a tyrant, caused his statue to "be demolished in Westminster, and sent Dick to grass in the "country."

It was hoped that the army would soon put the Parliament once more out by the ears, and royalist risings were beginning. A few weeks later came the joyful news that Sir George Booth was up at the head of six thousand men, and that many places in England, and all Wales, had declared for the King, but this was shortly followed by the sad tidings of the collapse of the rising. From England there came "lamentable complaints of "treachery and baseness," and it was said that "Booth rageth "most horribly, and vows the discovery of all those that "promised to join with him and most unworthily failed." After this follow notices of the journey of the King to the Pyrenees; the doings of Monck and his army, the proceedings in the restored Parliament, and the final happy preparations for the exiles' return to their native land.

After the Restoration, there are letters to Colonel Holles from his cousins, the young Earl of Strafford and his sister Lady Arabella Wentworth, and from others.

Also, letters to Sir Richard Fanshaw, then ambassador at Madrid, from Denzil, Lord Holles, and Sir Hugh Cholmley. But the most noteworthy contribution to Restoration literature is a series of letters from Henry Saville to his friend and boon companion, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. They are written in a very lively style, and contain much entertaining matter, but, as might be expected, the allusions in them are at times somewhat broad. The following extracts from a letter written in November, 1677, may serve as specimens of the whole. The Fanshawe who has "a daughter a Princess" was William Fanshawe, who married a daughter of Lucy Walters,

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and therefore a half-sister of the Duke of Monmouth. "Mrs. Nelly" is Nell Gwynne.

"If your Lordship was as ill as you told mee in your letter, either you are a greater philosopher in bearing of pain or a greater hypocrite in making it more then it is then we can ordinari y meet with in these parts. . . . I thought there could bee but one lame thing upon earth in perfect happiness, and that is Fanshaw for his having a daughter a Princesse, who yet remaines in paganisme for want of baptisme, which the fond father delayes to take some prudent resolution concerning the godfathers. Hee thinkes the King ought to bee kept for a sonn, and the Duke of Monmouth dos not yet owne the alliance enough to hold his neece att the font, and therefore I beleeve that honour will at last fall upon his Grace of Buckingham. Mrs. Nelly, who is his great friend and faithfull councellour, advised him not to lay out all his stock upon the christning but to reserve a little to buy him new shooes that hee might not dirty her roomes, and a new periwigg that she might not smell him stinke two storeys high when hee knocks att the outward door.

"Since the Prince of Orange has declared his love to matrimony that sacrament growes soe modish in the court that Mr. Roper has most happily consummated with Mrs. Walker. . . . Harry Killegrew has b.en a widdower these two dayes and laments his condition that fortune has made it possible for him to play the fool again, considering what use hee is wont to make of the power of committing errours, besides human frailty in general.

"My Lord Manchester has to the astonishment of all his acquaintance a new suit, but it is b'ack, and therefore fowly suspected it was left him by his sister Irwyn for mourning; else His Majesty concludes that ceremony had been performed in the auntient russett his Lordship use to weare upon the like occasions. . . . .

"It were worth your while to see how the old ladyes and the young beggerly bitches are sueing for places about the Princesse of Orange (who is to bee the next week . . . A daughter of Ned Villiers now in France and another of Sir Charles Wheeler's are to bee maydes of honour, and England afford ng noe more beautyes, I heare they have sent into Holland for two to be ready against the returne of the Prince thither which must bee before the end of this month.

"I obeyed your commands to His Majesty, who has heard with very great delight Paisible's new compositions, and was not lesse pleased att all the complements you bestowed upon him; but I would not have you think hee takes soe much pleasure in your good wishes as in your good company, which is soe necessary heer to dispel the clowdes of dullnesse the Dutchmen have made that you cannot bee thought otherwise then a traytour to King and country, and a most unmercifull monster to your acquaintance, if you come not quickly to towne though upon croutches."

A letter written in July, 1678, reminds us that this lively courtier was also no mean diplomatist; "for, there being an "affair of some difficulty to be performed in France," Saville was sent off at only a few hours' notice. He went again in the following year, and his last two letters are dated from Paris, where, he says, he has not yet "given in to the true and decent gravity of a minister," but hopes that he may mend. There are two other letters to Rochester, one from another member of the same set, Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, and one from a certain John Muddyman, giving an account of an escapade of Harry Saville's in connexion with the beautiful young widow, Lady Northumberland, to whom he was paying his addresses.

The collection also contains a short note (a contemporary copy) from Oliver Cromwell to Colonel Richard Norton, recommending Major-General Goffe; a copy of the "game of "picquet" in which the Protector and his Counsellors and Commanders are supposed to engage, differing in many respects from the versions printed in the Harleian Miscellany and elsewhere; letters from John Evelyn, Dr. John Tillotson (when Dean of Canterbury), and Sir William Dugdale, and several papers relating to Monmouth's Rebellion, the most noteworthy of which is a copy of his Declaration of June 21, 1685, from Taunton, upon taking the title of King; a document of which, as Roberts stated in his *Life of Monmouth*, no copy was known to exist. Marquess of Bath. Vol. II.

Under date June 22nd, 1686, is a long letter from Sir Winston Churchill to "Blue Mantle" at the Heralds' Office, giving a detailed account of his family pedigree. Belonging to the reign of William III., there is a short letter from John Locke to his so-called "sister," Ann Grigg; the holograph original of the Princess Anne's letter to the King on her sister's death, and letters from Sir Cloudesley Shovell, Dr. Atterbury, and Lord Coleraine. These are followed by letters, dated during Queen Anne's reign, from Sir John Shadwell, and Thomas Hearne, and a very curious account of a great fête given in Rome by John Talman, the architect.

There are two letters (written in 1716 and 1722) from the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, to the Duchess of Marlborough, four interesting letters on the subject of the purchase of the Harleian MSS. for the nation; several letters from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Henrietta, the widowed Countess of Oxford, and finally, two short holograph notes to the Dowager Duchess of Portland, one written in 1772, from the Princess Amelia, and the other, undated, from David Garrick.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN.

The Manuscripts at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, passed with that property to the Lothian family through the marriage of Lord Ancram (afterwards sixth Marquess), with Lady Henrietta Hobart, daughter of John, second Earl of Buckinghamshire. Marquess of Lothian: Blickling Hall MSS.

These on examination were arranged under the three following heads:—

1. Ancient deeds and documents.

2. Hobart papers, documents belonging to the period commencing with the first connexion of the Hobart family with the property.

3. Buckinghamshire papers, belonging to the time of John Hobart, second Earl of Buckinghamshire.

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The last section comprises part of a large collection of diplomatic correspondence and memoranda collected and endorsed by Lord Buckinghamshire himself, which was discovered by Constance Marchioness of Lothian in a cabinet, enclosed in antique cardboard boxes of foreign make, in which they had probably rested undisturbed for just over a century. An instalment of these papers was published by the Royal Historical Society in 1900 and 1902 (3rd series, vols. 2 and 3), together with the text of the official despatches from St. Petersburg, noticed, but not set out, in Your Majesty's Commissioners' first report.

The first two sections of the present Report contain gleanings from the muniment room, among the earlier muniments, of charters and rolls belonging to the foundations of Langley and Horsham St. Faith, two religious houses founded by the family of Fitz Robert (Cheyney), the first lay tenants of Blickling after the Conquest. This family held their manor in Blickling by grant or exchange from the Bishop of Norwich, whose predecessors had received it from the Conqueror in succession to Harold.

The St. Faith's documents comprise court rolls going back to 49 Hen. III., and a number of charters of endowment; and the coincidence by which the muniments reverted, after the dissolution of the monasteries, to the home of their origin, if fortuitous, is remarkable. By a like coincidence, a charter of Bishop Eborard is among the documents, the Bishop who is recorded as having attempted in the beginning of the 12th century to recover the Cheyneys' manor to the see, on the ground of some condition in the grant. It was the destiny, however, of the two divisions of the manor into which the grant of John Fitz-Robert had divided it, to become at last reunited in the hands of the lay holder, and the site of the Dagworth Manor House (where Blickling Hall now stands) superseded that of the older structure (occupied by Harold) of which the traces are still discernible on the river's edge, north of the Park.

The records of Hevingham, once a favourite lodge of the Bishops of Norwich, supply a specimen of a manorial extent which exemplifies the great multiplicity of ownership which widely obtained from earliest times and the extremely artificial character of the subinfeudation.

Social life is illustrated by the covenant (of cosenage) of Humphrey Bourgchier, and the letter of William Trussel on the education of a ward. The letter appears to be a 15th century copy. The Trussels were connected with Weybourne, where the De Veres too left their name.

Of wider and more national significance may be noticed, *e.g.*, the original (duplicate) in good preservation of the roll of the aid for the county of Norfolk made on the occasion of the Knighthood of the Black Prince; the names of well-known members of the royal party of Henry III. in a few charters; that of

Joan Countess of Hertford (daughter of Edward I.), whose title is handed down into Richard the Second's time in connexion with Saxthorpe; and (in the case of the Blickling records) a trace here and there of the distinguished statesmen and warriors who found here relaxation from the toils of peace and war. Blickling seems early to have been a favourite place for sport, and it is appropriate to find John Engaine in 1307 promulgating for Blickling the very scientifically drawn custumary which appears here. Poaching was rife in the 14th century, and later Sir John Fastolf's bailiff seems to have had before his eyes the possible complaints of over-preservation of game from the "hommages of lordschepes." Marquess of Lothian: Blickling Hall MSS.

Devolving always among collaterals and following several ramifications of the Cheyney family, the manor fell to several distinguished owners. Margaret Cheyney, Aileen le Mareshal, Dagworth (who commanded in Aquitaine and suffered imprisonment at the hands of the Barons), Holveston, Sir Thomas Erpingham, of Agincourt and Shakspearian fame, Sir John Fastolf, the Boleyns, and Sir Edward Clere, are among the noble owners whose names appear in these charters, but in none of the documents prior to the sale by Clere to the Hobarts can the personal share of the house in public life be definitely traced. Sir Henry Hobart, Knight and Baronet, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, temp. James I. bought the Blickling estates from Sir Edward Clere, the representative of the Boleyns in the female line, and on the site of the Dagworth Manor-house built the mansion which remains so impressive and beautiful an example of the architecture of his time. Sir Henry's handwriting in several holograph leases attests the diligence and accuracy with which his private affairs were conducted. His son Sir John, who married, first, Philippa, daughter of Sir Robert Sydney, dying without an heir male, left as his widow a second wife, Lady Frances. This lady, who was the daughter of the Earl of Bridgewater and sister of Lady Alice Egerton (the lady of Milton's *Comus*), lived to an old age in Chapel Field House in Norwich, for many years the local town house of the Hobarts.

A note of Lady Frances to General Lambert, and his reply to it, show that the family was not without influence with the leaders of the Civil War; for though one or two cadets of the family were found in the ranks of the Royalists, its main influence was steadily on the Parliamentary side throughout the crisis, while the estates and title passed to Sir John, son of Miles Hobart and nephew of his predecessor.

The Estreat of Subsidies for the year 1663 gives a list of landowners in five hundreds; the name of "Philip Skippon, Esq., "*ultra mare*," whose house is still conspicuous at Foulsham, illustrates the vicissitudes of political influence.

A volume of Lieutenancy Journals, fortunately preserved (of which a few extracts only are given) affords a valuable contribution to the county history of the later years of Charles II.

Marquess of Lothian : Blickling Hall MSS.

and the Revolution, and supplements the scanty entries in the house-books and other casual memoranda in affording glimpses of the party jealousies which the stress of civil strife had exacerbated, and His Majesty's presence in the county soon after the Restoration had evidently not permanently allayed. The list of lieutenants and officers of militia given on pp. 125-7 stands as it appeared after being reformed and expurgated in the interests of the Court by Robert Paston, Lord Yarmouth, who replaced Lord Townshend on his removal from that office in 1675. It is significant that none of the three first signatories of the manifesto for reducing the expenses of the High Sheriff are included in the new commissions as deputy lieutenants or in the militia, and this perhaps makes it probable that what appears to be a harmless sumptuary agreement for reducing extravagance was represented at Court as having a disloyal intention.

The entry referring to the trial at the Bar of the House of Commons and another mentioning Verdon by name, are almost the only memorials of two contested elections fought with much determination by Sir John Hobart for the county representation in 1678-9, which were both the subject of petition. The first of these figures more largely in Mr. Ketton's Felbrigg papers.

The tide of Protestant and Parliamentary reaction on which Titus Oates was being floated to the surface was not yet flowing so turbulently as to discourage the Court party from making a bold bid for power at the general election in January, 1678-9, and Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Sir Neville Catelyn enjoyed a short-lived triumph in being returned as Knights of the shire, though Sir John after the "trial at bar" on his petition was successful in replacing Sir Christopher Calthorpe, unseated. But the contest was persistent and severe. When Sir John's petition came on for hearing, the excitement of the Popish Plot was rising high, and he records how he was vexatiously shut into the house on one occasion, and detained during the arrest and examination of a suspect parliamentary lawyer, one Reading.

Sir John obtained the seat at the next election, and again with his son Henry sat in the Oxford Parliament in 1681. The Ryehouse Plot in 1683 marked the decadence of the Protestant and popular party, and the turn of the wheel found Sir John obnoxious to the ascendant faction. In execution of an Order in Council addressed to the Earl of Arundel, who had succeeded Lord Yarmouth in the Lord Lieutenancy, his house was searched in July of the latter year. The list of arms found at Blickling, given at p. 130, is the result of this search. Mr. Scambler, at Wolterton, Hamond Claxton, at Aylsham, Henry Marsham, at Stratton Strayless, and Thomas Newman, at Baconsthorpe, were at the same time subjected to a like ordeal. Dr. John Collinges, the biographer of Lady Frances and the Presbyterian chaplain of the Hobarts at Chapel Field, was arrested as a nonjuring suspect in 1685. A few years later it

Marquess of Lothian: Blickling Hall MSS.

was the turn of the Papists, and later, of the Nonjurors proper, to experience these reciprocal visitations. Christopher Layer, of Booton, who was marked for search in 1696, is uncle and namesake of the notorious conspirator who suffered at Tyburn in 1723. But as is shewn in the Lieutenancy Journals, these neighbourly inquisitions were rewarded on each succeeding occasion with less satisfying results. The seizures even at the period of the "horrid designe" of the Rye House in 1683 were of less value than variety. A back, breast and head piece of a horse" are found at Colney, "three Ollivérian swords" at Warham. In 1696, Sir Christopher Calthorpe yields only "9 old carbines, 4 old musketts, one brass blunderbuss, 3 old pistols, 3 old swords." The four black coach horses seized by Sir Frances Guybon from Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, "one mealy faced and one with a white starr," are discharged by the Deputy Lieutenants in conclave, who certify that none of them is worth 5*l*., "they being old and lame, and some of them blind." The lowest point is reached in 1707 with the seizure of "one musquet and a belt of bando-"liers" from Mr. Lake at Sparham.

Sir Henry Hobart on his succession in 1683 found the estates largely encumbered, and had further to reduce them by sale to meet the demands made by creditors. Taking an active part in the politics of the time and on the constitutional side, he appears to have presided over the counsels of the county in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant and to have favoured a policy more comprehensive than that of his superior.

It is no doubt to the appointment of his son, the first Earl of Buckinghamshire, to the Lord Lieutenancy, that is due the preservation of the Lieutenancy Journals of this period, which give a vivid illustration of the Revolutionary crisis of 1688-9. The militia force of the county is shewn to be in a high state of organisation, and the action of the Protestant Duke of Norfolk, cool-headed and constitutional. "Bel "homme à cheval," as Evelyn calls the latter, it is evident that his personality counted for something in the period of transition.

In 1690 Sir Henry Hobart served on King William's staff at the battle of the Boyne, but on his return the embarrassed state of the country was not such as to afford any relief to his encumbered finances, and in a quarrel which is asserted to have had some connexion with his contested election for the county, he met with the wound from a left-handed antagonist that proved fatal.

The long minority and succession of his son added little of public interest to the archives, and in the papers of his grandson begin what are practically modern politics.

The diplomatic papers collected by John, second Earl of Buckinghamshire in the course of his long life (1723-1793), relate for the most part: 1st, to the period of his Embassy to St. Petersburg (September 1762 to January 1765); 2nd, to

Marquess of Lothian: Blickling Hall MSS.

the American Colonies; 3rd, to his momentous Viceroyalty of Ireland. Among the private letters are eight bundles addressed to Sir Thomas Drury, of which Lord Buckinghamshire became possessed through his first wife, Mary Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Drury. The chief public interest of these consists in the record which they contain of the feeling with which men in the more distant parts of the country viewed the invasion of '45, and of the fluctuations of the money market at the time.

The letters addressed by Lord Buckinghamshire to Henrietta Countess of Suffolk, the Lady Suffolk of Pope, Swift, and Walpole, are those of a son to an indulgent mother, for such she had been to him and his only sister since the death of their mother in 1726. They serve to complement and illustrate Lady Suffolk's letters to him in reply, which have been published in Croker's edition of her correspondence, while the curious narrative of her interview with Queen Caroline on retiring from office at Court in 1734, goes far to support the belief of her friends, to which Horace Walpole refers while he dissents from it, that Lady Suffolk's "connection with the "King was confined to pure friendship." The cryptic allusion to "Lord B." is probably to be explained by a passage in a contemporary letter from Lady Elizabeth Compton (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Report* XI., App. 4, *p.* 242) in which she mentions a rumour that Lady Suffolk had been too often seen in the company of Lord Bolingbroke at Bath, and that her retirement was the result of consequent suspicions cast upon her loyalty to the House of Hanover.

The Russian papers make a considerable contribution to the chronicles of British trade with Russia, both before and after the first formal treaty of commerce concluded by Lord Forbes in 1734, and there is also a long series of documents relating to the disputed succession to the Duchy of Courland.

Lord Buckinghamshire's embassy to Russia was attended by no political success. He was, however, upon his return to England, offered the Embassy to Madrid, which he refused, and he held no other public office until he became Viceroy of Ireland in January, 1777.

When he accepted the ardous task which Lord Harcourt had not reluctantly dropped, he encountered a combination of difficulties, which, having increased under Lord Harcourt's administration, offered at the close of that nobleman's tenure of office a prospect which he felt scarcely able to encounter.

During four years, however, of a period the most critical in English history, Lord Buckinghamshire contrived to maintain in some fashion the *status quo*. His partial success seems attributable to personal qualities of tact and temper, which, combined with a sincere zeal for the welfare of the Irish people, created, in the opinion of Grattan, "a passion in his "favour approaching to love."

On the question of Free Trade, a memorandum of Sackville

Hamilton is worth notice. A number of such monographs was collected specially by Lord Buckinghamshire for the instruction of Government. These able and eloquent dissertations justified the economic reform which was precipitated by the growing danger of the trade with France, then inflated by the existing embargo on the export of provisions and other economical restrictions. Marquess of Lothian: Blickling Hall MSS.

With the termination of his Viceroyalty, Lord Buckinghamshire's public life came to an end.

Sir Henry Clinton's letters to Lord Buckinghamshire, written at and about the date of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, may interest students of the polemics of this episode, though they cannot be said to throw much additional light on an unfruitful controversy. The rude original prints of the manifesto of the Pennsylvanian line are tacitly eloquent of a crisis that seems so nearly to have wiped out the army of the revolted colonies.

THE EARL OF VERULAM.

The manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam, preserved at Gorhambury, consist for the most part of correspondence belonging to the latter half of the seventeenth century and to the eighteenth; there is extremely little relating either to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or to his more famous son, Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans. Earl of Verulam.

Gorhambury itself formed part of the possessions of St. Albans Abbey, and a hitherto unknown charter granted to the Abbey by Henry II. is printed in extenso on page 1 of this Report; Archbishop Beket witnesses the charter as Chancellor. After the dissolution, Gorhambury was granted to Sir Ralph Rowlatt, of whom it was acquired by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1555. It is probable that at least a considerable portion of the house (now a ruin) in Gorhambury Park, was erected after the acquisition of the property by Sir Nicholas. Sir Francis, as is well known, was dissatisfied with the means of obtaining a supply of water for the house, and erected, some distance to the north-east, and on the road from St. Albans to Dunstable, a residence which became known as Verulam House, or the Pondyards. He died there in 1626.

After his death, the Gorhambury estate passed to his great niece, the wife of Sir Harbottle Grimston, Speaker of the House of Commons and Master of the Rolls. He appears to have resumed residence at Gorhambury itself and to have bestowed Verulam House upon his son George, who died issueless in 1655, after marrying Sarah, a daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Alston; she enjoyed possession of it for life.

Earl of Verulam.

Several letters from her, written to her father-in-law during the year following that in which she was left a widow, occur in the collection and refer to the house.

The old mansion at Gorhambury remained the seat of the family for over a hundred years. A few interesting references to alterations there, more particularly in the chapel, occur in the Calendar under the date 1672.

Sir Harbottle died in 1683, and an account of the charges for his funeral occur on p. 87. He was succeeded by his younger son, Sir Samuel Grimston, who died in 1700, and whose funeral cost 106*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Many of the items in the account of the funeral charges are of interest and illustrate the pomp and grandeur with which the ceremony was conducted.

On Sir Samuel's death, the property passed to his great nephew, William Luckyn, who assumed the name of Grimston, and who, in 1719, was created Viscount Grimston in the Kingdom of Ireland.

The present Gorhambury House was commenced in 1777, by the third Viscount. Under date 20th October, 1784, Viscount Grimston records:—"Took possession of our new "house at Gorhambury on this day, after having been "employed in building it seven years the second of last month."

Belonging to the Grimston family are some early documents connected with an embassy to the King of France and the Duchess of Burgundy, on which Edward Grimston was sent in 1449, and for the conduct of which his integrity seems to have been called in question. His third wife was Philip, widow of Thomas, Lord Ross, by whose attainder she was "put "from her dower and joyntoure." Edward Grimston and his wife thereupon petitioned the Crown for relief.

Sir Edward Grimston, a descendant, was at the time of the loss of Calais, Controller of the town and its marches, and was carried prisoner, first to the French camp at Sandgate, then back to Calais, then to Boulogne and Hardelot, Abbeville, Beauvais, St. Denys, and so to Paris, where he was incarcerated in the Bastille. The account of his confinement there, and of his escape, is full of incident.

Following this narrative there come in chronological sequence certain papers connected with St. Albans election, trade with Italy, the Company of Merchant Adventurers, Baronets, Coke's Reports, the Spanish Match, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, the proceedings against the Five Members and the farming of the Customs; these papers are probably connected with the Bacon family.

The majority of other documents here calendared evidently found their way to Gorhambury through the Grimstons. Amongst them may be noted a series of projects put forward,

in 1632, for the relief of the poor in Colchester and in regard to the licensing question. Earl of Verulam.

Sir Harbottle Grimston's position as Master of the Rolls accounts for the presence at Gorhambury of several documents connected with the Court of Chancery, its officials, and their transaction of its business. As Master of the Rolls, he was keeper of the Records of Chancery, and on the 9th of September, 1661, the famous William Prynne addressed to him, from Lincoln's Inn, a graphic account of his own exertions in saving the national archives from destruction. The keeping of the records of Chancery was evidently none too good and there is, amongst Sir Harbottle Grimston's papers, an undated and anonymous proposal for their better preservation. To remedy all this the proposer offered to build a Record Office over the Master of the Rolls' coach-house, and to fasten the records up in vellum-wrapped bundles, place them in presses, and index them.

But Sir Harbottle Grimston was evidently not only mindful of the safe keeping of our national archives, he also extended a helping hand to historians who sought to make the contents of those documents available to the public. John Rushworth, the laborious compiler of the "Historical Collections," writes to Sir Harbottle on the 7th of May, 1681, and acknowledges the encouragement and financial assistance he has received from him by the hands of Dr. Burnet. In this letter, Rushworth enters into many interesting particulars as to the compilation of his work and his intentions in regard to it.

That the Master of the Rolls enjoyed the warm friendship and regard of his immediate legal chief, is abundantly clear from the letters which passed between Lord Chancellor Clarendon and himself in the year 1666, when the loyalty and integrity of the latter were called in question by Lord Fanshaw, a neighbouring Hertfordshire land-owner, and evidently irascible supporter of the restored monarch. Fanshaw had committed, as dangerous and disaffected persons, Sir John Wittewronge, of Rothamstead, and Israel Mayo, of Bayford, and Sir Harbottle brought the matter to the Chancellor's notice, receiving in reply the assurance that Clarendon was "exceedingly afflicted" at Fanshaw's "unwarrantable folly."

Sir John Wittewronge's justification of his conduct is printed in full, and possesses a special interest from the passage in which he deals with the charge brought against him by Fanshaw that he had enriched himself with the property of Charles I., after the outbreak of the Civil War, and that his house contained these treasures on Charles II.'s restoration.

Apart from the interest which Clarendon's letters possess as illustrating his sentiments with regard to Fanshaw's charges, they have also an interest from the references which occur in several to the Great Plague, and the paralysing effect which that "miserable contagion" had upon all public business.

Earl of Verulam.

Belonging to the early part of the eighteenth century, there are several documents at Gorhambury which relate to election matters at St. Albans, and these include some characteristic letters from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, whose interest in the conduct of Parliamentary contests is well known.

There is not much correspondence belonging to the time of the second Viscount Grimston, who enjoyed the title from 1756 to 1773, but a considerable amount of that of the time of the third, who, in 1790, was created a peer of England as Baron Verulam, and who was subsequently, in 1809, advanced to the earldom of Verulam.

This correspondence includes letters on various matters, political and social, amongst them the Corn Laws, the state of agriculture, and the working of the Game Laws. As illustrative of the history of Hertfordshire it is also valuable, and especially that part of it lying in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Albans. Certain letters, too, written to Lady Grimston from America, during the Civil War, will be read with interest.

Many of the items in the accounts printed in this report, which are mostly of the receipts and expenditure of Sir Harbottle Grimston and of his son Sir Samuel, throw an interesting side light on domestic manners and customs.

The majority of the items appear to relate to expenditure at Gorhambury, though certain of them clearly refer to Sir Harbottle's expenses at the Rolls House. The later accounts—those after 1774—contain sundry items of expenditure on the decoration of Gorhambury House, Lord Grimston s subscription to Almack's and various Clubs, the purchase of pictures at Christie's, the purchase of books and musical instruments, opera tickets (42*l.*), the purchase of Wedgewood-ware, and other items of interest.

At the end of the Calendar are printed three diaries. The first, "Three weeks' observations of the Low Countreys, especi- "ally Holland," shows the observer, Sir Harbottle Grimston, then a young man, to have been possessed of very keen powers of observation and of an exceedingly "racy" literary style. "A northern tour" taken in 1768, most probably by the third Viscount, is valuable from the details he gives of various houses and their artistic contents—such as Chatsworth, Welbeck, Clumber, Castle Howard, Studley Royal, and Wentworth Castle—and also from the description the writer supplies of the country through which he passed.

The description of Wales itself furnishes a very vivid picture of the social state of the country, and the writer thus concludes an exceedingly amusing description of a play acted at Carmarthen: "In short, from what we then saw, we easily conjectured "that the peace and regularity of Carmarthen was but at low "ebb, especially as an alderman seemed to be well pleased "with the proceedings, and the ladies looked on without any "alarm"

THE EARL OF ANCASTER.

Earl of Ancaster.

The collection in the possession of the Earl of Ancaster affords little material for the family history earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, the great bulk of the papers consisting of the correspondence of Peregrine, "the stout Lord Willoughby" of the Low Countries, son of Richard Bertie and of the Duchess of Suffolk. This correspondence includes original letters from the Queen, Lord Burghley, the Earls of Leicester, Essex, Derby, Sussex, and Shrewsbury, Lords Howard of Effingham, Cobham and Audley, Sir Philip Sydney, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Edward Stafford, Sir Francis Vere and Capt. Martin Frobisher; Henry IV. of France, the Prince of Parma, Count Maurice of Nassau, Count William Louis of Nassau, Counts Hohenlo and Neuwenar, the widowed Princess of Orange, the Spanish commanders Champagny, d'Assonnavile and Mondragon, Maréchal de Biron, the Vicomte de Turenne and M. Beauvoir la Nocle, French ambassador in England. Many of these are holograph. After the death of Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, in 1601, the number of the papers diminishes very much; but those of his son, Robert, first Earl of Lindsey, include originals from Charles I., Sir R. Cecil, Lord Admiral Nottingham, the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, and Sir Edward Vere; and those of Montagu, the second Earl, a holograph of Charles I. and a signed letter of Sir T. Fairfax. Of the 18th century, are signed letters of William Pitt, the elder, and the Duke of Newcastle, and holographs from Elizabeth, daughter of George III., and her brother, George, Prince of Wales; also receipts by Sir Joshua Reynolds. If to these we add various signed letters from the Privy Council, it will be seen that the collection includes a very large and valuable series of historic autographs.

Some slight traces of the storm which brought down the monasteries are found in the shape of ancient books and deeds belonging to the Abbeys of Kirkstead, Vaudey and Newhouse, which were granted to the Duke of Suffolk after their dissolution; and one or two allusions to the young Duke Henry and his brother Charles remind us of the great tragedy of the Duchess's life, the loss of both her boys in one day by fever, in 1551; but there are no records of, and only slight allusions to, the exile and wanderings of Richard Bertie and his wife, when, driven out of England in Queen Mary's time, they took refuge in the Low Countries and the Palatinate, and were finally granted the government of Crosun by the King of Poland.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Bertie and the Duchess returned to England with their two children, Susan and Peregrine, the latter of whom was born during their wanderings. They settled down at Grimsthorpe, and lived there in considerable state, as is shown by the list of their

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household on p. 459, contained in a very interesting volume of accounts for 1660-1662, whose pages give us many glimpses of their family life.

Passing by several letters in relation to local politics in Lincolnshire, we come, in 1582, to the death of Richard Bertie, and the first public employment of Lord Willoughby—viz., his embassy to Denmark, to invest the King with the Order of the Garter. The "Relation" of this embassy, in his own hand, is at the British Museum. In 1585 he went a second time to Denmark. His "Relation" of this visit is amongst his papers, but has not been calendared at length, as there is another copy amongst the State Papers at the Public Record Office. He took his leave of the Danish King about the New Year following and, after many perils, reached the Low Countries (where the Earl of Leicester had lately been made Lieutenant-General), and was appointed Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom. There are two or three interesting letters addressed to him about this time, from John Stubbe and Sir Drue Drury.

John Stubbe, a Norfolk gentleman of strongly puritan views, had incurred the Queen's anger by a violent protest against her proposed marriage with the Duke of Anjou. In 1579 he and his publisher were found guilty of disseminating seditious writings, and had their right hands struck off. He was kept a prisoner for many months, but set at liberty in 1581. From this time he always added *scæva* to his signature. He was very intimate with the Bertie family, and his letters are written from Lord Willoughby's house in Barbican.

Sir Drue Drury was also a very strong puritan; a zealous supporter of the extreme Calvinists in Germany as against the "profession of Luther." As keeper of Mary Queen of Scots, he had disappointed her would-be murderers by refusing to further their design, but he entirely approved of her execution.

From the time of Lord Willoughby's arrival in the Low Countries until his final departure, in 1589, the great body of his papers concerns the conduct of affairs in the Netherlands. The papers in this collection cannot vie in interest with those amongst the State Papers at the Public Record Office, where are preserved his long and interesting dispatches to England; but by furnishing details of military affairs, local politics, and especially of the perpetual discord and disorders with which governors and commanders had to cope, they form a valuable supplement to the documents in official keeping.

There is but one letter in the volume from Sir Philip Sydney, a short note written in July, 1586, summoning certain of the troops to a rendezvous on the Scheldt, before Flushing, in preparation for the expedition to Axel, planned by Count Maurice, and warmly seconded by Sydney and Lord Willoughby.

On October 2nd, Sydney was mortally wounded at the battle of Zutphen, where Willoughby fought with incredible valour, and unhorsed and captured George Cressia, General of the Albanian Cavalry. A letter from him will be found on p. 37.

During the winter, Lord Willoughby went over to England, and from London he wrote to the French ambassador in Denmark, describing—in the tone usual at court in regard to this matter—the deep sorrow of Elizabeth upon the death of the Queen of Scots. Earl of Ancaster.

Leicester was also in England, willing to return to his duties, but crippled by want of money, which the Queen resolutely refused to give him. Her Majesty had received and roundly abused the envoys from the States; the States had as roundly abused Leicester, and the Queen was seriously intending to enter into negotiations with Spain.

At this time the attitude of the States General to Leicester had completely changed, and their enthusiasm had given place to a determination to check his power, and assert their own authority. They had now formally placed the young Prince Maurice at the head of their government, and it was absolutely necessary, they declared, that he should be made Captain-General in Leicester's absence. They appointed him, therefore, and, although on the very same day they received notice of the Earl's approaching return, they decided that Maurice's election should hold good.

In the summer of 1587 Parma besieged Sluys. The commandant there was Arnold van Groenvelt, and with him was Captain Charles Heraugiere, two names often met with in these papers. Again and again the little garrison applied for help, but Leicester felt himself "constrained" to remain at Flushing. On July 6th-16th, however, he gave a commission to the Marshal, Sir William Pelham, to command a force thither in his place. With Pelham went Lord Willoughby, but wind and weather were so contrary that they found it impossible to land, and were forced to return. A little later Leicester himself carried some troops to Blanckenburg, but retreated at the first approach of the enemy, and at the beginning of August (new style) the brave garrison was obliged to capitulate. Perhaps the English General was not so much to blame as would appear. Three interesting drafts by Lord Willoughby (found too late to calendar in their proper place) are printed in the Appendix, and all of them tend to defend Lord Leicester's proceedings.

In the middle of September, 1587, Willoughby led a night enterprise against the Castle of Wauw, surrendered to the Spaniards, but the party being discovered, had to retire. Some of the horsemen, who had advanced towards the Spanish camp, ran into the arms of a force of the enemy, and out of the seventeen only two escaped capture.

When Willoughby sent to ransom the prisoners, his trumpet brought back, from the Marquis del Guasto, a challenge, quite after mediæval fashion, "to fight, from two hundred lances to thirty." The garrison was all eagerness to accept, their commander (who was to oppose the Marquis) not the least so, and he wrote off in hot haste to his chief for permission. Further

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proceedings in the matter may be found in the State Papers of this date.

A difficulty now arose with the Earl of Leicester, who thought that Willoughby had been giving himself too high titles, and so derogating from his own supreme authority. Willoughby, in reply, simply said that the document to which exception was taken was written neither by himself nor by his secretaries, and that, in what he did write, he used no title at all, much less any to prejudice his Excellency's. But, he said, it was absolutely necessary that he should write as one having authority.

Just at this time, however, Leicester returned—finally, as it proved—to England, and the next letter in the collection is one of congratulation to Willoughby upon his appointment as general of the forces in the Earl's stead. Lord Willoughby's commission gave him entire control over the English forces, but no authority in the country, still less such powers as had been bestowed on Leicester by the States themselves. The new general entered on his duties very reluctantly, and only after proposing to the Lord Treasurer three or four other men whom he considered more suitable than himself.

In the spring of 1588, the old Council of State had lapsed, and Willoughby did his utmost to help on the establishment of a new one. By the treaty of 1585 it was settled that two members of the Council should be English, and this was the only means by which the English General could now exert any influence upon the States' government, and—what was especially important—on decisions affecting the war.

The new Council met in May 1588, and, after some demur as to their powers and authority, began their duties.

One of the most important features of this collection is the picture it presents of the internal dissensions in the Netherlands at this time. The whole country was in a state of disturbance. Throughout the spring and summer of 1588 Lord Willoughby went from one place to another, trying to smooth differences and bring people to reason, but, although personally he was popular, the causes of dispute were too deeply seated for him to be able to remove them, especially with limited authority and no money at all at his command.

With Count Maurice, Willoughby kept up very friendly relations until quite the end of his stay in the Low Countries. They worked together zealously for the re-establishment of order at Medenblicq, then in a state of revolt against the States' government, and Maurice's letters (of which there are many in this collection) show his appreciation of the English general's assistance. Both generals were eager to be free to go against the enemy, now threatening Zeeland; they and Col. Soney, at Medenblicq, came to an agreement, and the incident ended with a proclamation by Count Maurice for the settlement of all disputes, and an order for the punishment of soldiers who had spoken ill of the Queen of England.

Naerden next engaged Willoughby's attention. He at once informed both magistrates and soldiers of the happy issue at Medenblicq, urging upon the garrison to submit to and obey those in authority in the town. The unruliness, however, continued, and it is a significant fact—both as to Willoughby's influence and the use which he made of it—that the States' officers, Muster-Master Fievet and Colonel Van Dorp, appealed confidently to him for help. Willoughby negotiated with Maurice and the States, and succeeded in getting somewhat better terms for the officers of the garrison, which he sent to them with an urgent appeal that they should maintain discipline amongst their men, and continue on good terms with the citizens. Earl of Ancaster.

