

EIGHTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



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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 Warrant, authorize and appoint certain 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.

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 authorize 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 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 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.

GEORGE, R. & I.

GEORGE THE FIFTH, 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 all to whom these Presents shall come ; Greeting.

WHEREAS it pleased His late Majesty from time to time to issue Royal Commissions of Enquiry 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 His 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 enquiries 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 twenty-sixth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and ten, in the first year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

R. B. HALDANE.

GEORGE, R. & I.

GEORGE THE FIFTH, 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 trusty and well-beloved James Mills, Esquire, Companion of Our Imperial Service Order, Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland: Richard Arthur Roberts, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Secretary of the Public Record Office: and Alfred Edward Stamp, Esquire, of the Public Record Office; Greeting.

WHEREAS several vacancies have occurred among the members of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts and the Secretaryship of the Commission is also vacant by the resignation of the said Richard Arthur Roberts who has been appointed Secretary of the Public Record Office:

Now KNOW YE that We have authorized and appointed and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you the said James Mills and Richard Arthur Roberts to be Members of the said Commission to fill two of the above-mentioned vacancies, and you the said Alfred Edward Stamp to be Secretary of the Commission in the room of the said Richard Arthur Roberts, resigned.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the twelfth day of April, 1912, in the second year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

R. McKENNA.

GEORGE, R. & I.

GEORGE THE FIFTH, 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 right well-beloved Cousin David Alexander Edward, Earl of Crawford; Our right trusty and well-beloved Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan, Baron Mostyn, and Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Frederic George Kenyon, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum; Greeting.

WHEREAS by Warrant under the Royal Sign Manual bearing date the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, the Commission on Historical Manuscripts was re-constituted, and, since that date, new Commissioners have been appointed by Royal Warrant from time to time:

AND Whereas We have been moved to make further appointments to the said Commission :

NOW KNOW YE that We reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion have appointed, and do by these Presents appoint you the said David Alexander Edward, Earl of Crawford, Llewellyn Nevill Vaughan, Baron Mostyn, and Sir Frederic George Kenyon, to be Members of the Commission on Historical Manuscripts reconstructed as aforesaid.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the twenty-third day of July, 1913, in the fourth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

R. McKENNA.

EIGHTEENTH 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 Eighteenth Report to Your Majesty.

Since the date of our last Report Your Majesty's Commissioners have suffered the loss by death of six of their colleagues, namely, the Marquess of Ripon, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Stanmore, Lord Alverstone, Lord Collins, and Mr. James Mills, I.S.O., Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland. Lord Ripon and Lord Crawford had been members of the Commission since 1897 and Lord Stanmore since 1900. Lord Alverstone was Chairman of the Commission for a short period in 1900 and 1901, and afterwards a Commissioner until his death last year. Lord Collins, succeeding Lord Alverstone, was Chairman of the Commission from 1901 to 1907, and subsequently one of the Commissioners until his death in 1911. Mr. Mills, who had previously for several years rendered valuable aid to the Commissioners, was appointed by Your Majesty a Commissioner in 1912, with special reference to the work in Ireland, but his period of service was lamentably short, continuing two years only until his death in 1914.

In 1912, Your Majesty was also pleased to appoint Mr. R. A. Roberts to be a Commissioner, on his resignation (consequent on his promotion to be Secretary of the Public Record Office) of the office of Secretary of the Commission, which he had held since 1903, and in 1913 the Commission, which had suffered successive losses by death as above mentioned, was reinforced by Your Majesty by the addition as Commissioners of the present Earl of Crawford, Lord Mostyn, and Sir Frederic Kenyon, K.C.B., Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum.

In succession to Mr. Roberts, Your Majesty was pleased to appoint Mr. Alfred E. Stamp, M.A., of the Public Record Office, as Secretary of the Commission.

Since our last Report to Your Majesty the ordinary work of inspection and preparation and editing of Reports on Manuscripts has been carried on in *England*, by the late Sir J. K. Laughton, the late Rev. W. D. Macray, Mr. F. H. Blackburne Daniell, Mr. Walter Fitzpatrick, Mr. J. Horace Round, Mr. William Page, Mr. Reginald Lane Poole, Mrs. S. C. Lomas, Mr. H. J. Brown, Mr. J. M. Rigg, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Mr. E. K. Purnell, Mr. Arthur Maxwell-Lyte, Mr. W. Paley Baildon, the late Dr. J. H. Wylie, Mr. F. M. Stenton, the late Mr. John Harley, Mr. Francis L. Bickley, Mr. G. Baskerville, Mr. C. L. Kingsford, Mr. R. F. Isaacson, Mr. A. Hallam Roberts, and Mr. R. A. Roberts; in *Scotland*, by the Rev. Henry Paton; and in *Ireland*, by the late Mr. F. Litton Falkiner, Mr. F. Elrington Ball, Dr. H. F. Berry, and Mr. D. A. Chart.

We regret greatly the loss of Mr. John Harley, who soon after the beginning of the war received a commission in the Worcestershire Regiment, and was killed in the Dardanelles.

Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans passed through the press Vol. II., Part IV., of "The Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language," relating to those in the British Museum.

The principal collections examined, and in the majority of cases reported upon in volumes of Reports issued from time to time, in some cases in continuation of earlier volumes, are the following:—

The Stuart Papers belonging to Your Majesty; the Manuscripts of the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquess of Bath, the Marquess of Salisbury, the Marquess of Downshire, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Denbigh, the Earl of Egmont, Earl Bathurst, Lord Middleton, Lord Sackville, Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Sir Hervey Bruce, the Hon. F. L. Wood, Mr. J. B. Fortescue, Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, Miss Eyre-Matcham, Captain H. V. Knox, Mr. C. Wykeham-Martin, Mr. Allan G. Finch, Mr. H. C. Staunton, and other private owners; the Bishop of London, Pepys' Manuscripts at Magdalene College, Cambridge, Diocese of Gloucester, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Dean and Chapter of Wells; the Corporations of Exeter, Beccles, Dunwich, Southwold, and Thetford.

In *Scotland*, the Laing Manuscripts in the University of Edinburgh; the Manuscripts of Lord Polwarth, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the Earl of Mar and Kellie, Mrs. Tempest of Dalguise House, and Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun.

In *Ireland*, the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, the Earl of Egmont, the Bishop of Galway, and Mr. L. S. Clements.

The very large number of Reports on Collections of Manuscripts published since the inception of the Commission, amounting to over 160 volumes, and full of the most miscellaneous information, much of which was related, though drawn from different sources, pointed to the necessity for students of some general guide or index to the contents of the volumes. A scheme was therefore elaborated for this end, and has been partly carried through. A "General Guide, Part I.," confined to the topographical information to be found in

the Reports up to that time published, was issued in 1914, and the material for Part II., concerning personal names and subject matter, has been got together and largely arranged. This is, however, a work of a very laborious character, and its progress has now been further affected by the suspension to a large extent of the operations of the Commission as explained below.

When the estimates necessary to meet the expenses of the Commission were being prepared in the autumn of 1914, intimation was received from the Lords Commissioners of Your Majesty's Treasury that expenditure must be cut down to the very lowest limit possible in view of the war which is still proceeding. All new work has therefore been suspended, as well as the printing of certain Reports already in progress, and the operations of the Commission have been limited to the finishing of volumes advanced at press or of Reports in manuscript on collections deposited at the Public Record Office for this purpose, the return of which to their owners cannot be delayed indefinitely. Your Majesty's Commissioners would express the most earnest hope that when the stress of actual war has been removed they will be afforded the means of continuing their labours, which have been so fruitful in the past and have proved to be of the utmost value to students in many fields of history. In the meanwhile, however, the output will be very seriously restricted. The period of partly suspended animation may, perhaps, be utilised for a reconsideration of some of the methods of work and the scale upon which some of the Reports have been drawn up.

Reprints.—It was stated in our last Report that it was in contemplation to complete the reprint, with the necessary emendations, of the remaining sections II. and III. of Appendix, Part I., to the Eighth Report and to re-issue Appendix, Part II., of the same Report and Appendix, Part-IV., to the Twelfth Report. This has been done.

Appendix I. to the present Report consists of (1) a complete List of the Reports issued by Your Majesty's Commissioners, showing the year of issue, parliamentary paper, number, 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.

Appendix II. is a chronological list of diplomatic correspondence calendared in Reports of the Commissioners, as well as of diplomatic correspondence preserved in the British Museum. The Commissioners desire to express their indebtedness to Miss Frances Davenport for this list, which they believe will prove to be of great service to historical students.

We append abstracts of the contents of the Reports made by Inspectors on our behalf and presented to Parliament since the date of our Seventeenth Report, noticing first those volumes dealing with English private collections of a general historical character, as

far as possible in the order of chronology. A useful review is thus afforded of the historical material provided by the Reports issued by Your Majesty's Commissioners from 1907 to 1915.

LORD MIDDLETON.

(A.D. 1150—1600.)

Lord
Middleton's
MSS.

Lord Middleton's MSS. are preserved, together with modern legal papers, in a fireproof muniment room in the basement of the south-western pavilion of Wollaton Hall, near Nottingham. The collection is a very large one, and there is little arrangement of the older MSS. A few of the books are at Birdsall House, near Malton, his Lordship's Yorkshire seat. No papers, we are informed, are now kept at Middleton Hall, near Tamworth, from which the title of the peerage is derived.

The older arrangement was made by Francis Willoughby, the famous natural philosopher (1635-1672), with some assistance from the celebrated John Ray, his accomplished friend and *protégé*, who lived with him, accompanied him on his extensive scientific travels in England and abroad, and completed for press his *Ornithologia*, published at London in 1676, and his *Historia Piscium*, at Oxford in 1686.

The principal part of the collection consists of an enormous number of medieval and later deeds, charters, court rolls, manorial accounts and the like relating to thirty counties.

The history of the family explains the wide area covered by these records. The founder of the family was Ralph Bugge, a Nottingham merchant of the reign of John, whose descendants took up the territorial names of Bingham and Willoughby from their Nottinghamshire possessions. The manor of Wollaton was acquired in the reign of Edward II. Marriages with the De Greys, Frevilles of Tamworth, De Morteins and others added to the power of the Willoughby family, and owing to these alliances and other causes, the muniment room contains portions of the records of the great feudal houses of the De Greys of Codnor and elsewhere, De Montfort of Beldesert, Zouch, Marmion, Filliol, Leburn, Harley, Malreward, Bracebridge, and others. The head of the family at the end of the fifteenth century, Sir Henry Willoughby, was a very influential man. Made a knight banneret on the field of Stoke in 1487 and filling the post of knight of the body to Henry VIII., he was in close contact with the court at an interesting period of English history. He was engaged in many military expeditions, being master of the ordnance in the expedition to Spain in 1512, and shared in the pageantry of Henry VIII., notably the Field of the Cloth of Gold and at the meeting of Henry VIII. with Charles V. in 1520. We must regret the loss of the autograph letter written to him by Henry VIII. A copy of a letter to him from Queen Catherine of Arragon is preserved. In the reign of Edward IV. he was, according to Leland, severely wounded in a fight between his retainers and those of Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, the brother of Queen

Elizabeth Woodville's first husband. Some depositions connected with this are printed. Subsequently amity was established between the two families, and was cemented by the marriage of Sir Henry's eldest son John, a knight of the Holy Sepulchre, with a daughter of the viscount. This brought the Willoughbys into relationship with some of the leading families of the time, a sister of John's wife being the wife of Edmund Dudley, father of John Dudley, subsequently Duke of Northumberland and grandfather of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Queen Elizabeth's favourite. After the death of Edmund Dudley she married Arthur Plantagenet, natural son of Edward IV. Sir Henry Willoughby's second son, Sir Edward, by his marriage with the daughter of Sir William Filliol added greatly to the family estates, and became connected with the rising Seymour family, Sir Edward Seymour, subsequently Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, having married the other daughter of Sir William Filliol. This connexion was probably the reason why Queen Jane Seymour, Sir Edward Seymour's sister, wrote to Sir Edward Willoughby announcing the birth of Edward the Sixth. Sir Edward Willoughby is mentioned with Seymour in the private act in 22 Henry VIII. c. 19, that was necessitated to legalise the irregularities of the settlements resulting from these marriages with the daughters of a man of unsound mind. Sir Edward Willoughby's son, Henry, who fell fighting against Ket's rebels at Norwich, married Anne, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, the grandson of Elizabeth Woodville. This made him brother-in-law to Henry Grey, subsequently Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey. Suffolk was guardian of Francis Willoughby, Henry's son and heir, the builder of Wollaton Hall. The collection contains some evidence of his attempts to levy troops in Leicestershire and Warwickshire by the aid of his ward's men in his attempt to maintain his daughter upon the throne. The sister of Francis was attached to Princess Elizabeth during her semi-imprisonment at Hatfield under Queen Mary, and was a member of Elizabeth's court after her accession to the throne. It is not to be wondered at that in these circumstances Elizabeth was well acquainted with the great wealth of Sir Francis Willoughby, which she knew "to be nothing inferiour to the best," and that she intended to knight him at the famous festivities at Kenilworth in 1566, had he not slipped away. She expressed her intention of staying at his house (apparently meaning Middleton) for two nights in 1575, although he was still keeping out of her way. It may be mentioned that Sir Henry Willoughby was the father of Sir Hugh Willoughby, the Arctic explorer, and father-in-law to Anthony Fitzherbert, the well-known legal writer. Besides the great queen, many famous historic figures appear in the pages of the report.