The scene now shifts to Geertrudenberg. Here the great cause of complaint was want of pay. The garrison having declined to treat either with Maurice or the States, Willoughby was urged to go, first promising the States-General that he would offer no better terms than had been given to Medenblicq, and that he would agree to nothing which would separate Geertrudenberg from the government of Holland. He went on his mission in May, 1588, "but having no money nor authority to procure it," and affairs in Zeeland calling for his presence, he was obliged to leave again, promising the garrison that within a month their demands should be considered. Having "taken order" for the affairs of Camphere and Arnemuyden, he resumed negotiations with Geertrudenberg at the end of June. It was decided at the Hague that the disturbance should be settled by money—*i.e.* that they should try to satisfy the soldiers' reasonable demands for their arrears. The Count and the English General worked heartily together, and when affairs seemed to be adjusting themselves, Maurice, now back at the Hague, wrote Willoughby a grateful letter, thanking him warmly for all his care and toil. At the same time a vote of thanks was passed to him by the States of Holland.

But matters were not yet ended at Geertrudenberg. It was soon evident that the sum agreed upon would not be enough to satisfy the garrison, and until the garrison was satisfied, no order could be restored. Meanwhile, the enemy was at the gates of Ostend, and the service of her Majesty demanded Willoughby's departure. Finally, by means of Count Maurice's efforts and the zeal of the magistrates of Dordrecht, the needful money was procured, and Willoughby was free to set out for Zeeland.

While the parties in the Netherlands were disputing amongst themselves, the preparations in Spain went steadily on. There are not many notices of the great Armada in this report, nothing beyond a paper of intelligence, some examinations of ships' masters, and a few allusions in letters; also two intercepted letters, giving the Spanish point of view, rejoicing that their fleet, "terrible et esmerveillable," was on its way, and confidently hoping for God's aid in their fight for his glory and their own liberties.

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There are some papers relating to French affairs during the summer of 1588, including an account, rather confused as to dates, of the "jour des barricades" and of what followed it; and a narrative by Lord Henry Seymour of the visit of his fleet to Boulogne. There are also one or two reports from Scotland, as that both the King of Spain and Parma had offered the young King money and men "to revenge his mother's death," and large presents if he would suffer them to land forces in his country, but that he had refused to give ear to them; and an account of the pious and comfortable words given by the King to the people of Edinburgh on his return to the city in the month of May.

As regards the Netherlands, the main interest of the collection during the later half of 1588 centres upon Bergen-op-Zoom. When Willoughby was made Colonel-General, the government of Bergen was bestowed on Sir William Reade, but, in April, 1588, Willoughby appointed Sir William Drury to the post, and gave Reade permission to go home. The Queen was very angry, and at once sent orders that Reade was to be reinstated, and that Willoughby was not to dispose of the government of towns without her privity. She would hear no excuses, declared roundly that in her father's time such an offence would have been severely punished, and by a postscript in her own hand ordered her general to "leave to be unadvised in rash actions." Reade evidently did not wish to return, and the Queen appointed Sir Thomas Morgan.

The cloud which had so long hung over Bergen now daily threatened to burst. The enemy's forces were fast gathering in Brabant, and Parma was already at Brussels. Yet the town was still "utterly unprovided," and urgent appeals for help were sent to the States-General, the Council of State, and the Estates of Holland and Zeeland. But the States-General were not then sitting, and, though the Council made ample promises, they "continued in their wonted longness." Lord Willoughby wrote to ask the Queen's pleasure how he should act at this juncture, his own desire being to go personally to Bergen.

On September 10th the enemy sat down before the town, and a few days later Willoughby arrived there.

During the siege a journal was kept, and a copy of the first part (September 14th-20th) was sent to Burghley, and is amongst the State Papers, but in this collection we have the whole journal, up to the end of October, lacking only a page or two at the end, when the enemy had practically ceased operations. From it we can follow the proceedings of the beleaguered garrison from day to day; the measures taken for defence; the sallies made, and their success; and the difficulties Lord Willoughby had to surmount in persuading the burghers to help the all too small garrison with the fortifications.

There is a full account of the plot by which two prisoners in the town hoped to obtain an entry for the enemy, but which Lieutenant Grimstone and his friend Redhead, the former with

imminent risk to his own life, turned so signally to the advantake of the defenders. Earl of Ancaster

The Spaniards had never been able to prevent free access to and egress from the town, and at the end of October there was quite an assembly of notabilities there, including the new ambassador (Sir John Norris), the Earl of Northumberland, and the doughty old Welshman, Sir Roger Williams. They went out to view the enemy's camp, and rode almost up to the trenches, but the Spaniards merely fired some shots at them, and did not sally forth. Their spirit seemed entirely crushed by their want of success, and a few days later (Nov. 3, old style) they raised the siege.

After the raising of the siege of Bergen, Willoughby drew up a paper containing suggestions for making a winter attack upon Flanders and seizing Nieuport, Dunkirk, and other places. He proposed using Ostend as a base, but the Queen was very seriously thinking of withdrawing altogether from that place, the dykes having been so broken down by heavy winter inundation that it was in peril of being swept away, and lay open to any attack by the enemy. The states, however, agreed to send orders for the necessary repairs.

The month of January, 1588-9, was spent by Lord Willoughby at the Hague, and a journal of his doings will be found on p. 249.

Early in the month his help was sought in connexion with a romantic incident. A lady of high degree, of one of the "chiefest and noblest houses in the land," Marguerite de Pallant, Countess of Culenburg and Baroness de Merode Pieterfex, had two young daughters, Anna and Ottilia. The gallant Governor of Bergen, Sir Thomas Morgan, and his friend, Sir Thomas Knollys, ran away with these demoiselles from Dordrecht, carried them by boat to Bergen, and then married them. Their mother was exceedingly indignant, and wrote both to Lord Willoughby and to the States-General, demanding that they should be restored to her safe and sound, and that the "intolerable wrong" done to her and her family should have due satisfaction. The States-General and the Council of State sent honourable counsellers to Willoughby, and the agent, Richard Alin, was despatched to Bergen, but what Knollys called "the lucky exploit" was a *fait accompli* and could not be undone.

At the end of 1588 the garrison of Geertrudenberg, never wholly quieted, became once more very restless and turbulent, and seized the arms of the burghers.

In January, 1589, the States-General passed a resolution for satisfying the arrears of the garrison, and Count Maurice assured them of satisfaction for their demands; but they refused to be pacified, and the States, becoming alarmed, demanded the fulfilment of Lord Willoughby's promise that Geertrudenberg should not be separated from Holland. Upon this, he sent them an important state paper, recounting the whole business of Geertrudenberg. On his going to Geertru-

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denberg, the garrison offered a compromise, only, as they said, to show their fidelity and loyalty to her Majesty. When Willoughby was at Flushing, on the point of sailing for England, the news came that the forces of Count Maurice had laid siege to Geertrudenberg. Willoughby remonstrated with the Count; the Count protested that he was very sorry, but could do no otherwise, seeing that Sir John Wingfield had sent him a message that sooner than return to the obedience of the States they would appeal for help to the enemy; at the same time, the garrison sent Willoughby threats to the same effect, unless, within a month, the Queen gave them the aid which they declared she had promised them. This letter he must have received just as he was starting for England, where he arrived on March 14, old style. His last days in Holland had been embittered, not only by the affair of Geertrudenberg, but by the refusal of the States to come to any resolution concerning what was due to him, "much less concerning any recompense to be made to him," a treatment which had never before been accorded to any serving the Provinces against Spain.

The siege continued, and the garrison entered into communication with the Spaniards. Count Mansfeld marched towards them with a large force, Maurice was compelled to retire, and on March 31, old style, Geertrudenberg opened its gates to the enemy.

A letter written by a Dutch resident in the neighbourhood, just before the siege was abandoned, and giving some details of the proceedings on both sides, will be found in the Appendix.

Lord Burghley was anxious that Willoughby should return to his charge in the Low Countries, but he absolutely refused to think of doing so unless the States, who had blamed him in print, should clear him in print also. While the dispute with the States was going on, and they were still very far from "clearing him in print," Lord Willoughby was called elsewhere.

When, after the murder of Henry III., in August, 1589, Henry of Navarre appealed to Elizabeth for aid in establishing himself on the French throne, she sent him some troops, and Lord Willoughby was chosen to command them. They went over in September, but hardly had they reached France when the Queen began to urge their return. Henry naturally wished to keep them, heartily appreciating their valour, and the good service done by them, from their commander downwards. Her Majesty sent Willoughby a letter of thanks, and eventually agreed to allow the troops to remain until January. When they did return home, they were so weakened by the "contagion" that many of them got no further than Rye, and the Mayor there sent a most deplorable account of the state they were in, and of the very infectious nature of their disease, from which there died "every day four or five" of the nurses who attended on them.

After Lord Willoughby's departure from the Low Countries, he was supplied with news of the course of events there by Van

Houte, formerly his secretary. In one of his letters Van Houte alludes to the sad accident which had lately fallen out amongst Lord Willoughby's captains in France; Sir William Drury and Sir John Burgh having quarrelled and fought a duel, in which the former was mortally wounded. Earl of Ancaster.

Lord Willoughby evidently established very friendly relations with the French King's chief followers during his short stay in France. On p. 305 is a letter from the Maréchal de Biron, giving him news of the campaign. This is followed by a friendly letter from Henry IV. to Willoughby, and by several letters from the French ambassador in England, Mons. Beauvoir la Nocle, from the Maréchal de Turenne and others.

Lord Willoughby having now settled down in England, the subject matter of his papers is concerned with his private affairs, and especially with various disputes with his neighbours; notably with one Thomas Cecil (a servant or relative of Lord Burghley) and his son-in-law, Matthew Cheesman. Concerning this matter, and also in relation to an uproar in Stamford shortly afterwards, there are several letters from Lord Burghley, in one of which he emphasises his rights as lord of Stamford town.

In the spring of 1597, Willoughby wrote repeatedly to the Earl of Essex concerning his desire to have the government of Berwick (vacant by the death of the first Lord Hunsdon), and from his expressions of thanks it is evident that Essex did his best with the Queen, but for the time all efforts were unsuccessful. It may be mentioned here that Willoughby's letters to Essex are not drafts, but the originals, which were returned to the Bertie family at a later date. Meanwhile, Lord Willoughby lived a "Coridon's life," and interested himself in guarding the rights of the commoners and the poor as regards the draining of the fens. In the spring of 1598, he obtained his desire, and was made governor of Berwick and warden of the East March.

On June 25th, 1601, his life of active service and unremitting toil came to an end, and he passed away, with his last breath declaring his loyalty to the Queen, and his love, "as David's "was with Solomon," for Cecil, to whom he commended the care of his eldest son, and the supervisorship of his testament and estate. He left five sons, Robert, Peregrine, Henry, Vere and Roger, and one daughter, Catherine, who married Sir Lewis Watson, afterwards Lord Rockingham.

Robert Bertie, who now succeeded to his father's title, comes before us first in these papers as the writer of a series of boyish letters, in Latin and French, during his travels abroad with his tutor in 1598 and 1599. His headquarters were at Orleans, and from thence he duly informs his father of his progress in his studies, adding occasional fragments of court news.

In the summer of 1599, Robert Bertie was joined by his brother Peregrine, and the two young men made a tour

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in the west and south of France; at the end of which their tutor, Mr. Johnson, returned to England, but the brothers remained abroad, probably in Paris, until Robert was recalled to England by his father's death.

A letter of sympathy from Dr. Jegon, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, shows that Robert Bertie had been educated at that college, and had borne a good character there; while other letters written at this time testify to the affection and respect in which the late Lord Willoughby's memory was held. After a short stay at home, the young Lord Willoughby was sent abroad again, "for his further and better "education," and did not return to England until after the accession of James I.

In 1605 he attended the Earl of Nottingham into Spain, and in 1612, obtained permission from King James to raise levies for the King of Denmark. He was one of the Deputy-Lieutenants for Lincolnshire, and very diligent in matters touching the musters and training.

In 1617, the whole family was thrown into great trouble by the news that Henry (the third brother), who had been to Constantinople, had, on his return "into Christendom," been seized by the Inquisition. A long letter from Henry himself gives an account of his travels and their unlucky termination.

There are several documents about this date in relation to the draining of the Fens, in which Lord Willoughby took an active interest, and also an interesting letter from the Court.

Three newsletters, of 1620 and 1622, are chiefly concerned with the struggle in Germany, the first being written just at the time when the "Winter King," Frederic, was enjoying his short-lived dignity as King of Bohemia; after which follows a long and interesting letter from Sir Edward Vere, written at the camp before Bois-le-Duc in 1629, describing proceedings at this stage of the famous "siege of the Bosch." Of Lord Willoughby's own service in the Low Countries, no notices occur in these papers.

In 1625, Lord Willoughby's cousin, Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, died without children, and Willoughby claimed both the Earldom and the post of Great Chamberlain of England in right of his mother, only sister of Edward, 17th Earl. The Earldom went to the heir male, a distant cousin, but the Chamberlainship was adjudged to Lord Willoughby as heir general, and, as it was not usual for this dignity to be held by anyone of lower rank than an Earl, he was shortly afterwards created Earl of Lindsey.

In 1628, King Charles issued a warrant, granting a lease of the forests of Shotover and Stow-wood, near Oxford, to Lord Lindsey, but it does not seem to have taken effect, and a fresh one was issued in the following year. Certain "timber trees of "oak" were reserved to the use of the Navy, as also a park for the King's use; and the rights of the commoners were duly provided for. There are several papers about this matter;

the claims of the Navy, the stealing of wood, and the purchase by "the doctors of St. John's" of trees allowed them for the new buildings then being erected, under the fostering care of Bishop Laud, at their College. Earl of Ancaster.

There are no papers in this collection relating to Lord Lindsey's services as Admiral and Captain General of the Fleet; indeed, very few of his papers are here at all. One or two letters remind us that he was Governor of Berwick in 1639-40, and in 1642 we come to the last scene, when, as Lieut.-General of the King's army, he was mortally wounded at the battle of Edgehill, and was only carried off the field a prisoner, to die after a few hours. His eldest son and successor, Montagu, who is said to have surrendered himself in order to be with his father, remained a captive in Warwick Castle, where he received a letter of sympathy, written in the King's own hand. He was exchanged in time to be present at the first battle of Newbury, and went with the King into the West.

In May, 1646, Lindsey, Richmond, and other personal servants of the King applied to Sir Thomas Fairfax for permission to travel to London or to their homes, if they so wished, "his "Majesty having thought fit to draw nearer to his Parliament," and they not wishing to remain behind. The tone of the letter is that of the moderate followers of the King, who desired a happy arrangement of the quarrel if possible. Fairfax recommended the letter to the Lords, but whatever answer was received, Lindsey undoubtedly went to the King at Oxford. He was there at its surrender, and compounded on its Articles.

On p. 412 begins a series of letters from Capt. Martin Foster, a member of Lord Lindsey's household, to John Pridgeon, bear-leader to the young Lord Willoughby. The Earl was one of the King's Commissioners in the Isle of Wight, and Foster evidently attended him there. He gives divers scraps of news concerning the preparations of the Scots, the escape of the Duke of York, the many risings for the King (in the summer of 1648), the restoration of the impeached members to Parliament, the negotiations at Newport, &c.

Lord Willoughby and Pridgeon were at this time in France, and a diary, by the latter, contains an account of their doings from August, 1647, to August, 1649. They diligently visited "seats" and churches, and at St. Denis "my lord" had in his hand the sword with which the maid of Orleans drove the English out of France. After a few weeks of sightseeing, young Willoughby settled down at "Mons. Devaux' academy "in the fauxbourg of St. Jermins" for the winter. The next summer he went to St. Germain [en-Laie], where he kissed the Prince of Wales's hand and waited on Queen Henrietta Maria. Soon afterwards he fell ill of the small-pox. In the autumn they took a journey down the Loire and to Rochelle and the Isle de Ré, where they were shown the scene of Buckingham's hasty retreat, hence called the "route des Anglais." Thence they travelled at their leisure through Poitou, and so back to

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Angers. In March 1649, they resumed their wanderings and travelled through Brittany, returning to Angers at the end of April. In August they went to Blois, where Lord Willoughby met his brother, and the diary ends with his entering into pension there on August 21st. From this time, their doings are more or less indicated by letters addressed to Pridgeon by Foster and Edward Christian, another member of Lord Lindsey's household. At the end of 1650 and for some months afterwards, they were at Rome, whither Foster sends news of the young King of Scots' proceedings in the North, and of the strange sects which had sprung up in England, "monstrous "opinions such as will give you cause of astonishment and "laughter."

At this time Lord Willoughby's brothers, Peregrine and Richard, were in France with their tutor, Mr. Cordell, and hoping to join their brother. Foster often urged Lord Willoughby's return home, but from the addresses on his letters it is evident that he remained in Italy at any rate until the spring of 1652. His head-quarters were at Rome, but he paid visits to Venice and Padua.

The next time the brothers' names occur together in these papers is forty years later, in 1691, when Peregrine announces to Robert, now Earl of Lindsey, the death of Lady Abingdon, wife of their half-brother James, "a woman of the greatest "temper in the world, and one who has left the best character "behind her." There are several other letters from Peregrine Bertie, giving news of the war and of the Court, &c., and discussing family affairs.

In 1701 Lord Lindsey died, and disputes arose between the new Earl and his stepmother. Arbitration was proposed, and some rather nice points of legal etiquette were raised.

The writer of the letters on this subject also makes repeated mention of Sacheverell's trial and the excitement in London.

On p. 441 is a long letter in relation to the different parties in the Church, but the signature is torn off, and there is no clue to the writer. It reads somewhat as though it were a letter written for publication.

In 1711 Lord Lindsey (now a Marquis) was much annoyed to learn that Robert Harley was about to take the title of Earl of Oxford. Amongst the Welbeck Papers is the letter written by the Marquis's brother Peregrine to Harley informing him that they were assured by the best lawyers "that the earldom "was certainly in the heirs general, the heir male being "extinct." The sequel of the affair is given in the present volume, in a letter from Peregrine Bertie to the Marquis.

The next papers of any interest belong to the year 1745, when Peregrine, third Duke of Ancaster, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, had to take active measures for the defence of Lincolnshire. There is a letter from him to the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke's reply, and a list of subscriptions raised to defray expenses.

These are followed by holograph receipts by Sir Joshua Reynolds for the portraits painted by him of the third Duke and his Duchess, their little son, the Marquess of Lindsey, the Duke's sister, Lady Mary, and the Duchess's father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Panton. A warrant signed by William Pitt the elder comes next, and then a charming letter from the Princess Elizabeth, third daughter of George III., to the Duchess of Ancaster. Earl of Ancaster.

On the death of Robert, fourth Duke of Ancaster, in 1779, without children, the Barony of Willoughby d'Eresby fell into abeyance between his two sisters, Priscilla and Georgina, but in 1780 it was granted to Priscilla, the elder sister (wife of Sir Peter Burrell, first Lord Gwydyr), who thus become Lady Willoughby in her own right. In 1796, the Prince of Wales was desirous that she should become Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess, a position which, after some hesitation and with certain conditions, she accepted. The Prince's letters, all of which are holograph, show with what very high esteem and respect he regarded her.

Besides the family correspondence of the Berties, there are certain other papers belonging to the collection which have been included in this Report. In the muniment room at Grimsthorpe are many mediæval deeds, of which a selection is here printed. These chiefly relate to the monastery lands of Kirkstead and Vaudey, which, at the Dissolution, were granted to the Duke of Suffolk, and to the chantry of the Holy Trinity, Spilsby, the lands and rights of which were surrendered to the Duchess in 1547.

After the deeds follow inventories of various sorts. Those of household effects include many pieces of tapestry and rich fabrics. The presence of the Tudor rose and portcullis on the tapestry is no doubt due to the fact that the third wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (Katherine Willoughby was his fourth), was Mary, younger daughter of Henry VII.

An inventory of plate at Southwark might at first sight appear to represent a portion of the spoils of the monasteries, but the date is 1535, at which time processions of the Canons of St. Mary's, with crosses and candlesticks borne before them, were still perambulating the streets of Southwark by express order of the King (Stow's *Chronicle*). It was not until two years later that the spoliation began, and St. Mary Overy, being one of the greatest monasteries, was only dissolved in 1539. The list must therefore belong to the chapel of the Duke's own magnificent house in Southwark, Suffolk Place.

Of about the same date is a list of debts owing to and by the Duke of Suffolk, written in his own hand.

On pp. 453 *et seq.* is a long list of the Duchess of Suffolk's horses, many of them named; then more inventories of clothes, furniture, &c., and one of Lady Wynne's plate, in which she mentions the names of many members of her family.

Amongst various miscellaneous documents is a mediæval

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volume, small quarto, in its old oak boards, containing several treatises written on parchment in double columns. The first two—a *Numerale* and *Speculum Penitentis*—have no author's name given, but through the courtesy of Mr. Cyril Bailey, librarian of Balliol College, Oxford, and Mr. C. W. Moule, fellow and librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who have in their charge undoubted copies respectively of William of Leicester's two treatises, they have been proved to be those of William of Leicester, called de Montibus, Chancellor of Lincoln. The other works are a miracle of St. Werburgh (taken from Goscelin the Monk's life of that saint), and a treatise by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. But the most interesting portion of the volume is a fragment (apparently inserted at the time of binding) of the obituary of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Newhouse in Lincolnshire. Only part of April and May are here, but even in these few weeks, two or three names are given which are not to be found in Hugo's *Annals* or in the Records of the English Houses of the Order edited by Abbot Gasquet.

A volume of considerable interest contains the certificate of the Commissioners appointed to execute Henry VIII.'s commission concerning musters and valuing of men's substance in the Hundred of Babergh, Suffolk.

With the Bertie MSS., although without relation to them, are some interesting papers of the time of James I., referring to the arrest and imprisonment of John Cotton, a Roman Catholic gentleman of Hampshire. He was the son of George, and the younger brother of Richard Cotton, of Warblington, and was related to the Gages, Copleys and Hungerfords.

A portion of the Ancaster collection was calendared some years ago (*Thirteenth Report, Appendix* 6), but so much more material has since come to light that a fresh Report was necessary, and it was thought better to re-calendar this former portion, and unite the whole in one chronological series.

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The papers which form the subject of this report are those preserved in the family of Grimston of Grimston Garth and afterwards of Kilnwick in the East Riding of Yorkshire. With one singular exception they refer to the eighteenth century, and, as here printed, belong for the most part to Vice-Admiral Medley, a relation of the family. The one exception, standing quite alone and without anything to explain its presence, is the remarkable letter on the first page, addressed by "P. C." to the Duke of Gordon. It seems impossible to determine who the writer was, but it may, perhaps, have been Patrick Cunningham, an officer in the army of James II., who was arrested on a charge of high treason and committed to Newgate on April 22nd, 1689; pardoned, January 13th,

1691-2, and on February 12th, 1691-2, given a passport with leave to go to France. The interest of the letter, as written by a warm partisan of the fallen monarch, must be considered as throwing a new and curious light on the domestic situation. Lady Du Cane.

But the great bulk of the papers are those of Medley, whose connexion with Grimston brings out a quaint bit of family history.

Henry Medley, born, probably, about 1687, entered the navy in 1703. It is unnecessary to follow his early service in detail, but it is interesting to note that the *Somerset* led the van in the battle of Malaga (August 13th to 24th, 1704), was present at the relief of Barcelona (April 27th to May 8th, 1706), and narrowly escaped being wrecked in company with the *Association* in October, 1707; that in 1708-9, the *Royal Anne* was the flagship of Sir George Byng on the Lisbon stations and in the Mediterranean, and that from 1711 to 1713 the *Stirling Castle* was the flagship of Vice-Admiral Baker, in the Mediterranean and Eastern Atlantic. Towards the end of 1713 the *Stirling Castle* returned to England, and we may suppose that this approximately fixes the date of Medley's marriage. His daughter was born in 1714.

His service as commander of the *Poole*, and as captain of the *York*, and *Leopard* is outlined in the correspondence, though many interesting and important incidents are only just mentioned. Of these, by far the most important, from the historical point of view, is the summary seizure of the ship *Revolution*, at Genoa, which was not only a flagrant violation of the most elementary rights of an independent State, but seems to have been the actual cause of the Pretender's abandonment of the contemplated expedition. The order addressed to Medley by the Lord's Commissioners of the Admiralty is given on p. 12, and others, of a similar purport, were sent to Captain Scott; but though it appears from the papers immediately following that the orders were promptly and fully obeyed, nothing is said of the manner in which the seizure was effected. For this we have to go to the reports by the Foreign Office officials at Genoa.

The orders relating to Low, the pirate, and the account of the search for him and his fellow ruffians, call up the memory of the extraordinary state of things which prevailed in the southern and western parts of the North Atlantic in the years following the peace of Utrecht, when vast numbers of licensed robbers—men of all nations—were, through no fault of theirs, suddenly thrown out of employment. It is only by reference to existing circumstances that we can understand how it was that the pirates met with so much sympathy, not only in the West Indies and the Bahamas, but on the coast of North America, at New York and Rhode Island more especially.

The orders for salutes, the frequent orders to put the ships' companies on three-fourths of the established

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allowance of provisions—"six upon four"—and the circulars printed in abstract, relate to administrative details which, though most familiar at the time, are now most difficult to ascertain. Copies of the circulars were everywhere, but were not preserved, and, naturally, no one wrote of the minutiæ of his daily life. It is only by a rare chance, such as the present, that they can now be recorded.

The circulars on slop clothing show that, from 1706 onward, the seamen were dressed, with some approach to uniformity, in grey faced with red. From the dawn of naval administration, slop clothing for the seamen had been generally—not always—provided; but, with the exception of the green and white liveries of Henry VIII., the colour and pattern of the earlier dress are unknown. Though there was no order compelling the seamen to wear these clothes, it may be assumed that, as no others could be bought on board, and these were to be got on long credit—charged against their wages, which they were glad to make sure of when they could—grey and red became, in fact, a uniform. Of course, the respective captains could and often did insist on a uniform of their own; they dressed their galley's crew in fancy dress—a practice that was kept up, occasionally at least, till within the last fifty years; the men, on joining, were allowed to wear out such clothes as they had, and the purser, while providing the slops according to pattern, provided also, as a private venture, such cloth as his experience showed him the men would take up, to make for themselves. Green baize seems to have been an especial favourite; and to be a capable tailor—in all branches, cutting out, fitting, and sewing—was, even thirty or forty years ago, an essential qualification of "the perfect seaman."

The letters from Hosier at the Bastimentos, in 1726, relate to the blockade of Porto Bello, where the ships' companies suffered so terribly from yellow fever. When we notice how many of them were "at six upon four," or an even still more reduced allowance, and how bad the food was reported to be, we may suspect that the weakened constitution of the men was, in part, the cause of the fearful mortality. The actual fact is widely known, but the policy of the Government in keeping the fleet there has been very generally misunderstood and condemned. It was, of course, the cue of Walpole's opponents, both then and a dozen years later, to represent the whole business as a cowardly truckling to Spain. In reality, all that our Government then required was yielded to the pressure of the blockade; and the loss of some 4,000 men, who so sadly perished, was but trifling in comparison with what the loss might have been, had the Government launched out on an aggressive policy.

The correspondence is silent during the rest of Medley's time as a captain; but with his promotion to flag rank (June 19th, 1744) and his appointment to a command in the Mediterranean, at first as second to Vice-Admiral Rowley and afterwards as

commander-in-chief, the interest of the papers becomes historical in a broader sense, though they continue to give details of naval service not easily to be found elsewhere. Lady Du Cane.

In 1745, the navy was still smarting under the disgrace that had befallen it in the previous year, when—on February 11th-22nd—the fleet, though considerably superior in numbers, had been virtually defeated by the combined fleets of France and Spain; and though it could boast that one of the enemy's ships had been captured and burned, the bitter facts were patent to the meanest intellect that the blockade of Toulon, which had been maintained for nearly two years, was fairly broken, that the enemy's communication with the north of Italy was open, that reinforcements and military stores were being sent into Italy pretty much at their good pleasure, and that the war had taken a new turn entirely favourable to them. Lestock, the second in command on that miserable day, had been sent home under arrest, and Matthews, the commander-in-chief, had followed. There were bitter recriminations, charges, and counter-charges.

Rowley, who had commanded the van in the battle, had, by the recall of Matthews and Lestock, been left commander-in-chief. There was no imputation on his courage, and though the friends of Lestock talked of including him in the charge of misconduct laid against Matthews, it came to nothing.

In these papers this selfishness comes into perhaps unexpected prominence, and gives them a peculiar interest as showing how, in his relations to Medley, the question of prize money hampered the public service, which, in too many instances, was lost sight of in the greed for reward.

The point was that the flag officers got among them one-eighth of all prizes. If there was only one admiral, commander-in-chief, he took to himself the whole one-eighth; but if there was a second in command, he got one-third of the one-eighth, and the commander-in-chief only two-thirds; if there was also a third admiral, the commander-in-chief got a half, the juniors each a fourth of the one-eighth allotted to the flag. The difference was very great, and it can easily be understood that Rowley, who had been previously alone, as commander-in-chief, was annoyed that a colleague should be sent out to deprive him of a large share of the prize money. The irritation did not show itself in the correspondence between the two, which seems amicable enough, but by deeds, Rowley could and did protest against Medley's arrival.

The curious case of Captain Cooper was another development of this quarrel. As he was leaving the station, sore with Medley's refusal to give Morn, his secretary, a warrant as purser of the *Princess Caroline*, Rowley attempted to revenge himself by ordering Captain Cooper to wear a broad pennant as commodore of the first class. As soon as Medley knew of it, he ordered Cooper to haul the broad pennant down, on which Rowley repeated the order, which was again disallowed

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by Medley, and by that time Rowley had quitted the Mediterranean, where he had needlessly prolonged his stay for several months.

All of which is an interesting story of how two admirals could abuse the service for the gratification of their sordid spite. The claim afterwards made by Captain Cooper in respect of his share of prize money, brought up a very curious, probably unique difficulty. On the grounds that his pay as commodore, by the approval of the Admiralty, continued till midnight, though he struck his broad pennant at 1 p.m., he claimed to share as a flag officer in a prize made at 5 p.m. The claim was disallowed, and seems, in fact, to have been contrary to equity; but even at the present time there is no abstract rule for such a case, which—if it occurred—would have to be settled by the Admiralty, on taking into consideration the particular circumstances.

But leaving these purely professional questions on one side, the letters of Thomas Grimston, of Stephen Thompson, of James Henshaw, the navy agent, and of John Le Keux, an official in "the Grievance Office," which seems to mean the Treasury, give a view of naval opinion in London during the "forty-five," and of the Matthews-Lestock courts-martial, which is in many respects novel. The strong feeling against Matthews, which, indeed, was fully justified by the evidence before the court, will be new to many readers. The mention of Capt. Mostyn's court-martial as uppermost in Admiral Vernon's mind is, as far as it goes, a confirmation of the opinion that Vernon was the author of the *Enquiry into the Conduct of Captain Mostyn*.

The suggestion, hinted at rather than made, that the young Pretender's retreat from Derby was due to the overwhelming force we had in the Channel, may be thought an exaggeration, and will certainly be new to many. But we know that the French Government did propose to support the rebellion by a direct invasion of the South of England, and that, in the opinion of the French it was prevented from doing so by the ineptitude of the Duc de Richelieu, though the true reason was very certainly the close guard of the Channel by our home fleet.

The constantly recurring question of the respective rights of belligerents and neutrals here assume a concrete form which cannot but be both interesting and valuable. But it was a curious complication in these that the neutrals were closely bound to one or other of the belligerents; that the Dutch, whilst allies of the English, claimed the right to carry naval stores to French ports—as Toulon, or food stuffs to a blockaded port—as Genoa; that the Neapolitans, almost openly recruiting the Spanish army, and the Tuscans, subjects of the Emperor, equally claimed to pass free to the ports of the enemy. Still, notwithstanding these difficulties, the number of good

prizes made was very great, and largely contributed to the very handsome fortune which the admiral accumulated. Lady Du Cane.

The several letters of Villettes, Maricone and Horace Mann, relating to the operations of war in the valley of the Po, round about Genoa and in Corsica, must be considered as interesting notes to the technical histories of the campaign.

One incident alone of the war stands out as especially English, the story of which is, by inference, a very painful bit of reading. It is impossible even to glance over the letters of Rear-Admiral Byng without remarking their strong resemblance in tone to another very notorious letter of his dated nine years later. The point is that the allies, after crossing the Var, and in their advance on Marseilles, occupied the Isles Lerins, which were still held after they had been forced to retreat; and when they were threatened by the French, who were certainly not likely to tolerate a foreign occupation of islands so clearly French by their situation, Byng was sent with a small squadron to assist in their defence, just as nine years later he was sent to assist in the defence of Minorca. His assistance was absolutely *nil*; and in his letters to Medley, we note the same despondency, the same iteration of inability, the same assumption that the French had taken such measures as must prove fatal to the English cause, which pervaded his letters of 1756, and which, in inducing his inaction, cost him his life. It is impossible now to say whether anything could have been done to prevent the French regaining the islands; it is quite certain that Byng did not attempt even to delay them; and we may be quite sure that there were many officers in the navy fifty years later, when our fleets were again on that coast, who would have at least done something to make the French conquest less easy.

After Medley's death, the interest of the papers is mainly dependent on questions arising out of his will and his estate, especially the lawsuits undertaken by Hardwick and threatened by Cooper. But the great majority of the letters are of purely family interest, and continue till well on into the nineteenth century. It has not seemed necessary or even advisable to notice these, with the exception of those relating to the "Mutiny" at Harrow in 1771, the story of which, though not new, has not been told elsewhere in such full and lively detail.

Among the papers of Vice-Admiral Medley is included a large bundle of French correspondence which the fortune of war threw into Medley's hands. With few exceptions, these letters belonged to M. de Caylus, a knight of Malta and a captain in the French navy, who, in 1745, was appointed Governor of Martinique. When he sailed for his Government, some of his effects were, presumably, left behind, to be sent on afterwards; and among these must have been a box filled with letters—many of them official, from the Comte de Maure-

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pas, *secrétaire de la marine*—of no great importance for the most part, but interesting from the light they throw on the internal history of the French navy in the Eighteenth Century; a history which, in England, at any rate, is very obscure, and of which, even in France, little seems to be known beyond what is contained within the covers of Brun's *Guerres Maritimes*.

With these are mixed up many letters of a more private nature; and added to them a few business letters from merchants at Marseilles to their correspondents at Martinique or Cape Français. It is not absolutely certain that these were all captured at the same time, but the probability is that they were; that after examining them, and possibly retaining any of importance at the moment, Medley had them all tied up together, and that so they remained till now.

And as to the commercial letters, the indication of their capture is happily very clear. They are dated in December, 1745, January, and down to 3rd February, 1746, and all say, practically in so many words, that they are going by the *Vainqueur*, Captain César Martin. M. Ollive, of Marseilles, writing on 3rd of February, does not name the *Vainqueur*, but describes her as a Malouin ship which he and some others have lately bought. The Gulf of Lyons was swarming with Medley's cruisers; and though a year later, they were unable to find the French squadron and convoy returning from the Levant, they succeeded in stopping a merchant ship out of Marseilles, of whose sailing, it may very well be, they had private information. As the *Vainqueur* carried a letter dated 3rd February, she cannot have sailed before the evening of that day. On the afternoon of the 9th she was captured by the *Feversham*, as noted in the latter's log.

M. de Caylus, who here comes into a prominent position, was the second son of Mme. de Caylus, daughter of the Marquis de Villette de Mursay, captain of the 44-gun ship *Assuré* in the actions on the coast of Sicily in 1676.

Mme. de Caylus was left with two sons, the elder, now Comte de Caylus, born in 1692; the younger—Charles de Tubières de Grimoard de Pestel de Lévis—born in 1698, was admitted at a very early age as a Knight of Malta, and appears always as the Chevalier de Caylus. Both of them entered the army; and under the protection of Mme. de Maintenon on the one hand, and on the other of the Duc de Villeroi—between whom and the boys' mother the relations were exceedingly close, if not scandalous—it would have been surprising if their advancement had not been rapid. In the letters of their mother, there are frequent references to the purchase of a regiment for them; and though the editor of the *Souvenirs et Correspondance de Madame de Caylus* has avoided dates as carefully as chronological arrangement, it appears that in 1711 the Comte de Caylus distinguished himself at the head of his regiment in Catalonia; and that in

1714, the old King appointed the sixteen-year-old Chevalier to the command of a regiment of infantry. Lady Du Cane

From their earliest years the difference between the two boys seem to have been strongly marked; the elder, steady and sedate, earning from his mother the name of "*mon Philosophe*;" the younger, on the contrary, wild and boisterous, always in some scrape, or getting out of it. His mother generally speaks of him as "*mon Brindi.*"

In the entire absence of dates, it is impossible to speak with any certainty, but shortly after the Chevalier's return from Majorca he must have gone to Malta, and may have stayed there six or seven or eight years—possibly from 1718 to 1726.