The charters and deeds include three original charters of Henry II. and numerous twelfth-century private deeds. There are also three charters of Henry III. granting forfeited lands of the supporters of Simon de Montfort to Roger de Leyburn, a stormy person who played a conspicuous part in the Barons' War. Two of

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these are not enrolled on the Charter Rolls. The muniments of the Leyburn family have supplied also the important agreement between Prince Edward and the Earl of Gloucester on 14 March, 1259, in which the Earl, for himself and his allies, agrees to support Edward and his friends, among whom Roger de Leyburn is mentioned. This agreement is, no doubt, connected with the first quarrel between Simon de Montfort and Gloucester in the recess after the February parliament of 1259. Matthew Paris, who records this quarrel, does not fix the date beyond this rough indication, and it is therefore impossible to determine whether the agreement was a cause or a consequence of the quarrel, in which Gloucester was coerced by the barons. But the document is of great importance as marking the gaining over by Edward's diplomacy of Gloucester and his party, thus breaking up the baronial phalanx that had ruled the country since the Provisions of Oxford in the previous year. Another interesting record of the Barons' Wars is the order issued by Simon de Montfort and Hugh le Despenser, the justiciary, to the Bishop of Coventry and Roger de Leyburn to conduct personally Edmund (Crouchback), the king's son, and the constable of Dover Castle to that fortress in order to obtain its delivery to the Bishop of London in accordance with the agreement that the king was compelled to make with the barons in the summer of 1263 for the settlement of the disputes that had arisen regarding the Provisions of Oxford. His assent was published on 16th July. The document must be dated between then and 18th July, when the king ordered his son Edmund and the constable to deliver Dover Castle to the Bishop of London, in which order he stated that the barons would send them a safe-conduct. This is evidently the present document. Leyburn was at this time an adherent of Montfort's, and accordingly represented the barons of this affair. It is not clear from what source came the letter of Queen Philippa in 1332 acknowledging receipt of some of her jewellery from Ida Lestrangle, her "damoisele." The letter of Thomas de Berkeley and Anthony de Lucy relating to the movements of King David in Galloway, which we have assigned to October, 1342, is a curious survival in an unexpected quarter of a military or political dispatch of this period. The retainer by Edward the Black Prince of Sir Baldwin de Freville in 1358 is undoubtedly in its right place in this collection, which includes so many of the Freville muniments. A similar remark may be made in reference to the retainer by John of Gaunt of Ralph Bracebridge in 1385. The Filliol muniments have supplied the letter of Cardinal Beaufort in 1415, which bears his autograph signature. In 1512 we have details of the artillery taken to Spain in the expedition of the Marquis of Dorset, in which Sir Henry Willoughby was master of the ordnance, and in which his son Edward participated. The depositions against Sir Giles Strangeways, in or about 1539, allege serious interference with legal proceedings in Dorset and collusion with and protection of criminals. A petition of Sir Edward Willoughby about the same date sets forth his long and honourable services in war and hints at some court intrigue against him. A letter, unfortunately undated, but assign-

able to some date between 1570 and 1583, to Sir Francis Willoughby from a former servant of his, named Marmion, affords us a glimpse of Mary, Queen of Scots, during her imprisonment at Sheffield House, and gives a lively account of the domestic jars between the Earl of Shrewsbury, her gaoler, and his wife, the famous "Bess of Hardwick." There is an autograph letter from this resolute lady to Sir Francis Willoughby, in which she goes out of her way to oblige him financially. Lord Middleton's MSS.

The brutality of the time is exhibited in the public beating of two gentlewomen by order of two London aldermen, which the queen avenged by drastic punishment. A strange case of imposture practised upon John Darrel, the crazy exorcist, in 1597, is illustrated by a "note," which incidentally throws some light upon the manners and customs of the time. There is a contemporary manuscript of the witty but bitterly sarcastic description of Scotland and its people in 1617 from the point of view of an English courtier in the king's train, which led to the dismissal from office of Sir Anthony Weldon. There is also a copy of the strange political pamphlet purporting to be "Newes from Spaine," which was printed and instantly suppressed in 1620. A contemporary account will be found of the first skirmish between the king's army and the Scots at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1640. A letter of Panhekoe, Sachem of the Mohican Indians, sets out the grievances of his tribe for the information of Queen Anne's council.

Among documents of more special interest attention may be drawn to the representative of an exceedingly rare class of deed, so rare that this may possibly be unique—a written agreement, drawn up in English, about the year 1425 by villagers for the regulation of the cultivation of the common fields of their village, to which the consent of the lords of the manors is added in Latin. Another uncommon deed is one from the year 1294, by which Richard de Willoughby and two other landowners in the village of Ruddington, Notts, demise, in the name of the community of the village, to the vicar upon his appointment all the houses built in the churchyard, with the herbage of the churchyard, and with certain fittings of the house, which was evidently the vicarage house. The parish church of Ruddington, it may be well to remark, was at some little distance away in the lost village of Flawford, the parish of which included parts of three other villages besides Ruddington. About 1175 we have an instance of a grant to a church being witnessed by the entire parish. A curious provision of a town house in 1273 by Sir Philip Marmion is noticeable.

The great traffic in indulgences on the eve of the Reformation has left its mark on this collection in the number of letters of fraternity with religious houses, some of which confer sweeping indulgences. So great was the demand that the resources of the printing press had to be invoked, the Friars Carmelites of England issuing printed letters as early as 1512, while the alderman and brethren of St. Mary's Guild in St. Botolph's church, Boston, issued in 1519 a much more elaborate letter, which was printed by Richard Pinson. A French instance of a printed letter of indulgence

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on parchment bears the remarkably early date of 1454. The original letters of the guardian of the Observant Friars of Mount Sion creating Sir John Willoughby a knight of the Holy Sepulchre in consequence of his travels in the Holy Land, dated 1521, may also be mentioned.

The situation of the Wollaton district on the outcrop of the great Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire coalfield caused it to be the scene of early coal-mining, upon which considerable light is thrown by the numerous papers concerned with this industry. It is somewhat surprising to find that in 1316 the workings were already so deep that provision had to be made in a demise of a pit for non-payment of the rent or royalty in case the seven miners to whom the pit was let were prevented from working by the "*ventus, qui vocatur le dampe*." This carries the history of fire-damp three centuries beyond the earliest quotation in the *New English Dictionary*. Another interesting feature is the record of the use at the end of Elizabeth's reign of rails for the conveyance of coals to the riverside for shipment. There are papers relating to a project for carrying coal by the Trent to Hull for shipment to London a few years later, but the cost of conveying the coal to Newark or Gainsborough, transshipping it there, and the freight from Hull rendered this attempt to compete with the Newcastle supply unprofitable. There is an elaborate plan of the same period for pumping water out of the pits, which shows the great depth of the workings. The difficulty of draining the pits is recognised three centuries earlier. Incidentally many early mining terms are illustrated. The sister-industry of the working of ironstone in this district was carried on at least as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. There are papers of interest from a later period concerning the forging of ironstone in this and other districts.

Under the heading of books in general, attention may be called to the most interesting contribution to palæography contained in the collection, ten leaves of an early eighth-century uncial copy of the Latin Vulgate. Another leaf from the same magnificent codex was discovered at Durham by Canon Greenwell in use as a cover for an eighteenth-century account book, a similar fate to that undergone by the Wollaton leaves. Canon Greenwell has suggested that this codex was one of the three written by order of Abbot Ceolfrid shortly after the year 700. One of these is the Codex Amiatinus, the most famous codex of the Vulgate, now in the Florence library. Thus these leaves may represent one of the three oldest MS. books that are known to have been written in England. Another interesting MS. is represented by the fragments of the Worcester chartulary drawn up about the year 1000. This is the oldest English chartulary of which we have any trace. Four leaves from this codex are preserved in the British Museum among the Cottonian MSS., including the leaf that precedes and the one that follows the complete leaf at Wollaton. This and the Vulgate MS., the Greenwell leaf of which is now in the British Museum, are curious instances of the vicissitudes of manuscripts, and make us realise what precious documents were sold as waste paper at the dissolution of the monasteries.

Of more strictly historical interest is the register of Thomas Lord Field, abbot of Burton on Trent from 1472 to 1493, in which, besides an interesting medieval English version of the will of Wulfric Spott, the founder of the abbey, one of the most valuable relics of the opening years of the eleventh century, and a detailed account of the intrigues of the bishop of the diocese and a local knight in connexion with the election of an abbot in 1430-32, there are entered copies of important public documents of the time. These include a copy (or rather a translation) of a letter from the king's representative in the papal curia in 1492, who can be identified with John de Gigliis, subsequently bishop of Worcester. In this letter the king was informed of the fall of Granada and of the discovery of a fragment of the Cross in a church at Rome, besides news connected with the diplomatic moves of the leading European monarchs. This welcome addition to the scanty diplomatic records of Henry VII. was so highly esteemed at the time that the two pieces of news mentioned above were proclaimed by the Lord Chancellor at a special service in St. Paul's. The register also contains a good specimen of the prognostications in which the nation from the king downwards took so great an interest. There is also preserved in it a copy of a memorandum concerning the erection of a staple for metals in 1492, an economic act that seems to have escaped the attention of historians.

Of volumes of exclusively literary interest the most noteworthy is an early thirteenth-century manuscript of French romances and *fabliaux*, several of which are unpublished, written in the Picard dialect, which introduces a new figure, that of Master Heldris de Cornvalle, into the crowded gallery of the poets of the Arthurian cycle. The thirteenth century collection of Latin verses on subjects of grammar, which, despite the bizarre nature of the selections, formed part of the curriculum throughout Western Europe, contains traces of schoolboy owners of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, showing that even then the schoolboy sought relief from the monotony of the task of learning by spasmodic scribblings.

The household accounts, with the exception of one of Henry, Lord Grey of Codnor, in 1304-5, relate only to the sixteenth century. They illustrate, like those noticed in the fourth volume of the Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, with which they have many points in common, the minute care with which the household expenditure was recorded, and they consequently throw numerous side-lights upon the domestic life of the time. The accounts of travelling expenses show the great trains which gentlemen were compelled to take with them. There are entries of the expenses of staying at court, of eating dinners at the inns of court, and various other features of a gentleman's life in the capital and at court. There are records of the expenses incurred during hunting and other sports, losses at cards and other games, and of the constant stream of gifts and rewards to poor men, old soldiers, prisoners, and other objects of compassion, to pardoners, hermits, preachers and boy-bishops, to troops of players (who often came from great distances), Cornish wrestlers, singers, harpers, waits, jugglers, men travelling

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with strange beasts, such as apes, bears, and camels, and to poor university scholars and travellers from abroad. In 1573 there is an express record of the playing of an interlude. Mention is also made of the playing of music before the master's door on New Year's Day, and of the presents to him of "posies" by young maidens on his setting forth from his house. His services as godfather were in frequent request. A noteworthy feature in regard to christenings is the use of Huntingdon as a Christian name, which seems to be derived from the connexion of the family with that of the Earl of Huntingdon. One bearer of this Christian name, Huntingdon Shaw, is famous as the maker of the beautiful ironwork door-screens at Hampton Court. Rewards are given to young maidens who act as the master's valentine. Medical history is illustrated by payments for medicines, the fetching of doctors from London, their fees, costs of travelling, etc. There are numerous payments for articles of clothing, male and female, some of which are still preserved. Payments occur for school fees and school books and for education at school and at Cambridge. The purchase of books for the use of Sir Francis Willoughby, the builder of Wollaton, as a boy show the wide range of the education of a gentleman of high rank in the middle of the sixteenth century. There are also details of the education of Sir Hugh Willoughby, the Arctic explorer who perished in Spitzbergen. The soldiers' costume of 1522 is recorded. The ample hospitality of the time is illustrated by the names of persons, drawn from various social strata, who dined in the Hall, which was a sort of open house for all wayfarers. The formal and stately ritual of the Hall is set out minutely in Sir Francis Willoughby's regulations for his household. The practise of the numerous domestic industries of the household and the great use made of fairs for the purveyance of such things as were not produced on the estate are recorded at ample length. The household fool duly appears, and there is even a record of a female fool. The visit of Queen Anne, the wife of James I., to Wollaton on her first arrival in England as queen is recorded, and the names of the chambers at Wollaton Hall occupied by her and her family preserved the memory of her sojourn.

The Household accounts and other papers have yielded a rich crop of obsolete terms, some of which are not recorded in the *New English Dictionary*, and some still await explanation. A list of these words will be found in the index under the word "glossary."

The collection contains few specimens of a class of documents that have, perhaps, the widest popular appeal—private letters. They seem to have disappeared, with a few exceptions, in the eighteenth century, when the Hall was stripped of its furniture upon the death of the fourth Lord in 1781, or when the muniment room was arranged. We have evidence that Sir Francis Willoughby, the builder, a man of very methodical habits, carefully preserved his correspondence, and his son-in-law and successor, Sir Percival Willoughby, seems to have followed his example. Fortunately a descendant, Cassandra Willoughby, Duchess of Chandos, the daughter of Francis Willoughby, the natural philosopher, has preserved the gist and sometimes the text of many letters of the six-

teenth century in the history of the family which she drew up with considerable ability in 1702. The loss of the full text of some of these letters is to be regretted, but still we obtain much information from her work as to the life of the sixteenth century in its many aspects. Some of these letters are interesting from the point of view of style, being written when the English language had reached its fullest perfection as a literary vehicle and when every educated person seemed to be a natural stylist. Lady Willoughby's letters show a directness and forcibility of expression that is thoroughly Elizabethan. The love-letters of Percival Willoughby and Griffin Markham are redolent of the literary atmosphere of love in Shakespeare's time. The letters deal principally with the unhappy domestic life of Sir Francis Willoughby, caused by the hysterical nature of his wife and fomented by the intrigues of the numerous body of gentlemen servants in his household, the leader being a foreign adventurer. The plotters even went to the dangerous length of accusing Sir Francis of complicity with the Spaniards in the year of the Great Armada. The story winds up with the quarrel of Sir Francis with his son-in-law Sir Percival, and of his passionate dispatch of his steward to London to find him a second wife. The lady whom he thus espoused in a fit of pique seems to have led him anything but a quiet life and to have left him to die alone and uncared for in London, and was even suspected by the family of having poisoned him. Sir Francis impoverished himself by his building and land-purchases and by his attempts to grow woad, to make iron and glass, and, partly owing to this and to the portion left to his second wife, a mere shadow of his estates passed to Sir Percival Willoughby, his son-in-law, the grandson of Sir Edward Willoughby, who united the families of Willoughby of Wollaton and of Willoughby D'Eresby, through whom Lord Middleton comes to represent the male line of the great baronial family of Willoughby D'Eresby.

PEPYS MSS. AT MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

(1485—1649.)

The majority, at least, of these papers belonged to John Pepys MSS. Evelyn, who on 24th November, 1665, showed his collection to Pepys. Writing to Wotton on 12th September, 1703, Evelyn explains that they came into his possession through his wife, Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Richard Brown, Clerk of the Council to Charles I. Sir Richard was sent as ambassador to Paris in 1641, and remained there till the Restoration. From him, therefore, must have come most of the Stuart Papers. He was grandson of the Sir Richard Brown who had been introduced to official life by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to, or by, whom most of the Elizabethan papers are written. That the elder Sir Richard was the source of these is confirmed by the gap in the collection from about the date of his death till 1624.

On 5th December, 1681, Evelyn sent them to Pepys with a letter of "particulars," adding in a postscript, "these papers,

Pepys MSS. " mappes, lettrs., books and particulars, when you have done with, " be pleased to take your own time in returning." Of this letter the writer kept a copy in the margin of which he noted, " wch. I afterwards never asked of him."

To avoid " the sad dispersions many noble libraries and cabinets " have suffered in these late times," Pepys bequeathed the contents of his library, first, to his nephew John Jackson for life, then to Magdalene College, of which he had been Scholar, and, failing their acceptance by that college, to Trinity College, on condition that they should never be broken up or supplemented. Magdalene accepted the legacy on these terms, and on the death of Jackson in 1724, there came to Cambridge *inter alia* three volumes, described on the title-page of each, in Pepys' hand, as " the gift of my honoured " and learned friend John Evelyn."

Of seven pre-Elizabethan Papers the most interesting is an undated letter of John, Duke of Northumberland, with postscript in the hand of the Duchess, to his son John, Earl of Warwick, on the subject of the latter's debts.

Towards the end of the collection are three papers of later date than Evelyn's letter of " particulars." Possibly the letters of Ray and Flamsteed, as men of science, may have been added to Evelyn's " gift " by Pepys himself.

The notorious Protestantism of Lord Robert Dudley brought him, in 1559, a list of " Divines to be considered," and a large proportion of these soon received preferment. Some of them, as Pilkington and Whitingham, respectively Bishop and Dean of Durham, Lawrence Humfrey, President of Magdalen, Cole, Archdeacon of Essex, and Wyborne, Preacher and Reader at Northampton, as time went on and the Queen's Church views stiffened, had to beg his Lordship to get them out of trouble caused by their dislike of Popish apparel, and in 1570 he is directed by Elizabeth to warn Archbishop Parker against toleration, and in particular to desire him to enquire into disorder " committed in Norwich Church." Grindal writes to the Earl to complain of the Arianism of one Smythe. Alley, Bishop of Exeter, applies through Lord Robert for leave to eke out a net revenue of 300*l.* by letting out-houses and " waste " in the precincts, while Bishop Scory of Hereford, who had moved his clergy to make contributions in aid of a new Residentiary, contrary to a law for Wales and the Marches made by Henry VIII., says that the Papists intend in consequence to undo him at the next Assizes. During the War of Religion in France, Leicester's foreign correspondents are constantly appealing to his zeal for the Religion.

Five letters in the collection on the subject of the death of Amy Robsart were printed by Lord Braybrooke in the Appendix to the first edition of *Pepys' Diary*, but both his Lordship and Mr. Froude overlooked a most important letter of 1567 from Thomas Blount to Leicester, describing an attempt to suborn John Appleyard, half brother to Amy, to give evidence against the Earl as to her death.

Several of Dudley's correspondents speak of his suggested marriage with the Queen. Sir T. Smith, in October, 1565, under

the thin disguise of misliking "Lovealian" and the opinion of Pepys MSS. "Agamias and Spitewed," hopes that he may see the Queen, who had been at his poor house at Ankerwick in his absence, "merry there and your Lordship together." In December comes a most quaint letter from Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, claiming a motherly interest in Leicester. She was in difficulty about the choice of a New Year's gift for her Majesty, which might fulfil the purpose the writer most desired. The planets, however, had reigned uncertainly, but she now heard of "some better aspect," though she playfully upbraids the Earl for so far proceeding without her knowledge or "any means made for your mother's consent."

Leicester's influence with Elizabeth is shown by the many letters requesting his intercession. Lady Mary Grey writes to him from Chekers to further her suit after her secret marriage with Thomas Keys, the Queen's Serjeant-Porter, and Edward, Earl of Hertford, husband of Lady Catherine Grey, appeals to him as the "appointed means that shall gain our Prince's over long wanted favour." Homesick Ambassadors, as Chaloner and Norreys, Lord Warden Francis Bedford, whose daughter married Ambrose Dudley, and Sir Henry Sidney, his brother-in-law, "dead already of very grief and toil in Ireland," think that Leicester can work their recall. Lord Hunsdon is a suitor through him to the Queen for the captaincy of Norham, and even Francis Englefield, in disgrace at Antwerp, has hopes that Leicester may help him. John Hawkins, eager to intercept the Indies fleet in 1570, requires the Earl to borrow the *Bonadventure* and the *Bull* from the Queen, and George Nedham, the "discoverer of Emden," and thereby odious with the London-Antwerp traders, desires to be recommended to the Lord Treasurer to have in farm the cranes and new wharves in London, and gains his suit. Those who had advice to offer the Queen upon matters of state, as Sadler, Henry Killigrew, and Norreys made Leicester their channel of communication. To Sussex, as President of the North, he wrote, in 1569, or later, upon the wisest treatment of Mary, Queen of Scots, possibly having before him a paper endorsed "Sir W. Myld," bearing date Windsor, 26th October, 1569.

Whatever may have been Leicester's relations with Cecil at other times, in 1567 the latter writes: "Wishing myself to be with your Lordship at Burton." Again, the concluding paragraph of his letter of 1568, 15th May, goes far to prove that he believed Leicester to be innocent in the matter of Amy Robsart.

As Chancellor of the University of Oxford, having required the University to take a survey of its statutes, Leicester receives a reply from the Senior Proctor. In 1569 in view of the Chancellor's intended visit, the Vice-Chancellor sends the exercises proposed. Leicester was to lodge in Christchurch, which College had, three years before, protested to him against bearing the whole charge of the Queen's repair to the University.

Of Cambridge there is little mention. In 1569, however, Bishop Cox of Ely had "visited" St. John's College to settle controversies between the Master and Mr. Fulke, Fellow.

The letters referring to France commence with one from Henry

Pepys MSS. Myddelmore, written three months after the assassination of the Duke of Guise. Within another three months the Queen-Mother had united both parties in a common task, and in the last days of July Warwick surrendered at Havre. It was argued, not without justice, that the English occupation of that town cancelled the clause in the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis by which we were to recover Calais within eight years, or receive 500,000 crowns. Chaloner's letter of 24th January, 1563-4, shows that he took this for granted. In July Hunsdon had taken the Garter to Charles IX., and Henry Killigrew, whom he left in Paris, is conveying to Leicester the desire of the King and Queen-Mother for his help in the preservation of this new league with England.

In the same summer news came from Rome that the Dukes of Ferrara and Savoy were to meet the King and Queen-Mother at Lyons on their progress through the south of France.

Of the tour of Charles IX. there is an account in a newsletter of 17th October, which gives an amusing incident at Cavaillon, a Papal town in the Venaissin, and details of the festivities at Marseilles. The Queen-Mother went on to Bayonne to meet her daughter, the Queen of Spain and Alva.

Elizabeth, at this time much troubled with Scotch affairs, had little consolation from Ireland. Nevertheless, she was enjoying life, so much so indeed that reports of her levity of conduct, plainly worded indeed, reached the Spanish Court, through the household of her late Maid of Honour, Jane Dormer, now Countess of Feria.

Arundel was sent to the Diet at Augsburg in the same summer, and one of his suite gives an account of his journey from Cologne onwards by the Rhine and Neckar, and on through Ulm, interspersed with notices of the religion practised in the towns along the route, and concluding with a description of the service at which the Emperor was present at Augsburg and of an evening at his Court.

After some hesitation whether to go in person, Philip despatched Alva to Italy for the Netherlands in March, 1567. In February begins the series of Sir Henry Norreys' letters from France. He seems to think that Philip would have gone himself, but for the preparations of the Sultan, who was more to be feared than ever after his attack on Malta, of which these papers contain two accounts.

In March Norreys writes of a meeting of all the Huguenot leaders and that the old quarrel is likely to re-kindle. Schemes were already in the air for bringing Prince James to France. Mary's marriage to Bothwell, and a report that she was with child by him, made the French still more eager to secure the person of Prince James.

Before Norreys wrote on 29th January, 1568, the Constable had fallen at St. Denis, and the Huguenots had moved eastward to join the force from Germany. Dr. Man soon reported from Madrid that Philip was urged to make peace with the Turk and crush the Protestants in England, and that he had warned Charles IX. to make no terms with the Huguenots. Things were proceeding to extremities in France. Norreys in April doubts the continuance of the peace,

and is anxious to know the truth of a report that Leicester, Bedford, Pepys MSS. Cobham and Throgmorton has levied 60,000 crowns to aid Condé and Coligny, and whether this has been done with Elizabeth's knowledge. In May, Mary had escaped from Lochleven only to meet defeat at Langside, John Wood sending to Throgmorton a long list of prisoners. On 1st August Sir Francis Knollys at Bolton Castle wrote to explain what had been done there for Mary's comfort. He had tried one of his own horses with a woman's saddle for the Scottish Queen, and had provided a litter in case of need.

Two letters of John Hawkins have been already named, the first announces to Elizabeth his return in her Majesty's ship *Jesus* on 20th September, 1565, when he had in obedience to her command "been a help to all Spaniards and Portyngals," to the second reference has been already made. It was in his expedition of 1567 that he was attacked at S. Jean de Luz. The result is described in Edward Horsey's letter of 20th December, 1568, which gives a full account of the Queen's seizure of Spanish gold at Southampton.

The name of the Scottish Queen first appears in an entertaining account from Randolph to Dudley (1563-4, 15th January) of Twelfth Day at her Court. The bean fell to fair Fleming, and "two worthy Queens possess without envy one kingdom both upon a day." The real Queen was in white and black, "no other jewel or gold about her that day but the ring I brought her from the Queen's Majesty hanging at her breast." "Let her Majesty," he continues, "do against France what she likes. Scotland shall remain hers." In October, 1565, Moray is on the point of flight to England, the aid sent to him under Captain Reade remaining at Carlisle till time came to employ it, but "the same is no force to the purpose." Mary was "viewing Eyemouth" and had designs on Kelso. In December the rift between her and Darnley had begun, "he on his pastime on the other side of the water on hunting." By Christmas Moray was at Newcastle, hoping that Elizabeth's commissioners might do him some good. By the end of April the marriage with Bothwell was known in London, and the Earl of Lennox in Scotland feared his own destruction and that of the young Prince, the "parricide having the guard of the Son," but not even Throgmorton seemed to realize that Mary had staggered even Catholic Europe. Elizabeth, however, gave no comfort to those who would pursue the murderers of the King. At this stage Mary, who could not induce Bothwell to go to Mass, re-established the law of oblivion for the Protestant party made before she left France. The competition for the possession of Prince James had begun, but Elizabeth made no sign. Relying on support from Spain the English Catholics became active with the result that the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote from Tutbury that the Queen of Scots coming to his charge will "make me soon gray-headed." His Countess (Bess of Hardwicke) found her house unready for the Scottish Queen "coming at sudden," but rather than not answer the trust reposed in her, she "will lack furniture of lodging" for herself. Later, as has been already said, English statesmen are conscious of Elizabeth's difficulties in dealing with Mary, while the latter will refuse nothing

Pepys MSS. within her power for her "sister's reasonable satisfaction." There is no further mention of the Scottish Queen.