The exact date of his return to France is nowhere stated, but in April, 1727, he exchanged his rank of colonel in the army for that of captain in the navy, and was appointed second captain to M. de Rochallart, *chef d'escadre.* Fifty years before, this intrusion of a soldier into the navy had been common, but at this time it was more rare, and the appointment of Caylus gave rise to a good deal of discontent.

Of the service of M. de Caylus with Rochallart, there is no other mention than that at p. 247; but in the following year, September, 1728, he was appointed to the independent command of the *Nymphe*, for a cruise in the Levant. During the following years, his very nearly continuous service is traced in the letters here printed. For the most part it lay in the Levant. His service on the African coast and the instructions he received as to the Isle of Tabarca, mark a connecting link between the crusade of Louis IX., the failure of the Duc de Beaufort at Jijelli, and the final occupation and conquest of Algeria. The mention of Du Guay Trouin as commanding a squadron in 1731 will come as a surprise to those who only remember his exploits as a corsair in the time of our William III. or the early years of Queen Anne. In fact, however, in 1731 he was only fifty-eight, and sixty-three at the time of his death in 1736.

It is much to be regretted that with these letters we have not also those of Caylus to Maurepas; letters which would have had a great and peculiar interest from the naval point of view.

After 1737 the state of his health and, possibly, also his inclination kept him on shore for nearly three years. The Comte de Maurepas had engaged a new Secretary, M. de Salley, the illegitimate son—according to D'Argenson— of Mme. Desmares, a celebrated actress of the first quarter of the century. Whether that was true or not, we recognise at once that the man had the gift of writing pleasant chatty letters, and his correspondence with Caylus, beginning in June, 1740, at once marks the intimacy which Caylus had permitted him, and gives a new zest to the pages. Salley's letters, in fact, give not only valuable discussions on points of service but also the gossip of the town and court, and notices of new plays and new books. Many of his allusions are, indeed, obscure, and must be so to everyone who has not made a very special and

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exhaustive study of the court life in France during the "harlotocracy"; but on the other hand, many of them illustrate or clear up points in the Memoirs of the Duc de Luynes or the Journal of Barbier. As a theatrical critic, Salley must have been very well qualified, but in respect of literature, his taste is distinctly pornographic. He describes, for instance, *Dom Bougre*—a book which "dame le pion aux auteurs licen-"tieux" as "bon livre, pardieu," "un des meilleurs livres qui "se sait fait dans le genre libertin," and regrets that he cannot get hold of a copy to send his friend. Even this mention of it, however, must be interesting to book-collectors, for it appears that it was first issued in March, 1741, whereas the earliest known edition is of 1745; and the note as to its authors, which accounts for the unique character of their work, is probably new.

To many, the discussion of the question of promotion of naval officers to flag rank will seem among the most interesting in the volume.

About the middle of January, M. de Caylus, as captain of the *Borée*, 64 guns, with the *Aquilon*, 48 guns, and the *Flore*, 28, under his orders, sailed from Toulon for Martinique. The letters here are especially tantalising; for, from the Comte de Maurepas and the King, they lead up to his instructions, which are missing. Neither have we any information as to the object with which he was independently sent to Martinique whilst the Marquis d'Antin was commanding a large fleet in the West Indies. But we know, from other sources, that in D'Antin's expedition, hostility to England was contemplated; and several of the letters here given permit us to believe that the instructions given to Caylus suggested the probability of this. Rémond, in his letters of March 20th and June 1st, seems to take this as a matter of course, and himself expresses an intensely hostile feeling, the more remarkable in the brother of a man whose merit had been cordially recognised in England by his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The rough copies of Caylus's letters betray the same feeling and anticipation of hostility, which alone can explain his account of a meeting with the English squadron after passing through the Straits of Gibraltar. The English were then blockading Cadiz, and necessarily examined every ship—ship of war, especially—that came near. With his mind full of English enmity, the meeting to Caylus would seem to have threatened danger, and he congratulated himself and Maurepas on the "ardeur" of his men. To the English, it was very much a matter of course, and was not even officially reported to Admiral Haddock, the commander-in-chief, in whose despatches there is no reference to it. It is, however, mentioned in the logs of the ships forming the detached squadron under Commodore Martin in the *Ipswich*, from which alone we know the date of the meeting, February 23rd.

So M. de Caylus pursued his way to Martinique, where he presumably carried out his instructions, and where he certainly

laid the foundation of a trade for his private interest. A few months later, on his return voyage, he again met some English ships of war as he approached the Straits. His account of what happened is here given on pp. 295-8. It agrees, as to the main fact, with that written by Captain Barnett, the commander of the English squadron, but differs from it in many particulars, and more especially in the report of the conversation that passed both before the skirmish and afterwards. Lady Du Cane.

We have now no means of saying; but the letters leave little room to doubt that Caylus went to Marseilles to arrange his private business with M. Roux, even if he had not brought home a quantity of merchandise in the *Borée*. We know that he was deeply in debt; that he was worried even by small creditors, and his later history shows that he was quite unscrupulous as to his ways of raising money.

The Comte de Maurepas, however, was his intimate friend, and not only bore him clear of blame, but had him appointed to command the escort of the Turkish Ambassador on his return to Constantinople. His letter and the letters of Pellerin show that there was a good deal of anxiety about the English, who had now established themselves in the roadsteads of Hyères, and might easily interrupt the voyage and do open discredit to the French navy. It was hoped that by sailing at dusk and getting clear of the land before daybreak, Caylus might escape notice; but in case he did not, he was given very clear instructions as to his conduct. They are doubly interesting from their contrast with the orders under which he presumably sailed in January 1741.

M. de Caylus did not, however, succeed in evading the English blockade. Brun tells us that, sailing on August 15th, he met some English ships, and what really took place is told by the log of the *Bedford*, Captain James Cornewell.

On the return of Caylus from Constantinople in January, 1743, his friends had already procured him leave of absence, and he seems to have spent the greater part of the year in Paris, returning to Toulon only in December, when orders were already given to the fleet to prepare for sea. Very few of the letters of this time have been preserved, and, of these, quite the most interesting is that of Père Pousache, a Jesuit who had served with him in the *Zéphire* in the double capacity of chaplain and naval instructor.

In the battle of Toulon M. de Caylus commanded the *Trident;* but though he wrote an account of it to M. de Maurepas, no copy has been preserved. With this battle the correspondence of M. de Caylus virtually ceases.

J. B. FORTESCUE, ESQ.: DROPMORE MSS., VOL. IV.

The confidential letters and documents composing Volume IV. of the Dropmore correspondence relate chiefly to two subjects, one foreign and one domestic, of great historical interest. Those belonging to the series which comes first in point of Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV.

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date are concerned with the political and military projects and the secret negotiations that led up to the third coalition against France in 1799. The second series deals with the outbreak of civil war in Ireland in 1798, and the abortive attempt of Pitt's Government to pass an Act of Legislative Union through the Irish Parliament in January, 1799. The correspondence on both subjects is so voluminous that the volume embraces a period of little more than sixteen months; extending from the middle of November, 1797, to the renewal of hostilities between Austria and France towards the end of March, 1799.

The close of Volume III. left the British monarchy in a situation as dangerous as it was humiliating. Strenuous national efforts, continued without intermission for five years, to maintain European settlements of vital importance to Great Britain, had resulted in military defeat, an enormous burden of debt, financial embarrassment, impaired credit, political isolation, and popular discontent.

British credit collapsed at the end of 1796, and Austria, beaten in the field and unable to pay her armies, accepted terms dictated by Bonaparte, at Leoben, in April 1797. But the British Government, dissatisfied with the conduct of Austria, sent Lord Malmesbury to Lille to treat on its own account with the French Directory. But while negotiations still proceeded, a successful *coup d'état* at Paris lodged dictational powers in the hands of three Directors representing a small but ruling Jacobin faction, that owed its supremacy to war and the support of armies living on the plunder of conquered countries. These Directors broke up the Conference at Lille in September 1797, by putting forward extravagant demands. Bonaparte dissociating himself from Jacobin policy, in disregard of instructions from Paris, signed the definite treaty of Campo Formio with Count Cobentzl on behalf of the Emperor, in the following October. The Directory did not venture to repudiate an act which nearly all France applauded. But they announced for the coming year the assembling of a great armament for the invasion of England, under the command of the conqueror of Austria.

During the course of 1797, British Consols had fallen to 48; and public confidence had sunk to a point unknown in England since the end of the War of American Independence. Pitt's Budget at the opening of the Session of Parliament in November showed a deficit of 22,000,000*l.* He trebled the assessed taxes; an unproductive measure which deepened the ill-humour of the people. But national spirit rose to repel invasion. Voluntary subscriptions, initiated by the King and his ministers, flowed in freely from all ranks and parties to supply the wants of the Exchequer and arm the country for defence.

The political situation wore its gloomiest aspect when news reached George III. in October 1797, of the approaching death of Frederick William II., King of Prussia. The Prince Royal, heir to the Prussian throne, had been carefully educated in

orthodox principles. His wife, who exercised great influence over him, was a niece of Queen Charlotte. He had always listened with great deference to the political counsels of George's brother-in-law, the Duke of Brunswick, who saw with unconcealed dismay the progress of French arms and opinions in Germany. On these circumstances the English monarch founded a belief, which Pitt and Grenville seem to have shared, that if Brunswick could be persuaded to exert his influence at Berlin at the opening of a new reign for the overthrow of Count de Haugwitz, to whose ascendency the Treaty of Basle and the subsequent inaction of Prussia were ascribed, the young sovereign might be made the chief instrument in forming a Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Great Britain and Prussia, to accomplish aims for the salvation of Europe, which the defection of his father in 1795 had, in their opinion, done so much to wreck. In the beginning of November they sent M. de Luc, a trusted member of Queen Charlotte's household, on a secret mission to Brunswick, to lay the scheme before the Duke, and enlist his aid. Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV.

The King, in order more effectually to cloak his political mission to Germany, appointed him Professor of Natural History in the University of Göttingen. Travelling in this capacity, but accredited by a letter from his royal master, and instructions from Lord Grenville, he reached Brunswick late in November, a few days after the arrival of news of the King of Prussia's death; and took counsel with General de Stamfort, a soldier and politician of merit, closely bound to him by private friendship and unity of political purpose, who played a still more prominent part than his own in the negotiations now set on foot.

The friends joined in urging the Duke of Brunswick to go at once to Berlin and rescue from the malign guidance of Count Haugwitz a young prince, of good principles indeed, but utterly without experience in the business of government. The Duke appears to have been a man of unusual ability, both for war and politics, but in temper cautious, even to timidity.

While still debating the subject with de Stamfort, an invitation came to him to attend the funeral obsequies of the deceased King; and the Duke deferred an answer to his brother-in-law until he should have conversed with the leading personages of the Prussian Court.

In this interval of silence reports received by George III. from his Hanoverian envoys at Berlin of the Duke's timid bearing there, and careful avoidance of political discussion, completely dispelled the hopes entertained in England of good effects to be produced by his personal influence over Frederick William III. Haugwitz, in an interview he asked of the Duke, succeeded in altering his unfavourable opinion; and the latter having conferred again with the young King, despatched a messenger to De Luc with a *mémoire* for George III. The circumstances and motives, it declared, which had led the late

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King of Prussia to conclude the treaty of Basle, still operated at Berlin with undiminished force.

The peace party represented at Court by Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of Frederick the Great, and famous for his exploits during the Seven Years' War, and by the military members of the King's household, was now all-powerful at Berlin. And although the principles and views of Frederick William III. were all that could be wished, he could not at once emancipate himself from the influences and conditions that environed him.

The urgent need of the present moment was to deliver the Empire from the French armies now living on it and propagating anarchical opinions, by concluding peace with France on the best terms that could be obtained at Rastadt.

On returning to Brunswick, the Duke spoke freely to De Luc and de Stamfort about the incidents of his visit to Berlin. Count Haugwitz sent the Duke a written statement of his political views, of which the latter gave a copy to De Luc for transmission to Lord Grenville.

The Duke also suggested to De Stamfort and De Luc that they should go to Berlin; the former in the capacity of agent for the Prince of Orange, with the purpose of using the opportunities the appointment would give him of easy access to the King, whose military tutor he had been, to confirm Frederick William in his good dispositions; the latter in the character of a scientific explorer to confer secretly with Count Haugwitz.

Lord Grenville's answer dealt with the various suggestions contained in the Duke's *mémoire* for George III., or thrown out in his conversation with De Luc. It cordially adopted the idea of sending General de Stamfort to the Prussian Court; gave a colder approval to the mission assigned to De Luc, and earnestly besought the Duke not to relax his own efforts at Berlin for the salvation of Europe. A political memorandum in answer to that of Count Haugwitz accompanied this letter.

In that paper Lord Grenville, for the British government, disclaimed any intention of drawing Prussia into war. They desired only to form a Quadruple Alliance, which should settle the conditions of a general peace, and maintain them. They were willing also to enter into a concert with the King of Prussia for the defence of Northern Germany from French aggression; and, if necessary, to grant a subsidy for the purpose. After receiving these communications at the beginning of February, 1798, De Luc, carrying with him a letter of introduction from the Duke of Brunswick, set out for Berlin, ostensibly to collect materials for a scientific treatise, and secretly to present the English memorandum to Count Haugwitz.

The Count gave him a warm welcome; expressed great satisfaction on reading Lord Grenville's memorandum; and discussed the situation of Prussia and of Europe with a frankness and unreserve which had all the appearance of sincerity.

During the following ten days, De Luc lived in complete seclusion, only stealing out at dusk to hold long conferences with the Prussian Minister. The mystery in which he shrouded himself excited the suspicions of the Berlin police; and Haugwitz, in answer to an appeal for protection, paid him a secret visit to instruct him to rid himself of their importunity. Of the conversations that passed at these and many subsequent interviews between himself and the Prussian statesman, De Luc sent detailed statements, either to George III. or to Lord Grenville. His long letters, diffuse in style, and written with pale ink, in a very small but clear hand, appear to have severely tried Lord Grenville's patience, and his eyesight. But they enhance the value of his reports as historical material. In fact, his letters are the only confidential communication from Berlin in Lord Grenville's correspondence which clearly reveal forces and motives underlying Prussian policy, apart from private influences and personal rivalries. They have particular interest on account of the light they throw on the character and conduct of Count Haugwitz, a statesman who acted a leading part on the political stage of Europe from the beginning of the Revolutionary Wars in 1792 to the battle of Jena in 1806.

When Frederick William had recovered sufficiently to attend again to business, Haugwitz sent De Luc his reply to Lord Grenville. De Luc, being now released from restraint, was writing a report for the information of Lord Elgin, then confined to his house by illness, when he was interrupted by a visit from Mr. Garlike, British Secretary of Legation. Elgin had just seen an announcement in the official Gazette of the arrival at Berlin, some days before, of the Professor of Natural History at Göttingen. At once suspecting some secret practice on the part of Haugwitz, whom he thoroughly distrusted, he sent to ask De Luc to call on him on the following day. The interview seems to have been stormy. Elgin wrote to Lord Grenville complaining of De Luc's secret negotiations as an insult to himself as British Minister. And De Luc having despatched Haugwitz's letter to Grenville, returned to Brunswick to report his proceedings to the Duke, who gave them unqualified approval.

The Duke repeated the same views in a letter to George III. But Lord Grenville supported Elgin, and refused to countenance anything that bore the semblance of double negotiation. He returned Count Haugwitz's letter in order that it might be sent to him through the regular official channel. At the same time he asked De Luc to go back to Berlin to co-operate with General de Stamfort in an effort to win the adhesion of the King of Prussia to a Quadruple Alliance.

De Luc returning to Berlin in the character of a vagrant philosopher, found De Stamfort about to relinquish his mission in despair. Disheartened by unlooked-for neglect, De Stamfort had decided to return to Brunswick. The favour of the Queen of England and the introductions she gave him to members of the House of Mecklinburg Strelitz, placed De Luc on

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an intimate footing at the Prussian Court. At his solicitation Queen Louise induced her husband to receive De Stamfort. But the interview from which so much had been expected, produced no perceptible result.

De Stamfort, looking at the matter through the glasses of Prince de Reuss, saw in the policy of Count Haugwitz, compounded of fear of France and distrust of Austria, the evil influence that counteracted his efforts. He impressed this view on the mind of De Luc; who, in a special audience, at which Queen Louise was also present, implored the King, as he valued the safety of his kingdom and of Europe, not to be guided by the counsels of any single minister, but to form a Council of Ministers to advise him on questions of foreign policy. Frederick William listened patiently to his long harangue, praised his honesty and good intentions, and dismissed him with gracious words. Then seeing that the question of an indemnity for the Prince of Orange, and the estrangement of their envoys from Count Haugwitz, prevented any approach to an agreement of the other conservative powers with Prussia, as desired by the British Government, De Luc returned to London at the end of March, 1798, to explain to George III. the causes of the political deadlock at Berlin.

De Luc's zeal for religion and established order had been stimulated of late by the aggressions of the French Directory, which excited alarm throughout Europe and had brought his native land under Jacobin rule. One French army invaded Switzerland, and, after a prolonged struggle, abolished its ancient constitution, and substituted another of the latest Parisian pattern. With the support of a second French army, a democratic system of the same character was established in Holland. A third army entered Rome, dragged the Pope from the Vatican to a French prison, and converted the Ecclesiastical States into the Roman Republic. By these acts of violence Austria saw the balance of interests lately established by the treaty of Campo Formio, overthrown to her great disadvantage. The King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, near relatives of the Emperor, fearing to be overwhelmed in the revolutionary torrent, appealed to him for protection. Baron Thugut, Imperial Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs, was an implacable foe of the French Revolution. He had disapproved of the treaty of Campo Formio concluded by Count Cobentzl, and had only remained in office at the urgent entreaty of the Emperor, and with the purpose of renewing the war in circumstances more favourable to Austria. Unfortunately provocation came from France before the condition of Austria had much improved.

The resources of the Austrian monarchy had long been exhausted, and its relations with the only power able to supply its needs had become strained to the point of breaking. At the very time when Lord Grenville urged the King of Prussia to enter into an alliance with the Emperor, it appears from a letter written to him by Count Starhemberg on February 18th,

1798, that he meditated withdrawing the British Minister from Vienna. The cause of complaint was twofold: concealment by the Austrian Government of certain articles in her late treaties with France, thought to be prejudicial to British interests; and refusal to fulfil a financial engagement.

It was under these unpromising circumstances that in the beginning of April, Count Starhemberg communicated to Grenville the substance of a despatch he had just received from the Imperial Chancellor. The overtures of the King of Prussia to the Emperor, Thugut wrote, were a perfidious manœuvre of Count Haugwitz. The Austrian Government had declined discussion with that of Prussia, and had referred all matters in dispute between them to the arbitration of the Czar. It was still doubtful whether peace would be made between Germany and France at Rastadt. Even if it were made, the treaty would be worthless, as the aggressions of the Directory could only be restrained by superior force. Such being the case, Thugut suggested that the British and Imperial Governments, having first come to an understanding with each other on certain essential points, should fix the basis of a Quadruple Alliance against France, and propose it for acceptance to the Czar and the King of Prussia. After the proposal had been considered in all its bearings for a fortnight, Grenville replied that the British Government concurred as to the importance of forming a Quadruple Alliance; was in a condition to sustain a prolonged conflict; and would send a fleet to the Mediterranean if the King of Naples would open his ports to it, and the Emperor would undertake to defend him against France. But it declined to discuss the question of a subsidy until the Emperor had ratified the convention of May, 1797; and it declared that confidence could only be restored between the two Governments by a frank disclosure of the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio. While this reply was still on its way, the situation of Austria had become exceedingly critical. A Viennese mob assailed the French Embassy and hauled down the tricolour flag; and the satisfaction he demanded being refused, General Bernadotte, the French resident Minister, quitted Vienna. War being now imminent, Thugut again pressed Grenville for a subsidy; but the British Government would not move from the ground it had taken up. And although the Austrian Chancellor sent an agent named Ransonet to London to try and arrange for the paying of arrears of interest on the Austrian loan of 1795, he flatly refused to ratify the convention of May, 1797. A confidential letter of Starhemberg to Grenville, dated July 8th, 1798, throws light on this attitude of Baron Thugut. It was due, Starhemberg explained, to irritation caused by the peremptory tone of the British Government; to doubt as to the sufficiency of the supplies England would agree to furnish; to fear of provoking France without adequate means of resistance; to a still greater fear that the British Government might insist on a right to control the movements of Austrian armies. If the British Govern-

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ment would only state the amount of subsidy it was prepared to grant, and would pledge itself not to meddle with Austrian military plans, his sovereign, Starhemberg said, would ratify the convention. Grenville in reply merely availed himself of the freedom of a private letter to point another denial by contrasting British honour with Austrian bad faith.

In the meantime George III. had induced the Prince of Orange to renounce all claim to compensation for his losses in Holland, out of secularized domains in Germany. De Luc returned to Brunswick at the end of April, bringing a commission from the Prince to General de Stamfort to announce this renunciation to the King of Prussia and to the Emperor. He also gave Stamfort a letter of instructions from Lord Grenville to endeavour, in discharging his new mission, to bring the great German sovereigns into direct communication with each other, so as to get rid of the rivalry of Haugwitz and Thugut, who represented national animosities and distrust. When De Luc, after a short stay at Brunswick, found himself again at Berlin, everything promised well for the success of English policy. But a change for which the British Government was in some degree responsible suddenly clouded the prospect. The Austrian Government, on failing to obtain a subsidy from England, had found it necessary, in order to avert war, which it could not support, to concede most of the demands made by Bernadotte at Vienna; and to undertake besides to send Count Cobentzl to Rastadt for the purpose of settling with a special envoy of the Directory the more complicated questions at issue between the two powers.

The Conference of the four powers opened on May 28th, with unfavourable auspices. At the first sitting the question of compensating the Prince of Orange by enlarging his Principality of Nassau came up for discussion. Prince de Reuss unexpectedly opposed the suggestion, and debate on it was adjourned. De Stamfort started at once for Vienna to ask an audience of the Emperor. Lord Elgin went in search of health to the baths of Töplitz; and soon after returned to England. The King of Prussia, accompanied by Count Haugwitz, set out on a tour through his provinces. The Duke of Brunswick returned to his capital; and De Luc made an excursion into Saxony for geological investigation.

During the winter and spring, Dundas, as Minister for War, had been strenuously engaged in organizing the national forces to repel invasion. The only enemies, however, he had had to encounter were those of his own political household. He wrote to Grenville on February 12th that if relieved by Pitt from the meddling obstruction of the Duke of Portland's office, "I will in three months hold an invasion in derision; or "rather, I shall devoutly pray for the attempt being made."

Later on, a plan for making the militia more serviceable brought the whole government into conflict with the Marquis of Buckingham.

Lord Buckingham sent Lord Grenville a letter for Pitt,

announcing his intention to oppose this "silly German project" in the House of Lords, and to resign his command if it were carried. Some way seems to have been discovered of pacifying Lord Buckingham, as the crisis passed without further recrimination. Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV.

All Dundas's colleagues in the Cabinet did not share his own sanguine views as to the efficiency of his defensive measures. Windham wrote to Grenville on May 17th. Lord Cornwallis also, in a letter to General Ross, expressed little confidence in plans of defence adopted solely on the advice of the War Minister's kinsman, General David Dundas. Long before these letters were penned, however, all danger of invasion had passed away. Bonaparte had reported to the Directory before the close of February that the miserable condition of the French navy made any attempt of the kind impracticable; and had turned his whole attention to preparations for a magnificent scheme of conquest in the East. Two interesting letters from M. Dolomieu, one of the most distinguished savans of the age, sent to De Luc from Switzerland, and forwarded by him to Lord Grenville, give us some idea of the vast range of scientific research comprehended in the aims of the expedition.

Later on, we have a long narrative, dated October 10th, by Chevalier de Thuisy, one of the expelled Knights, of the capture of Malta by Bonaparte.

That the British Admiralty had to overcome immense difficulties in manning additional ships, before they could so reinforce Lord St. Vincent's fleet as to enable him to detach Nelson with a naval squadron to scour the Mediterranean, is abundantly evident from letters of Pitt and Lord Spencer. A still greater impediment in the way of maintaining a British fleet in the Mediterranean was the want of access to a friendly port for needful supplies and repairs. But a letter from the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton, dated June 11th, forwarded to Grenville by Sir William Hamilton, gave assurance of covert help. And soon afterwards a defensive treaty concluded with Austria encouraged the King of Naples to open his harbour to the British navy in defiance of France.

A letter, dated July 31st, to Grenville, from Rufus King, Minister of the American Republic in London, gives some particulars of a rupture of friendly relations between France and the United States. The quarrel was not made up until Bonaparte became First Consul.

The expulsion from Malta of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which he was Protector, had inflamed the anger of the Czar, already kindled against France by earlier aggressions. Towards the end of July he instructed Count Woronzow to make an overture to the British Government for an offensive treaty on the lines of that almost concluded by his mother when she died in October, 1796. Pitt, in a letter to Grenville, eagerly welcomed this proposal. It appears, however, from a letter of Dundas to Grenville, dated August 19th, that doubts, probably suggested by Dundas himself, subsequently arose in

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Pitt's mind as to whether a return to the system of subsidizing foreign powers would be tolerated by the country.

The undated letter addressed to Pitt which Dundas sent Grenville, with Pitt's concurrence, as expressing his own sentiments on the subject, gives us a striking picture of a rapid recovery of national prosperity and public spirit in the course of a single year. But however Pitt may have wavered for a moment, Lord Grenville's policy prevailed in the British Cabinet, only to meet with an unexpected obstacle at St. Petersburg. Within a few days of his arrival at the Russian Court, Count Cobentzl had so worked on the mind of the Czar as to win his support for the two main objects of Austrian diplomacy, in anticipation of war with France. In a letter dated August 30th, Paul instructed Count Woronzow to offer his mediation on the points at issue between Austria and Great Britain, in order that the two powers might act in concert against the common foe. Lord Grenville stated the case of the British Government in a conference with the Russian Minister, on whose friendship he could rely to place it in the most favourable light before his Sovereign. A letter from Woronzow, dated July 6th, besides giving us an interesting sketch of the character of the Czar, traces the origin and growth of this friendship, now firmly established on common ground of patriotic motive and personal esteem.

Count Cobentzl's influence being still in the ascendant at the Court of St. Petersburg, the British answer to his offer of mediation did not please the Czar. Sir Charles Whitworth, the English resident Minister, reported that Paul postponed co-operation with the British Government until it was prepared to enter into concert with that of Austria. And Whitworth took on himself the responsibility of signing a new convention, drawn up by Cobentzl, which deferred discussion as to the mode of repaying old debts, until the question of a subsidy had been settled. This turn of affairs at St. Petersburg, as appears clearly from their letters of October 28th and 29th, placed Pitt and Grenville in a most embarrassing situation. From this strait they were rescued by the good offices of Count Woronzow, who, in despatches revised by Grenville, assured his master that the British Parliament, which made and unmade Ministries at its pleasure, would not permit any new dealing with Austria until old engagements had been fulfilled. Woronzow also saved Whitworth from being recalled, in addition to being disavowed, by warning Grenville that his own recall from London would inevitably follow. And the storm blew over without having any worse effect than a little soreness of feeling at St. Petersburg.

In the meantime news had arrived of the landing of Bonaparte in Egypt. The Porte declared war against France in the beginning of September; the Czar sent a fleet and army to the Sultan's aid; and Lord Grenville took measures for despatching Sir Sidney Smith and Colonel Koehler, an artillery officer of repute who had served in the East, to help the Turks

on sea and land. Intelligence of Nelson's great victory at Aboukir encouraged a spirit of resistance in countries overrun or threatened by French armies; and desponding letters, intercepted at sea, from officers of Bonaparte's army, seemed to presage the entire destruction of his expedition. Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV.

The Maltese rose against their French garrison, and shut it up in the fortress of Valetta, which a British fleet blockaded by sea.

Naples began to arm openly, General Mack having come from Vienna to organize and lead the levies. A party of Dutch Republicans attached to the old Federal Constitution, which had been lately abolished, applied to the British Government through Rufus King for aid in freeing Holland from a French occupation. But as they insisted on excluding the Prince of Orange from the country, a condition which Lord Grenville would not accept, the negotiation fell through. About the same time hopes inspired by disaffection to the French Government in Belgium were also doomed to disappointment; an appeal from Count Starhemberg to his brother-in-law, the Duke d'Ursel, to organize an insurrection with the support of Great Britain, meeting with no response.

In September, 1798, however, a change that seemed big with the most important consequences came over the policy of Prussia. We have numerous indications of it in letters from M. de Luc and Mr. Garlike to Lord Grenville, from Count Panin to Count Woronzow, and in reports from Brunswick to the Count d'Artois, at Holyrood House, communicated to Lord Grenville through the agency of Lord Minto. The aggressions of the French Directory had thrown the King of Prussia, the Duke of Brunswick and Count Haugwitz into a state of profound alarm for the safety of North Germany. When the conference at Seltze terminated without result, war between Austria and France seemed to be inevitable. And during the Duke of Brunswick's visit to Potsdam in September for the military reviews, he and Haugwitz succeeded in persuading Frederick William that the course of events might soon enable him, without much risk, to take a bolder line for the assertion of Prussian interests. In order to pave the way for the movement contemplated, they had recourse to the resident minister of Russia, Count Panin.

The Duke cautiously inquired of Panin whether in the negotiations for a coalition, the question of new territorial arrangements at the conclusion of peace had been considered. Haugwitz opened his mind more freely in several unofficial conversations. The only object, he said, that could induce Prussia, in the absence of direct provocation from France, to depart from an attitude of neutrality, was the expulsion of French troops from Holland. But even for this object, Prussia would not move until hostilities had actually begun between Austria and France. "It remains to know," he invariably concluded, "what price England attaches to this work; what help she would give to facilitate it," Panin enclosed a note

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of these remarks in a letter to Count Woronzow, dated October 18th, for the consideration of Lord Grenville. Following close on Panin's letter we have a scheme of operations in Holland for the restoration of the Prince of Holland by the combined action of Great Britain and Prussia, drawn up by the Duke of Brunswick.

It did not, however, suit British purposes in the existing posture of affairs to enter into any separate engagement with Prussia. Lord Grenville wrote to Count Woronzow on November 2nd that it was only by joining to form a Quadruple Alliance that Prussia could derive benefit from the 2,000,000*l.* which was all Great Britain had to give to foreign powers. But he used the information supplied by Panin in drafting new proposals which Sir Charles Whitworth was instructed in a most secret letter, dated November 16th, to submit to the Czar.

Before, however, this communication reached the Czar, news received at Berlin that Austria had opened fresh negotiations with France, through the mediation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and had stopped the Russian army advancing to aid her, checked a growing inclination in the King of Prussia to quit the safe ground of neutrality.

British interests at Constantinople had been hitherto so insignificant as only to require a diplomatic mission of the lowest rank. But Turkey's quarrel with France and alliance with England opened such a prospect of political influence, and so expanded trade to the Levant, that in November Lord Grenville sent Lord Elgin, at his own request, as British Minister to the Sublime Porte, with the rank and appointments he had held at Berlin. Some weeks later Sir Sidney Smith, after many objections had been overcome, started for the Turkish capital in order to concert operations with the Porte and M. Tomara, the Russian resident Minister, before proceeding to take command of a naval squadron then blockading the Nile. His letters to Grenville in January-March, 1799, contain interesting accounts of his reception by the Sultan and other incidents arising out of his mission to the East.

At Naples the presence of Nelson's fleet had thrown the direction of affairs into the hands of the war party, led by the Queen. General Mack taking advantage of the enfeebled and dispersed state of the French army in the ecclesiastical states, crossed the border in November, at the head of 40,000 men, and occupied Rome. The enemy, hastily concentrating under Generals Championnet and Macdonald, drove back the Neapolitans to the line of the Volturno. Though this position was very strong, Mack, losing heart, gave it up on ignominious conditions, and had to fly to the French camp from the fury of his troops. The King and Queen of the two Sicilies embarked by night on Nelson's flagship, and were carried over to Sicily. The Neapolitan army disbanded. The lazzaroni defended Naples with splendid valour; but though they saved the city from being plundered, they could not save the monarchy; and Naples became the capital of the Parthenopian

Republic. Austria, in spite of the Czar's remonstrances, looked on while the Kings of Sardinia and the two Sicilies were stripped of all their Italian dominions. Baron Thugut, not being as yet ready for war, would not allow his hand to be forced.

On December 30th the Czar replied to Lord Grenville's last proposals. He had spared no effort, he said, to form a strong coalition against France. He approved generally of the territorial settlement recommended by Lord Grenville, but would not limit the Emperor to the recovery of Lombardy lest he should find it more for his interest to come to terms with France. The Pope also, he said, must be restored. He had pressed Austria to defer hostilities no longer; and he declared himself ready to take any further steps for the advancement of their common aims that the British Government might suggest.

Lord Grenville had already despatched his brother, Thomas Grenville, as Minister Plenipotentiary to Berlin to support the Russian proposals. But this mission was much impeded by contrary winds and weather of extraordinary severity. At a first attempt in December to reach Cuxhaven, Mr. Grenville found the German coast completely ice-bound, and the ship, after beating about for nine days on a stormy sea, returned to Yarmouth. A second voyage in the beginning of February proved still more perilous. Floating blocks of ice, swept down the current of the Elbe, caught the vessel and wrecked it on a sandbank. The passengers and crew made their way over a frozen sea to the little island of Nework; and thence, by walking for six hours, in intense frost, through water which gradually rose above their waists, reached Cuxhaven with little loss of life. Mr. Grenville managed to save most of his official papers, but recovered none of his personal effects for some weeks afterwards. When he arrived at Berlin on February 17th, the Czar's proposals were still under the consideration of the Prussian Government; Count Panin having orders to quit that capital if they were not accepted. Count Haugwitz and Count Finchenstein, feebly sustained by the Duke of Brunswick, supported them against the opposition of the King's family and the majority of his advisers, of his personal scruples, and of national sentiment.

During the struggle of parties Haugwitz's supremacy in the department of foreign affairs had been severely shaken. When it became known that he inclined towards a breach with France, the peace party, headed by Prince Henry, which had hitherto given him his staunchest adherents, conspired to overthrow him. A charge of encouraging the patriotic aspirations of Poland brought against Prince Radzivill, who had married in to the Royal family of Prussia, afforded a pretext to the Prince's relatives for accusing Haugwitz of misconduct in office. Count Schulemberg also, an old and able antagonist, whom Haugwitz had supplanted in the post of Foreign Secretary by advocating peace when Schulemberg advocated war, now turned his successful tactics against himself. Haugwitz,

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however, found no difficulty in exculpating himself to the King, but he had forfeited the confidence of powerful classes. And the equivocal conduct of the Austrian Government strengthened the arguments of the peace party, incessantly poured into Frederick William's ear by Colonel Kökeritz, its mouthpiece in the Royal household. Panin, Grenville, De Stamfort, and De Luc earnestly besought the Duke of Brunswick to cast the weight of his influence into the scale of a Quadruple Alliance. But the Duke after several interviews with the King relapsed into a state of doubt; and then Haugwitz, being of pliant disposition and tenacious of office, gave way to please his sovereign. In reply to the Czar's proposal of an offensive concert against France, he brought forward the counter-project of a defensive concert for the protection of North Germany, Sweden and Denmark. The discussions that followed turned chiefly on the significance of the phrase *agir au besoin*.

As Mr. Grenville rejected the idea of paying for such limited co-operation, the negotiation came to an end. Mr. Grenville seems at first to have found consolation for the failure of his negotiation in a belief that the loss of Prussion aid would make Austria more tractable to British demands. But the political attitude of Count Dietrichstein, who came from Vienna as successor of Prince de Reuss, quickly dispelled this illusion. Napper Tandy had arrived at Hamburg in November, 1798; and although a French general, and on neutral ground, had been arrested by order of the Senate and handed over to the British Government. As the Directory threatened vengeance for this insult, the Czar sent a proposal to Berlin that an army composed of Russian, Prussian, British and Danish troops should assemble in the vicinity of the menaced city for its defence. And Mr. Grenville instructed Sir James Craufurd, the resident British Minister, secretly to persuade the principal inhabitants to receive a part of this composite force within their walls. But while Haugwitz gained time by an evasive answer to the Czar's proposal, the citizens of Hamburg spoiled the project by refusing to admit a garrison.

Mr. Grenville could no longer hope to accomplish the principal objects of his mission to Germany. In announcing it to the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville had written: "He (Thomas Grenville) will have, if I mistake not, very much "the glory of signing the overthrow of Jacobin France." He had signed nothing at Berlin; and he saw no prospect of advantage from a journey to Vienna. Instead of a Quadruple Alliance of powers acting in concert to achieve objects determined beforehand, there was only a disjointed sort of Triple Alliance, of which two of the partners were mutually estranged, and shaped their plans in entire independence of each other. Under these circumstances, Mr. Grenville decided to remain at Berlin to watch and, as far as possible, influence the course of events. He vented his chagrin freely, if not altogether

justly, in bitter reproaches against Sir Morton Eden, his colleague at Vienna.