From Ireland the first letter is that of Shane O'Neill to Dudley of 29th February, 1563-4. The Queen, contrary to the advice of Sussex, was disposed to make the best of Shane. Between Shane and Dudley an intimacy had existed since the former's visit to England. In November Ormond wrote to Leicester complaining of Desmond. (The two Lords fought at Affane, Desmond being wounded, and both were summoned to the Queen's presence.) Since the beginning of 1561 the Pope had had a mission in Ireland, and in 1564 by a Bull, *Dum exquisita*, he authorised the establishment of Catholic Colleges; this move was met by a petition of the Irish Primate and Bishop Brady to the Queen. They had the support of Leicester and Cecil.

A letter from Cusack, probably of June, 1565, shows indignation at the continuance of the quarrel between Ormond and Desmond, and satisfaction with O'Neill's work against the Scots. Like Cusack's other letter it is far too optimistic. But by this time the Queen was hardening her heart and beginning to unloose her purse-strings, and Sidney was sent over. Her determination must have been confirmed by a shrewd letter, dated 24th May, 1566, from Lancaster, formerly Bishop of Kildare, who succeeded Loftus as Primate when the latter was translated to Dublin. To deal with Shane, whose proceedings he fully describes, would cost treasure for the moment, but "the time serves for the same, for the "very robbers of your crown are desirous to be ordered by the "Deputy there." On 5th September Sidney addressed his brother-in-law Leicester from Drogheda, being obliged to write his own letters: "Pardon my shaking hand. I fear I am entered with a palsy." 1,000 men were to come (under Colonel Randolph) from Berwick, London, and the West. Only the former had arrived. Money must be sent over, or all is "lost that is spent, or hoped to "be gained. I can be but in one place at once. I would I were at "Jerusalem to be out of this place."

The next reference to Ireland is in a letter of 1st August, 1568, from Sir Francis Knollys to Leicester. Knollys had been sent to Ireland to keep an eye on Sidney, but was now back and at Bolton in charge of Mary. He reports a statement made by a servant of Sidney's who had been in Scotland to buy wine for his master. Alexander McDonnell and Sorley Boy had agreed to make an attempt to recover their Ulster land; the latter, aged and broken by his imprisonment at the hand of Shane, was to stay in Cantire, while his brother crossed with 800 men. When they came to details, the agreement broke down. One McAlester had, however, crossed with 400 men. In or about 1569 is dated a letter to the Queen from Owen, brother to Sir Donogh O'Connor of Sligo. The latter, who had received a present from the Queen, required Owen, who was at Oxford, to return to Ireland. He does not wish to leave the University entirely. This is the last mention of Ireland in Elizabeth's reign.

From Spain Chaloner's letters contain little news of importance.

Before the arrival of his successor, Huggins, who was in charge at Pepys MSS. Madrid, writes of Philip's vexation at Coligny's attempt upon Florida, and of Feria's goodwill to the English. William Burlace had been sent to Milan. Later there was reconciliation between the Pope and Philip in view of the Turkish preparations. In Vol. II. of the Collection is John Evelyn's list of the ships, armament and personnel of the Armada.

The Elizabethan section of the collection contains many advices from Italy, and a letter, probably from Guido Cavalcanti, strongly urges the renewal of diplomatic relations between England and Venice, which had ceased in 1537. In Rome Benedetto Spinola had a correspondent. Thus we learn much of the movements of Colonna and John Andrea Doria and their galleys, of the marriage of Colonna's son into the family of the Borromei, and of the question of precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors at Rome, which was the counterpart of a dispute at the revived Council of Trent. Pius IV. presents to the Signory of Venice the palace begun by his Venetian predecessor, Paul II., but it was hoped that the Venetians would allow the Popes to occupy it in summer. Portugal is granted (letter of 2nd December, 1564) an extension of time in the enforcement of the Inquisition, at the discretion of the Cardinal Infante, later Henry I. Snowballing is reported from Genoa in January, 1564-5. Letters from Italy cease with the death of Pius IV., but there is in the collection a fine plan of the Battle of Lepanto, bearing the crest of Gregory III., and dated 1572.

With regard to trade with Flanders and Holland Herrle's letter from Hamburg of 17th August, 1561, is of some importance. Instructed to deny the rumour that Elizabeth had been encouraging pirates and sending arms to Russia, which last was unlikely on the face of it, he came upon one Georgesson, or Yörgessen, who had boasted of having evaded the Queen's Customs. Herrle suggests corruption in this department. At Bremen he complained of excessive duty levied upon the Queen's importations of arms, which was denied. He justified her attempts to trade with Russia as due to a desire to explore the North Sea; the results might be the same to other nations as the voyages of Gama and Magellan. If she were successful, Bremen would be a sure harbour midway and would benefit thereby. In the spring of 1564 comes a long letter from John Shers, who had been sent to the Lady Regent on the matter of the Intercourse. Mindful of a suggestion from Cecil, he had a conversation with the Prince of Orange, who saw difficulties in the injury done to the Lady Regent's subjects. Egmont was more encouraging, attributing Margaret's reluctance to Cardinal Granvelle. Viglius dwelt upon their grievances, the damages amounting to almost two millions of gold. He did not seem to believe that our merchants would forsake Antwerp in favour of Emden. Egmont had advised Herrle to be stout with the Regent; he took the hint and opened his final interview by announcing his recall to England. In the end she went so far as to say that she would want in no part of duty to maintain the love and amity between Elizabeth and Philip. Two months later follows a very promising account from George Nedham

Pepys MSS. of the possibilities of Emden, which, according to him, was a Utopia; "for quietness and honest living here is a heaven." Neighbouring magnates would make things easy for our traders, the Bishop of Munster promising to grave out a river from his capital to Emden, of which port Nedham enclosed a chart. In December a writer, probably Shers, discourses on "the traffic of Emden and Antwerp." He leans to the former, but suggests that the Emden people had selfish motives, and had not provided for the dyeing and dressing of our cloth, though a marginal note claims that this was now done as well in England as anywhere. He answers the criticism of those who argued that peaceful trading was likely to induce neglect of the Navy; trade to more distant places would follow and be better means to maintain good shipping than these two-day voyages twice a year where every pedlar may practise. He points to Flanders as an instance of a country where goodly and beautiful towns were maintained by foreign commodities. And England has of her own store more than Flanders could purchase of others. Probably to the same year may be assigned "Instructions for the Commissioners concerning Emden." They state the requirements of the merchants at the hand of the Count of East Friesland. In May, 1565, Nicholas Wotton writes from Bruges of her Majesty's demands as to poundage, while Shers says that the Antwerp merchants wish to break the Intercourse and abolish the favoured nation system. This might suit the nation at large, but would be resisted by the Merchants Adventurers. He cautiously is against a change until we see our way; repentance would be dearly bought.

Lord Montague, writing a fortnight later from Bruges, after a long talk with D'Assonville, is more hopeful of concessions, for the latter admitted that it was not the time for Princes to "depart with things of profit."

Of the Russian Company's treatment of its factors we read in a letter of Christopher Hoddesdon.

Two papers refer to the Vintners' Company. An unsigned and undated paper refers to the rent which might be raised by pressure on the farmers of the import duties on wine at certain ports. There are some papers on the export of cloth, a petition from the townsmen of Lynn that they may farm the customs themselves, and also be relieved of the restriction as to export in English bottoms, with a somewhat similar petition from Bristol. An undated paper of the Italian merchants in London praying to be allowed to continue to export cloth and other commodities is in Vol. II. of the Collection.

On the sanitation of London Alessandro Riccardy writes in Italian a paper much in advance of the times. He would have sink-water pass through underground channels to the river, estimating the cost of channels from houses to street at 10*d.* per rod, and that of the street channels, which are to be 18 inches wide, at 28*d.*, taking the cost of bricks to be two ducats per thousand. Connection from houses to streets is to be paid by the master of the house contributing to the Chamber of the Commonalty of London, or the latter should borrow at 15 per cent. and assess the householders. The

channels are to be flushed every summer. An adequate flow of Pepys MSS. water is to be kept up in mill ditches, a sluice is to control the flow of water into the ditch below the mill; this ditch to be cleansed every five years and kept in repair by the millers. As to the Fleet, which has three bridges, if the houses on the ditch have sufficiently deep foundations, a sufficient head of water as far as the third bridge is to be secured by a lock, or as an alternative the ditch should be deepened and cleaned. He would, however, allow this ditch and, of course, the Thames to serve as sewers. From his knowledge of Italy he recommends public slaughterhouses, and from Antwerp he borrows the idea of public dust carts for house refuse.

Four letters refer to a search for Jesuits made by Sir Francis Knollys, the younger, at the house of Francis Parkins, or Perkins, at Upton, Berks, on the night of 17th July, 1599, supplementing the account of the same occurrence given by Miss A. Mary Sharp in her history of Upton Court.

Of legal matters there is little mention. Onslow, Solicitor-General, writes to Leicester, 8th May, 1568, on the proposal to carry on the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster by Commission, for which he could find no precedent.

Medicine is not mentioned, but Nicholas Wotton contemplates taking the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cecil wishes himself at "Stamford where I am informed this May [1567] to grow a "sovereign medicine for my gout." Plague is often mentioned in France and Italy, and Bishop Horne of Winchester in June, 1569, is anxious to prevent on grounds of sickness feared to be plague, the Queen's progress into Hampshire.

As to Englishmen's knowledge of Continental languages, Throgmorton, 14th April, 1564, insists that if Dudley comes to Troyes, his gentlemen should speak French or Italian. Lord Montague was unable to have full discourse with Montigny at Bruges "for want of speech." Mr. Thomas Mildmay, bearer of Killigrew's letter of 26th May, 1569, hath the French tongue as well and natural as if he were born in France.

To painting and the arts there are several allusions. Mary, Queen of Scots, closes a discussion between some of her Court as to whether a portrait of Elizabeth, seen at a merchant's house at Edinburgh, was a good likeness of the Queen of England, by saying that it is not like her, for "I am Queen of England." A Florentine painter comes from Antwerp to take service with Leicester, to whom the Countess of San Segundo sends her portrait. Leicester also receives portraits of Elizabeth, of Charles IX., and two of himself, the work of one Du Court, attached to the French Court. He imports armour and an armourer from Flanders. Chaloner recommends a lute player, Fabricio Denti, who also sang in *false alto* after the Neapolitan fashion: Luys, his father, had been offered 1,000 crowns yearly by Henry VIII. Sir Francis Knollys and the Countess of Shrewsbury both make a great point of the Scottish Queen's apartments being furnished with hangings, while we find Elizabeth bargaining for the purchase of furniture from the late Postmaster, probably Sir John Mason, who had been in Brussels. Madame

Pepys MSS. d'Egmont is writing to Leicester to bring the pieces before her Majesty.

Of family matters, Sir William Dormer writes to Leicester in January, 1568-9, that he purposes to lay the allegations against his daughter Anne, wife of Walter Hungerford, second Baron, before the Court, and, she once cleared, to bring the whole matter into the Star Chamber to have redress for the slanders. The lady was charged with an attempt to poison her husband in 1564, and with adultery with William Darrell between 1560 and 1568. She cleared herself, and her husband, failing to pay costs, was sent to the Fleet.

Stuart papers.—These include a schedule of 401 letters taken at Worcester, abstracted by a clerk who is sometimes inaccurate, and a "Breviat" of 79 letters brought from Jersey, and reported to the Council of State on 16th April, 1651.