In the meantime hostilities had begun between France and Austria. Baron Thugut's dilatory tactics at length wore out the patience of the Czar, who threatened to withhold his aid if they were persisted in further. And the march of Russian troops into Germany drew a declaration of war from the Directory.

The minor States of Southern Germany appealed in vain to the King of Prussia to include them in the neutral zone protected by his guarantee. A French army commanded by General Jourdan overran them early in March, while another under General Massena invaded the Grisons. But though the French pursued the same system of incessant attack which had carried them everywhere to victory in the last war, it was no longer with the same superiority of numbers and of military skill. The defeat of Jourdan by the Archduke Charles at Stockach on March 25th, followed by the retreat of the beaten army in confusion across the Rhine, was only the first of a series of Republican reverses which signalized the opening of the campaign, and promised a rapid accomplishment of the aims of the coalition.

The Editor has thought it right to give a rather full account of the secret negotiations for the formation of a third coalition against the Revolutionary government in France, because the papers relating to them, now printed for the first time, illustrate a somewhat obscure chapter of modern history. The second long series of letters contained in this volume, concerning the state of Ireland at the close of the 18th century, and the Act of Union, add little of importance to what has been told already in the Cornwallis, Castlereagh, Auckland, Pelham, Wolfe Tone, and other contemporary records, and call for comparatively brief notice. The great majority of them were written by the Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville. Grenville's letters to the Marquis during the same period are sparingly given in the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos's work, *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*

The other papers comprised in this Volume which claim particular attention are:—

(1.) Reports, dated March, 1798, by M. Bornes, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, of conversations in Switzerland with General Carnot, after the revolution of the 18th Fructidor in France.

(2.) A letter from Mr. Dundas to Lord Grenville, dated July 21st, 1798, relating to the establishment of a military college for the education of British officers under the superintendence of General de Jarry, a distinguished French strategist, of whose services mention is made in the Introduction to Volume III.

(3.) Letters from Lord Mornington, dated November 18th,

Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV. 1798, and February 21st, 1799, discoursing familiarly to Grenville of his conduct and policy during the first year of his term of office as Viceroy of India.

Vol. V. The papers contained in Volume V. relate almost exclusively to the campaigns of 1799 between the forces of the European Powers forming the Third or, as it is sometimes called, the Second Coalition, and those of Republican France. They are a frank revelation of the policy of the British Cabinet, its hopes, fears, projects, efforts, and failures, in connexion with the important events crowded into seven months, from the end of March to the end of October, of that year.

Paul I., Czar of Russia, had no material interests to serve by waging war against France. But coveting the glory of being everywhere acclaimed as the champion of conservative principles and the saviour of Europe, he yielded to appeals from the Emperor Francis II. and George III.; and spared no effort not only to bring the King of Prussia into the Coalition, but to strengthen it by reconciling the estranged Governments of Austria and Great Britain. Frederick William III., however, clung tenaciously to the neutral policy adopted by his father in 1795. And Lord Grenville, with Pitt's support, refused to subsidize or enter into concert with Austria, until the financial convention, signed in London in 1797, had been ratified at Vienna. The matter in dispute was apparently of little real importance. Austria acknowledged her debt; Great Britain did not ask for immediate repayment. But angry reproaches, wounded pride, mutual resentment and suspicion aroused by diplomatic methods, had magnified what seems to have been little more than a formality into a point of national honour, on which neither party would give way. The consequence was that, at the breaking out of war, France found herself confronted by a coalition so loosely constructed as to afford little promise of long life. It was a triple league, of which the Czar was centre and connecting link; his allies, the Governments of Austria and Great Britain, forming plans in concert with him but without communication with each other; each intent on pursuing a line of action against the common enemy according most with its particular views and interests.

Lord Grenville, partly in deference to his brothers' complaints from Berlin, sent Lord Minto to replace Sir Morton Eden at Vienna, with some expectation of being able to influence Austrian counsels through a stronger minister. But he seems to have much underrated the danger to the Coalition likely to result from his own antagonism to the Imperial Chancellor, Baron Thugut, on whose position and character foreign letters included in the correspondence throw considerable light. Thugut having acquired complete ascendency over the mind of the Emperor Francis II., exercised absolute control over the armies, as well as the policy of the Austrian Monarchy. Even Archduke Charles, the Emperor's brother, and already reputed the ablest Austrian commander since Prince Eugene,

seems to have been during this campaign, however unwillingly, a mere puppet in his hands. And he pursued his plans with a silent and stubborn tenacity which all remonstrances of an unfriendly or interested character only served to harden.

From the very beginning of the war, and even before Russian succours reached the scene of hostilities, the Austrian generals and armies showed decisive superiority over those of France. Archduke Charles defeated General Jourdan at Stockach and drove his army in headlong confusion across the Rhine. Then passing into Switzerland he dislodged Massena from fortified positions which seemed to defy attack. In Italy the Austrian General Kray opened the campaign by a brilliant victory over General Scherer at Magnano. Immediately afterwards Marshal Souvarow entered the field with a body of Russians and assumed supreme command of the allied troops. Marching from triumph to triumph he routed in succession the three French armies of Moreau, McDonald, and Joubert, captured the fortresses of Alessandria and Turin, and expelled the French from the entire peninsula, with the exception of the City of Genoa and a few positions on the Maritime Alps. These splendid successes changed the face of the political situation, and stimulated the hopes and efforts of all the enemies of France. Even the King of Prussia allowed Count Haugwitz to resume the discussion of a project, proposed earlier in the year by Mr. Grenville, of joint intervention in Holland for the restoration of the House of Orange. But the British Government distrusting the King's timidity—and justly, for soon after he suffered the French Directory to entangle him in an elusive negotiation—now framed bolder plans, embracing the same object, but based mainly on the co-operation of the Emperor Paul. These, as unfolded and discussed in Lord Grenville's correspondence with his brother, resolved themselves into three distinct series of military operations: (1) A joint expedition of British troops and Russians in British pay, to recover Holland and Belgium from France, and restore the Prince of Orange as ruler of the whole Netherlands, or of the Dutch Republic only, as riper knowledge and experience might determine, but on terms exceedingly advantageous to Great Britain. (2) The assembling in Switzerland of a larger army, composed of Russians, Swiss, Wirtembergers, and Condé's corps of *émigrés*, also in the pay of Great Britain, but under the command of Marshal Suvarow, who had nearly finished his work in Italy. (3) Later in the year, when the Netherlands had been conquered, the landing of a strong body of British and Russian troops in Brittany, to capture and destroy Brest, and aid a Chouan revolt which Georges Cadoudal was organizing with funds supplied from the British Treasury.

The first of these enterprises, requiring the co-operation of the Russian Emperor only, moved smoothly forward through all its preparatory stages. Paul granted a contingent of 18,000 troops, and procured from the King of Sweden an offer of 6,000 more, which the British Government declined. The

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Hereditary Prince of Orange, who had been living at Berlin in constant communication with the adherents of his House in the Dutch Republic, repaired to Lingon. With full powers from his father at Hampton Court, and money furnished by Mr. Grenville, he despatched trustworthy agents to all parts of the Netherlands to rally and organise the Orange party, collect information, and arrange for simultaneous risings when the time for action should have come. Their reports left no doubt of a general desire among the people of every shade of opinion to rid themselves of the oppressive yoke of France; of disaffection in the Dutch army and navy; of the reduction of the French garrison to a mere handful of troops; of the hopeful activity of the Orange party, and the discord and deep discouragement of the party in power. To muster the troops and provide means of transport for them would require many weeks. But neither Lord Grenville nor his brother seems to have entertained a doubt that, should existing conditions hold good for that period, the occupation of the entire Netherlands by a powerful Anglo-Russian force, boldly led, would be rather a triumphal march than an arduous military operation.

The Czar also readily adopted the British plan of campaign in Switzerland, pressed its acceptance at Vienna, and sent a body of Russian troops to Zurich, under the command of General Korsakow. In this plan Austrian co-operation was an essential ingredient. Baron Thugut at first raised no difficulty. Suvarow's victories in Italy had excited to a very high pitch the jealous anger of the Austrian generals under his command. The Marshal, finding his orders disobeyed, his plans thwarted, and his Russian troops, which had borne the brunt of the fighting, reduced to a mere remnant, complained to his sovereign of the slights put on him, and asked to be recalled. His letter and a disposition already shown by the Austrian Government to aggrandize itself in Italy at the expense of the Pope and the King of Sardinia, whom the Russian autocrat had taken under his protection, incensed Paul. Sharp remonstrances from the Russian Chancellor Rostopchin to Count Cobentzl greatly perturbed the Court of Vienna. And in his anxiety, as it would appear, to remove Suvarow from Italy, without any rupture of friendly relations with an imperious ally, Thugut acquiesced in the British plan of campaign. Assured, as he thought, on this point, Lord Grenville sent back Mr. Wickham as British Minister in Switzerland to reopen communications with the Royalists of Eastern France, and hasten the enrolment, already begun, of 20,000 Swiss. Later on, he despatched Lord Mulgrave as military commissioner to the Russian headquarters at Zurich, to bring Suvarow or Korsakow, as the case might be, into concert with the Archduke, and to take command of the Swiss levies; and he held Count d'Artois in readiness to join Suvarow at the opportune moment. Hardly, however, had the Russian Field-marshal been ordered to march

into Switzerland, when Baron Thugut began to show his hand. Having been refused a subsidy, and even concert, by the British Cabinet, he seems to have resolved to reserve Austrian armies as much as possible for the accomplishing of Austrian aims, and, where these were not involved, to allow armies subsidised by Great Britain to bear the brunt of the war with France. With this view he had checked the Archduke's advance in Switzerland, and kept him inactive for two months. On several important points Austrian policy clashed with that of Great Britain. The Court of Vienna had lost all sympathy for the Royalist cause in France. It disliked the French princes, and would not risk a man or a florin to make the Count of Provence Louis XVIII. Neither was it willing to abandon Belgium, which had been for so long a period a possession of the Emperor, and where he still had powerful partisans, to be disposed of as the British Cabinet might determine. Under the pretext that Suvarow's army alone would be strong enough to expel the French from Switzerland, Baron Thugut suddenly announced the intention of withdrawing the Archduke's army to protect Germany against a French attack, recover the fortress of Mayence, and, as Lord Grenville surmised, open the way for an Austrian occupation of the Netherlands. It was in this manner, he declared, that the Emperor could give most effectual support to the movements of his allies. Even if all the other conditions of the British plan had been fully satisfied, this decision must have proved fatal to it, Massena's army having been largely reinforced. But the Swiss recruiting had failed. Owing in a great measure, as Wickham reported, to the faults of British officers employed as commissaries, 2,000 men only out of 20,000 had been enrolled. The Wirtembergers had not arrived. The effective strength of Korsakow's Russian army did not exceed 40,000 men. Lord Mulgrave on reaching Zurich found that military rivalries had already spread from Italy to Switzerland, Austrian and Russian generals being on terms that almost forbade any hope of cordial co-operation. While he laboured to improve their relations, the Archduke, in obedience to orders from the Austrian War Office, moved off to Mayence, leaving General Hotze with an Austrian division in the Grisons, as a link of connexion between Suvarow and Korsakow. Massena, seizing his opportunity, fell with superior force on the armies of Korsakow and Hotze, routed them completely, and sent them flying in wild confusion into Germany. The Archduke hastened back to repair these disasters only to find them irreparable. Suvarow crossed the St. Gothard by forced marches only to find the Austrian positions and magazines on which he counted for support, in the hands of the French. He extricated himself from the trap into which he had fallen unawares, by a wonderful retreat over frightful passes, amidst almost incredible hardships and privations, to Coire; and skirting Lake Constance, joined the wreck of Korsakow's army. A letter from Mr. Wickham, dated September 30th, describes the earlier incidents of the

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battle of Zurich, of which he was an eye-witness. Other letters from him of later date, most of which, having been published by his literary executors, are not included in this volume, give accounts of Marshal Suvarow. The eccentricities and occasional roughness of the famous old warrior seem to have shocked Mr. Wickham's sense of propriety, and clouded his judgment.

While reverses thus tarnished the arms of the Coalition in Switzerland, the Anglo-Russian expedition made little way in Holland. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with the leading British divisions, after tossing about for a fortnight on the North Sea, beaten off by contrary winds from more eligible points of the Dutch coast, had effected a landing at the Helder towards the end of August. A fleet of Dutch warships in the Texel, on being summoned by Admiral Mitchell, hoisted the Orange flag and surrendered. Dutch soldiers deserted in bands, growing larger every day after the arrival of the Hereditary Prince at the Helder. General Brune, the Republican Commander-in-Chief, had as yet under his orders only a small body of French soldiers, the only troops on whom he could count with any confidence. But contrary to the intention of the English ministry, Abercromby, although reinforced by 10,000 Russians, remained strictly on the defensive for another fortnight, until the arrival of the Duke of York with other divisions brought up the strength of the invading army to a total of 48,000 men. It had been decided in England that four or five thousand of these should be detached from the main body to aid insurrections in Groningen and Friesland. But this design was not carried out. Nor were six thousand Dutch deserters, who joined the Hereditary Prince, turned to any use, no vessel being available to transport them across the Zuyder Zee. After the Duke of York's arrival there was another considerable pause for preparation, during which Brune's army continued to grow in strength and in power of vigorous resistance. Then followed nearly three weeks of alternate advance and retreat along a narrow neck of land, resulting in a convention which allowed the Duke to return with the allied troops to England, on conditions which gave it, in Lord Grenville's view at least, too much the character of a capitulation.

Thomas Grenville had left Berlin in the beginning of September to aid the Hereditary Prince of Orange in organising revolt in the Provinces of Groningen and Friesland; and thence proceed to Holland as British Ambassador Extraordinary to take charge of the political objects of the Anglo-Russian expedition. The sudden departure of the Hereditary Prince from Lingen to the Helder partly upset his plans. Want of certain intelligence from England or Holland, owing partly to adverse gales, kept him for many weeks in painful suspense at Hamburg. And contrary winds delayed his passage for some weeks more from Emden to Holland. His letters during this trying period betray the feelings of astonishment and dismay which the dilatory tactics of the

British generals seem to have excited in all well-wishers of the expedition. The staunchest friends of the House of Orange in the two provinces most faithful to it, Friesland and Groningen, refused to run any risk so long as the armed aid they had been taught to look for was withheld. Other letters contain passing references to General Brune's activity and decision in turning to account every available means of defence. His resolute energy saved a situation which, in the beginning, had seemed to men of all parties desperate. Mr. Grenville only reached the Helder to learn that the Anglo-Russian army was about to evacuate Holland, and he returned at once to England. In a letter to Mr. Dundas, dated October 28th, Lord Grenville protested against the ratification of an article of the convention signed in Holland by which the Duke of York conceded the release of some thousands of French prisoners whom he had not taken, as exceeding the powers of a general-in-chief. Dundas, however, as Minister for War, assumed the responsibility for giving more palatable advice to the King. Dropmore: MSS. Vol. V.

When active hostilities ceased at the end of October, 1799, France had lost Italy, but remained mistress of all the Netherlands, and of Switzerland. Internal discord had already brought the Coalition to the verge of disruption. On the other hand, it was very doubtful whether the French Directory, incapable, divided against itself, bankrupt, and representing only a small minority of the French nation could continue to wage a most unpopular war. The determining fact of the situation, Bonaparte's return to France, was still unknown in England; and for a long time after it became known there, was very imperfectly appreciated.

The Appendix to this volume contains two confidential reports from Mr. Liston, British Minister at Stockholm, of considerable historical interest. They relate to the assassination of Gustavus III., King of Sweden, and the Regency of his brother the Duke of Sudermania; and came to light after the publication of the volume to which they belong chronologically.

DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WELLS.

The chapter library at Wells consists of a long gallery above the eastern cloister, built during the fifteenth century, largely from a bequest made by bishop Bubwith. From the south transept of the cathedral a spiral staircase leads to the vestibule, which contains an overflow of books, several show cases, and other exhibits. Next is the library proper, with books in presses, upon most of which may be seen sockets intended to receive the iron rods to which each volume was once chained. At the further end is a square chamber, in which are now kept the manuscripts and muniments of the dean and chapter, consisting of:— Dean and Chapter of Wells.

Series i.—Original deeds, 835 in number, ranging in date from 958 to 1680 A.D.

Dean and Chapter of Wells.

Series ii.—Original papers, 86 in number, dated 1680-1812.
Series iii.—Other papers, 251 in number, dated 1510-1779.
Series iv.—Miscellaneous papers, of various dates to the present time, collected by the present librarian.

Register Books: *Liber Albus* i and ii, and *Liber Ruber*, of which a description is given below.

Chapter Acts.—The series begins with the second section of the *Liber Ruber*, which covers the period 1487-1513. It is continued from 1571 to 1644, and again from 1664 to 1743, in ten volumes of Act Books. Others of later date than 1743 are in the keeping of the chapter clerk.

Ledger Books. These volumes, 15 in number, extend from 1535 to 1813. They contain principally a register of leases granted by the chapter, with some other entries.

Ministers' Accounts—

The Communar: in 35 rolls, 1327-1652, continued in books to the present time.
The Escheator: in 36 rolls, 1372-1560.
The Master of the Fabric: in rolls, 1390-1589, continued in books to the present time.

Court Rolls. Halmote Books.

The manors of the dean and chapter: various dates, 1690-1713. (1 vol.)
The manors of the vicars choral: 41 Elizabeth to 12 James I.
Note of registers [registrars] sworn before Henry Bonner, J.P.
A Register of Marriages, 1653-1656, before Henry Bonner at Waston.
Matter of a different character at the other end.

Miscellaneous paper documents; including office copies, bundles of vouchers, etc.

Also the following manuscript books:—

Dean Cosyn's MS. Collections, 1506.
Bishop Creyghton's MS., "*Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis "Wellensis*," seventeenth century, annotated by Canon Robert Wilson in the eighteenth century.
Nathaniel Chyle's MS. "History of Wells," *circa* 1680.
A book containing copies of the charter of Queen Elizabeth, Bishop Bekinton's rules for the choristers, and new statutes of Henry VIII., signed by Thomas Cromwell as vicar general.
Archdeacon Archer's MSS., eighteenth century.
Chronicon Wellense, sive Annales.
Note Book.
The Long Book.
Rev. Richard Healy's MSS., seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Jenkyns MSS., in 3 volumes, eighteenth century; compiled by Canons John and Richard Jenkyns. Dean and Chapter of Wells.

Canon Payne's Note Book, eighteenth century.

The library contains also some theological MSS., such as a copy of the Vulgate in a very minute hand (wanting Genesis, i-xxv); two large books dated 1514 and 1517, with illuminated first pages and initials, the work of Peter Einauge (Petrus Magius Unoculus), presented to Hayles Abbey by Sir Christopher Urswyke, high almoner to King Henry VII., in memory of Sir John Huddleston, whose executor he was, the first a Psalter, the other a Latin version of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom on St. Matthew's Gospel; *Isidori Junioris Etymologiarum Liber*, an early copy, it is said, of an Exeter MS.: and legal books, such as Clarke's *Praxis*, 1596 (two copies), one entitled *Brevia*, with forms of writs, others containing legal forms, procedure, etc.

This valuable and interesting collection of manuscripts has long engaged the attention of the Commissioners. Many years ago the late Mr. Henry Thomas Riley was deputed to visit Wells on their behalf, and he printed (*First Report*, 1870, Appendix, pp. 93, 94) a brief description of the Registers and of a few other MS. books. After a subsequent visit, he added (*Third Report*, 1872, Appendix, pp. 350, 351) a catalogue of some of the original deeds, which had been, he reported, "brought to light since his previous visit." Mr. Riley also examined and briefly reported on the archives of the bishop's registry, the corporation of Wells, and the college of vicars choral.

In 1885 the Commission issued a further and more detailed *Report on the MSS. of Wells Cathedral*, in a separate volume of 373 pages with an index. This report necessarily treated the materials in a very summary manner. Whole classes of documents were represented by a few brief extracts; and even in those calendared many details of general interest had to be omitted, while of some instruments a mere heading was all that could be given. This Report being out of print, it was decided not to reissue it, but to publish instead fuller abstracts of a part at all events of the collection. Accordingly the present volume contains a calendar of the register books, properly so called. The original intention was to include with them a catalogue of the original deeds now in possession of the dean and chapter; but owing to considerations of space it has been found advisable to hold these over for the time being.

The register books of the dean and chapter are three in number, commonly known, from the colour of their covers, two of them as *Liber Albus*, the third as *Liber Ruber*. For the sake of brevity, they are referred to by numbers, in the order of their date, namely as R. I (*Liber Albus* i.), R. II (*Liber Ruber*), and R. III (*Liber Albus* ii).

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Liber Albus I. (*R. I.*) is a parchment book of 292 leaves, bound in oak boards, and named from its white cover. The contents range in date from the reign of Edward the Confessor to 1393. At the beginning is inserted an index by Mr. Healey.

This book was evidently begun as a chartulary, and the earliest entries are the charters with rubricated numbers and titles, copied in a fair engrossing hand of the thirteenth century. The scribe did not, however, cover all his parchment, but (besides the fly leaves) left sometimes part of a page, sometimes the back of a leaf, sometimes several leaves in succession; and these blank spaces have most of them been since filled, partly with copies of other documents, some in similar writing, others in a later hand, partly also with contemporary memoranda in a small current hand. Seeing that none of the rubricated charters seem to be later than 1240, while those with interpolated numbers in black bear date 1242, and the earliest dated memorandum is of 1246, we may with confidence infer that the book itself dates from 1240 or very shortly after. The remaining part of this register was gradually filled from time to time with matter of a more miscellaneous description, including many acts of the dean and chapter, and at one place a number of public charters and statutes. The book was kept, it appears, during the fourteenth century at all events, by the chancellor, who acted as registrar.

Liber Albus II. (*R. III.*) is a larger book with similar cover, written on vellum. On a fly leaf are certificates shewing that the register was produced in court on several occasions. Next comes a list of the contents, covering 10 folios, after which has been inserted an index by Mr. Healey. The register consists of 451 leaves; but ff. 313-328 are of different material to the rest, some of them cut, pieced and restored, and the last quire (f. 449 to the end), being again of different material and in a different hand, would seem to be an addition. The entries appear to have been written consecutively for the most part, not by a single hand, but in a fairly uniform script of about 1500. Handwriting of a different type however will be found on f. 448, and again from f. 449 to the end. The contents range in date from the eighth century to the end of the fifteenth, the supplement dated 1529 on f. 164 being apparently an interpolation.

As a chartulary, this volume covers a good deal of the same ground as R. I, but contains much new matter besides. Wanting the chapter acts and proceedings of the former register, we have here many additional charters, some of very early date, a number of papal documents, all defaced at the time of the Reformation, but fortunately still legible, perambulations of the Somerset forests, and custumals of several manors belonging to the dean and chapter, another copy of which Mr. Riley seems to have found in a book kept at the bishop's registry. In this register again may be observed a more or

less systematic attempt at classification or grouping of subject matter. Thus deeds relating to Pucklechurch, Winscombe, Warminster, Shipham (with which some Chippenham deeds are mingled in manifest confusion), Stogursey, Whitchurch Canonicorum and other properties will be found together. One section contains a number of pardons and other patents, another consists of the custumals already mentioned, another of institutions of vicarages, another again of daily masses founded in the cathedral, while a number of apparently miscellaneous deeds occurring together towards the middle of the book have this in common that under each of them some rent or pension is payable to the church of Wells.

Liber Ruber (*R. II.*) is a volume named again from its cover, which is now of dark red morocco of no great age. Next to the oak boards the binders have placed eight leaves and four strips of parchment (four leaves and two strips at each end), covered with writing in a book hand probably of the thirteenth century, with capitals in four colours. The last four leaves are cut along the upper edge. Examination shews that they once formed part of a *collectarium*; and mention may be made of two English saints, St. Aidan and St. Ceolfrid, whose names are found on the sixth leaf in the collect immediately preceding that for St. Denis (October 9).

This volume consists of two separate books bound together. Section i, dating from the fourteenth century, is a parchment book, or rather a collection of 77 parchment leaves of different sizes and two strips of parchment sewn together, an index on paper by Mr. Healey being first inserted. In it is found a list of the rubricated charters in R. I, and a number of deeds and statutes, together with a collection of cases, visitation rolls, and other materials bearing especially upon certain vexed questions of jurisdiction. These belong, most of them, to the first half of the fourteenth century; but a later entry will be noticed on f. 30. The order to compile a new chartulary, which is found among the statutes of 1331, was perhaps never carried out; at all events no such chartulary is known to exist, or to have ever existed.

Section ii, not dealt with in this calendar, is not a register but a book of acts of the chapter. The acts extend from the year 1487 to 1513.

In this calendar instruments known to be already accessible in print are in most cases noticed somewhat briefly, references being added to shew where a fuller text may be found. It happens again not infrequently that the same instrument is repeated, sometimes in all three register books, most often in R. I and R. III, occasionally more than once in the same register. In such instances the plan here followed has been to print an abstract at the first place where the entry occurs, collating the text of other copies, noting their variations, if

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any, and appending exact references to them, and to omit all notice of it on the later occasions. Exception has been made in the case of one or two mutilated copies which are found later in more perfect condition, and in that of a few charters in R. III, grouped with others bearing upon the same subject, where for completeness' sake a short notice is given with a reference back to the fuller abstract.

The three books are, on the whole, in good condition, and most of the text is not difficult to decipher. Exception must however be made in regard to portions of R. I, where the writing is small and the ink faint. One entry on f. 97 is completely gone, and so is another on f. 99. Just a leaf or two has been torn. Passages will be noticed which proved illegible, wholly or in part, others in which a word or words are lost. There are a few also in which the text is manifectly corrupt. The later copyist is caught tripping in regard to proper names, as when he misread Maurice de Creon and gave Oreover instead, and also in regard to capital letters, writing Oxford for Exeter, spelling Lodhuish with a D, and chief justice Belknap with the same initial, or calling the same person Bele on one page and Gele on another. There are one or two more names about which he was apparently unable to make up his mind. Other difficulties of interpretation may perhaps occasionally be due to some error of the kind.

The contents of these registers are of very varied interest. On the one hand they furnish a history of the cathedral body in its internal and external relations; on the other they are a mine of information upon local history, while at the same time they afford constant illustrations of mediæval life in its different aspects, social and ecclesiastical. Much may be learned here about the rich pasture lands of the Somerset levels, their drainage, water rights and enclosure, with occasional estimates of the value of labour and of live stock. We read of vain attempts to establish a market town on the edge of the marshes at North Curry, and a port upon the Axe. We have also many notices of monastic institutions, and still more of the parish churches of the diocese, as well as of a few outside. Nor are materials for manorial history lacking. Of Combe St. Nicholas there is a conveyance from the Edwardian tenant named in Domesday. Those whose concern is with local families will find much to their purpose, as for example a correction of the Stourton pedigree, a clue to the true origin of the Rodneys, and a very remarkable hint as to the early history and connexions of the powerful house of the Marshals.

But the main interest centres in the church of Wells. Here may be traced its growth from the comparatively small and obscure community of bishop Giso into a rich and important body, after the new constitution of bishop Robert, and the benefactions lavished upon it especially in bishop Joscelin's time. The neighbouring churches of Bath and Glastonbury, with their wealth and prestige, were formidable rivals. No doubt

as a counterpoise to the latter, efforts were made to set up a local shrine, and secure a saint of their own, by the canonisation of one of their bishops. Unfortunately, while a general statement of his claims to the honour was copied in the register, the schedule of miracles performed at his tomb was not. Questions arose from time to time with rival churches, with the bishop, the crown, and with Rome: domestic differences, questions of jurisdiction, pecuniary troubles, difficulties of discipline. Like other churches, Wells suffered under the increasing burden of the papal provisions. Separate communities, such as that of the vicars choral, grew up in time under the shelter of the cathedral. Of all this, and much besides, details will be found in the Calendar. Dean and Chapter of Wells.

AMERICAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The American Manuscripts preserved at the Royal Institution, London, sometimes spoken of as the Carleton or Dorchester Papers, are, briefly, the Headquarters Papers of the successive British commanders-in-chief in the American War of Independence. American MSS. at the Royal Institution: Vol. I.

The complete collection comprises 58 bound volumes and four cases or rolls—62 in all.

The larger portion of these manuscripts concerns the later period of the war, more than one-half in reality being dated in the years 1782 and 1783. This is probably accounted for by the large number of accounts, returns, lists, pay-rolls, pay-warrants and similar papers, which in that period of the suspension of hostilities pending negotiations for peace might naturally accumulate in the hands of the last commander, Sir Guy Carleton. The earlier papers, during the command of Sir William Howe, are largely copies or duplicate signed letters, which, it is supposed, on his leaving America in May, 1778, he transferred to his successor, Sir Henry Clinton. With Sir Henry Clinton's appointment, Philadelphia was abandoned and the army established at New York, which, from that date (June, 1778), remained its Head Quarters till the last of the British troops sailed thence in December, 1783.

While the official correspondence of the Commander-in-Chief with the Secretary of State and with the War Office is also in the Public Record Office, his instructions to his subordinate officers and their letters to him are not generally found elsewhere than in this collection, and afford many valuable and interesting details of the war. As the Southern Colonies remained longest in the British interest, and were the great hope of the Government, the correspondence is largest with the commanding officers of the different posts there. Colonel or Brigadier-General Augustine Prevost being commander of the forces in Florida dates his correspondence first of all from

Saint Augustine; afterwards, being ordered to co-operate with Lieut.-Col. Archibald Campbell and Captain Hyde Parker in the military and naval expedition to capture Savannah, Georgia, in the winter of 1778-9, he successfully effected the junction and established himself in that garrison, maintaining it against the combined attack of the Americans under General Lincoln and the French under Comte D'Estaing in the autumn of the same year. Georgia was reckoned amongst the most loyal of the colonies, and was the only one in which the royal civil government was actually re-established, the Governor (Sir James Wright) and the crown officers being sent over from England to resume their functions. The letters of both Prevost and Wright are continual requests for military reinforcements.

The third expedition to the southward, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton in person and by Admiral Arbuthnot, which sailed from New York for Charlestown, South Carolina, in December, 1779, and from which Sir Henry returned in June, 1780, leaving Earl Cornwallis in command, opens up correspondence with that general and with Major-General Alexander Leslie, Lord Rawdon, Lieut.-Colonel Alured Clarke, and other officers. The letters from or to Earl Cornwallis are largely repeated in the Public Record Office or are printed in the two volumes edited and published some years ago, entitled "The "Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, or, The Campaign in "Virginia, 1780-1781." After the surrender of York Town, General Leslie was appointed, in October, 1781, to take command of "all hitherto held by Earl Cornwallis," and the letters written by him from Charlestown are especially interesting.

There are many letters and papers referring to the evacuation of Charlestown, where Leslie remained till towards the end of 1782, the post being finally occupied by the Americans on the 17th December.

The correspondence with West Florida is maintained with Brigadier-General John Campbell, who commanded there, and with the Governor, Peter Chester, till, in May, 1781, Pensacola was obliged to surrender to the Spanish General, Don Bernardo de Galvez. General Campbell was allowed to sail to New York and there are numerous papers relative to the adjustment of accounts and payment of the Waldeck and Provincial troops which had served with him, as well as to a dispute with Galvez over the detention of prisoners. There is a curious Spanish document from Don Bernardo conferring upon an Indian Chief a commission and decoration with the small medal of merit. It is written on parchment with a painted red and yellow border and a brilliantly coloured coat of arms, two sides, wherein may be easily recognised the castle and lion of Spain.

Governor Patrick Tonyn, of East Florida, appears indefatigable in his efforts to save his province for the King; and in 1778 and 1779 particularly, to defend St. Augustine from threatened attacks of the Americans and Indians, his corps of

Rangers being a continual bone of contention with the military authority—Brigadier Prevost. In later years his labours to make the province an asylum for the homeless or propertyless loyalists of North and South Carolina and Georgia are well shown in this collection.

To the north of New York the main post was of course Halifax, the only one, indeed, after Boston and Rhode Island were abandoned, and accordingly the letters from the successive commanding officers—Major-General Eyre Massey, Brigadier-General Francis Maclean, Lieut.-Colonel James Bruce, Lieut.-Colonel John Campbell, Major-General James Paterson, and Brigadier-General Fox, as well as from Lieut.-Governor Hughes and Governor Parr, are frequent and full of detail. The military affairs of the island, the fortifications of Halifax, and the fact of its being a base of supplies are all dealt with in this correspondence until, with the advent of Governor Parr and the close of the war, the removal to Nova Scotia and the settlement there of the loyalists and the disbanded Provincial, German, or other troops became the engrossing topic.

An interesting side-study is that of Penobscot. General Sir Henry Clinton was ordered in September, 1778, by the Home Government to take post on that river with the idea of erecting a province to which the loyal adherents of the crown might ultimately repair. In October, 1782, the German troops were withdrawn, and assistance was provided for those loyalists who wished to remove to Nova Scotia; and by October the last of the British troops and stores were withdrawn.

Several papers relate to the Island of St. John (afterwards Prince Edward Island). The letters are from Phillips Callbeck, President of the Council and commander of the island, Timothy Hierlihy, major-commandant of the Independent Companies, Captain Spry of the Engineers, Lieut.-Governor Desbrisay, and, after June, 1780, from the Governor, Walter Patterson.

The colliery on Cape Breton Island is frequently mentioned in connexion with the military stores at Halifax and New York.

A few papers relate to Bermuda and the Bahamas.

The case of the loyal adherents to the Crown would be largely represented in these papers. While most of the Crown Officers of the various provinces and many of the wealthier loyalists repaired to England and taxed the time and resources of the Treasury, many more remained behind. The embodying of the loyalists into the provincial corps developed with the war until, at its close, leaving out of the question those which came under the administration of General Haldimand in Canada, there were more than twenty regiments under the commander at New York. The bi-monthly pay-rolls of these for 1782 and 1783 are in many cases complete. They give the names of the officers, but not of the men. Quarterly lists of the widows of those officers who fell in the service, with the amounts paid to each, appear under the control of Beverley-Robinson of New York and of Robert Alexander of Maryland.

American MSS. at the Royal Institution : Vol. I.

There are also numerous accounts and papers of Alexander Innes, Inspector-General of the Provincial Forces.

But besides the numerous loyalists in military service, or who obtained such posts as were available in the city of New York, a large and increasing number drifted within the lines as the confiscation acts of the various States or local animosity drove them from farms and townships, who could only be described as "distressed refugees." The problem of dealing with these persons, who became thus dependent on the army for protection, housing, rations, and fuel, was met by establishing an office under the authority of Colonel Roger Morris with the title of "Inspector of the Claims of Refugees."

Refugee applicants were required to state their losses, services, and needs, in writing, to the Commander-in-Chief or other officer, which in the form of petitions or memorials were then certified or recommended by a loyalist of good standing. If approved of, they were either supplied by the Commander-in-Chief's order with a sum of money and so disposed of, or were placed on the quarterly list for rations or fuel or a stated allowance. After Sir Guy Carleton's arrival Colonel Morris was replaced by a Board appointed "to consider the circum-"stances and claims" of these loyalists. The lists of persons recommended by them for support for the first quarter in 1783, January to March, called for the sum of 9,500*l.* New York Currency, or more than 5,000*l.* sterling, for the second quarter 7,374*l.* New York Currency, and for the third quarter 5,471*l.* These amounts do not appear to include the allowances to more prominent loyalists nor salaries or sums paid for services rendered; all of which were settled by special warrants from the commander-in-chief direct, and which amounted to some thousands of pounds more. The houses vacated by the Americans in 1776 were classed as derelict property, and, for the city proper, were in the care of the vestry, Philip J. Livingston being appointed superintendent of such property on Long Island. These were apportioned to the King's service or to the housing of the various loyalists and refugees. Some of the returns are explicit as to the names of the original proprietors and to the then present occupants, even to the number of rooms or of acres appointed. As the removals of the loyalists to Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Bahamas began to take place, the sums paid for support naturally decreased and there are several lists of names of the persons so removing. William Franklin, the royal governor of New Jersey, son of Dr. Franklin, was very active in all these matters, and organized and presided over a board called the "Board of Associated "Loyalists."

In the year 1781 an inquiry was instituted into the expenditure of the different departments of the army, resulting in much correspondence, the deliberations of a board of officers, and a number of muster rolls showing the numbers employed.

As intimately connected with the Royal Institution, the name of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, should not be

omitted. He appears in these papers twice in 1781, in his capacity of Under Secretary of State, writing by direction of Lord George Germain, and, later, in 1782 and 1783, as commanding the regiment of King's American Dragoons and in forming plans for some light infantry companies to be attached thereto, as well as for a corps of volunteers to be raised out of the Provincial Forces to serve in the West Indies. On his return to England in 1783 he appears to have taken pains to represent to the Government the case of the provincial officers, as he recounts his proceedings to Sir Guy Carleton on 6th July, 1783. A paper entitled: "Precis of all the correspondence "between the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief "relative to the Provincial Forces, with other authentic in-"formation upon that subject"—containing connecting remarks and marginal notes and endorsed "B. T., 23rd June, 1783," is also attributed to him.