The first important item is an "Acte" of the Admiralty at Dieppe concerning the ships *James* and *Benediction* of London, brought into that port by a captain in the French navy in 1629. There are many allusions in this part of the collection to Prizes and Prize law. A long paper gives the remonstrances of Charles I. on the rigour of the Ordonnances of the Marine of France. Those of Charles VI. (1400), of Francis I. (1517 and 1543), and of Henry III. (1584) are dealt with, article by article. In 1647 the ship *Pelican* and her cargo, from Amsterdam to London, was taken by Captain Errington, the owners and consignees being English. She was declared lawful prize by Dr. Registry Hart, who gave a similar decision in the case of a dogger boat of London, which had taken on board at St. Valery-en-Caux canvas to be used for making cartridges. Some of the captains of the Royalist Fleet were instructed not to take prizes. In other cases seizures were limited to vessels which could supply the Fleet with necessaries. In July, 1648, the Prince in the Downs was staying all ships belonging to Englishmen, and in particular the *Damsel* of London for Middelburg with cloth, but bulk was not to be broken, and goods belonging to the States were not to be damnified. At the same date the Governor of Scarborough was authorised to make prizes and apparently did take a barque of Rye. A difficulty arose over a Dover boat taken while entering Calais with cargo belonging to merchants there, and the proceedings of her captor, Penniall, are interesting, as is Norgate's letter on the same subject, and two petitions from Rau, late Mayor of Calais, and the owners. In October, 1648, an Admiralty Court was appointed at Scilly. In the following December Apsley [under whom John Evelyn served in 1641] was ordered not to make prizes till he knew that negotiations in England were absolutely broken off. John Cornelius [undated] writes of a Dutch prize of 100 tons; "let her prove Jew or Gentile but he will get a paire of silk stockens and a wastcoat for Mr. Secretary." William Sandys in 1649 had a design for the seizing the English fleets trading to Greenland and Russia, the vessels employed in the work to be taken as for the service of the Duke of Lorraine.

In April, 1642, the King informed John Heenvliet of the intended marriage of his daughter Mary. After acting for nearly two years at the Hague as Superintendent in the Court of the Princess, Heenvliet was to be made Baron de Kerchove, and Jermyn enquired of Digby if the barony was to be an English one and to descend upon Heenvliet's son by Lady Stanhope. If not, she desired that the son might be created Lord Kerchove, Baron of Wotton Marley. There is also a paper endorsed by Heenvliet "about the precedence between the Princess Royal and the Electress of Brandenburg, Louise, daughter of the Prince of Orange." Mary refused to be present at her wedding.

Of the proceedings of Prince Charles there is the summons of Queen Henrietta Maria, 1st June, 1648, to the Lords of her Council to meet on the question of the Prince's removal into some part of his father's dominions. The same month part of the Fleet revolted to the King, and the ships were ordered to the Downs, Calais, or St. John's road, where the Prince was to meet them. There was a doubt whether Lord Willoughby of Parham would be acceptable as Admiral. Later there was an idea that Lord Warwick himself might be induced to join the Royalists. In July comes a draft letter to Ormond, with a corrected paragraph. The first draft authorised Ormond, "in case the settlement cannot otherwise be effected to grant unto the Confederate Catholics an assurance of abolition of all penal laws. The amendment runs: "In matters of religion he is to grant whatever hath been at any time offered unto them by him upon any former treaty," *i.e.*, the Ormond Treaty of 1646, which marked the furthest point to which the King would openly go. Meantime the Prince was doing his best to get ammunition over to Colchester, and to relieve Walmer. The revolted Fleet was a good card to play at Rotterdam and Gough, *quel goffo* [stupid] *Dottore*, as Windebank calls him, was sent to play it, and Sir William Boswell was to follow suit. A diplomatic letter went from the Prince to John Webster of Amsterdam, who had been trying to hire ships for the Prince's service. It was also hoped that Lord Gerard might try to induce de Ransau at Dunkirk to lend two frigates, with ammunition, if possible on a "general promise of payment." The Duke of Lorraine, informed of the Prince's intention to join the Fleet in the Downs, warns his Highness to keep open his communications with Ostend. The Prince of Orange refused to lend ships against Warwick, but promised that his Vice-Admiral would protect the Royalist Fleet when in Dutch waters. A letter to Lord Capel at Colchester called the defence "the most gallant of the whole war." But nothing in the way of relief was to be expected from the Prince, who was without the means to do it. The Worcester papers tell us that Capel was imprisoned at Windsor Castle.

In October Sir John Grenville was sent to hold Scilly, captured by Captains Noy and Arthur. In the same month Long received the first of a series of seven letters from William Curtius, giving an account of the close of the Thirty Years War, and of the state of things on the dispersal of the various forces at the conclusion of the Peace.

Pepys MSS.

In January, 1648-9, comes an important letter from Ormond. He had then been four months in Ireland, having been begged to come by Inchiquin. He had powers from the Prince, but the King had ordered him to obey the Queen and not his own commands until he was free from restraint. The Treaty of Kilkenny, on the basis of that of 1646, had been signed a week before Ormond wrote. The position justified his appeal to the Prince to come to Ireland. "Three parts" of the island were devoted to him, and the fourth consisting of Jones' and Owen Roe's parties might be won over or reduced. He contemplated the possibility of the Duke of York accompanying Charles. Meanwhile he was arranging for the return of the Marchioness from Caen, and treating with the Spanish Agent [de la Torre], for the transporting of men to the Spanish service for a sum of 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* The money would be useful, considering the "forwardness of Jones and Owen Roe to agree."

The letter found the Prince at the Hague, subjected to Scotch influence. On 2nd March Loudoun and Argyle send him a joint letter (on the back of which C.R. thrice writes his new style). The reply expresses his Majesty's hope, when the Commissioners come, to clear all mistakes. Loudoun writes again on 24th March pressing the Covenant. This letter crosses one from his Majesty requesting Loudoun to save Huntley. He then sends Bishop Bramhall to Ormond to tell him of possible help from Portugal, whence an envoy, Irish but bearing the name of Domingo de Rosario, will be sent. But in view of possibilities of something better from Spain, Ormond must not commit himself with Rosario. A minor duplicity this, compared with the Royal letter of 25th April—4th May, in which the King, having just promised to go to Scotland, hopes "to start for Ireland in a few days."

By this time Rupert had gone over to Ireland, and commerce-raiding had begun. This appears by the Laird of Musselburgh's letter and those of Lord Marlborough.

In April the King had written to Ormond in favour of Lord and Lady Broghill, and the reply of 25th May brings somewhat disquieting news of a combination of Owen Roe, Monk and Jones. In May, Montrose was preparing for his mission to northern Kings and States, and the Collection contains a memorandum on the subject in his own hand. To Ireland were sent commissions for commanders in Ulster, as Montgomery of Ards, and Sir Robert Stewart and James Erskine, with warrants for the apprehension of Sir Alexander Stewart and others. Long's notes of 18th-28th July include an intimation to Sir John Cochrane to remonstrate with the State [? Courland] if Jones be received, an appeal to Curtius to procure the Emperor's letter to Hamburg that none be received from the rebels, and a warning to Grenville and Ormond of invasion, in the case of Ireland by Cromwell. About the same time Thomas Killigrew was sent to Italy where the King now had consuls at Venice, Naples, Genoa, and Leghorn. Braham reports the apprehension of Marchamont Needham (Pragmaticus) "by his own consent; he is a very knave."

The Jersey Papers contain three from Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, the first promising to give intelligence, and two commending Sir W.

Batten and Lord Peterborough, respectively. The fifth paper, sup- Pepys' MSS. posed to be from Arthur Slingsby, written after the Countess was in the Tower, proposes the raising of six troops of horse in and about London. In (9) she receives blanks " For Colchester to do what she " will." The money upon Tom Howard's blank was to be paid to the Countess and not to Lord Willoughby. An unsigned letter, " yet " supposed to be Captain Titus, his hand, . . wrote between the execution of the late King and Hamilton," was from some of the Presbytery inveighing against the Parliament for murdering the late King, earnestly pressing him (*sic*) to the Covenant. Numbers 22 to 28 are despatches from " Peter de la Fountayne, who sometimes wrote as Tyler, to Coventry, *alias* Crocker, dated in June and August, 1649.

Other interesting documents among the Stuart papers are a list of the new King's household early in 1649, a letter in which the Prince condemns Wishart's *Res Gestae*, a most extraordinary production from Cornelius Yvans, or Evans, the pretended Prince of Wales, an almost equally extraordinary letter from Mrs. Fitzjames, whose husband became a Parliamentary spy, and one from Sir Gilbert Talbot, written 3rd-13th February, 1644, from Venice, probably to Sir R. Brown at Paris, at the instance of Lord Banbury's Governor. From another Governor, Sir John Berkeley, in charge of the Duke of York, there are several letters of interest, especially one describing their journey from Steenberg to Cambray in January, 1648-9, and another of 2nd September in which Berkeley requests an audit of his accounts of money spent both for the Duke and for Princess Henrietta since she left Exeter.

From Carisbrooke two letters were written in August, 1648. The first by Robert Hammond to his friend Colonel Nath. Rich, after an earnest request for pay for the latter's troop lying there, passes to the news that the King approved the message of the Commissioners; then follow many expressions of piety, which have a very genuine ring. The second letter is from the captain of one of the troops of Colonel Rich to that officer, and describes a day of the King's life there, and his relations with Hammond. Rich had written to Hammond that he had sent him his best friend, and this is probably the best friend's letter.

Noticeable also is a letter of 23rd June, 1651, from Thomas Allen, apparently a Parliamentarian spy, to St. John, the Ambassador of the Parliament in Holland. He has much to say about English and foreign supporters of the Royalist cause. Of the same year is the deposition of John Christian, of the Isle of Man, that Major Whitford, son of Bishop Whitford, had confessed to the murder of Dorislaus, and had given the-dagger used by him to the late Earl of Derby.

The collection includes many appeals sent or drafted to Foreign Powers by the Prince. Condé is congratulated upon his victory at Lens; other letters appeal to the Duke of Lorraine, the Archduke Leopold and the Czar, besides powers already named. Loyalist Englishmen come forward from many quarters, and in some cases their letters were kept to fall into wrong hands at Worcester, or in Jersey.

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As to colonisation we find heads of a letter from the King, undated, to the Secretary of the Colony of Virginia, a copy of an undated letter to Lord Marlborough, as a person of "great experience and interest in the Caribbo Islands," and certain appointments in Virginia, 1649. A remarkable paper on the first Plantation of New England is noted as written to Mr. Evelyn.

As a rarity the most valuable paper in the Collection is the letter of Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I., only one other autograph letter of the Princess being known to exist.

The third volume concludes with the keys to about 20 ciphers in use in the reign of Charles I.

PART XII.

MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

(1602—1603.)

Cecil MSS. : Part XII. brings the Calendar of the Cecil MSS. down to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The Calendar, so far as it has proceeded, deals with the letters and papers which form the collection, although unfortunately, owing to various causes, there are many omissions, chiefly before the year 1595. These omissions will be made good, and a great number of undated papers will be noticed in an appendix, covering the whole period of the papers to the date of Queen Elizabeth's death.

The Queen. This volume yields singularly little directly concerning the personal history of the Queen. The allusions to her employments, her projected movements and casual appearances in public, are but few. The first allusions to her final illness deprecating undue alarm occur in letters from Sir Robert Cecil.

Shortly afterwards, a letter from the Privy Council was circulated on the subject of the Queen's illness, and efforts were made to stop the spreading of rumours. On the 20th, the Privy Council communicated with those peers who had not been personally called into consultation. The only reference to the supreme event, which occurred on Thursday, the 24th of March, the last day of the year 1602 according to the style of chronology then in use in England, appears to be in a letter from Fulke Greville to Cecil: "I send to know how you do after your toilsome day."

Sir Robert Cecil. There are a considerable number of letters which may be classed as personal to Sir Robert Cecil in contradistinction from those connected with his duties in his high offices of state. His country seat, the "paradise" of Theobalds, and the improvements in the park there, are the subject of lengthy correspondence. Of the house itself, Sir John Harrington penned a rhapsodical description:—

"When I beheld the summer room I thought of a verse in Aryosto's enchantments:

But which was strange where erst I left a wood

A wondrous stately palace now there stood;

and the sight of it enchanted me so as I think the room not to be matched, if you will put two verses more of Aryosto to the chamber in the same canto:

And unto this a large and lightsome stair

Without the which no room is truly fair."

Towards the University of Cambridge he is found standing in a threefold capacity; as Chancellor, as a tenant under King's College, and as parent of his son William *in statu pupillari* at St. John's. As regards the last, we have letters both from the son and the son's tutor. Cecil MSS. : Part XII.

Letters show Sir Robert Cecil in cordial relations with friends and his deceased wife's family. He writes of his wife as being of a "stock" whose "mixture" he himself was as well able to guess as any, "when I conceive, if any composition could be purer than other, I had most trial of it, to my infinite comfort till God found me fit to be corrected with the privation."

He was in great demand as godfather. The following is one instance of the manner in which such a request was made, the petitioner being Sir John Harington, "full of delight, of honour and admiration of you and all your father's house":

"And in this cogitation a man of mine comes to me post from mine own poor house, with a letter from my eldest son (of twelve years old), with news that my wife was delivered of a son, and because my son must '*patrisare*,' he writ in this verse:

Gaude, pater, quartum genetrix peperit tibi natum,
which moved me to make this suit to your Honour to be pleased to be his godfather, that he may bear your name."

Lady Arabella Stuart. The volume contains abstracts of a considerable number of letters and papers relative to the proceedings of Lady Arabella Stuart. They form part of the groundwork of Miss M. E. Bradley's *Life of the Lady Arabella Stuart*, and have been discussed and reproduced extensively in that work.

Naval Affairs. The period covered by this volume was one of much activity at sea, and of all the subjects upon which the letters and papers in it bear, this subject has the largest proportion to itself. Many of the letters, moreover, are of great interest, describing vividly the operations of the English fleets and the gallant deeds of those who commanded and manned them.

In January, 1602, Sir Richard Leveson returned from Ireland after his successful attack upon the Spanish re-inforcing ships at Castlehaven. His victorious ships brought back with them, however, many sick men and the "disease of the country." As soon as the ships reached home, preparations were at once set on foot for a new expedition directed against the returning Spanish West Indian vessels.

Great difficulty was experienced in completing the ships' complements, but by the 19th of March every hindrance had been overcome, and Sir Richard Leveson set sail for the southward with the Queen's ships, *Repulse*, *Warspite*, *Nonpareil*, *Dreadnought*, *Adventure* and an attendant caravel, leaving Sir William Monson to follow a few days after with the *Garland* and *Defiance*. It had been arranged that a Dutch fleet should co-operate, but the Dutch contingent had not then appeared and did not arrive at Dover for over a month after Leveson's departure. This absence, at a moment when their aid would have been of inestimable advantage, was naturally deplored when the Spanish West Indian fleet was sighted on the 21st of March. Leveson, in a lengthy despatch,

Cecil MSS. : written a month later when an opportunity offered to send news home, tells how, when the Spaniards had discovered the English ships to be men-of-war, they fell to blows. In the darkness of the night, his vessel riding on a tempestuous sea, Leveson engaged the first ship he "could conveniently come unto," prevailing so well that he was "more doubtful of sinking than of winning her." When morning dawned, the Englishmen learnt that they were in the presence of an overwhelming force. The English captains assembled in Leveson's ship agreed that attack would be too hazardous and unprofitable in view of the object of their voyage, and therefore "parted with as much discontent as man can imagine to see so much wealth without power to take it." The decision of the captains only forestalled instructions that later on came from home.

Although at this first asking fortune was crooked and adverse, it did not fail to crown with success their gallant endeavours a little later on. On 5th June Leveson, writing in high spirits, tells how "it has pleased God to give me the possession of a very great and, I hope, a very rich caracke, which I did fetch out of Cysembrey Road, being guarded there with 8 pieces of artillery upon the shore, and 11 galleys, whereof the Marquis of St. Cruce and Signor Spindola, being both there in person, were principal commanders."

Operations by means of which the capture was effected are minutely described. Leveson was a man of generous mind, and gave unstinted praise where he thought praise was due. During the operations, two galleys laden with powder and oil for the Low Countries, one being that of Spinola's Vice-Admiral, were destroyed. Leveson himself came home in charge of his prize. His letter shows a fine spirit of patriotism:—

"And I do humbly beseech your Honours to undertake thus much for me unto my gracious Sovereign; that whilst I brethe, I will refuse no peril nor pains that may do her Majesty one day's good service."

Rumour preceded him. His own despatch reached the court about the 16th or 17th of June. The "good news" reached Lord Buckhurst, the Lord Treasurer, on the latter day. His comment is characteristic of his office. "Thus to our endless and exhausting expenses, we may yet find some comfortable means of support."

The "joyful news" had, it would seem, a somewhat demoralising effect on the people. Commissioners were despatched to Plymouth to look after the rich cargo, Fulke Greville, the Treasurer of the Navy, at their head. He writes humorously of the difficulties of his position.

The business kept Greville and his fellow Commissioners at Plymouth until the end of July. The cargo was transferred to three Queen's ships and three merchant ships, which sailed from Plymouth, under Greville's charge, early on Sunday morning, the 1st August, and reached the Downs on the following Monday evening. Here Greville came on shore, rode post to Chatham to see after pilots, boats and other necessities, and then went on home to London, which he reached late the same night; "and desired to

“ have repaired to her Majesty’s presence if the noisomeness of Cecil MSS.
 “ that place whence I come had not required me to forbear till her Part XII.
 “ gracious pleasure were known.”

Though so much of the cargo had been secured, report was rife that an equal quantity had been stolen. This estimate the Lord Admiral scouted as an impossibility.

Meanwhile, the Dutch fleet had sailed for the coast of Spain and had met with some success. The Queen’s ships which had convoyed the prize to England were without delay made ready for sea again and were put under the command of Sir William Monson. Once more there was a difficulty in finding men, who were enticed into the small private “ men-of-war,” or preferred to stay at home. Monson relates the stringent measures he adopted, in view of the “ incredible ” number of sailors who had run away since their coming home.

But there was also another hindrance—a continuous southerly wind and “ most extreme foul weather.” When, however, the wind at last changed to the north-east, on the 30th of August, Monson was ready to take advantage of it, and sailed early next morning with all his ships “ as well manned as any that ever went out of “ England.” Although by this time there was little likelihood that the Spaniards would carry out their designs upon Ireland, Monson’s instructions were to visit the Groyne and Lisbon, his proceedings being left much to his discretion. He succeeded, first of all, in heading off “ two gallant ships,” Frenchmen, each of 300 tons burden, coming from Newfoundland, laden with dried fish, and carrying 150 men, thus preventing “ the Spaniard of his three principal wants, ships, men and victuals.” Then he established relations with the Governor of Cezimbra, on the Portuguese coast, obtaining a secret promise from him

“ that when I, or any from me, shall come hovering before the harbour with a white flag in the main top, to send to speak with me and to deliver what he knows touching the Spaniards.”

Ultimately, with all his ships, he returned to England at the beginning of December.

An estimate is given of the cost of keeping the squadron at sea.

Though the volume only covers a period of fifteen months, the deeds of Leveson and Monson do not exhaust its materials for the history of naval enterprise. There is abundant reference, for example, to proceedings connected with the rich prizes taken by Sir John Gilbert’s *Refusal* and two other vessels out of which Sir Robert Cecil, as one concerned in the adventure, reaped large profit. There are also letters from Sir Thomas Fane, at Dover, and from Sir Robert Mansell, aboard *The Hope* in the Narrow Seas, and from others, bearing on naval matters.

Army. As in 1601, so in 1602, calls for men for military service out of the country were made from two quarters, Ireland and the Netherlands. Letters from the mayors of Barnstaple, Bristol and Chester, from which places the embarkations for Ireland took place, tell the story of the difficulties experienced in carrying out the orders of the Privy Council. Of the character of the men furnished by the

Cecil MSS. : counties, it is said, for example, that " Northampton has sent very
 Part XII. " ill men, not 40 good ones; never a county send such men hither
 " as they." Sir Edward Wingfield expressed the wish that he
 " might have been a painter that he might have sent a picture of
 " those creatures that have been brought to him to receive for
 " soldiers, and then Sir Robert Cecil would have wondered where
 " England or Wales had hidden so many strange, decrepit people
 " so long, except they had been kept in hospitals." From Bristol
 came the protest, that out of twelve shires appointed to bring eight
 hundred able men thither " excepting some two or three shires,
 " there was never man beheld such strange creatures brought to
 " any muster. They are most of them either old, lame, diseased,
 " boys or common rogues. Few of them have any clothes; small,
 " weak, starved bodies; taken up in fairs, markets and highways
 " to supply the places of better men kept at home." This letter
 also tells the story of the mutiny of the Gloucestershire men because
 they were not given money to pay for their " mashing " and the
 mending of their shoes, and how it was put down.

As in respect of men levied for service in Ireland so of the train
 bands, complaint is made of their unsatisfactory character.

It is interesting to note a scheme devised early in 1603 for the
 establishment of a permanent paid militia in England, employment
 and a training ground for which were to be found in Ireland.

Campaign in the Netherlands. The course of the war in the
 Low Countries is recorded with some detail in many of the pages of
 this volume. During the whole period the siege of Ostend was in
 progress, but it is not to the prolonged operations in and before this
 town that the information afforded in any great measure relates.
 Sir Robert Cecil, however, in a letter to George Nicolson, the
 Queen's agent in Scotland, does explain the views held by her
 Majesty and her advisers as to the important issues that hung upon
 its defence, and why it was that she, " whose hand is not sparing
 " therein," was supporting the besieged.

An *obiter dictum* of his in this letter, in connexion with a
 pamphlet about the siege, style of which was not to his entire liking,
 is perhaps worth extracting. It is expressed thus: " Such is the
 " greediness of printers as they will never refuse anything that is
 " brought to the press."

It is the progress of the campaign in the interior of the country
 that the correspondents on the spot describe most fully. These
 correspondents included Captain John Ogle, Lord Grey, Sir Robert
 Drury, Captain John Ridgeway, Captain Throckmorton, Sir Edward
 Cecil, and others. Most of Sir Edward Cecil's letters, however,
 have been printed *in extenso* in Dalton's *Life and Times of Sir
 Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbeldon*. In general, the letters of
 these men, themselves engaged in the operations, give very full
 details. The expedition was far from being successful. Sir Robert
 Drury's criticism is:—

" I may be bold to conclude that the masters or guiders of this
 journey and this army were either too hasty or too peremptory in their
 counsels in the setting forth, or else too unsteady in the prosecution,

for fortune, it is said, has that feminine nature that she loves to be forced." Cecil MSS.
Part XII.

When the army at length came into touch with the enemy neither side was willing to bring matters to the test of battle. Count Maurice at once withdrew, and retracing his own footsteps, planted his force before Grave on the Maas, and laid siege to that town, a task unworthy of his army and not pursued with much vigour. The views of Englishmen in the army may be judged from the comments of Sir Robert Drury:—

“ So strange must it needs seem that our invincible army, which should have marched clean through the enemy’s country, now lies still entrenched at the siege of a little town, and suffer their army to lie in open fields within three leagues of us. But it is well excused, for we have sent 15 companies to Berke. Of the condition of this army, the head and great General discovers it plainly that he will never make other war but by sieges, except such great advantages of an army as he shall never have but by the absolute decay of the Spanish power. The several ends and ambitions of the chiefs and captains are infinite, neglecting for their private end the public business; the disagreement of the diverse nations great; but the especial dulling of all active spirits is that everybody knows they serve a state from which no gallant action can ever expect a brave reward.”

Before Grave the army was not left unmolested. At the end of July, the Spanish army under the Almirante of Aragon advanced to “ within an hour and a half’s going ” of the quarter of Count Maurice, throwing a bridge across the Maas, and threatening an attack and an attempt to succour the town. It was not a very hopeful description of the situation which Captain Ogle gave on 2nd August.

On 12th August, Lord Grey thus sketches the position of affairs :

“ The Admiral’s works to impeach and dislodge us are yet to no purpose, only on the other side of the Maas he has begun one which, if he advance, may shortly force us to seek a new quarter. We are divided into three several camps, the distance between which, and duties enforced to nourish our approaches, and receive so strong an enemy at every hour ready to gain upon us, has extremely harassed and worn our army, especially our new English, impatient of endurance, and worst accommodated in quarter.”

The next day occurred an incident which vitally affected the English division of the army. Sir Francis Vere, its commander, who is characterised as “ engrossing so absolutely all authority into his hands as leaves no corner of his army for any man to lay hold upon,” was wounded in the face by a musket shot, the bullet lodging at the back of the neck. The wound, though not dangerous, necessitated his withdrawal from the army to the quieter scene of Dort. In the meanwhile the Spanish forces had drawn off from Grave and were threatening Ravestein, which lay between Grave and the mouth of Maas, with intent to intercept supplies coming by this route.

A few days afterwards events took another sudden turn and disclosed a fatal weakness in the army of the Archduke. The rumour spread

“ that the enemy’s army is fallen into a strange confusion, namely, that their bands of ordinance have disbanded themselves and are gone; that

Cecil MSS. :
Part XII.

the whole army being generally discontented, 2,000 are already mutinied and have taken a place called Haman. Lastly, the noblemen being altogether distasted of the present state of things, and the Admirante himself in a very great distraction of his mind, are all of the lately retired to the Archduke, who is said to be at Brussels. Their army they have left near unto Venlo."

The rumour had good foundation, though it was not true in all its details. The town of Hamont was invested by the Almirante, who had not withdrawn to Brussels, the town burnt to the ground and most of the mutineers put to the sword. The Almirante himself, "with his very much discontented troops," remained in the neighbourhood of Maastricht.

The conduct of the summer campaign by Count Maurice and his brother was little to the liking of the States General, and less to that of the Queen of England. Sir Francis Vere dissociated himself from any responsibility for its ineffectiveness.

Grave finally surrendered to Count Maurice on the 8th of September, on terms honourable to its defenders.

Nothing of moment was attempted after this, the Archduke's army remaining in a continuous state of mutiny.

The views of the States General are stated in propositions to the Queen put forward by their agent M. Caron in November.

On 4th September, George Gilpin, the Queen's agent in Holland, died at his post at the Hague—an event of importance, of which early communication was sent to Sir Robert Cecil by several correspondents.