Amongst other papers which may be particularly noticed are the Orderly Book of Sir William Howe at Boston and Halifax, from 17th June, 1775, to 26th May, 1776; an Army List of the British, Foreign, and Provincial troops serving under Clinton, printed at New York by Macdonald and Cameron in 1779; a set of coroner's inquests in that city from April to November, 1783; the almost daily reports of the numbers of the vessels entered and cleared from November, 1782, to November, 1783, and some returns of the Provost; some lists of American prisoners; a book of negroes embarked at New York from April to November, 1783, having been previously inspected and registered; correspondence, accounts and pay warrants for the German troops of Anhalt, Anspach, Brunswick, Hesse Hanau. Hesse-Cassel and Waldeck, as well as bi-monthly accounts for many of the British regiments. A personal touch is given by some few tradesmen's accounts to Sir Guy Carleton, for groceries, tailoring, domestic servant's wages, and clothing for an orphan or two.

The first volume comprises the papers to the end of July, 1779.

Where it has been ascertained that any particular paper is also in the Public Record Office a reference to the series, volume and page is given. Similarly, reference is made to the Haldimand Collection in the British Museum.

The letters from the Treasury give some idea of the great pressure on that Board in furnishing the stores, provisions, forage, fuel, and money required by the forces (specie being sent out to keep down the exchange) hampered as their lordships were by lack of conveyance—"the country drained of "ships for transport purposes"—by combinations of workmen, carelessness of paymasters, confusion of accounts and by fraudulent contractors in supplying bad bread or flour, as well as by the dangers and uncertainties of the sea voyage.

Numerous papers in this volume relate to the captivity of the Troops of Convention, as the army of General Burgoyne after its surrender at Saratoga on 17th October, 1777, was called.

American MSS. at the Royal Institution: Vol. I.

The two letters of Burgoyne to Howe upon his capitulation are given here in full. The friction between the subsequent commanding officer, Major-General Phillips, and the United States authorities and Major-General Heath, while at Cambridge in 1778, is well told from the British point of view in the various letters. On page 298 is Sir Henry Clinton's formal requisition to General Washington on behalf of the troops. Their chagrin, disappointment, and distress for want of money and necessaries, when, instead of the exchange so fully expected, they received from Congress order to march to Virginia, are shown in the months of October, November and December, 1778.

Vol. II.

The second volume begins with the month of August, 1799, and ends with June, 1782, shortly after the departure of Sir Henry Clinton from New York for home, and the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton to take his place. It includes within these dates such events as the occupation of Penobscot by Colonel Maclean and the destruction of the American fleet by Sir George Collier in 1799; the siege of Savannah by the French fleet under Comte d'Estaing, and the American land forces under Major-General Lincoln in September and October of the same year, a siege successfully withstood by Brigadier-General Prevost; the expedition to Charlestown, South Carolina, undertaken by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot from New York at the beginning of 1780; the siege of that town and its capitulation on the 12th of May. In June, Sir Henry returned to New York, leaving the command in the South to Earl Cornwallis, whose march through South and North Carolina into Virginia, and its disastrous ending at Yorktown are indicated by numerous entries. The outbreak of hostilities with Spain was signalized in America by the proclamation of American Independence at New Orleans, and followed by the invasion of West Florida by the Spaniards under Don Bernardo de Galvez and capture of the forts on the Mississippi in the autumn of 1779, the taking of Mobile in March, 1780, and the surrender of Pensacola to them in May 1781, all of which are described in the letters from the military commander there, Major-General John Campbell.

The correspondence with the port at Halifax is continued, as is that with the Governor of Georgia, Sir James Wright, and of East Florida, Governor Patrick Tonyn; while the letters of Lieut.-General Alexander Leslie, who succeeded Earl Cornwallis in the southern command at Charlestown, record the progress of events at the latter place.

In March and April, 1782, the question of assisting the West Indies, and especially Jamaica, attacked or threatened as they were by the French or Spanish forces, led to discussions in the council of General Officers at New York as to whether detachments should be made from New York or Charlestown. The decision to detach from Charlestown met with opposition from General Leslie and the inhabitants of that port generally, and when finally a detachment under General O'Hara sailed,

Rodney's victory over the Comte de Grasse on the 12th of April had for some time been an accomplished fact. An attempt on Jamaica was still, however, fully expected.

The resolution of the House of Commons against continuing the war leads, towards the close of the volume, to preparations for the evacuation of the southern provinces, but the retention of East Florida as a refuge for the loyalists of the neighbouring provinces is being ardently pressed.

REPORTS ON VARIOUS COLLECTIONS. VOLUME IV.

Bishop of Salisbury.

I. *The Records of the Bishop of Salisbury.*—The records of the Bishop of Salisbury are stored partly in his lordship's muniment room adjacent to the gateway opening from the palace grounds into Exeter Street, partly in a strong room in the Diocesan Registry. The loose parchments and papers, including those which have subsequently been bound in volumes, together with the Act Books and similar records, are kept in the former; while the Registers and other volumes, as well as modern documents required for current reference, are preserved in the Registry. Of the whole collection there exists a brief inventory in manuscript.

The Bishops' Registers begin with that of Simon of Ghent, 1297. Forty-six volumes are complete; the forty-seventh, at present in progress. There is a gap from 11th August, 1646, until 31st October, 1660.

Other official volumes are the Deposition Books, 1551-1816; Visitation Books, from 1585; and Procuration Books, 1680-1851. To these should be added the series of Act Books, which range from the sixteenth century onwards; the earlier portions consist of loose leaves and are very dilapidated.

The Vetus Registrum Ecclesie Sarum, commonly known as St. Osmund's Register, was written *c.* 1220-1240. It was edited by the Rev. W. H. Rich Jones in the series of *Chronicles and Memorials* published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, 1883-1884. The Consuetudinary from this book has been more recently edited by the Rev. W. H. Frere (Cambridge, 1898), where the volume is fully described by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth (intr., pp. xliv.-xlix.).

A volume of the Statutes of the cathedral church, written in the fourteenth century and bound in an old binding with an iron hasp for a chain, bears an old foliation and has also been paged. It is marked *Tomus 16* in an early seventeenth-century hand. The book contains, first, a calendar, which has been printed by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 231-242; secondly, statutes, &c.

The Liber Evidentiarum *B.* (thus called, as the Bishop's book, to distinguish it from a similar volume, *C.*, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter) is a volume begun not long after 1308 and bound in oak boards. It stands in a close relation to the Registrum Rubrum, a volume also written in the early part of the fourteenth century.

The two books have indexes prefixed, and these agree as far as art. 419. *B.* then proceeds with 420, the agreement between Reginald Tudeworthe, mayor, and the bishop. *R.* on the other hand here inserts the mandate of Edward I. to the sheriff of Wilts to summon the mayor and citizens of Salisbury to attend at Westminster on Midlent Sunday to show cause why they should not be tallaged, Lent 33 Edw. I. [1304-5], with the record from the parliamentary roll printed in W. Ryley's *Pleadings in Parliament* (1661); after which comes the agreement between Reginald Tudeworthe and the bishop, ending imperfectly at the end of a gathering. The mandate is the last document numbered in *R.*

B. proceeds, from the point last mentioned, with No. 421 a list of citizens arranged under the Aldermanries of the new town [of Salisbury]. Then, after some entries of later date, are, No. 427, a composition between the bishop and his archdeacons *super probacionibus testamentorum*, 8th Jan. 1292-3, and three other deeds, written in a hand of the original date. Then follow deeds and memoranda added at various times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Registrum Rubrum has already been described so far as its contents correspond with those of the Liber Evidentiarum *B.* At the beginning are some pages written in the fifteenth century and foliated by letters of the alphabet. On f. *c* is the charter noticed above in *B.* p. 44. Then comes the index of contents, after which on f. 1 begins the original portion of the book (*i.e.*, that which is transcribed from *B.*), its articles being numbered from 1 to 420, and ending on f. 104*b*. What follows is of the fifteenth century.

F. 104*b*.—Documents on the liberties of the church of Salisbury, and its property.

F. 113-140.—A series of forty papal bulls ranging in date from the pontificate of Honorius II. (1125) to that of Calixtus III.

F. 140.—Bishop Beauchamp's ordinance for the Hungerford foundation, followed by miscellaneous documents transcribed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, down to f. 197, where the volume ends.

The Liber Niger episcopi Sarum, drawn up for bishop Richard Beauchamp, opens with a memorandum of his consecration as bishop of Hereford, 9th Febr., 1448, but proceeds at once with documents relating to Salisbury. It contains mayor's oaths, charters concerning episcopal property, ordi-

nances about weights and measures, royal writs for assessing talliages, &c., documents on the relations between the bishop and the city of Salisbury; measures of arable land, *exposicio terminorum* ("Sok hoc est secta de hominibus," &c.), extracts from the plea rolls, *peticio facta illustrissimo principi domino E. iiij^to^ per inconsultos et maleuelos maiorem et confederatos ciuitatis noue Sarum* [1466-1468], with the king's reply (21st Oct.), and charters relative to the bishop's property in London.

A Chartulary of the Abbey of Reading, found 29th Jan., 1688-9, in the archives of the Bishop of London and then, as it is expressed, restored to the See of Salisbury. Its date is of the early sixteenth century.

In a deed-box in the Registry, marked *Ancient Documents*, are several volumes, including a thin quarto book entitled Excerpta ex Registris Veteribus, written in the seventeenth century and later.

Of greater interest is the Liber Notitiæ of Bishop Seth Ward, a pocket volume measuring 9 × 3¾ inches and bound in leather. It is a commonplace book begun when Ward was Bishop of Exeter and continued and added to from year to year. It is almost entirely in the bishop's handwriting, and occasionally a few words are entered in a cipher. Such notes, for instance, are appended to the names of contemporary prelates and of many of the clergy of the diocese. Of this volume a transcript, entitled *Notitiæ Episcopi Sarum*, was made at the expense of Bishop Thomas Burgess and presented by him to the Dean and Chapter, and is a fine specimen of trained calligraphy. The principal contents are:—

(Part i.)—Astronomical and chronological tables and rules, tables of regnal years, lists of Anglo-Saxon Kings, days for sheriffs and others to account at the exchequer, geographical lists, Irish bishops in 1663 and 1667, Scottish bishops in 1663, list of parliamentary abbots, list of English bishops with statistics, notes concerning jurisdiction, visitations, ordinations, archdeacons' acts.

(Part ii.)—The history of the See and Bishops of Salisbury, with extracts from and references to Registers, &c.; the church and its prebends, and the benefices in the diocese, with their occupants and values; the bishop's patronage and revenue, &c.; tables of interest and memoranda concerning leases.

(Part iii.)—Statistics of the parishes in the diocese; notes on the Order of the Garter, with a list of knights (1669, with additions to 1683) and poor knights; accounts; tables of fees; recipes for various ailments; list of prorogations and adjournments of Parliament from 18th May, 1661, to 28th March, 1681-2.

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Articles of Bishop Ward's Primary Visitation (Oct., 1671), with the answers; followed by transcripts of documents concerning the restoration of the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter to the Bishop of Salisbury, 1669.

In the same deed box are the Charters of James I. and Charles I., and other deeds of modern date, relating to the Bishop and See of Salisbury. It also contains an assessment of an aid in the city of Salisbury, 1667.

The documents preserved in the Bishop's muniment room may be grouped in the following sections:—

1. Ordination papers, from 1662.
2. Testimonials, presentations, resignations, sequestrations and mortgages of livings; documents concerning tithe rent-charge, arranged under parishes.
3. Marriage licence bonds and affidavits, and register books for marriage licences.
4. Transcripts of parish registers, beginning at various dates between 1566 and 1712. In consequence of alterations in the extent of the diocese, the transcripts for the Archdeaconry of Berkshire are not preserved here beyond 1836, and those for the Archdeaconry of Dorset begin in 1837. But parishes in the bishop's peculiar jurisdiction in each case form exceptions.
5. Terriers for Berks and Wilts.
6. Visitation papers; mandates, presentments, intimations, &c.
7. Convocation papers, from 1684.
8. Consecration papers, from 1749.
9. Dispensations; meeting-house certificates, returns of dissenters and others presented (*Quorum nomina*), from 1671; returns of papists, from 1706; certificates of surgeons, schoolmasters, &c.; rural deans' returns, and other miscellaneous papers.
10. Faculty papers.
11. Court papers; libels, citations, excommunications, depositions, &c.

Bishop of Exeter.

II. *The Records of the Bishop of Exeter.*—The records of the Bishop of Exeter are preserved in three separate places; firstly, in a strong room in his lordship's Registry in Palace-gate; secondly, in his muniment room, above the chapel of St. James on the south side of the choir of the cathedral church; and, thirdly, in a chamber above the north porch of the church. The first of these alone calls for detailed description here.

The long series of Bishop's Registers begins with that of Bishop Walter Bronscombe, which opens with the record of the death of Bishop Richard [Blondy] on 26th December, 1267.

On the second flyleaf of Bishop Bronscombe's Register is a memorandum of the boxes and hampers containing muniments,

which Nicholas Braybroke handed over to Bishop T. [Brantingham] at Clist (*Register*, p. 287). Apparently he had placed another chest in the exchequer at Exeter which was believed to contain jewels, books, evidences, and muniments belonging to the See; and this was claimed by Bishop Stafford in 1401. Then follow a modern and an old table of contents; the latter containing only a selection; then the title *Quoddam Registrum*, &c. (*Register*, p. viii.). After this, before the actual register begins, a series of charters are stitched into the volume.

The earlier Registers are numbered in a continuous series from I.-XXII., the last of which contains the second part of the Register of Bishop Joseph Hall and the Register of Bishop Ralph Brownrigg from his consecration on 3rd May, 1642, to 23rd June, 1646, where it ends.

Vol. XVII. is of irregular composition. It begins (after a title page dated by Thomas Germyn, Registrar to Bishop William Alley) with the *Registrum commune* of Bishop Miles [Coverdale], 10th Sept., 1551.

Reg. XVIII. contains the Register of Bishop James Turbervile, beginning Sept., 1555.

Reg. XIX. contains Bishop Alley's Register; it contains chiefly institutions, 1563-1569/70, followed by cautions.

Reg. XX., which is that of Bishop William Bradbridge and the first part of that of Bishop John Woolton, no longer contains ordinations.

For this purpose there is a separate series of Registra de Ordinibus, 1571-1878, in six volumes lettered A to F. Vol. G is still in progress.

In succession to the twenty-three volumes of Registers is a modern series of Registers of Institutions, beginning with the Restoration.

Another series of Registers is that known as the Act Books, the earliest of which lettered A1, A2, B, &c., as far as H, run from July, 1568 to 1734. They are followed by other series bearing a new numeration. The contents are almost entirely licences for marriage, preaching, curacies, faculties for holding seats, erecting galleries, &c.; but in the earlier volumes miscellaneous documents are occasionally entered.

A series of Patent Books, which contain also acts of the bishop, articles of visitation, &c., begins in 1628.

A volume containing subscriptions to the acts of supremacy and conformity, 25th July, 1662—23rd Sept., 1679.

Books of visitation of the diocese, beginning in 1622.

A book containing a series of transcripts of inquisitions *post mortem* on the death of Henry [Beauchamp], Earl of Warwick, taken 14th Nov., 25 Hen. VI. [1446], preceded by notes relative to the family of Montague, Earls of Salisbury, and followed by other documents connected with the Warwick family.

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In a deed box in the Registry are the following volumes:—

1. *The Treasurer's Book*, a transcript of the statutes of Bishop John [Veysey], dated 1st July, 33 Hen. VIII. [1541]; followed by later rules, &c., concerning the duties and powers of the treasurer, and the statutes of Bishop Seth [Ward], 1663, for the augmentation of the stipend of the prebendaries. In an eighteenth-century hand, beginning on p. 97, is a collection of statutes and ordinances from Bishop William Warlewest to Bishop John Woolton.

2. A small quarto book of precedents, drawn up under Bishops William Cotton and Valentine Cary. The date 1634 appears on one page; 1639 on another; also the name of Bishop Ralph Brownrigg, (2nd Jan., 1642/3, a consecr. 1). It is followed by documents of Bishop Jonathan [Trelawney], 1692, &c., and of Dean Lancelot Blackburn. Then come lists of benefices in the diocese in the King's gift, and in the Bishop's gift; and miscellaneous forms and extracts, and a few notes of births, journeys, &c. At the end are forms of documents from 1698 to 1731.

3. *Formulare ecclesiasticum penes registrum principale episcopi Exon.*, a folio book of precedents drawn up, as it seems, during Bishop John Gauden's tenure of the See.

4. Collection of charters relative to St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter. Seventeenth century.

5. An interleaved copy of the Appendix to some History of Exeter, with notes in the handwritings of Pitman Jones and Ralph Barnes. Nineteenth century.

6. Two printed tracts, (*a.*) *Constitutio Pii PP. V. ne in popularibus concionibus disputetur de conceptione gloriosæ Dei genetricis Mariæ* (Louvain, 1572), (*b.*) *Pii secundi Bulla retractationum omnium* (Louvain, 1563): followed by an anonymous treatise in manuscript on the authority of councils, the Papal power, &c., extending to 86 pages, *c.* 1600?

Among the documents contained in the deed box the following inventories may be mentioned:—

1. *A note of Leases, Counterpartes and other Deedes remayninge in the Register of the Lord Bishop of Exeter*, in which bound volumes are included. Written soon after 1640.

2. *Dr. Stuart's List of Muniments of the Bishoprick of Exon. delivered by Mr. Webber from Mrs. Blackall c.* 1717. This list does not include the Registers.

3. *Catalogue of Books in the Principal Registry*, made in 1833, with some additions in pencil.

The Bishop's muniment room contains a mass of documents sorted and tied in bundles. In shelves against the end wall are presentations, tied in bundles bearing the number of the year in which they were made. They appear to begin in the sixteenth century, but the earliest bundles are stored in top shelves

beyond the range of the ladder kept in the room. In other shelf stacks are transcripts of parish registers, petitions for non-residence, deeds of exchange, sequestrations, letters testimonial, ordinations, and marriage-affidavits. There are also four volumes of Acts of the Consistorial Court, Tuesday, 8th Jan., 1683/4-1777. Other volumes of Acts of the Court are preserved in a very neglected condition in a chamber over the north porch of the cathedral (reputed to be the muniment room of the Archdeacon of Barnstaple); these stand greatly in need of attention. In the same chamber are also numerous leases belonging to the Dean and Chapter, but there are no signs or labels to distinguish their ownership.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Bishop of Exeter.

III. *Muniments and Library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter.*—The muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter are preserved in two repositories. The great bulk of the charters and single documents are stored in the Exchequer Chamber above the chapel of St. Andrew on the north side of the choir of the Cathedral Church. The remainder, chiefly the fabric rolls, are kept with the bound volumes of Acts, &c., in the Muniment Tower over the new cloister. A few of the books and charters are exhibited in the Cathedral Library. The collection at Exeter has one peculiar feature, that all manuscripts (including service books and the famous "Liber Exoniensis") are deemed to belong not to the Library but to the Muniments; and all are massed together in a uniform series of 6,075 numbers. In this, however, the use of numbers is purely conventional. A single number may indicate one charter or letter, a book, or an entire drawer full of documents. nor does the number of 6,075 in any sense give a correct total; for there are (as was no doubt inevitable) a good many duplicate numbers, marked *a.* and *b.*, while on the other hand the author of the numeration thought fit to leave an arbitrary number of gaps free at intervals for accruing documents or volumes. These blanks amount to no fewer than 747.

Dean and Chapter of Exeter.

Before entering upon the description of the collection, a few notices of lists and inventories of the possessions, muniments, and other manuscripts, reliques, and commemorations of the church follow. In PART I. is explained the system of arrangement and notice taken of the books of historical interest; PART II. is an account of the charters, letters, &c. (including those bound up in the volumes numbered 3498 and 3499), which come within the sphere of this report, in a single chronological series, the earliest dated about A.D. 1025.

2570.—An English version of Bishop Leofric's gifts to the church. Fifteenth century.

2861.—Roll of Exeter reliques, shorter than that printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* ii. 529-531, with a few omissions and additions of later acquisitions.

3671.—A volume containing an inventory of books, vestments, and ornaments in the church, 1327.

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3720.—A fragment of what appears to be the same inventory as the preceding, but more finely written. It has been used apparently as a bookbinding, but is now repaired and mounted. Fourteenth century.

4614.—Fragment of an inventory of muniments Fourteenth century. Much decayed.

571.—Schedule of muniments. Fifteenth century.

2864.—A form of bidding bedes in the church of Exeter, written *c.* 1460 and revised down to 1478 and later. The name of *Thomas Selyngh, a brother of this place,* has been twice added.

2860.—Inventory of church goods. *c.* 1500. It agrees to a large extent with the far more complete inventory of 1506 printed by Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, pp. 320-376.

2862.—Catalogue of muniments: *Tabula diuersorum Munimentorum in Scaccario Ecclesie Cathedralis Exon., videlicet de diuersis pixidibus, hampers, skebettis, et aliis locis, ut hic patet sequenter* [*c.* 1500].

4679-4682.—Inventories of plate, &c., from 1668 onwards.

4605.—"Catalogue of muniments by Chapter Clerk [Nicholas] Webber" [*c.* 1700].

4606—"A Catalogue of the MSS. in Exon Library remaining anno 1751," endorsed, *Catalogue of the MSS. and other Books in the Press at the East End of the Library by Dean Lyttelton in* 1752.

The scheme of the classification of the muniments and manuscripts is as follows:—

No. 1-580.—Deeds relating to property, &c., in Exeter.

No. 600-2066.—Deeds relating to property, &c., in other places, arranged alphabetically under the places to which they relate.

No. 2070-2513, distinguished as Miscellaneous Deeds, and comprising, according to the Catalogue, "Saxon charters, "royal grants, licences of mortmain, statutes of the bishops, "agreements, appropriations, wills, and all loose documents in "the nature of deeds which could not be classified under any "particular head or place."

Of the sixteen Anglo-Saxon diplomas in the collection of the Dean and Chapter (including one of William the Conqueror, and one record of boundaries), which are reproduced in the Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, issued by the Ordnance Survey Office, at Southampton, part ii. (1881), only three are noticed in the Catalogue. The omission of the other thirteen is explained by the fact that at the time when the Catalogue was made they were deposited in the Albert Museum at Exeter. They are all now exhibited in the Cathedral Library.

No. 2570-2586.—Supplement to the preceding division. Among these No. 2582 contains three leaves of an early thirteenth century custumal, possibly of Sidbury, which have been used for a book-binding.

No. 2600-2982.—Rolls, among which may be mentioned:—

No. 2600-2704.—Fabric rolls, some of them imperfect or fragmentary, but forming a remarkably continuous series from 1279 to 1514. They are described by Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, pp. 183-189, with extracts, pp. 379-391. The roll of Michaelmas 1299-1300 is printed in full, pp. 392-407.

No. 2705-2776.—*Rotuli Debitorum*, or bailiffs' accounts, 1332-1519.

No. 2777-2844.—*Rotuli Compotorum Seneschallorum Scaccarii*, or accounts of the stewards of the Dean and Chapter, 1296-1525.

No. 2849-2857.—Rolls of visitations of churches and manors belonging to the Dean and Chapter, 1313-1381.

No. 3000-3215.—*Congés d'élire* and documents of a similar nature.

No. 3498, 3499.—Two albums containing miscellaneous letters and documents, ranging from the fourteenth century onwards. These seem to have been selected on the ground that most of them bear the autograph signatures of persons of importance, as of sovereigns, bishops and dignitaries. Among others may be named John lord Scrope, chamberlain to the queen [Elizabeth, consort of Edward IV.]; [Alice] duchess of Suffolke, [wife of William de la Pole]; [Henry] duke of Exeter; Thomas earl of Devonshyre; lord Hastynges; Thomas Crumwell; Edward duke of Somerset; Thomas Seymour; J. Russell, lord privy seal; William earl of Essex; J. Stanhope [afterwards first baron Stanhope]; [James first earl of] Marleburgh; [Sir] Francis Windebanke; Sir Edward Nicholas; William Morice, [secretary of state to Charles II.]; W. Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury; [Henry] lord Arlington; Henry Coventry, [secretary of state]; [Sir] J[oseph] Williamson; [Sir] Edward Walker; [Daniel] earl of Nottingham; Robert Harley [afterwards earl of Oxford]; [Charles] earl of Sunderland. The documents have been mounted and bound together recently, and are numbered continuously through the two volumes. The contents having no organic unity, such of them as call for notice have been described in their chronological sequence among the separate documents in part ii. of the Report.

No. 3500-3548.—Manuscript volumes representing the old Cathedral Library, with the addition of some service books and one volume (the Exon Domesday) which probably was originally deposited among the muniments.

3500.—The Exon Domesday. Ff. 532. Printed by the Record Commission in Domesday Book [vol. iv.], Additamenta (1816).

3501.—The Exeter Book of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The *Liber Exoniensis*. Ff. 130. Tenth century. Published by B.

Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis*, London 1842, and in part by I. Gollancz, London, 1895.

3502.—*Ordinale secundum usum Exoniensis ecclesie*, prescribed for the church of Exeter by Bishop John Grandison and approved by the Dean and Chapter, 1337. Ff 105.

3504, 3505.—*Legenda de usu Exoniensis ecclesie secundum ordinacionen et abreuiacionem Iohannis de Grandissono episcopi.* Fourteenth century.

3508.—A Psalter, with canticles, &c., of the thirteenth century. The calendar prefixed is a Sarum calendar, probably written for the church of St. Helen, Worcester, between 1228 and 1244. Inserted in it are notes of various historical events of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

3509—*Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden.

3512.—*Excerpta ex decretis Romanorum pontificum*, a volume of selections from the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

3513.—Pontifical of Bishop Edmund Lacy. Fifteenth century. Quarto. Printed by Ralph Barnes, 1847.

3514.—A volume of historical and other collections, written about 1285, viz.:—

(1) The spurious *Liber de initio et fine seculi* (ascribed in the University College, Oxford, MS. xcix., p. 138, to Methodius, Bishop of Patara and martyr), entitled in a fourteenth-century hand *Methodius de fine seculi.*
(2) Pedigree of Edward I.
(3) A summary of English history, entitled in a fourteenth-century hand in the upper margin, *De aduenta Anglorum in Brittanniam*, and apparently abridged from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica.*
(4) The letter of Cuthbert to Cuthwin.
(5) Genealogy of the Kings of France.
(6) Diagrams of the spheres, zodiac, &c.
(7) A treatise entitled in a later hand in the upper margin *Beda de ymagine mundi.*
(8) Rubr.: *Genealogia uirorum ab Adam usque ad Brutum.*
(9) Rubr.: *Genealogia Anglorum.*
(10) *Genealogia regum Francie*, [the title added in the upper margin, in the same hand as the text].
(11) *Dares Frigius*, with the prefatory letter, *Cornelius nepos Salustio Crispo suo salutem.*
(12) [Initial and rubric not filled in.] The dedicatory letter prefixed to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (lib. i. 1, ed. J. A. Giles 1844).
(13) List of Archbishops of Canterbury [down to Hubert], Sens and Tours, Bishops of Le Mans, Poitiers, Nantes, Amiens, Beauvais, Paris, Orléans, Senlis, and Angers, and abbats of Jumièges and Fontan[elle] [St. Wandrille,] followed immediately by the *Hystoria Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon, in ten books. Chapters not numbered.

(14) History of the Norman Dukes and Kings of England, perhaps the Chronicle attributed to John Bever.

The rest of the volume is in a later hand, of the time of Edward I.

(15) [Heading supplied subsequently.] *Cronica de Wallia.*

3527.—Speeches, petitions, and letters, belonging to the first year of James I. and ending with the articles of peace with Spain. April, 1604. A contemporary collection transcribed in one hand. The contents are given by Bernard.

3530.—Collections concerning the city of Exeter by John Hooker, by H. E. Reynolds, *s. l. aut a.*

3533.—A volume (lettered *Miscellanea*) containing two distinct compilations:—

(1) A formulary, or book of precedents, for drawing up deeds. Written *c.* 1450.

(2) Rules as to courts and other legal texts, with treatises on heraldry and falconry. Temp. Edw. IV.

3546.—*Statuta Collegii Balliolensis Oxon.*, a late sixteenth-century copy of the statutes of 1507 (printed in the Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford, vol. i., London, 1853).

No. 3550-3582[d].—Chapter Act Books:—

(1) 1382-1434.
(2) 1531-1535, with a Register of the Chapter, 1543-1563.
(3) 1537-1562, with a Register of Grants, 1555-1565.
(4) 1607-1628, partly transcribed from No. (6).
(5) A draught of a portion of No. (4).
(6) A draught Act Book 1622-1630.
(7) 1630-1635.
(8) 1635-1643.
(9) 1643-1646, and 1660.

Twenty-eight more volumes carry the series down to 1876.

No. 3601-3605.—Chapter Registers, containing deeds, orders, letters, &c., passed by the Chapter. The first two registers are bound up with the Chapter Act Books 2 and 3. These five volumes extend from 1612 to 1821.

No. 3611-3620.—Chapter Sealing Books, containing entries of documents sealed, with notes of the fines for renewal of leases, 1597-1873.

No. 3625-3631.—Statutes of the Church.

No. 3631-3666.—Chapter Clerk's Minute Books. 1676-1882.

No. 3671-3811.—"Miscellaneous books in the nature of "official records of the D. & C., as Inventories, Chartularies. "Visitation Books, Obit Books, Excrescence Books, &c."

3672.—Chartulary lettered *A Leidger or Transcript of Evidences.* Early fifteenth century, with additions.

3673, 3675.—The Obit Books contain the names of the clergy present at obits, with the sums divisable, receipts from the endowments of orbits and from offerings at them. The first (No. 3673) is contained in a *taxatio c.* 1300, beginning at f. 59

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with the accounts from 1306-1312. The second (No. 3675) contains also the ordinances of obits.

3679.—Book of a rate made by the mayor and commonalty of Exeter, Easter 24 Hen. VI. *ad usum et sustentacionem cuiusdam placiti dictarum maioris et communitatis de quodam debat' inter dominum Exoniensem episcopum et prefat[os] maiorem et communitatem* for three years.

3680.—Views of the monies found deposited in the *cista fabrice*, 1482-1549.

3721.—Fragment containing the end of a statute on the duties of a canon, with his oath; with a rental of property in Exeter, which is not certainly part of the former. After 1225. The rental may be a few years earlier.

No. 3812-4036.—Rentals, surveys, &c.

No. 4501-4726.—Miscellaneous papers in bundles.

4679.—An inventory taken the 20th day of October, 1668, of what plate and other things belong to the Cathedral Church of St. Peters, Exoñ.

4683-4693.—Papers relative to the repair of the organ, 1664-1819.

4700.—Orders about Repairing the Church, &c., from the 28th of April, 1763.

4718.—Four folio leaves headed *Speaking in the howse* and beginning *If any of the howse bee desirous to have any new law made.* The rules of debate here given are numbered from 1 to 35. There are many corrections, and marginal notes. The writing is of the time of Charles I., but the text mentions *Sir Henry Crisp his bill* 21 *April*, apparently referring to 1558.

4724-4726.—Papers relating to disputes between Bishop Lamplugh and the Dean and Chapter. 1679-1680.

No. 4751-5264.—Court rolls and bailiffs' accounts.

No. 5301-5366.—Documents relating to the vicars choral.

No. 6000-6027, 6032-6074.—Leases and counterparts of leases.

No. 6028-6031, 6075.—*Rotuli solutionum ministrorum*, citations, &c., of modern date, and papers of no value.

Major Money-Kyrle.

IV. *Manuscripts of Major Money-Kyrle.*—This collection, preserved at Homme House, Much Marcle, Herefordshire, comprises a large number of early documents relating to parishes in Wiltshire, especially those of Calne, Bishop's Cannings, and the neighbourhood. They came into the possession of the family of Money-Kyrle by the marriage of Vincentia, daughter of Sir John Kyrle, of Much Marcle, in the year 1674, to Sir John Ernle, Knt., son of Sir John Ernle, of Whetham Hall in the parish of Calne. This Hall (still one of the seats of the family), and the lands connected with it, originally belonged to the family of Fynamore, whose name eventually assumed in other branches the form of *Phillimore*. Many of the earlier deeds here preserved were in consequence communicated by Major Money-Kyrle's father to Mr. W. P. Phillimore when that gentleman was engaged in compiling his *Memorials of the family of Fynamore*, privately printed in 1886, and are there

cited by him. The documents are all in good condition, and in their long and connected series are valuable alike for local history and genealogical researches. Several names of heads of the monastic houses of Bradenstoke and Brecon occur, which are not found in Dugdale. Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Major Money-Kyrle.

A few papers which came from Sir John Ernle, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1679 to 1688, are described at the end of the Report, but there is no such collection of his correspondence or official papers preserved here as might have been looked for. They include several letters of Lord Lauderdale, of which one, containing an indignant refutation of a complaint on the part of the Spanish ambassador, is a document of public interest. The ambassador had charged the Privy Council of Scotland with delaying the publication of a proclamation forbidding the levying men for the service of France, in order to ensure the safe departure of some such levies which had been already made. Lauderdale's account of the rejoicings at Edinburgh upon the public announcement of the marriage of the Princess Anne with William of Orange will also be found interesting.

A small parcel of familiar letters, written by F. Grahme to John Kyrle Ernle, extend from 1717 to 1724, and are chiefly written from Liège and Bois-le-Duc, ending with London and Kendal. Those written from abroad are unsigned, and reference is made to his obtaining permission to return to England; It may therefore be that he was a Jacobite exile, but there are no political allusions in the letters. In one dated 10th Sept. 1717, he mentions the procuring an organ for Mr. Ernle. Can this refer to an organ which was given to Calne church by Mr. Ernle?

Another small parcel of letters is from one William Roseingrave, second secretary to the Lord Justices of Ireland, written from Dublin to Mrs. Soame, with whom he claimed relationship, in 1761-6; with one to Colonel Money in 1772. He sends in 1763 a newspaper which, he says, "falls under my inspection "and direction as compiler thereof," and in 1764 mentions that he has with him his uncle "Mr. Thomas Roseingrave, whose "name stands highly respected in the musical world; . . . "his mother's virtues are his frequent subject, which he "imputes to her education under her uncle Bishop Fell." In a subsequent letter not dated, but probably written in 1766, he announces his uncle's death.

In 1575 there was a great land-slip at Much Marcle Hill, commemorated by Camden in prose and by Drayton in verse, amongst other writers. In its progress it completely buried a small chapel at Kynaston, of which not a vestige was left visible. But a good many years ago the chapel-bell was dug up, and it now hangs in the tower of the stable-yard at Homme House.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: F. H. T. Jervoise, Esq.

V. *Manuscripts of F. H. T. Jervoise, Esq.*—The manuscripts preserved at Herriard Park, Hampshire, consist of:—

1. Early charters concerning, among others, Wintney Priory, Hants; Mottesfont Priory, Hants; Newstead Priory, Notts; Wantage, Berks; St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester; Hyde Abbey; Chicksand Priory; Selborne Priory; Winchester Cathedral; and property at Gretford in connexion with the Abbey of St. Mary at Winchester.

2. A series of documents relating to a claim of the Vicar of Enford, co. Wilts, to have the sole right to examine and admit chaplains to the Chapelry of Combe; 1365-1395.

3. Court Rolls of the Manor of Herriard, *temp.* Edw. II. and III.

4. Papal Bulls; 1231-1267.

5. Miscellaneous papers; 1522-1650.

Glemham Hall, Suffolk.

VI. *Manuscripts preserved at Glemham Hall, Suffolk.*—The Manuscripts preserved at Glemham Hall, one of the seats of the Earl of Guilford, are of interest principally with regard to two very different subjects. The one is the long series of deeds relating to property in the manor of St. Briavel, in the Forest of Dean, which in the early part of the fourteenth century belonged chiefly to a family named Malemort, succeeded by descendants who bore the name of Gayner. The other is that, in virtue of an ancestor, Sir Dudley North, being one of the Sheriffs of London in 1683, the warrants directed to him for commuting the sentence for high treason on Lord William Russell to simple decapitation, dated two days before his execution, and for the delivery of his body to his wife, dated on the day itself, are here preserved. And a third item deserving some special notice is the Bristol rent-roll of the Carthusian monastery at Wytham, Somerset.

A record of expenses in an uncontested election of Members of Parliament for Thetford in 1710 has some interest. It is headed, "An Account of expenses at the Election of the "Honble. Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., and Dudley North, Esq., "for Members of Parliament for the town of Thetford, Oct. 7, "1710."

A letter from Elihu Yale (from whom, on account of his liberal benefactions, Yale College in Connecticut took its name) to Dudley North, dated 3rd May, 1720, is concerned only with private family affairs. A full-length portrait of him exists in Glemham Hall. Dudley North, Esq., of Glemham, son of Sir Dudley North, third son of Dudley North the fourth Baron North of Kirtling, married Catharine, daughter of Elihu Yale.

City of Salisbury.

VII. *Muniments of the Corporation of the City of Salisbury.*—This collection comprises:—

1. Letters Patent of 30 Ed. III. (June 6, 1356) releasing the City of Salisbury from a fine of 3,000 marks;

2. A parchment volume entitled, *Domesday, Liber Tertius,*

containing enrolments of wills proven and deeds witnessed in the Court of the Subdean of Sarum, 35-41 Ed. III.; Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: City of Salisbury.

3. "Kalendar of all charters and other memoranda enrolled "in the Book called *Domesday* in the City of Sarum from the "11th year of King Edward, son of King Edward, to the present "day": *i.e.*, from 11 Edw. III. to 9 Hen. V.: ff. 36: followed by a continuation of *Domesday* to 11 Hen. VI., ff. 132;

4. Many deeds of date subsequent to the reign of Edw. III.;

5. Accounts of the Chamberlains of the city and other documents relating to civic affairs from the fifteenth century onwards;

6. Copy of letters patent of 1 Edw. VI. confirming charters granted by his predecessors to the Bishop, Dean and Chapter of Sarum;

7. Book of Presentments at the Court Baron of the Bishop of Sarum, 18-24 Eliz., ff. 140;

8. Pleas in the Court of the Bishop of Sarum, 43-44 Eliz., ff. 316; 2-4 Car. I., ff. 130; 4 Anne-4 Geo. I., ff. 169;

9. "*Statutorum Recognitorum apud Civitatem Nove Sarum* "*Liber Tertius*, 43 Eliz.-21 Jac. I.: *Liber Quartus*, 21 Jac. I.- "35 Car. II.";

10. Letters patent of 33 Eliz., constituting the weavers of "the City a body corporate;

11. "Orders and Constitutions for the Companie of Butchers "made and agreed on at the Common Councell of this Cittie of Newe Sarum by the Maior, Recorder and Commonaltie of "the said Cittie, 26 March, 6 Jac. I."

12. The like Orders and Constitutions for the Company of Glovers, 20 March, 1613;

13. The like Orders and Constitutions for other companies within the city (Merchants, Mercers, &c., Smith, Armourers, &c., Joiners, Clothworkers, Bakers, Barber-Surgeons, Silk-weavers, &c.) made 1612-13, revised 1675-6;

14. The city charters of 9 Jac. I., 6 Car. I., Cromwell, 1656 (*copy*), 27 Car. II., 6 Anne, and 6 Will. IV.; and

15. Besides the usual books dealing more specifically with civic business, the *Legers* or Minute Books of the Town Council in regular sequence from the reign of Richard II., which alone call for detailed notice. Of the first *Leger* little, however, is legible before the reign of Hen. V., nor do any of the volumes shed quite as much light on public affairs as might have been anticipated in the records of so important a municipality as Salisbury, while after the accession of the House of Brunswick they become singularly uninteresting.

The *Domesday* and its continuation, which are on the whole in good preservation, are of considerable local interest.

VIII. *Records of the Dissolved Corporation of Orford, Suffolk.*—The small, but interesting town of Orford dates back in its municipal history to the time of Henry III., who granted it to his men of the place to hold under the Crown at a fee-farm rent, excepting the castle, the central tower of which still Orford.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Orford.

stands up in grand massiveness, showing externally few marks of decay. Confirmations of this original, but lost, charter were granted by successive sovereigns down to James I., enlarging privileges and powers, and establishing a corporation of Mayor and Commonalty. The fishery trade flourished, and became sufficiently important to enable the town to enter into an agreement with Newcastle-upon-Tyne with regard to duties levied there, as well as to contribute to the providing and putting forth a ship for the Royal Navy. But, as with others of the small ports on the east coast, so with this, which was always at some comparative disadvantage by its situation on the river Ore; its trade, and consequently its population and wealth, diminished. First, it lost its Members of Parliament, who had become merely the nominees of the Lords of the Manor, and then in 1886 the abolition of its Corporation came by the Municipal Corporation Act of 1883, in default of any application for a new Charter. As neither the population nor the revenues justified such an application, in due course the Corporation was dissolved, and the administration of the property provided for by a scheme framed by the Charity Commissioners entitled *The Orford Town Trusts.*

Of the records described in the Report, the charters and registers are (pending the completion of a strong room in the Town Hall) in the custody of the Clerk of the Trustees, formerly the Town Clerk. The early deeds and miscellaneous papers are preserved in an iron chest in the Town Hall at Orford, under the care of the Trustees.

The insignia of the Mayor and Corporation, preserved at Orford, are described in Jewitt's and St. John Hope's *Corporation Plate,* 1895, vol. II., pp. 342-3. One seal dated 1579 is also there described which does not coincide with any of the forms noted in the Report; it represents the castle with two lions rampant as supporters, and bears the legend "Sigillum officii "maioris burgi Oreford."

The records consist of:—

1. Charters, &c., 1421-1700.
2. Deeds; 1361-1625.
3. Wills; 1468-1614.
4. Registers; 1574-1886.
5. Evidences concerning the manor of Orford.
6. Proceedings at the Court of Sessions of the Peace; 1704-1758.
7. Special papers relating to the town and corporation; 1521-1889.

Aldeburgh.

IX. *Records of the Corporation of Aldeburgh, in the County of Suffolk.*—The history of this town as a corporate borough goes no farther back than to the reign of Edward VI. Originally it formed part of the possessions of the See and Priory of Ely, as witnessed by charters of Bishops Hervey and Nigel in the twelfth century; it, however, at some later period became attached to the adjacent Priory of Snape, and appears among

its possessions in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas in 1292, but only two documents remain among the records of Aldeburgh that testify to this ownership. On the suppression of the priory by Wolsey in 1524, he transferred its possession to his new foundation of Cardinal College in Oxford, but on his fall it was granted by Henry VIII. to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Reverting to the Crown upon the Duke's attainder in 1547, it was at last created a borough by a charter of incorporation granted by Edward VI. in the same year. The original of this charter is lost, but it is recited in an *Inspeximus* by Philip and Mary in 1554. A fee-farm rent of twenty shillings was reserved to the Crown, which appears to have been subsequently granted to Bishop Ward's College of Matrons at Salisbury.

The early records are preserved in a fire-proof safe in a cupboard in the Moot Hall, a most interesting and picturesque building standing conspicuously near the sea, from incursions of which it is protected by the shingle-bank. The rooms on the ground-floor of this small but precious relic of the latter half, probably, of the 16th century, were, within memory, used as dark prison-cells, while the upper room, the Hall, is reached by a wooden staircase on the outside. A worm-eaten chest, coeval with the building or older, is not now used as a repository, but in the lower room two chests are filled with papers of the 18th century, leases, rolls of certificates of the taking the oaths on admission to offices, indentures of apprenticeship, bonds, and other formal documents. A large mass of similar papers of the 19th century is in the office of the Town Clerk, Mr. H. C. Casley, at Ipswich. That gentleman has also in his office the two Order-Books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Chamberlain's accounts for 1649-50, as described below, together with lists of freemen, and a folio volume containing the forms of oaths taken by the burgesses, translations of the charters of Queen Elizabeth and James I., opinions of counsel upon cases arising therefrom, declarations against the Solemn League and Covenant from 1685 to 1711, copies of the wills of benefactors to the town, and other official entries. The late and current minute-books are also, of course, in his custody. The town is now governed by a mayor and corporation, by a new charter granted in 1885 under the Municipal Corporation Act of 1883, 46 Vict.

The records consist of:—

1. Charters of Letters Patent; 1524-1637.
2. Order Books of the Bailiffs and Burgesses; 1549-1746.
3. Acts of the Assembly of Bailiffs and Burgesses; 1697-1817.
4. A copy-book of letters to and from the Corporation; 1625-1663.
5. Chamberlains' Account Books; 1566-1856, incomplete.
7. Sessions and Court Books; 1606-1734 (incomplete).
8. Miscellaneous documents; 1448-1744.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Earl of Leicester.

X. *Charters, Early Conveyances, Court Rolls, &c., of the Earl of Leicester.*—Shortly after the Report upon the Manuscripts deposited at Holkham was drawn up by the late Mr. Horwood [*IXth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners, App. p.* 357], it occurred to Lord Leicester that it would be desirable to arrange and classify the immense mass of mediæval charters, rolls and other documents which were lying in disorder, uncalendared and uncatalogued, in the muniment room. A beginning was made by Mr. Scott, of the British Museum, who drew up a calendar of nearly 4,000 ancient charters, dating back to the time of King John, and only a comparatively few of which are concerned with so modern a date as the reign of Elizabeth. The examination and cataloguing of the rolls, maps, manorial extents and similar apparatus was entrusted to other hands; while the large mass of correspondence has not yet been arranged, though it contains many letters of great historical value and interest.

When it is remembered that Lord Leicester's estates in the county of Norfolk stretch over an area embracing more than fifty parishes, and that the records which are concerned with this great tract of country deal minutely not only with the transfer of land but, directly or indirectly, with the social, economic and religious life of the people during more than six centuries of our history, it will be obvious that the value and importance of so large an assemblage of original documents can hardly be exaggerated, and that it would be impossible to say what may be the results of a patient and searching examination of the Holkham archives.

Though the ancient family of Coke were possessed of considerable landed property in the county of Norfolk for at least three centuries before they became the owners of the Holkham estate, none of them had served any of the great offices in the county until Edward Coke was returned knight of the shire in the Parliament of 1593, having been appointed Solicitor-General in the previous year. Two years later he appears to have bought up all the smaller manors in Holkham, and so consolidated the estate. The note of hand on which he borrowed 750*l.* from Thomas Fermour, of Basham, on the 8th September, 1595, is still preserved, and appears to represent that portion of the purchase money which "Edward Coke of Godwick, Attorney-General," required, as a temporary loan, to complete his purchase.

The charters concerned with the parish of Holkham number 289, dating from the time of Henry III. to the year 1688. Of these 108 are connected with transfers of land during the reigns of the first three Edwards. The plots of land are often exceedingly minute; and the subdivision of the land is evidenced by other documents such as the Court Rolls in which surrenders and exchanges are abundantly recorded. The names of the inhabitants which appear in the earliest charters of the reign of Henry III. indicate that the Danish element in the population was strongly preponderating.

One of the most valuable of the rolls pertaining to the manor of Holkham is an *Extent* drawn up by the lord of the homage shortly after the death of Warin de Monte Canisio (*Montchensi*) in A.D. 1255, which appears to show that the Montchensis were lords of the principal manor at least, and that the number of their tenants, free and bond, exceeded a hundred. The document though in parts very dilapidated is one of very great interest, giving as it does a minute account of the holdings of the tenants, the quit rents they paid and the services they rendered.

The series of charters constitutes a remarkable and close succession for more than a hundred years down to the year 1348, after which there is a sudden and marked break, and a change of personal names, beginning with the 15th century, as if the district had been well nigh depopulated by the visitation of the plague.

To the west of Holkham and separated from it by a portion of the parish of Harpley, in which the Coke family have never had any but a small interest, stretches a tract of country of some thousands of acres, including the parishes of Appleton, Anmer and Flitcham. The charters which concern these parishes, the earliest of which is of the date 1205 and the latest of the time of Queen Elizabeth, exceed three hundred in number and are of great value for the curious light they throw upon some obscure chapters in English history.

The charters of Flitcham of which 14 are of the time of King John and at least 40 are anterior to the close of the 13th century, illustrate the way in which a small house of Augustinian Canons in an obscure parish grew up to a certain local importance.

The collection of charters referring to the parish of Sparham is one of extraordinary richness, remarkable not only for their number and wonderful continuity but for the varied interest of their contents. Though the Earl of Leicester is lord of the manor his estate does not exceed 1,500 acres in extent; yet the Holkham archives present us with nearly 450 charters which are concerned with transfers of land in this small area anterior to the close of the 15th century.

The Sparham charters, as in the case of Flitcham, throw some light upon the early history of another small Augustinian house in Norfolk—the Priory of Beeston ad Mare. From a series of five early charters, it is certain that Isabella de Cressy, widow, was the real, and, apparently, the only founder of this monastery. Among the curiosities of these Sparham charters may be noticed charter 1754, which is a grant of lands in Sparham to Robert Marshall and John Clyffe, Gentlemen of London, Minstrels to King Edward IV., and William Mustarden, Clerk, and John Popy, of Sparham, dated 20th Nov., 4 Edw. IV. (A.D. 1464).

The charters of Tittleshall are 152 in number—five of these

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are of the reign of Henry III. No. 2012 is the award of a commission issued by William Ayermin, Bishop of Norwich, dated vi. Kal Febr. 1328. The commissioners met at the Premonstratensian Abbey of Wendling. It appears that a presentation had been made to the Church of Tiftleshall actually when the benefice was not vacant. The Bishop's Register shows that the dispute between the rival rectors went on for twenty-five years; and though this award was supposed to be the settlement of the quarrel, yet Charters 2013 and 2014 prove that the rival claimants were still at feud five years later.

The large number of gentry resident in the Norfolk villages during the 14th and early part of the 15th century is very noticeable in the charters of this period, and an instance of this is furnished in the Tittleshall Charter No. 2035—early in the reign of Henry IV.—where, attesting a small grant of land in the parish, there are no less than four knights among the witnesses, viz., Sir Hamon Chevers, Sir Robert de Hulme, Sir John de Munfinchan and Sir Hamon de Pattesle.

The Weasenham Charters amount to no fewer than 686, of which 167 were issued before the close of the 14th century: two of them are of the time of King John.

It is well known that the Jews were very numerous in East Anglia during the 13th century, and there are some indications in these charters of Jewish bankers or money-lenders being found even in the country villages, and acquiring and holding land there. But Charter 1547, which cannot be later than the reign of King John, bring us decisive evidence on the point. It is a grant by William Costio and Roger his son of a piece of land in Sparham to John son of Gerard de Folesham and his heirs—to be held in fee of the grantors. The charter is endorsed in mediæval Hebrew characters with a memorandum of the contents.

All the charters of the Parish of Castleacre, which formed an important part of the domains of the Earls of Warenne, are of a comparatively late date and uninteresting. There are none earlier than the 15th century. The Earl of Exeter probably retained the more ancient documents when the site of the monastery and manor passed into the hands of Sir Edward Coke in 1615. On the other hand the Court Rolls of the Warrens' manor number many hundreds at least. The earliest of these bundles makes up an unbroken series from the 55th year of Henry III. to the 30th Edw. I. They are in almost perfect condition, and even a cursory glance at them shows how many side lights they would throw upon the domestic, judicial and economic history of the time and the relations existing between the monastery and the lord of the manor.

There are no less than 105 maps of parishes and manors which form part of the estates of the Earl of Leicester in Norfolk, the earliest of which is of the date 1581. The latest is a survey of the East and West Marshes of Wells (Norfolk), made in the year 1804, whereby it may be seen how great has

been the reclamation of waste lands from the incroachment of the sea during the last century. Forthy-seven of these maps belong to a time long anterior to the inclosures of commons carried out at the close of the 18th century, and all exhibit more or less minutely the bewildering subdivision of land in the "open fields." Sometimes the names of the tenants of the little strips are inserted and illustrate the confusion that prevailed in the tenure of these multitudinous patches of land scattered over a wide area. Map 36 sets out a kind of pictorial history of encroachments upon the common lands in the parish of Flitcham—apparently in consequence of the suppression of the Priory there. This seems to have been drawn up in preparation for the Special Commission issued from the Exchequer to inquire into the disputes in the 42nd year of Queen Elizabeth. [*38th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, p.* 63, *No.* 2954.]

In a collection of Miscellaneous Charters which deserve little notice, is one which must not be passed over. It contains the original Letters Patent of James II. confirming the Patent of Charles II., whereby the latter altered the title of the Corporation of the Town of Buckingham from *Bailiff and Burgesses* to the *Mayor and Aldermen* of the Borough and Parish of Buckingham, and appointing Henry Robinson as "Primus et modernus" Mayor, and twelve burgesses, whose names are given, to be Aldermen; appointing also George, Lord Jeffreys, Lord High Chancellor of England, to be the first steward and to hold the office for life; and John Upton to be the first *Serviens ad clavum* (sub-bailiff).

The manor court rolls in the Holkham muniment rooms must amount to several thousands. They are admirably arranged in parishes and can be referred to without difficulty. They constitute an immense mine of information which has been only partially worked by the students of English social history and economics.

II. The number of Letters hitherto discovered among the MSS. at Holkham of the 16th and 17th centuries has been inconsiderable. It still remains unexplained what became of Sir Edward Coke's large collections of MSS.—more or less of a personal interest.

For the most part the letters examined are, with a single exception, of very little interest or value. That exception however can hardly be passed over without a line. It is asserted by Camden that among those supporters of Robert Earl of Essex, in his mad attempt at rebellion in February, 1601, who escaped hanging, a certain Sir Edward Baynham's life was spared, "which Baynham redeemed with a sum of money paid to Raleigh." Hitherto the assertion has been accepted as founded upon little more than current rumour. A letter among the Holkham MSS. in Raleigh's own hand throws some light upon Camden's story.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV. Sir William Clayton.

XI. *Manuscripts of Sir William Clayton, Bart.*—Among the manuscripts belonging to Sir William Clayton, preserved at Harleyford, Marlow, are some early and interesting deeds. The earliest dates from 1177. They relate to Garendon in Leicestershire; Tandridge, in Surrey; Totnes, in Devon; Englefield, in Berkshire; Lynford Magna, in Buckinghamshire; the City of London; and various other places.

SCOTLAND.

THE EARL OF MAR AND KELLIE.

Earl of Mar and Kellie.

The documents dealt with in the Report are those relating only to the period of the Erskines, Earl of Mar. Their family muniments consist of a large collection of feudal charters connected with the various estates throughout Scotland, in the counties of Clackmannan, Stirling, Aberdeen, Fife, Berwick, and others, which are not here included, with the exception of an old Latin rental—which notes, somewhat incorrectly in certain cases, some of the oldest of these and a few other documents. To one of these, dated in 1639, attention may be drawn as giving the vassalage of the Earl of Mar at that time, which included no less a personage than the Marquis of Huntly, and other members of the powerful house of Gordon, and also of those of Forbes, Seton and others. A considerable number of the earlier Mar charters, however, were printed in the minutes of evidence taken in the House of Lords during the hearing of the claim made by the late Earl of Kellie to the Earldom of Mar. There is also a large collection of historical letters and papers, which date from 1522, and extend over two centuries, touching in their course more or less minutely, almost every successive change in the national life during that period. But the reigns of King James the Sixth, his son, Charles the First, and that of Queen Anne, are those chiefly illustrated. In the two former reigns the principal actor, so far as the papers under consideration are concerned, was John, the second Earl, and in the last, John, the sixth Earl of Mar. It is with this collection of letters and papers that this report deals.

Several important and interesting documents occur in the time of John, fifth Lord Erskine, first Earl of Mar, who was Regent of Scotland. Some of these refer to the arrangements made or the safe keeping and education of the infant Kings, James the Fifth and James the Sixth, which will be adverted to presently. Others are letters addressed to this Earl of Mar, and include several from Queen Elizabeth on State business, including the case of Queen Mary, and the care of the infant King James. This Earl was well known to the English Queen, owing to his frequent visits to her Court. There are also some letters concerning Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, just

after she had been left a widow by the murder of her husband, the Regent. Earl of Mar and Kellie.

Many of the earlier papers are concerned with the arrangements made with the Earls of Mar for the keeping and upbringing of the royal infants, for, for more than a century, the Lords Erskine and Earls of Mar were successively the guardians of the monarchs of Scotland during their infant years. John, fifth Lord Erskine, had the care of King James the Fifth, who later appointed him one of his own son's tutors and governors. He had also for a time the care of the infant Princess Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots. And to the son of this Lord, whom she ennobled as Earl of Mar, she in turn committed the keeping of her infant son James. Subsequently, King James the Sixth himself could find no better guardian for his own infant son and heir, Prince Henry, than the son of his own guardian, with whom he himself had been brought up, and with whom he was on terms of great familiarity.

After the death of the Regent Mar in 1572, his widow, Annabella Murray, continued to have the guardianship of the infant Prince, who had as his pedagogues George Buchanan and Peter Young. The Regent's son, John, second Earl of Mar, was in minority at the time of his father's death, but he soon rose to political importance, and his correspondence and papers occupy a considerable space in the Report. He was educated along with King James the Sixth, and consequently there was a lifelong affection between them. The King wrote often to him with his own hand and in a familiar strain. But amid the ever-changing political situation it was an almost impossible task to keep free of entanglements, and on one occasion this Earl fell under the strong displeasure of his Majesty for taking part with the Earl of Angus in the latter's efforts to save the life of the Regent Morton. The estrangement, however, did not long endure. This Earl had in his charge the keeping of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and with them the custody of the political prisoners confined therein. The arrangements made with him on receiving the charge of the King's infant son, Prince Henry, may be seen, while the King's entire confidence in him on many grounds is often expressed, and he had also recourse to him in his difficulties in matters of finance. This Earl was sent as ambassador with the Abbot of Kinloss to Queen Elizabeth in 1601. In 1603 her Majesty's death took place, and King James succeeded to the crown of England. The King at once removed to London, leaving his wife and children to follow. The Queen and the Earl of Mar, who had by this time been relieved of his office of guardian, with Prince Henry, and the Princess Elizabeth, and the infant Prince Charles, followed and arrived in London on 27th June, 1603.

The union of the Crowns lifts matters into a wider plane. There is a letter from King Henry the Fourth of France, in which he desires the Earl to continue to assist his ambassador

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at the English Court with his good offices, and the two following letters are gossiping epistles from Lord Northampton to the Earl. The fit of anti-popery taken by the King at this time, most markedly manifested in his relentless persecution of Lord Balmerino, is here reflected in some letters dealing with the imprisonment of the Earls of Huntly and Erroll.

An interesting note with respect to a conference at Whitehall upon the then proposed marriage of Prince Charles with a daughter of France will be found at p. 74 of the Report.

It was on the overthrow of the Earl of Somerset, who had, in succession to the Earl of Dunbar, held for some years the post of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, that in December, 1616, the Earl of Mar was selected by the King to fill this important position. This office he continued to hold without a break for the period of fifteen years. From this date there are many papers, letters and warrants directed to him in this new charge. Even prior to 1616 some of these appear; and one is a somewhat important table, apparently compiled in 1614, of the produce exported from Scotland at that time. Notice of the visit of King James to Scotland in 1617, with a list of his daily journeys, will be found at p. 80 of the Report.

A confidential letter written with the King's own hand directs his treasurer to pay to the Marquis of Hamilton 3,000*l.* sterling; a sum so large that the King had to apologise for such a demand upon an exchequer which could never boast of repletion.

Other letters directed to this Earl in his capacity of Treasurer are of so miscellaneous a character that of a few only can mention be made here. One deals with the preservation of the estates of the Earl of Argyll, which owing to his conversion about this time to the Church of Rome, might have been forfeited, but which the Scottish officers of State successfully exerted themselves to save from this fate. Another notes the bestowal by the King upon Prince Charles, of the lordship of Dunfermline and other lands which had been the jointure lands of his now deceased mother, Queen Anne. By the death of his brother, Prince Henry, Prince Charles became the heir to the throne, and his father, for the development of his administrative capacity, placed him in possession of the principality of Scotland, that is, of the estates set apart for the support of the heir-apparent to the throne.

Attention may also be called to a letter from the Duc du Bouillon to the King of France in 1621, in which he makes an earnest appeal on behalf of toleration for the Huguenots.

In 1621, Sir Gideon Murray, who had long held the office of Deputy Treasurer of Scotland, failed in health and was relieved of his office. The Earl of Mar thereupon undertook the sole management, and would have so continued to do, but after a year's experience of this the King insisted on a new depute being

appointed, his choice falling upon Sir Archibald Napier, afterwards Lord Napier. Many of the letters and papers during this period bear evidence of the great scarcity of money in Scotland. Earl of Mar and Kellie.

The scantiness of the revenue was Mar's chief trouble. He had to meet not only the working demands of the country, but a large and increasing number of pensions which had been granted by His Majesty on the giving up of his Scottish establishment and for other causes, and the Earl felt it necessary to go to Court and consult the King personally. The result is embodied in some directions brought down by the Earl, and in some memoranda made by him after he left the Court, in which he mentions one or two things imparted to him by the King, doubtless in confidence, such as his design to revisit Scotland next year; his dissatisfaction with the temper shewn by the Chancellor in respect to the King's wishes, and especially in the Parliament; and his desire that the sacrament should be the object of adoration in Scotland. Though quite persuaded of the necessity of retrenchment, King James was unable to resist the claims of his needy favorites, and Mar found that things only tended to grow worse. Accordingly he wrote to the King, to Prince Charles, and to the Marquis of Buckingham. In his letter to the Prince, he points out the nature and one cause of the evil. Since the union of the Crowns, the intercourse between Scotland and England had increased, and the poorer but perhaps prouder Scots, unwilling to appear in any way behind their wealthier English friends, squandered their estates, and so brought themselves to beggary, or what was worse for the country, to depend upon the King's bounty.

The second son of this Earl of Mar by his second marriage was Henry Erskine, father of David, Lord Cardross. He was in London in March, 1624, and writes home to his father, recounting the proceedings in the English Parliament. A letter from the King to the Earl seems to be connected with the later negotiations with France for the Prince's marriage.

The death of King James sent a thrill of apprehension through many of the members of the Scottish Cabinet; but for the immediate present King Charles made no changes. These, however, were imminent, and in some respects were intended to be radical and far-reaching. One of the first was an order for the appointment of a Commission of Exchequer or Treasury by which the powers of the Lord High Treasurer were much abridged. Another was the entire separation of the Privy Council from the Court of Session. Until now some of the members of Council had been also Lords of Session, but the King had made up his mind that no nobleman should have a seat upon the judicial bench. The appointment of the Commission of Exchequer was taken by Mar as an act of censure upon himself and his conduct in his office, and it drew from him a personal remonstrance to the King. But indeed the whole order of government was so much upset by the King's new proposals that

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the Scottish Privy Council practically rebelled, and the principal members of it were called up to the Court, Mar among the rest. There a series of conferences took place, of which the Earl of Mar has happily left a somewhat detailed account in his "short notes," which place on record the principal matters of dispute.

The Earl of Mar afterwards continued some of the subjects of conference in private correspondence with the King. In 1630, however, Mar was relieved of his office of Treasurer, and William, Earl of Morton, appointed in his place. Mar promised to render assistance to his successor in the service, and consequently papers connected with the revenue of Scotland continue to appear for a short time longer.

An interesting group of eight letters written by the Princess Elizabeth, now Queen of Bohemia, to the Earl of Mar, between 1623 and 1635 are noteworthy. There runs through them all a subdued reference to her own misfortunes, but in several she refers to and interests herself to further the marriage of the Earl's third son, Sir Alexander Erskine (who was afterwards killed at the blowing up of the castle of Dunglass in 1640), the lady of his choice being one of her own gentlewomen.

Reference has already been made to James, Lord Ochiltree, and at pp. 181–191 of the Report will be found papers in the proceedings taken against him for falsely accusing to the King the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earls of Haddington, Roxburgh and Buccleuch as being engaged in a conspiracy against the throne.

A letter from Viscount Wentworth affords a glimpse of that nobleman's administration of the government of Ireland, and incidentally mentions the death of John, second Earl of Mar. He appears to have died in March, 1635. The letter is presumably to that earl's son and successor, who was desirous of acquiring an estate in Ireland. For the following period between this date and the Revolution in 1688 the letters and papers evidently suffered in some way, as they are very few. Those which immediately follow carry us into the stormy period of the civil wars of Charles the First, and there is a curious rhyming prophecy attributed to Sir James Galloway, who was Master of Requests to King James the Sixth, and a member of the Privy Council in the reign of King Charles the First, which, if genuine, proved remarkably true. In the conflict between the Scots and the King, the Earl of Mar assisted the Scottish Estates with his followers, and the list of the men he could command from Strathdon is given. Just at the time when the English Parliamentary Commissioners were adjusting the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh, the Earl received a letter from the King, who was then at Oxford, solemnly protesting once more his intentions of faithfully preserving inviolate the privileges of his Scottish subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, according to the laws of Scotland, and desiring the Earl to convene his friends and vassals and assure them of this. But

the Scots had already received too many vain assurances of the like kind. The letter is evidently a circular and was probably sent to other nobles as well as to Mar. The next letter is a summons to the Earl from the Scottish Council a few months later to come and swear the Solemn League and Covenant with the rest of the Council, and the paper following shews that at this stage of the quarrel there was an abortive attempt at intervention made by the King of France with the Scots on behalf of Charles. Later, in the course of "the troubles" of this period, Mar is found, willingly or unwillingly, assisting Montrose, especially after the battle of Kilsyth, and was placed in jeopardy thereby, but General David Leslie came to his rescue. An interesting letter from an unknown English writer in reference to the King's transference from the Scots' army at Newcastle to that of the English Parliament, in which he gives his opinion about Cromwell's soldiers, and his anticipations of good things to come from the trust the King was now reposing in them, will be found at p. 204 of the Report. But the sequel proved that what the Earl of Mar had written to that writer's disrelish was but too true: "His Majestie hes leapt out of the frying pan into the fyre; left ill cumpany to adhere to worse." Earl of Mar and Kellie.

On the death of King Charles the First the interest of the Scots centred in the recall of his son, Charles the Second, as at least their king. He was at St. Malo waiting to hear news from Ireland, and some were of opinion that he would come to Scotland, as, indeed, he did. Doubtless, Mar gave his willing obedience to the orders he received to raise his men for his Majesty's support.

During the period of the Commonwealth there are no papers, and after the Restoration, until the Revolution, they are but scant. In 1675 there is an order for the imprisonment of Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, and Robert Ker of Kersland, in Stirling Castle, and also an order for the liberation of the former about five months later. Other prisoners there come also from the ranks of the Covenanters, and there is a letter of thanks from the King to the Lords of Justiciary for their proceedings against James Mitchell for his alleged attempt to kill Archbishop Sharp. Some of the papers about this period are interesting from a military point of view, being illustrative of army drill and discipline in several aspects.

On p. 214 of the Report is a memorial in which the Earl of Mar, in his anxiety to retain the keeping of the castle of Stirling, relates the services of his ancestors to the Crown; and a letter from General Dalyell to the Earl speaks of the torturing of William Spence, secretary to the Earl of Argyll, and indicates the disgust of that soldier at some of the work he was then engaged in. Argyll's expedition itself is also referred to.

The accession of King James the Second (Seventh of Scotland) is marked by some papers, relative to the enlargement given to Papists for the exercise of their religion, and it was probably

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owing to his aversion from some of this King's measures that the Earl of Mar felt it necessary to send a letter to the King affirming his thorough loyalty. The papers which follow shew the King at variance with his Scottish Council, and the Earl of Mar under orders for special military service, with the assembling of some of his Highlanders about Stirling. But the scene changes; the revolution has been effected; Mar receives an invitation from the Prince of Orange to attend the meeting of the Estates at Edinburgh which is to declare that Prince King of Scotland; the governorship of the castle of Stirling is continued to Mar with the Earl of Perth thrown therein as a prisoner, and Mar himself is one of the first sufferers from the Revolution. He is found bewailing the burning of several of his houses in the North by the Highlanders, who took this means to prevent them from being employed for garrisons against themselves.

The largest portion of the report deals with the correspondence of John, sixth Earl of Mar, who played so important a part in carrying through the Treaty of Union, during the actual passing of which and for some years afterwards he was one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland. But latterly he changed his opinion about the Union, and when he could not get it dissolved, headed the unsuccessful Jacobite insurrection of 1715 for the restoration of the Stuarts. Yet during the whole of Queen Anne's reign there was no suspicion of Jacobitism about this Earl. To her Majesty he was a most loyal and devoted servant. The letters by and to him commence in the closing years of King William the Third, and with the exception of several addressed to him by his brother Henry, and the Viscount Dalrymple and others from some camps of the British troops engaged in the wars on the Continent, giving details of several battles and military movements, the whole are concerned with the Parliamentary and official history of Scotland, at least up to 1715. They yield a minute and often graphic narrative of the proceedings connected with the Union of the Kingdoms.

The Union was the "grand affair" of the time, and references to it fill the Earl of Mar's letters from 1703 onwards. Mar himself had prepared and introduced a Uniting Act, and, with but slight alteration, this was the Act which Parliament adopted. The Queen acknowledged this service by appointing him one of her Secretaries of State for Scotland in place of the Marquis of Annandale, the Earl of Loudon being conjoined with him in this office. Mar was also a commissioner on the Scottish side for settling with those of England the Articles of Union, In consequence of his official position the Earl had to reside in London, and he made his younger brother, Mr. James Erskine, his chief Scottish correspondent and factor. This brother was trained to the law, and was raised to the bench by the title of Lord Grange. He became later Lord Justice Clerk. Many of the letters in this part of the report are to and from him.

The Treaty of Union was finally adjusted and signed by the Commissioners on 22nd July, 1706, when they went unitedly in

procession to her Majesty and presented it. The event was made the occasion of national rejoicing in England, and her Majesty further acknowledged the services of the Earl of Mar and his colleague in the Secretaryship, the Earl of Loudon, by creating them Knights of the Thistle. Earl of Mar and Kellie.

But the Treaty of Union had still its way to fight in Scotland, and it was only after a prolonged and keen conflict in the Scottish Parliament, lasting from October 1706, until February 1707, that the measure was carried, and the Union accomplished. All the varied forms of the opposition made to the passing of the Treaty are vividly set forth in the Earl of Mar's letters to Sir David Nairne, the Under-Secretary of State for Scotland in London.

After the Union, the Earl continued in his office of Secretary of State, and had to deal with the Jacobite invasion of 1708, in consequence of which seizure was made of a number of prominent Jacobites in Scotland, some of whom were sent in custody to London. He ceased to be Secretary in February 1709, but obtained a pension of 3,000*l* from the Queen, to continue during her life. The Duke of Queensberry then got the appointment and held it till his death in July 1711. The succession to the office was keenly contested between Mar and the Duke of Hamilton, but through the influence of the Earl of Oxford, the former obtained it. By this time so much friction had arisen between the two nations over the difficulties experienced in harmonising their relations that proposals were seriously brought forward in the British Parliament for the dissolution of the Union and a return to the *statum quo ante*, and even Mar seems to have come to believe that after all the Union may have been a mistake. With the death of Queen Anne and the overthrow of the Tory party in England, Mar was removed from his office. Up to the last moment of his being in power he was firm to the Hanoverian interest; he used all his efforts to preserve the peace in Scotland, especially in the Highlands, and when King George the First arrived in England he waited upon him to proffer his allegiance. But the King refused to see him and sent word that he had no further need for his services. His office of Secretary was then given to the Duke of Montrose.

Seeing his associates impeached in England for treason, and finding that by the King's orders Stirling Castle was to be taken out of his hands, Mar began to fear that his life was in danger; and evidently stung with indignation at such treatment after his long and faithful services to the country, he joined the cause of the Pretender and raised the standard of rebellion in Scotland. Mar was placed, by commission from the Chevalier, in the chief command in Scotland. Interest centres for the moment in his camp at Perth. There he received letters from the Chevalier, in one of which the honour of a Dukedom is conferred upon him. But by this time the battle of Sheriffmuir had been fought; the in-

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vasion of England had ended in disaster at Preston in Lancashire, and it fell to Mar's lot to intimate the tidings to the Chevalier, who was now supposed to be off the coast of Scotland. Mar managed to retain a number of his troops, and to hold his opponents at bay until James landed at Peterhead, but the failure of the promised support from France forced James to return, and Mar went with him and was in his services for some years. There will be found in the Report several letters from the Chevalier and from his wife, the Princess Clementina, to the Duchess of Mar. The Earl, of course, lost his estates, and was never again permitted to return to Scotland, but died at Aix-la-Chapelle, in May, 1732. Some time before his death he broke with the Stuarts, and strove long and earnestly to make his peace with the House of Hanover, but without avail.

The remainder of the Report is chiefly composed of the correspondence of the Earl's brother, Lord Grange, who, to save the family estates, purchased them back from the Forfeited Estates Commissioners for the benefit of his nephew, the Earl's son. But the latter died childless, and the estates passed to the Earl's daughter, who married her cousin, James Erskine, son of Lord Grange, ancestor of the present Earl of Mar and Kellie. To their son, in 1824, King George the Fourth restored the title.