Church. In March, 1602, the see of Hereford became vacant through the death of Dr. Westphaling. Among the candidates were three bishops who put forward their pretensions without loss of time, and almost together, namely, Dr. Vaughan, Bishop of Chester, Dr. Rudd, Bishop of St. David's, and Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle. None of these succeeded. Dr. Bennet, Dean of Windsor, was ultimately chosen, though not until he had passed through many anxious months, during which, in common with other "preachers of the gospel, he had been subject to the tongues of the wicked," producing in him in the end a mind distracted with suspense. His rival was Dr. Vaughan. When the see had been vacant for six months, the Archbishop pressed for an appointment, naming these two as the fittest he could think of. The matter was finally decided in Dr. Bennet's favour on the turn of the year. About the same time appointment was made of Dr. Jegon to the see of Norwich. The Archbishop of Canterbury put forward a list of worthy men for the Norwich see, Dr. Jegon standing first, and possessing also, in common with one other on the list, the qualification of being then unmarried.

Among other ecclesiastical places concerning the filling of which correspondence will be found, were the Deanery of Windsor and the Deanery of St. Paul's; and other matters also discussed were the right of patronage of the parsonage of Bangor, to which no less than eight titles were set up, and the position of "singing man" in Westminster Abbey.

It is characteristic of the period that one occupying the place of

the " poor deanery of Gloucester " should speak of himself as lying Cecil MSS. :
 " in the dirt and dust of indignity and disgrace " for lack of further Part XII.
 promotion.

The function and influence of the preacher were at this period highly esteemed. The Bishop of London relates how he had prepared the preachers in the churches of London for their instructions on Sunday, 24th January.

In Lancashire, preaching was largely utilised for the purpose of " converting papists to the true religion," and four preachers were specially appointed and paid with this object in view. For many years in the exercise of their public preaching, which had been consistently " against the Pope's doctrines and his ceremonies in " apparel disguised," they had forborne to wear " cape, surplice " and tippet." But now, so it was represented, the Bishop of Chester was proposing to forbid their preaching and put them out of their livings unless they donned these things. " And although they " do know that religion is not tied to any apparel, yet they do think, " if they should wear it, it would be a great stumbling-block to the " weaker sort converted, by seeing worn such apparel they have so " much spoken against." As a consequence one of their number made the journey to the Court to interview Sir Robert Cecil, and to protest that " rather than they will wear that apparel they have so " much spoken against, some of them will leave living and life too."

An outspoken sermon at St. Paul's Cross, by Mr. Richard Stock, later in life Rector of All Hallows, Bread Street, in the city of London, here attributed to the date March, 1603, gave much offence to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

The Universities. The references in the volume to the University of Oxford are few. A letter from the Vice-Chancellor throws some light on the Irish students there. But as regards the University of Cambridge it has more to say. There are allusions to the religious and other contentions proceeding there, and a list of the Heads of Colleges who accompanied the Vice-Chancellor to London to wait upon Sir Robert Cecil with the presentation of the Chancellorship of the University. There is also an explanation in detail, for their Chancellor's information, of the plan of the Senate to relieve " the University's great need," a plan which Sir Robert, as Chancellor, first held over until he was better satisfied of its justness, and then absolutely vetoed. The scheme of the authorities, for which a " grace " had been obtained, was to levy something " under one penny a week from scholars and pensioners in the lower " commons and twopence a week for pensions in the higher " commons " for the three terms of each year for a period of five years. Cecil's considered reply is emphatic. " So unjust " and unequal an imposition to be laid on them who do reap least " benefit in the university and are less interested in the occasions of " the expenses by which the present necessity hath grown, . . . " I cannot, as your Chancellor, by any means give my consent to " it." In coming to this decision he had in his mind the " poor " sizar." The alternative he not only recommended but commanded was, first, an examination of the expenditure by which the debt had

Cecil MSS.: been incurred, and then a general contribution to meet it, "in Part XII. " which it shall best beseem such to yield most as do owe most to " the University." If they chose to carry this out by means of a " grace," then well and good, let it be so done; but the grace must be proposed in one congregation and granted, if granted, in the next.

College affairs were also submitted to Cecil in his capacity of Chancellor of the University.

The matter of the reading of students and the manner in which study was pursued are referred to in the letters of young William Cecil and his tutor at St. John's College, already noticed.

The general aspect of the University, when Sir John Harington revisited it (" the nursery of all my good breeding ") in after years, he thus depicts:—

" In this University, I saw not only the colleges increased in number, beautified and adorned in buildings, but all orders so duly observed, disputations so well performed, all old controversies, both with the town and among themselves, so appeased, as I rejoiced at much."

Roman Catholics. The papers relating to the history of Catholicism are, generally speaking, supplementary to more voluminous collections elsewhere.

There is a letter from one of the Jesuit missionaries, who started from Portugal to Brazil to " spread the Christian faith." The ship in which the missionaries sailed was captured by Sir John Gilbert's men on " the second day of the voyage, while still almost in the " port of Lisbon." Seven out of the nineteen priests, one other dying on the way, were landed at Plymouth and lodged in prison there or in the Gatehouse in London, whence one of them, Ferdinand Cardin, writing to beg for freedom, sets out particulars of their losses, the nature of their equipment and the object of their mission.

This is one aspect of Jesuit missionary activity. The society was accused of quite another in a long letter to the Council from William Vaughan, Welshman, poet, and later in life colonial pioneer, which was written from Pisa. In this he conceives it his duty to expose " certain caterpillars, I mean Jesuits and seminary " priests, who . . . are to be sent from the English seminary " at Valladolid . . . to pervert and withdraw her Majesty's " loyal subjects from their due obedience to her "; and he gives, with detail, the names and personal history and appearance of the English and Welsh members of the seminary.

A dozen letters or so from the Bishop of London, Dr. Bancroft, show how alert he was to the proceedings of Roman priests and recusants in England.

Sir John Popham, " the greatest minister of justice," is warned no longer to tolerate

" the intolerable and dangerous impieties of them that live in Court amongst you (who daily entertain, relieve and maintain seminaries and perverse papists)."

Scotland. The papers relating to Scotland, not very numerous, touch upon current events in that kingdom and the jealousies and

animosities that prevailed among the nobility. A correspondent writing early in 1602 finds little to dwell upon with satisfaction as regards the state of the country. Cecil MSS. : Part XII.

The relations of the King and his consort provoke admiring remark. "Never such love and concord among themselves as 'now'; and again, 'The King and Queen agree exceedingly.'" A long letter addressed to the King, of which a copy appears here, contains advice of a frank character on the subject of the relations between himself and the Queen of England whom he looked to succeed. King James's own sentiments are delineated by George Nicolson, the agent of the Queen of England in Scotland. He informs Cecil:—

"At Kynnard the King was well entertained, and the laird of the house thought to have pleased him by drinking to the joining of the two kingdoms in one, saying he had 40 muskets ready for that service. The King said 'twas a fault in him to wish soon or by force, and he wished long and happy days to her Majesty without any abridgement for his cause. In going thence to Montrose, he protested, in his discourse with me, his true heart to her Majesty, and that as her kinsman he aught her and would perform her allegiance, albeit as King of Scotland he was not so bound, with many better words than I can write, acquitting her of the Queen his mother's death."

The number of Scotsmen and Englishmen found in England and Scotland, respectively, without passports is discussed by Sir Robert Cecil as a matter of weighty concern. Cecil cites statutes for prevention and precedents for punishment of this offence, and warns Englishmen in Scotland, having no passports, to look to themselves. But the death of Queen Elizabeth changed the face of the country in this respect, and Scotsmen came to England more numerous than ever, and that without let or hindrance.

Borders. The relations between King James and Lord Scrope, Warden of the West March, were somewhat strained, and there are several lengthy letters, one in particular from the Queen, on this subject.

Ireland. As regards Ireland, during the period under consideration, the storm and stress from the point of view of the English Government was much mitigated, tending towards an "end of the wars" as time progressed. The failure of the Spanish expedition at the close of 1601, and the capture of Kinsale, removed all serious danger of Spanish aid or of another direct attempt to succour the rebellious Earl of Tyrone. But in order to "make sure," and to counter any movement on the part of the King of Spain, two steps were taken in England: a fleet was despatched to watch the Spanish coast and to fight the Spanish ships on the high seas (with what success has been already related) and preparations were made to send reinforcements to Ireland. In January, considerable bodies of men were assembled at Barnstaple and Bristol. All were not utilised, however, numbers being sent back to their homes, and only a selected force sent to the South of Ireland.

There was constant difficulty in getting the reinforcements conveyed across the Irish Sea. Soldiers were embarked; the ships put to sea; and then put back again, to the infinite cost and trouble of

Cecil MSS.: the local authorities. But delays such as these, which under other circumstances might have been serious, did not now greatly effect the situation, and when the month of July arrived, Cecil could complacently write to one correspondent after another, "In Ireland, all things go well," or, "Out of Ireland, nothing but well."

The Spaniards at Kinsale by the terms of the capitulation agreed to surrender the castle of Dunboy, at Berehaven, well seated and strongly fortified on a rock. It was seized, however, in spite of them by an Irish force which, with the aid of a few Spanish cannoniers, held it for several months. Early in May, Sir George Carew, President of Munster, advanced against the place. There was a general expectation that it would be taken without difficulty; but now expectation was at fault. The garrison, 150 strong, well provided, "held out to the last hour," aided by the Spanish cannoniers who were "excellent marksmen and obstinate villains." All in vain, however. After a day's battery the place was carried, and the defenders "were hanged and put to the sword, every "mother's son"—a phrase which, in this connexion, Cecil uses repeatedly and apparently with satisfaction.

Meanwhile, the Deputy farther north, with the forces at his disposal, penetrated into "the bowels of Tyrone" with utter waste and spoil, and placed a garrison of one thousand men at Dungannon. It was in this garrison, doubtless, that detection of illicit coining by Sir John Brockett was reported to have been made in the spring of the following year. As regards the country of Ireland generally, it is little to be wondered at if the condition of the people became miserable in the extreme and that a "general dearth of all necessaries followed."

Curious is it to note some of the consequences which were expected to follow from the cessation of fighting in Ireland. Lord Chief Justice Popham, for instance, discusses the position at some length. The end of the wars in Ireland, he surmised, might breed some interposition of quiet at home. "Many of those who cannot live but by the wars there will not content themselves to live according to their callings here." The composition of the regiments in Ireland was, he suspected, unsatisfactory, not consisting altogether of "mere English," but reinforced by the Irish, "who upon any accident are thereby made ready to become opposite to her Majesty, whereof we have already had too dangerous a precedent." At the best the demands of the regiments would be importunate, and if not yielded to, might lead to their taking what they required by violence from "the honest and good subject." And he suggested as a remedy that

"the new supplies might be of gentlemen of the best sort, to be accompanied with their friends, neighbours, and tenants, who would keep their companies full for their own safety, and expedite the service for their speedy return."

English Commissioners at Bremen. In July, 1602, Lord Eure, with Mr. Secretary Herbert and Dr. Daniel Dunn, Master of Requests, were sent to Bremen to enter into negotiations with the agents of the King of Denmark and certain of the princes of the

Empire. Lord Eure was chosen to be the principal Commissioner Cecil MSS. : as having "both the language and other parts necessary for the Part XII. " same." He endeavoured to excuse himself as one who by reason of his long "discontinuance from the Court" was "disfurnished of "such courtly respects as fitteth a messenger to so worthy a "princess."

He represented, too, that the cost of such a journey must be from 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.*, and that he did not know where to borrow the necessary sums without Cecil's assistance. Lord Burghley interested himself in Lord Eure's effort to raise money. Ultimately it was obtained by successive loans from the merchants in London, Sir Robert Cecil standing as personal security.

In the event, being commanded to go, he obeyed, begging only to be allowed to remain in the country until the end of August. Before the mission started on its errand, the views of the Merchant Adventurers were canvassed regarding the points in dispute and information collected from the fishermen of the eastern ports. Learning of the sending of the mission, the mayor and aldermen of Hull begged that "the great wrongs committed against our poor "neighbours by the King of Denmark" might not be lost sight of.

The Commissioners set out on their journey from London on Tuesday, 7th. September. Between Gravesend and Rochester, the coach carrying Dr. Dunn, travelling at night, was overturned, and he received some hurt. This was not suffered to delay their journey, however, and they put to sea from Margate on the 10th, to go through the experience of a tempestuous voyage of seven days before they landed at Stade. Here they were "entertained and "lodged by the Magistrates with many signs of affection which they "professed to her Majesty and hers." Although they were well received at Bremen, the purpose of their mission did not make much progress.

At length, on 26th November, there was nothing for it but "to "fall to an agreement of a recess." Herbert's pious reflection at this point is:—

"Even at th' instant the artillery played at the parture of the Danes. I pray God to bless her Majesty and never to need that nation."

Two other matters were included in the scope of the mission of Lord Eure and his companions: a conference with representatives of the Emperor, and the composing of the quarrel between the Count of Emden and the people of that city. For the latter of these two purposes Stephen Lesieur, who had accompanied the English Commissioners as assistant, was, by directions from home, sent to the scene of disquietude.