Lord Grange was both an able judge and a wise politician. As already stated, he was for some time Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, and later in life was member of Parliament for Stirlingshire. He was held in much repute by the clergy of Scotland for his piety and his attachment to the Presbyterian cause. He had a large number of correspondents, and selections will be found in the Report of letters from the pen of Mr. Gabriel Wilson, minister of Maxton; Mr. John Wylie, minister at Clackmannan; Mr. Andrew Darling, minister at Kinnoul, and Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, one of the founders of the Secession Church, who not only writes upon a point of antiquity, but sends to Lord Grange immediately after the Secession a note of the progress of their young presbytery, and also a copy of the indictment laid against him, evidently by the presbytery of Stirling. Among his correspondents from the ranks of statesmen are the Duke of Argyll, William Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, the Earl of Stair, and Marshall Keith, and there are several epistles from Simon, Lord Lovat, couched in his usual attractive style, but certainly not in a tone which would make one suppose that he had Lord Grange in any respect in his power.

Among miscellaneous papers and letters may be noted a memorandum concerning the place in which the public Scottish records were preserved, or rather, as is suggested, destroyed in 1723; a somewhat amusing cipher; a satirical poem, which may be that which the Earl of Mar sent to his lady, and a narrative about St. Fillan's in Perthshire and some superstitious customs associated therewith.

IRELAND.

Marquess of Ormonde, Vol. IV.

In the first section of volume IV. the selections from the general correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond are continued from 1675 to 1678. Although the space occupied by this section is little less than that devoted to the corresponding section of Volume III., the period embraced is much shorter. This disparity is due to two circumstances. In the first place, to the entrance of the Duke of Ormond, in 1677, on his third and last tenure of the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his consequent resumption of residence in Dublin and of direct concern with public affairs in Ireland; in the second, to the fact that the final period of Ormond's public activity attracted, as was natural, a comparatively slender share of his biographer's attention, with the result that the correspondence preserved at Kilkenny between the years 1677 and 1685 has suffered less than any other portion of the Duke's papers from Carte's liberal interpretation of the licence given for the purposes of his book. Of the great mass of the Ormond papers which found their way to Oxford, only those volumes of the Carte collection numbered 38, 39, 40, 45, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 216 and 217 relate to this period; and a large portion of their contents are duplicate drafts or contemporary office copies of the documents still at Kilkenny.

The eighth and last book of Carte's Life of Ormond, which embraces the years from 1677 to the Duke's death in 1688, is, accordingly, much the shortest of the whole work.

It deals with a period which, by comparison at least with the two earlier of Ormond's Viceregal terms, was one of civil peace and social calm. Irish affairs had, at the time of Ormond's arrival in 1677, resumed in a large degree their normal provinciality, and no longer provided the stage on which imperial dramas might be enacted. And although at the moment of Ormond's return there were many outstanding questions, social and financial, which demanded attention, and which the Viceroy intended and earnestly desired to deal with in the Irish Parliament, these were almost at once obscured and obstructed by the development of domestic politics in England.

Thus the history of Ormond's last Viceroyalty is the history not so much of domestic reforms as of the repressive measures against the Roman Catholics which were loudly demanded from England, and which the Irish Government were obliged to enforce. And thus it is that both the concluding portion of Carte's work and the section of the Duke's correspondence belonging to the same period are occupied with matters which, however fierce the passions they aroused, had little to do with any of the great social problems upon which the development of Irish society depended.

Hence this instalment of Ormond's correspondence is valuable, rather for the light it throws on a period of violent religious excitement in Great Britain than for the information it affords

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on those questions of Irish administration with which we should naturally expect it to be most fully occupied.

Ormond's principal correspondents during the early years of his last Viceroyalty were his two sons, the Earls of Ossory and Arran, by one or other of whom his interests were continuously represented at Court; Sir Henry Coventry, the Secretary of State, who, until 1680, was responsible for the conduct of the Irish business of the English Privy Council; Sir Cyril Wyche; Sir William Temple; the Earl of Longford; Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church; and, most important of all, perhaps, Sir Robert Southwell, Clerk of the Privy Council in England, and the intimate and lifelong friend of Ormond. Southwell's letters are presented in a connected sequence in the second section of this volume, and are separately noticed in the second section of this Introduction. In Ireland, Ormond's chief correspondents were two members of the great family of the Boyles. Of these Michael Boyle, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin, appears in the character of Ormond's most active and capable assistant in the Irish Government, and Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery, in that of the severest critic of the Lord Lieutenant's official actions. Other correspondents of importance whose names occur less frequently are the Duke of Lauderdale, the Earls of Danby, Shaftesbury, Essex, and Burlington, Viscount Granard, and Sir Robert Howard. The letters of Lauderdale and Granard chiefly relate to the military expedition to the West of Scotland in 1677–78. Sir Robert Howard's communications refer, among other more official matters, to the pecuniary interests of Nell Gwyn in Ireland.

Ormond arrived in Ireland to take up the duties of the Viceroyalty with a resolution to summon a Parliament in Dublin at the earliest possible moment. It was settled that the Irish Parliament should meet in Dublin as soon as the English Parliament at Westminster should be dissolved, and the Viceroy even got the length of suggesting the designation of Sir John Temple, the Solicitor-General, as Speaker of the House of Commons in the new Parliament, to the early meeting of which Ormond still looked forward as late as September 1678.

But the scene was quickly and gravely altered by the fever of excitement and alarm aroused in England by the pretended revelations of Oates and Bedloe and their infamous comrades in perjury. In spite of the urgency of financial matters, all idea of calling a Parliament was thenceforth abandoned, and no favourable opportunity of summoning the legislature recurred during the remainder of Ormond's seven years' tenure of the government, a period which practically synchronised with the remainder of his master's reign. The rest of the correspondence for the period covered by this Report is practically filled with communications relative to the so-called Popish Plot, and to the measures to be taken for the safeguarding of Protestant interests in Ireland. The same topics form the main burthen of the

numerous letters of Sir Robert Southwell which follow the general correspondence.

Among the earlier portions of the correspondence are several letters and documents bearing upon the rising of the Covenanters in the West of Scotland, for the suppression of which considerable reinforcements were despatched from Ireland.

It was from the troops stationed at Carrickfergus and other northern forts that Viscount Granard, who commanded the army in Ireland, was directed by Ormond to find a force capable of seconding the preparations made in Scotland under Lauderdale's direction to overawe the Covenanters. The communications which passed between Lauderdale and Granard and their respective subordinates afford not a few details of the condition of affairs in the West of Scotland at the commencement of that struggle, and of the arrangements made for the co-operation of the Irish with the Scottish military forces.

A considerable, and it may, perhaps, be thought disproportionate, share of the correspondence is devoted to a matter which appears to have been regarded by the Government of Ireland as one of first-rate importance, viz., the defence and fortification of the harbour of Kinsale.

Among the more personal interests of Ormond at this period a considerable place was occupied by the education of his ultimate heir, the eldest son of the gallant Ossory, and afterwards second Duke of Ormond. Lord James Butler was in 1677 a lad of still tender years; but at a time when it was the custom to go to a university at an age not much beyond that at which a boy is now sent to one of the great public schools, the problem of the destination of a boy of fourteen was necessarily the subject of much family concern. Several letters on the question passed between the father and grandfather of the boy, for whose support Ormond appears to have undertaken to make adequate provision; and Arlington, who was married to the lad's maternal aunt, was taken into council as to the relative advantages of an education abroad under the superintendence of a governor, and residence at Oxford.

It was ultimately decided to send the youth to Christ Church, where he was placed under the direct supervision of Dr. Fell, then Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, a don whose letters to Ormond and Sir Robert Southwell give a pleasant impression of his character and do something to rebut the undesirable innuendo contained in a well known epigram, and give some insight into College life in the Oxford of that day.

The correspondence of the Duke of Ormond with his sons is interesting, not only on account of its historical value but from the light it throws on their relation to one another and on their personal character. They show far more ease and freedom than is usually found in correspondence between a father and son in the seventeenth century. They have also a surprisingly modern tone. The letters of the Duke himself, both to his sons and to Lord Orrery, resemble those of a states-

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man of the last thirty years of the reign of George III. rather than those of a magnate of the time of Charles II.

Of all Ormond's correspondents in the latter part of his long career the most intimate and confidential was his close friend and faithful supporter, Sir Robert Southwell, who during the last stage of the Duke's sojourn in Ireland was resident in England, and upon whom Ormond mainly depended for private advices of those developments of English politics which so closely affected his position as the King's representative. For such a part Southwell's official situation at this time peculiarly fitted him. His frequent letters at this time, which commence directly after Ormond's arrival in Ireland, in September 1677, form a practically continuous diary of politics for upwards of two years. They have neither the characteristic cynicism nor the literary felicity which give point to the diaries of Charles Greville; but they furnish a chronicle almost as minute, and intrinsically not less scandalous. The main interest of the earlier portion lies in the account they give of foreign affairs, in which Southwell, who had more than once acted as a British envoy to different European Courts, was closely interested. But from October 1678, onwards, Sir Robert's letters are almost exclusively filled with the details of Oates plot and the proceedings in connexion therewith, both at the Privy Council and in Parliament.

The letters of Sir Robert Southwell from 1677 to 1785 are scattered through Ormond's general correspondence, where they occur in their proper chronological sequence. But inasmuch as their counterpart, the letters of Ormond to Southwell between the years 1672 and 1678, have been printed consecutively in the late Sir John Gilbert's Report on the Ormonde Papers (Vol. II., pp. 259—308) from a transcript preserved at Kilkenny, it has appeared convenient to print Southwell's letters here in connected sequence as a separate section of this volume.

The third section—Oxford Letters, 1675–1684—consists mainly of copies of letters of recommendation addressed by the Duke of Ormond to the governing body of the University of Oxford. They are, for the most part, in favour of persons who for one reason or another required some kind of dispensation in connexion with the completion of their academic course and the conferring of degrees. They were written, of course, in Ormond's capacity as Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Although purely formal documents yet they illustrate the development of the University system and its methods of government, and add some facts of interest to the history of the University of Oxford in the 17th century. A few letters of a similar character, but relating to degrees in the University of Dublin, of which institution Ormond was also Chancellor, have found their way by some accident into the Oxford letters.

Besides being appointed Lord High Steward of England on the occasion of the coronation both of Charles II. and James II., the Duke of Ormond held the office of Lord Steward of the Household from the Restoration until his death. The "House-

hold Letters," 1675-84, printed in the Report, consist of documents relating to the business of the latter office, but cover only a portion of the very long period of Ormond's Stewardship. Although they are purely official and formal documents, they throw considerable light on the arrangements of the Royal Household in the Court of Charles II. Some documents have crept into the household volume which have no relation to the other entries in the book. Among them are some references to the Court of the Regalities and Liberties of Ormond's Palatine county of Tipperary. Marquess of Ormonde, Vol. IV.

The fifth section relating to Irish Wool Licences and Licencees, 1678–1681, contains a list of the licences issued in connexion with the wool trade, and the amounts paid in respect of the same, together with the names of the licencees for the years 1678–1681. The book from which these entries are taken affords no clue to its origin, and it does not appear to what office it belonged. It is a brief and fragmentary register. It has not appeared expedient to print the whole register in full. Its scope is sufficiently indicated by the summary of names and figures, which gives the names of the licencees and the amount paid for licences for each quarterly period from September 1678 to September 1681.

A "memorandum respecting wool exports," dated February 23rd 1677–8, and printed in the first section of the Report, appears to indicate that the register is a record of an endeavour which was made at this time to check the export of wool abroad, and was part of that jealousy of the Irish wool trade which throughout the seventeenth century was continuously manifested in England.

THE EARL OF EGMONT.

The Appendix to Report VII. of the Historical Manuscripts Commission contains a short Report upon the Earl of Egmont's MSS., giving a list of the volumes, and extracts from some few of the letters. A large number of the volumes thus catalogued prove, upon examination, to be merely collected materials for the history of the Percival family (*A Genealogical History of the House of Yvery*) published in 1742; but the collection includes the original entry-book of the Court of Castle Chamber, 1573-1620; a very fine series of original letters and papers, filling some fifty folio volumes, and ranging in date from the beginning of Charles I.'s reign to the closing decade of George II.'s; nine volumes of news-letters, 1720-1733; and twelve volumes of original diaries of the first Earl Egmont. Earl of Egmont.

This volume of the Report calendars all papers of any importance or general interest found in the nineteen folio volumes of original papers which carry the family correspondence down to the date of the Restoration of Charles II.

Earl of Egmont.

The history of the Perceval family may be read in the *History of the House of Yvery*, but, as regards the early generations, the statements there made must be taken with considerable reservation. No diligence was lacking in the compilers, as is shown by the voluminous copies of records, rough pedigrees, notes, memoranda, letters and queries on the subject. Every known source was searched, church registers appealed to, ancient members of the family invited to certify facts within their knowledge. For the later generations of the family these methods succeeded admirably, but the deductions made from the mediæval records are often far from convincing, and sometimes manifestly wrong.

There can, however, be no doubt that the first Sir Philip Percivall's grandfather was George Percivall, lord of Tykenham and Sydenham, in Somersetshire, the latter manor having been brought into the family by Alice Cave, heiress of her brother John, lord of Sydenham, who married George Percivall's grandfather Thomas. George Percivall had a son Richard, and in *the House of Yvery* (and thence copied into Lodge's Peerage) will be found a long narrative of the early life of this Richard—his wildness, his journeying into Spain, his introduction to the Cecils (at which point Lord Burghley and his son Robert are curiously mixed up together), his reconciliation with his father, and his appointment as Registrar of the Commission for the Wards in Ireland. This narative is mostly taken from a certificate by Edmond Percivall of Ringwood, in Hampshire, made in 1648-9, and written entirely in his own hand. He is absolutely emphatic on the main point, *i.e.*, that Richard Percivall inherited Sydenham from his father George, sold it, went to Ireland, and was Sir Philip Percivall's father. And as Edmond Percivall had himself been his cousin Richard's clerk, and lived in the greatest intimacy with his relatives, his testimony on this point is conclusive, in spite of small inaccuracies in his story.

It is doubtful whether Richard Percivall was ever in Burghley's service. His name first appears in 1594, as a "servant" of Sir Robert Cecil, and from that time letters from him are to be found scattered amongst the Cecil Papers, usually in relation to lands and business matters, and dated from Cecil's house. He was no doubt an active assistant in the investigations concerning the Gunpowder Plot, and a letter of intelligence, addressed to him on November 7th, 1605, in relation to Fawkes, is amongst the State Papers. In 1607 he was granted the reversion of an auditorship in the Court of Wards.

In 1616, he was engaged in the enquiries relating to Overbury's murder, and wrote a long letter to Richard, his son by his first wife, urging him to state openly something which the young man evidently knew about the case, but scrupled to make public.

The "Commission for the Wards" in Ireland was issued in July, 1616, and Richard Percivall was made registrar, but he did

not go over at once, receiving a licence from the Privy Council to execute the office by deputy, on the ground that he was "now employed by the Council." As, however, his name does not occur again in the English State Papers, he probably did not remain long in England. Earl of Egmont.

After Richard Percivall's death in 1620, his sons Walter and Philip, in a petition to the Privy Council, stated that their father had brought them up in the understanding of the affairs of the Wards, with a purpose that they might succeed him, but that another had obtained the reversion. They now prayed for the reversion after the present holder, and also that if a Court of Wards were erected in Ireland they might have the same office in it. The Council sent Secretary Calvert to the King on the young men's behalf, and their request was granted.

In 1624, Walter Percivall died, and Philip succeeded to the estate, which, however, had been a good deal impaired by their father.

Philip began from the first steadily to build up the family fortunes; indeed, the authors of the *House of Yvery* mention grants of wardship to him even before he came of age, though these are not now to be found amongst his papers.

In 1624, soon after his brother's death, while acting as feodary and escheator for county Limerick, he roused the anger of the Limerick Corporation, and the town clerk issued a warrant for his arrest. Percivall afterwards obtained an apology, but this was not a solitary instance of irritation, for in the same year complaints were made in the English Privy Council of his "oppression and extortion" in the exercise of his office. (*See* Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, pp. 506, 510.) The matter was referred back to the authorities in Ireland, but there is no further notice of it, and, as the town clerk's apology is of later date, Percivall was probably exonerated.

And, indeed, it may confidently be stated that although Philip Percivall was evidently what is called a good business man, lent much money on mortgages which fell in (leaving large estates in his hands), and secured for himself wardships which gave him at any rate temporary control of great sums of money, yet an exhaustive scrutiny of his business papers and correspondence has nowhere brought to light any trace of meanness, still less of dishonesty, in his proceedings.

In 1626, Philip Percivall married Katherine, daughter of Arthur Ussher, Esquire, and granddaughter of Sir William Ussher, Clerk of the Council of Ireland. On p. 123 of the Report will be found a note, in Percivall's own hand, of the dates of his children's births, with the names of their godparents and other details. By his marriage with Katherine Ussher, Philip Percivall became connected with many prominent families in Ireland: Ussher, Newcomen, Molyneux, Philips, Meredith, and others.

The papers of the years 1630-1640 chiefly relate to Philip Percivall's official and private affairs. As Clerk of the Wards

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and Feodary and Escheator in Munster, he had to superintend official inquisitions and private enquiries after the death of tenants of the Crown, working with the avowed intention of finding as much as possible for the King, an intention which family interests and the sympathy of local juries combined to defeat so far as they could.

In 1626, Percivall began to negotiate for the purchase of an estate in his native land. The manor of Burton, in Somersetshire, was chosen, and after much disputing with John Jessop, husband of one of the co-heiresses of the manor, the bargain was concluded. Before the matter was decided, Percivall came to England with Lord Wentworth, by whom he was knighted on the eve of their departure from Ireland. While in London, he went to Court and kissed the hands of the King and Queen, then went down into Somersetshire to "view" Burton and settle finally with Mr. Jessop, and at the end of the year returned to Ireland with the Lord Deputy. Wentworth seems to have had a very high opinion of him, for in notes inserted in some of the pedigrees he is said to have called him Sir Perceive-all, and to have observed that he "heard the hoofs "of Sir Philip Percivall's horse trampling hard behind him."

In 1637, Sir Philip obtained letters patent from the King for erecting certain of his Munster estates into a manor, which he called Burton, after his newly-acquired estate in England. A little later, he received similar letters for Liscarrol.

In the following year, he was put upon a Commission for "distinguishing possessions" in Galway, which proved a difficult business, the county being very great, the freeholders many, and the measurers' books extremely false. In the end, the Commissioners made "a perfect book" of the names and quantities of lands, entered each man "with addition of father "and grandfather," marked every castle, church, mill, abbey, church land, and college land, and "expressed the dates and "effects of all purchases and mortgages" made within fourteen years past.

The most important papers calendared in the Report are those of the time of the great Irish rebellion of 1641, concerning which there is much and interesting information given, especially in relation to the province of Munster, where most of Sir Philip's Irish estates lay, and where the chief actors on the English side were his intimate friends. Although he fortified his castles and was in constant communication with his friends, bailiffs, and "captains," he himself was never there after the rebellion broke out.

His friends in Ireland kept him well supplied with news. That relating to Munster will be spoken of later. In Dublin, his chief correspondents were his brother-in-law, Sir William Usher, and his friend and deputy, Valentine Savage. Their letters contain information and comments in relation to Ormond's "fatal work" in negotiating a peace with the Irish; in relation also to Sir Charles Coote's successes in Connaught;

Lord Digby's arrival "very bare," after losing his baggage at Sherburn (including the papers and cyphers, which gave so much information to the Parliament party); Lord Glamorgan's committal and Digby's disavowal of his proceedings, rumours of royalist victories followed by more certain news of royalist defeats; the state of Dublin, and the conditions of the Protestants there. Earl of Egmont.

In February 1646-7, Sir Philip Percivall was chosen as one of the agents in London of the Ulster forces. The allowance for charges was only a mark a day, but as it was thought that the appointment would give Percivall "power of contributing "to the advancement of the general affairs of the two king-"doms," and might be a stepping-stone to other things, he was advised to accept it.

During the year 1647, Sir Philip Percivall wrote a series of interesting letters to Lord Inchiquin, partly in cypher. They are chiefly in relation to Inchiquin himself and the affairs of Munster, but there are a good many references to the struggle between the Army and the Parliament and to Percivall's own affairs. The alphabet cypher is a simple one, and was easily discovered, but the numbers standing for proper names, many of them occurring only once or twice, and with long intervals of figures never employed at all (in these letters), are often not decipherable with any certainty. The names follow each other in alphabetical sequence to a certain extent, but not entirely, and two different figures are often employed for one man. The key will be found at the end of the introduction to the Report.

At the beginning of May, the Parliamentary Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Lisle, accompanied by his "Juncto," Lord Broghill, Sir John Temple, and the Loftuses, had returned from Munster to England, all eager to pour out complaints against Lord Inchiquin, and by no means in a friendly attitude towards Sir Philip. There are long letters in relation to their proceedings.

In this same month of May, Percivall entered Parliament as member for Newport, Cornwall. He took his seat on the 25th, and on that very day "twice voted for the disbanding of the "army," thus bringing himself at once under the unfavourable notice of the Army party. On June 2nd, Alderman Hoyle, at Sir John Temple's instigation, and supported also by Lord Lisle, Colonel Sydney, and others, accused him of having been a chief means of the Cessation in 1643, going to the King at Oxford, and proposing to the soldiers in Ireland to come to England to fight against the Parliament. His accusers pressed for his suspension pending a hearing, but this was negatived, and the matter referred to a committee. Percivall earnestly and repeatedly urged the committee to meet, but public affairs were very engrossing at this time, and he never could get them to do so.

The last letter of Sir Philip's preserved in the collection is to a creditor, a Mr. Edmondes of Yorkshire, in reply to a

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demand for payment. In this, he regrets that his sufferings and losses had been so great during the last seven years that he was utterly unable to satisfy his creditors, unless it should please God to restore his estate, or Parliament to pay what they owed him. He said he was himself in great straits, but that this would not trouble him so much if he saw any likelihood of supplies being sent to enable the forces in Ireland to prevail, or of a good accommodation in England. This letter was written on October 27th. A fortnight later, on November 10th, Sir Philip died.

It has already been stated that the most important part of Sir Philip Percivall's correspondence during the time of the Irish rebellion is that relating to Munster. Sir William St. Leger, President of the province, and Lord Inchiquin, his lieutenant and son-in-law, and ultimately his successor, were intimate friends of his, and wrote to him frequently, as did also his stewards or bailiffs, and the holders of his castles.

The last news sent to Sir Philip Percivall from Munster was written when he already lay dead. The next letter from Inchiquin is to Lady Percivall, lamenting the death of his dear friend, and thus, with affectionate offers of help to that friend's widow and children, Lord Inchiquin drops out of the story. There are many notices of his eldest son, "little "Will," who with Colonel Jephson's son Jack, had been under Percivall's charge in England, and who, in 1647, was about nine years old; notices of his school work, his clothes, his visits to the Bath, the ill-behaviour of his "servant" or tutor, and his suggested employment as colonel of a regiment to go to France. The boy had a chequered after history; was the subject of many quarrels between his father and mother when Lord Inchiquin joined the Church of Rome; was captured by the Moors and long detained by them as a hostage; became Governor of Tangier and succeeded his father as Earl of Inchiquin. He married the daughter of Lord Broghill, the old antagonists, Broghill and Inchiquin, having, in their later years, become comrades and firm friends.

At the time of Sir Philip Percivall's death, his eldest son, John, was just eighteen years of age. When his father settled in London, in 1644, "Jack" was sent to Westminster School, and thence to Magdalene College, Cambridge. Letters from college friends, who became of some note in the academic world, will be found on pp. 491, 492 of the Report. From these we learn that in January 1649-50, John Percivall had left Cambridge and entered himself at Lincoln's Inn. During his minority, his estates were managed by his uncles, Sir William Ussher and Sir Paul Davys. Their task was made difficult by want of ready money, and they were unable to pay off Sir Philip's debts, although if all the money due to him had been paid in, it would have amounted to a large fortune.

On coming of age in September, 1651, John Percivall took his affairs into his own hands, and managed them with prudence and care. He refused to marry, on the ground that in

the present state of his finances, marriage would only bring down "the black fiends of ruin and misery" not only on him but on the lady of his choice, while he preferred rather to "hug his poverty" than (for the sake of money) to become a slave to one whom he did not love. His best hope for the future lay in the kindly feelings shown towards him by the Cromwell family. The Lord-General promised him letters to Lord-Deputy Ireton when he went over to look after his estates, and there are many allusions in the correspondence to Henry Cromwell's friendship and help. Earl of Egmont.

In September, 1652, John Percivall went to Ireland, travelling in the train of Lord-General Fleetwood. At this time, although his Irish possessions amounted to the immense total of seventy-eight and a half knights' fees, he had never received a penny of income from them, and in the year 1651-2, the charges were 200*l.* in excess of the receipts, as appeared by the certificates of the Revenue Commissioners themselves.

There are many interesting notices in the letters of the working of the Ordinances for Adventurers' and Soldiers' Lands and for Transplantation.

On December 17th, 1653, Sam Percivall sent his cousin an account of the dissolution of Parliament, "partly per consent, "partly per force; the high flying designs of the greater num-"ber for subverting the ministry, tithes law and what not "[having] enforced the General to take the power whereby "they sat from them." In a postscript, he describes the inauguration of Cromwell as Protector, "with no less state "and magnificence than any former King have used"; a statement applicable rather to Oliver's second installation than to his first. In the Court of Chancery, Percivall continues, the new Protector "ratified (I know not what to call it) an "instrument of three or four skins of parchment, covenants, "I suppose, for his Government." Percivall's word was not ill-chosen, for the document has been known as the Instrument of Government from Cromwell's time to our own.

In May, John Percivall came to England, bringing with him a "general petition" and also a scheme for an Act of Oblivion for Munster, and the letters for the next few months are much occupied with these matters. An account of the progress of the "Act," as it is called, is given on p. 544 of the Report.

In the summer of 1655, John Percivall accompanied Henry Cromwell to Ireland, and had now better hopes of making something out of his property. His brother-in-law, Colonel Clayton, was especially sanguine, and drew a rosy picture of him as a "Prince Palatine of Trim Clancarty," where he had "an unknown treasure of wood and mines, besides tanning "and many other beneficial projects."

John Percivall was still unmarried, a proposal in regard to Sir William Fenton's daughter having fallen through because Lady Percivall demanded a larger dowry with the lady than

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Fenton was prepared to give. In the autumn of 1655, however, he wooed and won Katherine, the only daughter of Robert Southwell, Esq., of Kinsale, and they were married in January. 1655-6.

Scraps of news were sent to John Percivall in Ireland, at first to Kinsale, where, according to his cousin Dobbins' advice, he had settled for awhile in "snug harbour," though he had ignored another part of the advice, and was already "up to "the ears" in building. At Kinsale in January, 1656-7, his eldest boy was born, and named Philip after his grandfather.

In April, 1657, John Percivall was appointed a Commissioner for "letting and setting the parochial tythes and glebes in "county Cork" for the better maintenance of the "ministers "of the gospel" there.

Percivall being now settled in Ireland, wished to dispose of his Somersetshire estate, and after some delay, his cousins, William Dobbins and Sam Percivall, managed to obtain 2,200*l.* for it from one William Vanham or Vannam, Esquire, of London.

In the summer of 1658, John Percivall received the congratulations of his friends on the "late honour" conferred on him, he having been knighted by Henry Cromwell (now Lord-Deputy) on July 22nd. He was at this time busy in county Cork in "two weighty businesses, the one of trans-"plantation (by special command of his Excellency), the other "concerning the uniting of parishes," probably in connexion with the earlier commission mentioned above.

A second son, Robert, was born in February of this year, of whom, when he was about a year and a half old, his father wrote that he was a lusty boy, "cut out for a swordsman" and with a hand already like a faulchion. The father little knew how sadly prophetic his words would prove. In his wild boyhood, Robert Percivall is said to have fought nineteen duels, and, before he was twenty, he was found lying dead under the maypole in the Strand, with his bloody sword by his side. How or by whom he was slain was never known.

Upon the appointment of the Council of State, preparatory to the return of the King, Percivall was made a member of the Council of Munster (of which province Lord Broghill was constituted President); and at the same time was re-appointed Clerk of the Crown of the Court of Upper Bench, &c., in Ireland, the office which had descended to him from his father.

As regards the other members of Sir Philip Percivall's family, the notices of his wife (or rather of his widow, for there is little mention of her during her husband's lifetime), give us a picture of a somewhat impatient and imperious "little lady" (the name by which she is usually designated in the correspondence), rather fond of show, and very much set on having her own way. The authors of *The House of Yvery* describe her as "a woman of very great spirit and high resentments, which "led her to expect too much of her husband's family, and to "be too easily discontented with their conduct to her." This

is carried out by a letter from her daughter Anne to Lady Percivall, the younger, written in 1675. The poor lady had, however, a very sad and anxious life. After her husband's death, she was accused of being a malignant and a Papist, and it was said that, before her marriage, she had been waiting gentlewoman to the Duchess of Buckingham, but these statements were disposed of by a certificate from some of the leading men in Ireland, declaring that she was brought up by her grandfather, Sir William Usher, and carefully trained in the Protestant religion; that she remained in his family until her marriage, and that she had continued a constant and zealous Protestant ever since. Earl of Egmont.

Sir Philip's second and third sons died in infancy. The fourth, Arthur, was a delicate boy and died of consumption in February, 1653-4. He had followed his brother John to Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1649-50, and about the same time, was proposed as husband to his father's ward, Anne Casie, he being then only sixteen years of age; but the young lady—aged fourteen—declined the alliance.

The fifth son, George, went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated on April 1st 1656. In the autumn of 1659 he had a severe illness, which threatened to be consumption. From this, however, he recovered, and after taking his M.A. in 1660, he went over to Dublin and there became Registrar in the Irish Prerogative Court.

Sir Philip's eldest daughter was a high-spirited, lively girl, with a strong will of her own. She set her affections firmly on a young soldier of royalist extraction, Colonel Randal Clayton, but as he had a very small estate, and that under sequestration, his suit was at first looked upon coldly, both by her mother and her brother. Happily for the lovers, Clayton was a favourite with Cromwell, who interested himself in the young man's behalf, and saved his estate. Having overcome the opposition of her family, Judith proceeded to make ready for her wedding, and her letters to her brother and Mr. Dobbins throw an amusing light on the toilet of a young lady of that day. She mentions with the utmost frankness the contents of her wardrobe, explains that "from top to toe" she must be refurnished, and begs for money to buy linen with, as if left to the last, all her things must be put out, "which is no good "huswifry," whereas now she has time to make them herself, "which must be smocks, aprons, cuffs, handkerchiefs (neck and "pocket), night clothes, and a white petticoat or two." In response to these very reasonable demands, Dobbins sent her ten pounds, and a little later twenty more. They were married in London early in 1654, and seem to have lived happily together, though often in want of money.

Of Sir Philip Percivall's friends, one of the earliest was probably Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, but there is hardly any mention of him in these papers, beyond a few sympathetic allusions at the time of his trial.

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Sir Philip's intimacy with the Earl of Ormond must have been pretty close, judging by the numerous bonds which he signed for the Earl, bonds which caused him considerable anxiety at a later date; but the two men drifted apart as time went on, and the only really unamiable trait in Sir Philip's character shown in these papers is his statement with regard to Ormond, calendared on p. 354 of the Report. Probably at this juncture—the beginning of 1647—Percivall was estranged by Ormond's supposed inclinations towards the Irish, for later he seems to have been quite friendly with him again, and even to have wished him to return to the government of Ireland.

Percivall's relations with Sir William St. Leger and Lord Inchiquin have been already noticed. Perhaps his most intimate friend, apart from his family connexions, was Colonel William Jephson, of Froyle, Hants, and Mallow, county Cork. Jephson's Irish property came to him from his mother, the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Norreys. After her death, his father married again, and by careful comparison of data, it becomes evident that the second Lady Jephson was the widow of (1) Richard Gifford, Esq., of Castle Jordan, and (2) Sir Francis Ruisshe. The Loftus papers plainly show that the widow of Gifford and of Ruisshe was one and the same lady, and that she became Lady Jephson, and the missing link is supplied by a letter in this (Egmont) collection, in which Sir John Gifford speaks of Colonel Jephson as his brother.

Colonel Jephson's zeal for the affairs of Ireland is amply shown, not only by these papers, but by the State Papers of the same date, and he was recognised as a man of weight and position. Inchiquin, as has been seen, desired him to be his successor in Munster, and Coloniel Dalbier, while objecting to go to Ireland in a subordinate position, was quite willing to serve under Jephson, he being "a man of land and of the "House." These facts effectually dispose of Ludlow's ill-natured assertion that Cromwell only chose Jephson as envoy to Sweden because of the Colonel's action in regard to the kingship question.

Other personal friends of Sir Philip Percivall were William Dobbins, of Dumbleton; Colonel Thomas Pigott, of Long Ashton; and Thomas Bettesworth, of Mallow. Dobbins was a connexion, having married the daughter of Edmond Percivall of Ringwood. His letters are interesting and lively, and in one is a humorous account of a wild goose chase on which he was sent, in search of a rich old gentleman at Wapping, who, it was thought, might prove useful to the family, but who turned out to be a very poor man, surrounded by a slatternly and ill-clad family, and earning a precarious livelihood by drawing maps for sailors.

Of John Percivall's friends, the most interesting is Robert, afterwards Sir Robert Southwell, who appears in these pages as a young man of amiable disposition and studious habits,

but of very delicate health. In 1659 he went abroad, and an interesting letter, written by him in Rome, will be found on p. 615 of the Report. Earl of Egmont.

In addition to the family correspondence of the Percivalls, there is, calendared in the Report, one volume of very different character, and of great importance. This is the original entry-book of the Court of Castle Chamber (or Star Chamber), in Ireland for the years 1573-1620, containing its decrees, and, usually, a full statement of the case in which the decree was given. The early entries are all signed by the Lord-Deputy and such members of the Court as were present at the sittings. From 1582, the names are usually written in by the clerk, and the entries are not signed. In view of the fate which has overtaken so many of the Irish Records and State Papers, it is matter of congratulation that Sir Philip Percivall kept this volume in his own hands, as, apart from it, of all the decrees of Castle Chamber for the space of fifty years (excepting a few stray ones, preserved by copies) no record has remained, save the bare entries of the money fines in the Memoranda Books of the Irish Exchequer.

The cases brought before the Court of Castle Chamber were of a very varied character, but only a quite small proportion of them had to do with ecclesiastical or religious matters. Outnumbering almost all the rest put together were the charges of "riot"; a broad term, including seizure of cattle, invasion of property, and assaults upon individuals. English settlers complained of the Irish, Irish of the English, and quite as often of their own countrymen. Small encroachments on lands and raids on cattle, not infrequently accompanied by a free fight, were common enough throughout Ireland, but the cases in which real violence was used were very few. Many causes were dismissed by the Court, and where the parties were found guilty, justice was usually satisfied by the payment of a fine. The fines were generally from one to ten pounds, either English or Irish money, but occasionally rose as high as 50*l.* or 100*l.* A term of imprisonment was sometimes added.

FRANCISCAN MANUSCRIPTS, PRESERVED AT THE CONVENT, MERCHANTS' QUAY, DUBLIN.

The foundation at Rome, contemporaneously with the establishment of the Propaganda on the Pincian Hill, of the Irish College of St. Isidore, is a conspicuous landmark in the ecclesiastico-political history of Ireland; for thither in 1625 its projector and first Guardian, Luke Wadding, brought not only the learning and acumen and unflagging energy of a great schoolman, but a lofty patriotism, tempered by practical sagacity, which made him for more than a quarter of a century the trusted spokesman of the Irish nation at the Roman Curia. Hence, at once the miscellaneous character and the singular Franciscan MSS.

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interest of the papers now given to the public—papers which serve to link the history of Great Britain and Ireland with that of the Continent, and of which the fragmentariness cannot be too much deplored.

Only a very few of the documents are of date anterior to the accession of Charles I. Nor do the Jacobean papers shed much new light either on the grievances of the Irish Catholics or on the action of their parliamentary representatives. Indeed, the speeches "framed" by David Roth, by way of plea for a somewhat less rigorous enforcement of the Statute against Recusants, are chiefly interesting by reason of the elaborate, not to say euphuistic, eloquence of their periodic style.

Extremely diverting is the letter which contains the account of Ben Jonson's Masque, "Mercury vindicated from the "Alchemists," at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1615, when the Spanish Ambassador, Sarmiento de Acuña, afterwards Count of Gondomar, committed the indiscretion of flouting Sir Noel Caron, the Minister of the United Provinces, and by his vehement tirade betrayed the secret designs of his master.

The papers of the ensuing decade relate almost exclusively to matters ecclesiastical, and are too disconnected to be of much interest until the year 1623, when we note more than one sign that, encouraged by "the benevolence of the King of Great "Britain and the connivance of the Viceroy," the Church of Ireland breathes more freely, and is entering upon a period of renewed activity.

The letters received by Wadding are of no small human and literary, as well as historical, interest. They evince the piety of the writers towards their *Alma Mater* and the mingled reverence and love with which they regarded its illustrious head, and in a lesser degree all the "happy colony" which his spirit informed. They also abound with interesting allusions to Wadding's literary performances and projects.

It is remarkable that of the great edition of the Works of Duns Scotus we hear no word, though it must have been in hand for many a year before its publication in 1639. Probably, therefore, even the Bishop of Waterford knew not all the labours of his "hundred-handed hero," and when we reflect that this true successor of the mediæval doctors was no mere scholarly recluse, but a man weighted with heavy official responsibilities, which he punctiliously discharged, we must recognise that the worthy bishop's suggestion that he was meet to receive the grace of bilocation, ascribed to St. Antony of Padua, was a compliment as well deserved as it was felicitous.

Very pleasant, also, is it to observe how, even in that age of bitter religious strife, community of intellectual interest could so far mitigate its melancholy consequences as that Wadding's collaborator in the Sacred History of Ireland, Thomas Strange, of Waterford, the Guardian of the Franciscan Order, could always count on the generous help of three staunch Protestants—the Master of the Rolls, Baron Aungier, of Longford; the Primate Ussher; and Sir James Ware.

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After the death of Hugh MacCaghwell, Wadding's chief coadjutor in the edition of Duns Scotus, Antony Hickey and John Ponce, both learned Scotists, remained, next to Wadding himself, the most distinguished in a literary sense among the "happy colony" of St. Isidore's. Hickey's *Nitela*, a defence of the principles and practice of the Franciscan Order, will be found mentioned more than once in these papers.

For the rest, it will be seen that not a few of the earlier papers relate to the age-long controversy between the Seculars and the Regulars, a matter not to be rashly handled by the lay historian.

But it was not only the opposition of a section of the secular clergy with which the religious Orders had to contend: They had re-organised themselves with a thoroughness that alarmed the Government, which in 1629-30 set about closing their oratories and confiscating their property. Accordingly, on the eve of the conclusion of peace with Spain, Father Thomas Strange, the astute and vigilant Guardian of the Franciscan Order, was sent to Court to plead for some mitigation of the persecution. Unfortunately, the papers fail us shortly after his return to Waterford, though not before he has recorded his total despair of success. This tantalising *lacuna* extends to the very outbreak of the rebellion, which is the more to be regretted by reason of the extraordinary interest and importance of the correspondence which relates to the latter period.

These letters take us behind the scenes into the counsels and intimate confidence of the little band of enthusiasts who dreamed, or at any rate behaved as if they dreamed, that a Barberini Pope might make sacrifices, and Catholic and Christian Kings compose their differences to support a crusade in Ireland.

That such a Pontiff as this should be induced to embark on a crusade, or risk much for the recovery of so distant a fief of the Church as Ireland, would have been nothing less than a moral miracle. Ireland was, indeed, a prize that a Pope might covet, but it was a prize the tenure of which must have proved as precarious as the acquisition would have been difficult. To Urban and the Eminent Nephews it seemed a matter of more importance to annex the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the Papal States, and the imprudence of the Duke of Parma had already furnished the needful pretext for aggression. Thus it happened that in the hour of Ireland's need the Papal resources were taxed to the uttermost to support a war with Parma and his allies, Modena, Tuscany, and Venice.

In these circumstances it must have been with a heavy heart that Wadding, whose native sagacity and long and intimate experience of the policy and practice of the Roman Curia, forbade him to cherish any illusions, laid before the Pope the passionate appeals of his misguided countrymen, who seem at times to have even thought it possible that the Papal forces should be employed in Ireland, and conveyed to them in

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return the pious wishes and paltry pecuniary succours of their "Masters."

Nor was a cause in which the Pope and the Eminent Nephews showed themselves lukewarm likely to receive support in any other quarter. Neither Olivares nor Richelieu was in the least disposed to set the interests of the Church above those of the State; and Spain had good reason to desire England's friendship, and to be loth to part with the services of her Irish auxiliaries; while France, though "willing to wound," was "yet afraid to strike" a Power which, however torn by domestic dissensions, was none the less formidable at sea. Olivares would at first make no concession whatever, and took care to proclaim the fact to the world, and though he somewhat changed his attitude after the recognition of Portugal by England, and by his expressions of Platonic sympathy encouraged the Confederates to accredit the Archbishop of Tuam as envoy to the Court of Madrid, yet the result was only that the adventurers found their operations facilitated in the Netherlands and S. Sebastian.

Neither from Richelieu nor from Chavigny was more to be had than connivance at illicit traffic between France and England and the use of Brittany and Rochelle as a naval base by Preston and Con O'Neill.

That despite such discouragements the patriots on the Continent persisted in their enterprise would be not a little surprising, but that it is evident from these papers that the vigilance of the English Government, which in its determination to secure itself the monopoly of Irish news scrupled not to violate the privileges of ambassadors, deprived them of the means of accurately gauging the situation in Ireland. Indeed, it would be necessary to caution the reader against implicit acceptance of their reports of the course of events in "the "country," were it not that their embarrassment and ignorance appear at every turn, and joyful intelligence, at first received with confidence, proves again and again to be mere hearsay or fable.

At first the Catholics seemed to be carrying all before them, and to be already virtual masters of the island; but gradually, as the mist of false rumour was dispelled, widespread and formidable though the revolt unquestionably was, yet, what with the vigilance and energy of Ormonde, St. Leger, and Inchiquin, the neutrality of Clanrickarde and Antrim, the stout defence made by Dublin and Drogheda, Youghal, Cork, and Kinsale, the hold on Ulster still secured to England by the possession of Londonderry, Coleraine, and Carrickfergus, and the reinforcement of their garrisons by the Scottish contingents, the strength of the Castles of Athlone, Galway, Duncannon, and Limerick, and the weakness of the insurgents in material of war, and especially in heavy ordnance, it became apparent that the keys of the country remained in Protestant hands, and were likely so to remain, without timely and effec-

tive succour from abroad. For the transport of such succour they needed a fleet adequate to wrest the command of the sea from England. Had they had such a fleet at their disposal, though but for a brief while, they might have made the reconquest of the island a matter of extreme difficulty. But in place of such a fleet all that the Papal bounty enabled them to equip was a few frigates; and even this trifling aid was robbed of all its grace and much of its utility by the vexatious delays that attended its remittance. Franciscan MSS.

Hugh Bourke, who, as intermediary in the Netherlands between Rome and Ireland, was exceptionally well informed of the state of affairs, disburdened his soul to Wadding of the disgust which the dilatory tactics of the Curia excited in him in no stinted terms.

Elsewhere he ventured a direct appeal to the Pope's cupidity.

Nor did he forbear to laugh at the exiguous Papal largess (20,000 ducats to buy a frigate withal!), its circuitous remittance and the absurd mystery made about it, and to advert with bitter scorn to "devout intentions which, however with "God, suffice not for so great a work."

By this time it is plain that Bourke realised that the success of the Irish cause depended mainly on the course of events in England and the character of the King, who he trusted, might be reduced by stress of circumstances to purchase the armed support of the Irish Catholics by the abolition of Protestant ascendency. The presence of Queen Henrietta Maria at the Hague inspired him with hope that through her influence he might be able to commend this policy to the King. He accordingly waited upon her; nor did she refuse him ample opportunity of disclosing his mind. He was therefore as much surprised as disappointed to learn from her that nothing was further from the King's intention than to treat the Irish Catholics otherwise than as rebels, and that principle and policy alike precluded him from so much as entertaining the idea of conceding them absolute liberty of conscience with restitution of forfeited estates. The letter of May 10th, 1642, in which Bourke summarises what passed between Her Majesty and himself during the three interviews which she accorded him, is of singular interest by reason of the Queen's quiet but emphatic censure of those who took up "arms against a "King who thought his religion better than theirs," and her implied repudiation of her father's cynical maxim, "*Paris vaut "bien une messe.*"

In this connexion attention may be drawn to the document in French, purporting to be a translation of a letter by Lord Digby, and conjecturally assigned to the year 1646, the tenor of which tallies so remarkably well with the Queen's testimony.

Bourke was an able man and no mean theologian, and in all likelihood his experience was by no means bounded by the

Franciscan MSS.

pale of his own church; but yet his total misapprehension of Charles's character and ecclesiastical position is far from surprising; for in that age neither Puritan nor Catholic could reasonably be expected to understand the Anglican *via media* or the cardinal importance in the British polity of the royal supremacy in matters spiritual. It was therefore but natural that he should find the Queen's declaration a hard saying. But he was far too sagacious not to give it its due weight. Witness the despairing tone of his letter of May 17th, 1642, in which he is "wasting and perishing for grief to see how insensibly "nigher and nigher draws that catastrophe which must inflict "mortal wounds upon our country, unless some one be at the "pains to encounter such evils with something more sub-"stantial than good intentions and words"; failing which effective succour he "is minded to leave all and withdraw to "Bohemia."

However, at last the needful funds were actually in Bourke's hands, and first the *St. Francis* frigate, which bore Owen Roe O'Neil, and afterwards, with the cordial co-operation of the Spanish authorities, the *Serafina*—in which sailed the veteran soldier of fortune John Bourke, who appears in the MSS. as Don Juan de Burgo—put to sea from Dunkerque. The letters which describe this passage in the history have all the interest attaching to an episode in romance. Nay, an episode in romance the enterprise actually was, nor is it possible to admire too much the high spirit of the devoted men who with such slender resources embarked on so all but hopeless an adventure.

But slight as was the material support which the Pope afforded the patriots at this crisis, his moral support, save in the shape of benedictions, exhortations and indulgences, failed them altogether. The choice of so comparatively obscure a person as the Procurator, Dr. Edmond Dwyer, as his envoy to Ireland, was little better than a studied insult to the Irish people. Dwyer himself was insulted and embarrassed by being left without a *viaticum*, and his journey through France was retarded by the Nuncio, who was so well satisfied with his subsequent capture by a Barbary rover that upon his redemption by a Huguenot merchant of Rochelle, he could hardly be induced to furnish the ransom necessary to complete his emancipation, and eventually forbade him to proceed on his mission.

Nor was it Dwyer alone that suffered at the hands of the Nuncio; Gregory French took "him to be a little of the "slower," and both Matthew O'Hartegan and Geoffrey Baron found themselves baffled by Grimaldi's "*lunga promessa con "l'attender corto.*" After three months' waiting upon him, Baron could not "sufficiently admire what makes the Lord "Nuntio (a man appearing in words of an eminent zeal to our "cause) so slow in giving what he has direction for." To O'Hartegan his zeal was indisputable, and his policy unintelligible. Their embarrassment was increased by the sickness of Richelieu, then virtually on his death-bed.

The Nuncio also "did" Preston "much honour," but the ship which he was graciously pleased to place at his service was not "quite ready," so that Preston "preferred to avail "himself of the opportunity that he had." Franciscan MSS.

Meanwhile, the capture of Limerick Castle on the 23rd of June, was rendered nugatory by the presence of sixteen English men-of-war in the roads, and Waterford harbour was "quite sealed "up," being commanded by the guns of Duncannon Fort. Indeed, according to Edmond Dwyer, every harbour in Ireland, except those of Wexford and Dungarvan, was also in one way or another sealed up, while the insurgents' commerce with France was at the mercy of the treacherous Biscayans. No wonder that his reflections as the year drew to a close were somewhat gloomy, for the ring of steel which girded Ireland was still in the main intact, and, except in Ulster, the insurgents had had no considerable success in the field.

As to English affairs, the information contained in the letters of Hugh Bourke and Don Jayme Nochera is in general well founded, while the verve and vivacity, piquancy, and pungency of their style impart a new interest to a story which has suffered too much by the lucubrations of dry-as-dusts.

Don Jayme Nochera was a learned man, who had relations with Ussher, and though his true surname remains to be discovered, he was an Irishman versed in Gaelic and a Franciscan. He was also in the confidence of the Spanish Ambassador, and as he remained at his post when most Catholics had fled from London, it may, perhaps, be inferred that he was attached to the Spanish Embassy. He was doubtless the writer of the Irish letter describing the deplorable condition of Lord Maguire, Colonel Hugh McMahon, and Colonel John Reade, "the "Scottish Catholic Captain," in Newgate in 1643, and the glimpses he affords us of the sufferings of the condemned priests serve to draw attention to incidents in the campaign which are too apt to be forgotten.

The editing of these papers proved an unusually toilsome task, owing partly to their polyglottic character, partly to the faded, fragmentary, or decayed condition of not a few of the documents, the reading and dating of which accordingly entailed much careful study.

In the later correspondence several ciphers, both numerical and literal, are used. The keys to the numerical ciphers and Don Jayme Nochera's literal cipher were furnished by marginal jottings, apparently made by Wadding. The key to the first cipher, used by Edmund Dwyer, was only discovered by internal evidence as the sheets passed through the press.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE WELSH LANGUAGE.

The examination of the older documents in the Welsh language at the British Museum has been nearly completed, and the report is in the hands of the printers. Welsh MSS.

All which we humbly submit for Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

(Signed)

HERBERT H. COZENS-HARDY (L.S.), Chairman.
RIPON (L.S.)
CRAWFORD (L.S.)
DARTMOUTH (L.S.)
FITZMAURICE (L.S.)
STANMORE (L.S.)
LINDLEY (L.S.)
ALVERSTONE (L.S.)
COLLINS (L.S.)
JOHN MORLEY (L.S.)
H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE (L.S.)
C. H. FIRTH (L.S.)

R. A. ROBERTS, *Secretary.*

July, 1907.

APPENDIX.

I.

LIST OF REPORTS ISSUED.

(*Size, Foolscap to Ninth Report, Part III., inclusive; after that 8vo.*)

(Dates in parentheses show years of Reprints.)

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s. *d.*
1870 (1874)	FIRST REPORT, WITH APPENDIX ... ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Abingdon, and other Corporations, &c. SCOTLAND. Advocates' Library, Glasgow Corporation, &c. IRELAND. Dublin, Cork, and other Corporations, &c.	C. 55	1 6
1871	SECOND REPORT, WITH APPENDIX, AND INDEX TO THE FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS ... ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Oxford Colleges; Monastery of Dominican Friars at Woodchester, Duke of Bedford, Earl Spencer, &c. SCOTLAND. Aberdeen and St. Andrew's Universities, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde; Dr. Lyons, &c.	C. 441	3 10
1872 (1895)	THIRD REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Stonyhurst College; Bridgwater and other Corporations; Duke of Northumberland, Marquis of Lansdowne, Marquis of Bath, &c. SCOTLAND. University of Glasgow; Duke of Montrose, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde; Black Book of Limerick, &c.	C. 673	6 0
1873	FOURTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Westminster Abbey; Cambridge and Oxford Colleges; Cinque Ports, Hythe, and other Corporations, Marquis of Bath, Earl of Denbigh, &c. SCOTLAND. Duke of Argyll, &c. IRELAND. Trinity College, Dublin; Marquis of Ormonde.	C. 857	6 8
1873	DITTO. PART II. INDEX	C. 857-i	2 6
1876	FIFTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Oxford and Cambridge Colleges; Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; Rye, Lydd, and other Corporations, Duke of Sutherland, Marquis of Lansdown, Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq., &c. SCOTLAND. Earl of Aberdeen, &c.	C. 1432	7 0
1876	DITTO. PART II. INDEX	C. 1432-i	3 6
1877	SIXTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Oxford and Cambridge Colleges; Lambeth Palace; Black Book of the Archdeacon of Canterbury; Bridport, Wallingford, and other Corporations; Lord Leconfield, Sir Reginald Graham, Sir Henry Ingilby, &c. SCOTLAND. Duke of Argyll, Earl of Moray &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde.	C. 1745	8 6

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s *d.*
1878 (1893)	SIXTH REPORT. PART II. INDEX	C. 2102	1 10
1879 (1895)	SEVENTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... House of Lords; County of Somerset; Earl of Egmont, Sir Frederick Graham, Sir Harry Verney, &c.	C. 2340	7 6
1879 (1895)	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Duke of Atholl, Marquis of Ormonde, Sir S. F. Livingstone, &c.	C. 2340-i	3 6
1881	EIGHTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX. PART I. ... ... Duke of Marlborough; Earl of Portsmouth; Earl of Jersey; House of Lords; Lord Emly; Ralph Bankes, Esq., Geo. Wingfield Digby, Esq.; Royal College of Physicians; Corporation of Trinity House; Queen Anne's Bounty Office; Corporations of Chester, Leicester, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Emly, The O'Conor Don, Trinity College, Dublin, &c. *Re-issued, in part, 1907, as a Stationery Office publication—* Report and Appendix, Part I., Section I. Price 6*s.* 8vo.	C. 3040	*Out of print.*
1881	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Duke of Manchester.	C. 3040-i	*Out of print.*
1881	DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Earl of Ashburnham.	C. 3040-ii	*Out of print.*
1883 (1895)	NINTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX. PART I. ... ... St. Paul's and Canterbury Cathedrals; Eton College; Carlisle, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and Barnstaple Corporations, &c.	C. 3773	5 2
1884 (1895)	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... ENGLAND. House of Lords, Earl of Leicester, C. Pole Gell, Alfred Morrison, Esqs., &c. SCOTLAND. Lord Elphinstone, H. C. Maxwell Stuart, Esq., &c. IRELAND. Duke of Leinster, Marquis of Drogheda, &c.	C. 3773-i	6 3
1884	DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Mrs. Stopford Sackville. [*Re-issued*, 1904, *revised and extended, as Cd.* 1892.]	C. 3773-ii	*Out of print.*
1883 (1895)	CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G. (or CECIL MSS.).		
	PART I. 1306–1571	C. 3777	3 5
1888	PART II. 1572–1582	C. 5463	3 5
1889	PART III. 1583–1589	C. 5889-v	2 1
1892	PART IV. 1590–1594	C. 6823	2 11
1894	PART V. 1594–1596	C. 7574	2 6
1896	PART VI. 1596	C. 7884	2 8
1899	PART VII. 1597	C. 9246	2 8
1899	PART VIII. 1598	C. 9467	2 8
1902	PART IX. 1599	C. 928	2 3
1904	PART X. 1600	C. 2052	2 3
1906	PART XI. 1601	C. 3134	2 10

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s. d.
1885	TENTH REPORT ... ... (*Re-issued, 1906, as a Stationery Office publication. Price 6d.*) This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES :	C. 4548	*Out of print.*
1885	(1.) Earl of Eglinton, Sir J. S. Maxwell, Bart,	C. 4575	3 7
1895)	and C. S. H. D. Moray, C. F. Weston Underwood, G. W. Digby, Esqs.		
1885	(2.) The Family of Gawdy	C. 5476-iii	1 4
1885	(3.) Wells Cathedral ... ... [*Re-issued, 1906, revised and extended, as Cd. 2810.*]	C. 4576-ii	*Out of print.*
1885	(4.) Earl of Westmorland; Capt. Stewart; Lord Stafford; Sir N. W. Throckmorton; Sir P. T. Mainwaring, Lord Muncaster, M.P., Capt. J. F. Bagot, Earl of Kilmorey, Earl of Powis, and others, the Corporations of Kendal, Wenlock, Bridgnorth, Eye, Plymouth; the County of Essex; and Stonyhurst College. (*Re-issued, 1906, as a Stationery Office publication. Price 6s.*)	C. 4576	*Out of print.*
1885	(5.) Marquis of Ormonde, Earl of Fingall,	C. 4576-i	2 10
(1895)	Corporations of Galway and Waterford, Sees of Dublin and Ossory, the Jesuits in Ireland.		
1887	(6.) Marquis of Abergavenny, Lord Braye, G. F. Luttrell, P. P. Bouverie, W. Bromley Davenport, R. T. Balfour, Esqs.	C. 5242	1 7
1887	ELEVENTH REPORT ... ... This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES :	C. 5060-vi	0 3
1887	(1.) H. D. Skrine, Esq., Salvetti Correspondence	C. 5060	1 1
1887	(2.) House of Lords, 1678–1688	C. 5060-i	2 0
1887	(3.) Corporations of Southampton and Lynn...	C. 5060-ii	1 8
1887	(4.) Marquess Townshend	C. 5060-iii	2 6
1887	(5.) Earl of Dartmouth	C. 5060-iv	2 8
1887	(6.) Duke of Hamilton	C. 5060-v	1 6
1888	(7.) Duke of Leeds, Marchioness of Waterford, Lord Hothfield, &c.; Bridgwater Trust Office, Reading Corporation, Inner Temple Library.	C. 5612	2 0
1890	TWELFTH REPORT ... ... This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES :	C. 5889	0 3
1888	(1.) Earl Cowper, K.G. (Coke MSS., at Melbourne Hall, Derby) Vol. I.	C. 5472	2 7
1888	(2.) ,, ,, Vol. II.	C. 5613	2 5
1889	(3.) ,, ,, Vol. III.	C. 5889-i	1 4
1888	(4.) Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. I.... ...	C. 5614	*Out of print.*
1891	(5.) ,, ,, Vol. II. ...	C. 5889-ii	2 0
1889	(6.) House of Lords, 1689–1690	C. 5889-iii	2 1
1890	(7.) S. H. le Fleming, Esq.	C. 5889-iv	1 11
1891	(8.) Duke of Athole, K.T., Earl of Home ...	C. 6338	1 0
1891	(9.) Duke of Beaufort, K.G., Earl of Donoughmore; J. H. Gurney, W. W. B. Hulton, R. W. Ketton, G. A. Aitken, P. V. Smith, Esqs.; Bishop of Ely; Cathedrals of Ely, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Peterborough; Corporations of Gloucester, Higham Ferrers, and Newark; Southwell Minster; Lincoln District Registry.	C. 6338-i	2 6
1891	(10.) First Earl of Charlemont. Vol. I. ...	C. 6338-ii	1 11

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price. s. d.
1892	THIRTEENTH REPORT ... ... This is introductory to the following	C. 6827	0 3
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1891	(1.) Duke of Portland. Vol. I.	C. 6474	3 0
1893	(2.) „ „ Vol. II.	C. 6827-i	2 0
1892	(3.) J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore. Vol. I.	C. 6660	2 7
1892	(4.) Corporations of Rye, Hastings, and Hereford ; Captain F. C. Loder-Symonds, E. R. Wodehouse, M.P., J. Dovaston, Esqs., Sir T. B. Leonard, Bart., Rev. W. D. Macray, and Earl of Dartmouth (Supplementary Report).	C. 6810	2 4
1892	(5.) House of Lords, 1690–1691...	C. 6822	2 4
1893	(6.) Sir W. Fitzherbert, Bart.; the Delaval Family, of Seaton Delaval ; Earl of Ancaster ; General Lyttelton-Annesley.	C. 7166	1 4
1893	(7.) Earl of Lonsdale	C. 7241	1 3
1893	(8.) First Earl of Charlemont. Vol. II. ...	C. 7424	1 11
1896	FOURTEENTH REPORT... ... ... This is introductory to the following	C. 7983	0 3
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1894	(1.) Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. III. ...	C. 7476	1 11
1894	(2.) Duke of Portland. Vol. III.	C. 7569	2 8
1894	(3.) Duke of Roxburghe ; Sir H. H. Campbell, Bart. ; Earl of Strathmore ; Countess Dowager of Seafield.	C. 7570	1 2
1894	(4.) Lord Kenyon	C. 7571	2 10
1896	(5.) J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore. Vol. II.	C. 7572	2 8
1895	(6.) House of Lords, 1692–93	C. 7573	1 11
	(*Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, 1693–1695, *Vol. I. (New Series). See H.L. No.* (5) *of* 1900. *Price* 2*s.* 2*d.*		
	Ditto. 1695–1697. *Vol. II. See H.L. No.* (18) *of* 1903. *Price* 2*s.* 9*d.*		
	Ditto. 1697–1699. *Vol. III. See H.L. No.* (175) *of* 1905. *Price* 2*s.*)		
1895	(7.) Marquis of Ormonde...	C. 7678	1 10
1895	(8.) Lincoln, Bury S. Edmunds. Hertford, and Great Grimsby Corporations ; Dean and Chapter of Worcester, and of Lichfield ; Bishop's Registry of Worcester.	C. 7881	1 5
1895	(9.) Earl of Buckinghamshire ; Earl of Lindsey ; Earl of Onslow ; Lord Emly ; T. J. Hare, Esq , J. Round, Esq., M.P.	C. 7882	2 6
1895	(10.) Earl of Dartmouth. Vol. II. American Papers.	C. 7883	2 9
1899	FIFTEENTH REPORT ... . This is introductory to the following	C. 9295	0 4
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1896	(1.) Earl of Dartmouth. Vol. III.	C. 8156	1 5
1897	(2.) J. Eliot Hodgkin, Esq	C. 8327	1 8
1897	(3.) Charles Haliday, Esq., of Dublin ; Acts of the Privy Council in Ireland, 1556-1571 ; Sir William Usshers's Table to the Council Book ; Table to the Red Council Book.	C. 8364	1 4
1897	(4.) Duke of Portland. Vol. IV.	C. 8497	2 11
1897	(5.) Right Hon. F. J. Savile Foljambe... ...	C. 8550	0 10
1897	(6.) Earl of Carlisle	C. 8551	3 6
1897	(7.) Duke of Somerset ; Marquis of Ailesbury ; Sir F. G. Puleston, Bart.	C. 8552	1 9

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price. s.	Price. d.
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES—*cont.*			
1897	(8.) Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, at Drumlanrig. Vol. I.	C. 8553	1	4
1897	(9.) J. J. Hope Johnstone, Esq....	C. 8554	1	0
1899	(10.) Shrewsbury and Coventry Corporations; Sir H. O. Corbet, Bart., Earl of Radnor, P. T. Tillard, J. R. Carr-Ellison, Andrew Kingsmill, Esqs.	C. 9472	1	0
	MANUSCRIPTS IN THE WELSH LANGUAGE:			
1898	Vol. I. Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn Hall	C. 8829	1	4
1899	Vol. I. Part II.—W. R. M. Wynne, Esq., of Peniarth.	C. 9468	2	11
1905	Vol. I. Part III.—Peniarth. Sir T. Williams; John Jones, Robert Vaughan, Esqs.	Cd. 2443	0	8
1902	Vol. II. Part I. Jesus College, Oxford; Free Library, Cardiff; Havod; Wrexham; Llanwrin; Merthyr; Aberdâr.	Cd. 1100	1	9
1903	Vol. II. Part II. Plas Llan Stephan; Free Library, Cardiff.	Cd. 1692	1	8
1905	Vol. II. Part III. Panton; Cwrtmawr ...	Cd. 2444	0	8
1899	Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, at Montagu House, Whitehall. Vol. I.	C. 9244	2	7
1903	„ „ Vol. II. (Part I.)	Cd. 930	1	10
1903	„ „ Vol. II. (Part II.) ...	Cd. 930-i	1	11
1903	„ „ At Drumlanrig Castle. Vol. II.	C. 1827	1	1
1899	Marquess of Ormonde, K.P., at Kilkenny Castle. Vol. II.	C. 9245	2	0
1902	„ „ New Series. Vol. I.	Cd. 929	1	7
1903	„ „ „ Vol. II.... ...	Cd. 1691	1	10
1904	„ „ „ Vol. III. ...	Cd. 1963	2	0
1906	„ „ „ Vol. IV. ...	Cd. 3008	3	0
1904	Mrs. Stopford-Sackville. Vol. I.	Cd. 1892	1	10
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1901	„ Vol. VII.	Cd. 783	2	3
	„ Vol. VIII.	Cd. 3475	*In the Press.*	
1899	J. M. Heathcote, Esq.	C. 9469	1	3
1899	J. B. Fortescue, Esq. Vol. III.	C. 9470	3	1
1905	„ „ Vol. IV.	C. 2233	2	6
1906	„ „ Vol. V.	C. 2211	2	4
1899	F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq	C. 9471	1	6
1900	Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley	Cd. 282	2	0
1900	Lord Montagu of Beaulieu	Cd. 283	1	1
1900	Beverley Corporation	Cd. 284	1	0
1901	Various Collections. Vol. I. Corporations of Berwick-on-Tweed, Burford and Lostwithiel; Counties of Wilts and Worcester; Bishop of Chichester; Dean and Chapter of Chichester, Canterbury, and Salisbury.	Cd. 784	2	0
1903	Ditto. Vol. II. Sir Geo. Wombwell, Duke of Norfolk, Lord Edmund Talbot (the Shrewsbury Papers), Miss Buxton, Mrs. Harford and Mrs. Wentworth of Woolley.	Cd. 932	2	4
1904	Ditto. Vol. III. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq., Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., Pelham R. Papillon, W. Cleverly Alexander, Esqs.	Cd. 1964	1	6
	Ditto. Vol. IV. Bishop of Salisbury; Bishop of Exeter; Dean and Chapter of Exeter; Earl of Leicester; Sir William Clayton, Bart.; F. H. T. Jervoise, Esq.; Major Money-Kryle; City of Salisbury; Boroughs of Orford and Aldeburgh.		*In the Press.*	

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s. d.
1902	The Stuart Manuscripts at Windsor Castle, belonging to His Majesty the King. Vol. I.	Cd. 927	2 11
1904	„ „ Vol. II	Cd. 2189	2 9
1907	„ „ Vol. III	Cd. 3430	2 10
1902	Colonel David Milne-Home	Cd. 931	1 4
1904	Marquess of Bath, Vol. I.	Cd. 2048	1 9
	„ „ Vol. II.	Cd. 3474	*In the Press.*
1904	American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Vol. I.	Cd. 2201	2 3
1906	„ „ Vol. II.	Cd. 2897	2 6
1904	SIXTEENTH REPORT (containing a list of the owners of Manuscripts upon whose collections Reports have been made to July, 1904).	Cd. 2209	0 9
1904	Earl of Mar and Kellie...	Cd. 2190	2 7
1905	Lady Du Cane	Cd. 2367	2 6
1905	Marquess of Lothian, at Blickling Hall	Cd. 2319	2 2
1905	Earl of Egmont. Vol. I. Part I.	Cd. 2318	1 8
1905	„ Vol. I. Part II.	Cd. 2570	1 9
1905	Duke of Rutland. Vol. IV.	Cd. 2606	2 9
1906	Earl of Verulam...	Cd. 2973	1 4
1906	Franciscan MSS. at the Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.	Cd. 2867	1 4
1907	Dean and Chapter of Wells	Cd. 2810	2 11
	Earl of Ancaster...	Cd. 3429	*In the Press.*

II.

THE FOLLOWING LIST SHEWS THE NAMES OF THE OWNERS OF MANUSCRIPTS UPON WHOSE COLLECTIONS REPORTS HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT UP TO THE MONTH OF JUNE, 1907. *IT ALSO SHEWS THE PLACES OF DEPOSIT OF THE RESPECTIVE COLLECTIONS AT THE TIME WHEN THE REPORTS WERE DRAWN UP; AND, IN ADDITION, INDICATES THE MORE CONSIDERABLE GROUPS OF PAPERS COMPRISED IN THEM.*

Abercairny, Crieff, Perthshire, MSS. at. *See* Moray, C. Stirling-Home-Drummond.

Aberdâr MSS. *See* Welsh MSS., Vol. II., Part I.

Aberdeen, Burgh of. First Report, xii.; and App., 121-123.

———University of. Second Report, xix.; and App., 199-201.

Aberdeen, Earl of. Fifth Report, xix.; and App., 608-610.

Aberdona, Clackmannanshire, MSS. at. *See* Erskine-Murray, Hon. Mrs. Isabella.

Abergavenny, Marquess of [18th cent.]. Tenth Report, 23-25; and App. VI., 1-72.

Abergeldie, Aberdeen, MSS. at. *See* Gordon, Mr. Hugh Mackay.

Abingdon, co. Berks., Corporation of. First Report, App., 98; Second Report, xv.; and App., 149-150.

——— Hospital of Christ at. First Report, App., 98.

Aboyne Castle, Aberdeenshire, MSS. at. *See* Huntly, Marquess of.

Acton Reynald, co. Salop, MSS. at. *See* Corbet, Sir W. O., Bart.

Ailesbury, Marquess of [17th and 18th cent.]. Fifteenth Report, 18-21; and App. VII., 152-306.

Ailsa, Marquess of. Fifth Report, xix.; and App., 613-617.

Ainslie, Miss. Second Report, xii.; and App., 68.

Airlie, Earl of. Second Report, xvii.; and App., 186-188.

Aitken, Mr. G. A. [18th cent.]. Twelfth Report, App. IX., 334-342.

Aldeburgh, co. Suffolk, Corporation of. Seventeenth Report, 124, 125. Various Collections, Vol. IV., 279-312.

Alexander, Mr. W. Cleverly, [17th cent.]. Various Collections, Vol. III., 259-264.

Allardice. *See* Barclay-Allardice.

Alloa House, Clackmannanshire, MSS. at. *See* Mar and Kellie, Earl of.

Alltyrodyn, Llandyssil, co. Cardigan, MSS. at. *See* Stewart, Captain James.

Almack, Mr. Richard. First Report, x.; and App., 55.

Alnwick Castle, co. Northumberland, MSS. at. *See* Northumberland, Duke of.

Alwington, North Devon, Church Books of the Parish of. Fifth Report, xvi.; and App., 597.

American MSS. in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Seventeenth Report, 103-109; and Vol. I., 1747-1779; Vol. II., 1779-1782.

Amherst, Lord. Correspondence. *See* American MSS. in the Royal Institution, Vols. 1 and II.

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Sherborne Castle, co. Dorset, MSS. at. *See* Digby, Mr. G. Wingfield.
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Stanley MSS. *See* Kenyon, Lord.
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Sydney Letters and Papers. *See* De L'Isle and Dudley, Lord. *See* Egmont, Earl of, Vol. I.
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III.

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Countess Cowper.
Sir George Osborn, Bart.
Mr. J. J. Harvey.
Mr. R. Orlebar.

BERKSHIRE.

Mr. S. E. E. Bouverie-Pusey.
Mr. C. J. Eyston.
Capt. F. C. Loder-Symonds.
Sir N. W. Throckmorton, Bart.
Stuart MSS. at Windsor Castle.
Mrs. Willes.
Abingdon Corporation.
——— Hospital of Christ.
Reading Corporation.
Wallingford Corporation.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Earl of Buckinghamshire.
Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley.
Sir William Clayton, Bart.
Hon. G. M. Fortescue.
Mr. J. B. Fortescue.
Sir H. Verney, Bart.
Eton College.
High Wycombe Corporation.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Cambridge Corporation.
——— Christ's College.
——— Clare College.
——— Corpus Christi College.
——— Downing College.
——— Emmanuel College.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE—*continued.*

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College.
——— Jesus College.
——— King's College.
——— Magdalene College.
——— Pembroke College.
——— Queen's College.
——— St. Catherine's College.
——— St. John's College.
——— St. Peter's College.
——— Sidney Sussex College.
——— Trinity College.
——— Trinity Hall.
——— Registry of the University.
Ely, Bishop of.
—— Dean and Chapter of.
Wisbech Corporation.

CARDIGANSHIRE.

Captain James Stewart.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

Welsh MSS., Vol. II., part ii.

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Mr. W. Bromley Davenport.
Sir Philip de M. Grey-Egerton, Bart.
Mr. W. J. Legh.
Sir P. T. Mainwaring, Bart.
Lord de Tabley.
Mr. R. E. Egerton-Warburton.
Duke of Westminster, K.G.
Mr. G. F. Wilbraham.
Chester Corporation.

CORNWALL.

Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.
Mr. J. J. Rogers.
Earl of St. Germans.
Sir John S. Trelawny, Bart.
Launceston Corporation.
Lostwithiel Corporation.

CUMBERLAND.

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Earl of Lonsdale.
Lord Muncaster.
Carlisle, Dean and Chapter of.
——— Diocesan Registry of.
——— Corporation of.

DENBIGHSHIRE.

Colonel Myddleton-Biddulph.

DERBYSHIRE.

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Earl Cowper, K.G. (Coke MSS. at Melbourne).
Sir William Fitzherbert, Bart.
Duke of Devonshire.

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Earl of Devon.
Rev. H. T. Ellacombe.
Earl Fortescue.
Mr. R. W. Prideaux.
Alwington Parish.
Barnstaple Corporation.
Dartmouth Corporation.
Exeter, Bishop of.
——— Dean and Chapter of.
Hartland Parish.
Parkham Parish.
Plymouth Corporation.
Totnes Corporation.

DORSETSHIRE.

Mr. R. Bankes.
Mr. G. W. Digby.
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Bridport Corporation.
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Ushaw College.

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Sir H. Mildmay, Bart.
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Earl of Portsmouth.
Mr. Edmund R. Wodehouse.
Carisbrook Parish.
Petersfield Corporation.
Southampton Corporation.
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Hereford Corporation.

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——— Dean and Chapter of.
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Lydd Corporation.
Rochester, Corporation of the City of.
——— Bridge, Wardens of.
Romney, New, Corporation of.
Sandwich Corporation.
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——— Trinity College.
——— University College.
——— Wadham College.
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—— Corporation of.
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Lord Hatherton.
Earl of Shrewsbury.
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Duke of Sutherland, K.G.
Mr. Francis Whitgreave.
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Rev. W. H. Sewell.
Mr. John Tollemache.
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