Foreign. This volume contains a series of newsletters concerning European affairs, a somewhat new feature in the Hatfield collection. They are dated either at Venice or Rome, and from evidence supplied by the letters of George Limauer in the previous volume, would appear to have been sent to England by him, whether directly to Sir Robert Cecil, or through some intermediate agency, is not clear. In addition, among correspondents in various parts of the Continent who report the news, are Aurelian Townshend, Matthew

Cecil MSS.: Greensmith and Thomas Wilson. There are "advertisements" also from Antwerp, Brussels and Valladolid. A subject of the English Queen, Christopher Reitlinger, writes to inform Sir Robert Cecil of his appointment as physician to the "mighty monarch of all Russia," than whom "there is no potentate in the world that more highly esteems and more affectionately regards the Queen." Though so advantageously placed, the physician was anxious to be recalled and to be delivered out of his "golden fetters" at Moscow and to enjoy once again "the sight of so precious a jewel" as his sovereign.

The attention of the student may be directed to the following items of a miscellaneous character, namely:—

The illness and death of the young Lord Burgh, who had been placed under the charge of the Bishop of Winchester in his palace at Waltham, the symptoms of whose sickness and the treatment of it by the physicians are set out with some detail in letters from the Bishop, which also state the results of the *post mortem* examination. The medical treatment described is such as would without doubt "thoroughly sift" this "so noble an imp" and "send him one way or other." As a matter of fact, it caused him to "give up the ghost" in a sufficiently distressing manner.

The mention of Dudley Digges as a young man about to set out on his travels.

The riots at Kesteven in consequence of the draining of the fens:

The mention of the jewels of the House of Burgundy in pawn to the Queen:

The complaint of the Earl of Lincoln against the "villainies and outrages" of Sir Edward Dymock, and certain consequences therefrom, and Sir Edward Dymock's story:

The scheme of the Queen's Council to reserve from execution for employment as rowers in the galleys, condemned men of able bodies, justly deserving of death and yet not dangerous or notorious offenders:

The list of records delivered by Sir Robert Cecil for preservation in the Receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster:

The precautions to be taken to prevent infection from the plague raging in Amsterdam and their ineffectiveness:

The account of the treatment of a patient suffering from tertian ague:

The spirit of English loyalty displayed by Sir Richard Hawkins in the common gaol at Madrid and his release after years of exile:

The story of the mad youth at Plymouth and of Sir William Monson's connexion with him:

The arrangements made by Lord Buckhurst to send a son, who became deranged in mind, to Padua, that place furnishing above all the world the "most rare and excellent physicians" to effect a cure if any cure were possible.

The visit to London of the Duke of Pomerania:

The fortification of Plymouth by the engineer Frederico Genebelli:

The Queen's discovery, at length, of a young lady, nobly de-

scended, a pure maiden, adorned with graces and extraordinary gifts of nature, of convenient years between eleven and twelve, communicated to the Emperor of Russia as a somewhat belated response to his offer of one of his princely children to be bestowed in marriage, and the means adopted to bring it to the Emperor's knowledge:

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The statement of expenses of a traveller from Plymouth through parts of Brittany in the autumn of 1602:

The account of the *lapis Malacensis*, or stone of Malacca:

Two letters from Dr. William Butler, the Cambridge physician:

The petition from the English prisoners in the galleys at Sluys:

The story of adventures of Henry Saunders:

The note of plate from New Year's presents to the Queen sold and the price obtained:

A letter from John Lyly; and

The "desperate" state of the town of Southampton, as represented by its mayor and aldermen.

PART XIII.—(*Addenda*).

(12th century—1596.)

Part XIII. of the Cecil Calendar, together with another volume to Part XIII. come next—materials for which are already prepared—will contain the final *Addenda* to that Calendar to the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

The documents comprised in this part cover a long period of time, from the twelfth to near the end of the sixteenth century, though the great bulk of them relate to the reign of Elizabeth. This being so it is not to be expected that there should be many papers on any single important transaction adding much information to what is already known; and it is not till well into Elizabeth's reign that previous knowledge of particular transactions is much increased.

First to be noticed are Treatises, Chronicles, and Histories more or less fragmentary, belonging to the 13th and three following centuries, including a version of the Psalms, a 15th Century Latin Bible and a copy of Gower's *Vox Clamantis*. The subjects of treatises are mostly sacred if not scriptural, or historical. There are also copies of the Treaties of Troyes and of Cambray, and several other documents of a political nature. Belonging to the reign of Henry V. is a pay roll of the English garrison in some foreign town, which from internal evidence clearly belongs to the year 1417, and contains information of much interest to students of military matters.

It is a contemporary document and in excellent condition but for the fact that the first membrane of the roll with the heading has unfortunately been torn off, and it is therefore impossible to say with certainty to what town it relates; though the size of the garrison seems to point to Calais.

Henry VIII. Passing on to the reign of Henry VIII. there are two interesting letters (or more probably two portions of one letter) from the Emperor Maximilian to the Emperor of Russia as to

Cecil MSS. : combined action for invasion of their common enemy, Poland.
Part XIII. More important still, from a personal and domestic point of view, is a letter from Henry VIII. to his Ambassadors at Rome on the matter of the divorce.

The King's character is shewn in another aspect by the petition of the Calvacanti, and a petition as to grievances.

Edward VI. The papers for this reign calendared in this part relate chiefly to domestic matters of trade and commerce. The most important of them refer to the production and use of iron and tin, and to the constant complaints and negotiations between the English merchants and those of the Hanse. At p. 19 occur the commissions to examine into the iron mills and furnaces in Sussex, and the answers of juries to the questions submitted to them; all tending to shew that the continued consumption of the Sussex woods to support the furnaces would mean the further decay of the towns and great scarcity of timber for building ships and houses, and of wood for fuel. It is curious to notice that among the places said to be so injured are many on the other side of the Channel.

A document containing the allegations of the tinnerns in Devon as to working the tin in "several grounds," is curious for the explanation it gives of the existence of the metal in such places as being due to "the violence of Noah his flood."

An important series of papers relating to the Hanse Towns and the English merchants bear on international commercial relations. The negotiations began in 1551, continued till 1557 without a break, and were renewed in the first year of Elizabeth's reign (September, 1559).

Mary. The most important document for this reign is the Register of the Privy Council from Mary's accession till 30th September, 1553, which has been printed in full in the "Acts of the Privy Council, N.S." There is a Latin translation of the Greek Liturgy of St. James, probably made by Roger Ascham. Various documents relating to Sir William Cecil also occur, chiefly bills for household or personal supplies. There is a map of Calais with a note showing how it might be besieged with success.

Elizabeth. The bulk of the papers belong to the reign of Elizabeth during the time when Sir William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, was her chief minister.

The Queen. The first glimpse of Elizabeth is early in 1549 in the scandal in which her name was wrongfully connected with the Lord Admiral; but these documents have been printed in full by Haynes. No mention of her occurs during her sister's reign.

Of all the personal matters concerning the Queen the most important was that of her marriage, and projects for bringing it about arise constantly during the greater portion of her reign. In a paper drawn up about 1585 setting forth the dangers threatening England in the person of the Queen, it is stated that "the weakness of the Queen's Majesty cometh by lack of marriage, children, alliance with foreign princes": and the great importance of her marrying was universally recognised. Hence it is that in 1566 we find petitions from both Houses to the Queen urging her to marry. In 1560 the

King designate of Sweden expressed the wish to carry out the contract of marriage which he said he had entered into with her Majesty, and about 1567 the Emperor sent an envoy regarding a proposed marriage with an Imperial nominee, but there is no further mention of these matters. In July, 1570, the Duke of Anjou writes to the Lord Admiral—"I am resolved in a few days to send Commissioners to the Queen, my good mistress, to make a proposition to her as to our marriage," and envoys from the Duke arrive on several occasions. Cecil MSS. : Part XIII.

Negotiations on the subject continued, until in October, 1579, the Privy Council discussed the marriage, with its perils, remedies and objections, as set out in a document printed by Murdin; and the next month articles of marriage were drawn up.

The last mention of Elizabeth by Anjou in this part occurs a year later, when he welcomes Walsingham as a foremost servant of "her whom I honour more than any princess on earth. Six months afterwards, however, the French King is still urging the marriage on Elizabeth; while Simier in two letters to the Queen probably belonging to the same year, regrets that he has not been able to bring the cause to a conclusion.

Intimately connected with the Queen's marriage was the question of the succession to the throne; and various references to it indicate how it exercised the mind of Elizabeth and still more of her subjects.

There are several indications in these papers of the plots and conspiracies to which the Queen was continually exposed. As early as 1586 a report is received by Walsingham advising the Queen of possible attempts to poison her. In 1579 the Palatine of the Rhine sends a Privy Councillor to declare to her particulars of a conspiracy and treason against her person and estate; and in 1589 one of the causes of the Earl of Arundel's indictment was

"that certain years past by the consent of the Pope, Queen Ellen and such others, there was chosen 20 resolute persons and desperate to have murdered her Majesty, and to have drawn her by the hair of the head through the city of London, into whose practice he was privy."

But the great storm centre for such plots was the Queen of Scots. In a succinct statement of dangers to England, probably drawn up in 1585, the Queen's Majesty herself is said to be the patient (or object), and "the Queen of Scots the instrument whereby the perils do grow." The Babington conspiracy is an instance of this, with which these papers seem to definitely prove her connexion. At p. 312 is noted a long roll containing the report of the proceedings in Parliament from October to December, 1586, with regard to that conspiracy and the Queen of Scots. In the month after the latter's execution, in a long dispatch from Richard Douglas to Archibald Douglas, occurs the following passage:—

"The King himself told me that at the time when Barne Lindesay was sent in Scotland by Mr. Keythe [by] whom also you sent his Majesty a hunting horn, it was reported to him by one he says who heard you say that you hoped the horn should be welcome and do good, because at that time when I was sent home with the discovery of the conspiracy wherein Babington and his consorts were convicted and his mother's letters that were taken, you sent with me a lure and a collar, whereof he took as you said more pleasure and more care nor of all the other letters that were sent him."

Cecil MSS.: One or two items of Elizabeth's private life may be noticed. Part XIII. Two grants at least to her musicians are mentioned, one to "Ambrogio Lupo, one of the eldest of her musicians of the viols," and another to Arthur, Andrew and Jeronimo Bassano, described merely as musicians. The Queen was fond of music and was herself a skilled performer. Another form of amusement consisted in the paying of visits to her chief courtiers.

The most important of these papers, however, relate to Elizabeth's foreign policy. They follow three main lines, relating to—

1. Mary Queen of Scots and Scotch affairs till 1587: then the affairs of James VI. and succession to the English throne.
2. The affairs of Spain and intended Spanish invasions from 1587 onwards.
3. The wars in France in which the Queen interfered as a means of striking at Spain, and the religious wars in France. from 1591.

Scotland. From time to time glimpses of the state of affairs in Scotland are afforded. At the time of Elizabeth's accession to the throne parties there were in a state of great confusion, the outstanding feature of which to Elizabeth must have been the danger of the success of the efforts of the French. At p. 41 is a memorandum of things to be shewn to the "Governor of Scotland"; apparently to put before him the real designs of the French King.

Some years later at the end of 1571, an interesting dispatch from Verac at Edinburgh to the French Ambassador in England shews that the French King had not entirely given up all hope of dominating Scotland. But from this point French influence in Scotland declined, and only one spasmodic attempt to revive it occurs in 1587 immediately after the death of the Queen of Scots.

Not much additional light is thrown by these papers on the story of Mary Queen of Scots, most of the documents in this volume having been already printed by Murdin and Labanoff.

On the death of Mary interest as regards Scottish affairs is at once diverted to her son. James up to the last had professed to believe her life was in no danger, though at that very time he was being strongly urged by the French King to intervene with Elizabeth to secure her safety and that no rigorous treatment should be used towards her on account of the late (Babington's) conspiracy. Although the execution might in Catholic circles be called murder, yet James took a very different view of it. A letter dated 2nd March, 1587, from Pury Ogilvy to A. Douglas gives a very curious account of the King's behaviour on receiving the news:—

"Last of all I will assure you that the King moved never his countenance at the rehearsal of his mother's execution, nor leaves not his pastime and hunting more than if before."

This is the only passage in the letter that is underlined, as if to express the writer's amazement at the King's conduct. Whatever may have been his real sentiments James was not prepared to let the execution make a breach between himself and Elizabeth; and to that end seemed to accept the theory that it was the work of her Council and not herself.

Even before his mother's death the condition of Scotland had rendered James's throne an uneasy one. More than once the nobles had risen against him, as they did not fail to do thereafter; and on one occasion he realised that his position was almost that of a prisoner. Sir Henry Cobham writing from Paris to Walsingham in June, 1583, remarks:—

Cecil MSS. :
Part XIII.

“ There is in this town Sir John Seton, second son to the lord of Seton, ready to take his voyage to Spain. He has order from the Scotch King to inform King Philip that his subjects hold him prisoner, and to demand his counsel and aid.”

It was evident therefore that James could not possibly dispense with Elizabeth's support, and it was this fact that regulated his conduct towards her at all times. He even submitted to her scoldings, which were neither gentle nor few.

There are many letters that passed between the two Sovereigns in this collection, and from these a good outline of the relations between them may be gathered. Attention may be drawn to the instructions given by James to Archibald Douglas, whom he was sending as ambassador to England in August, 1586.

Spain. There are many references to the relations of England with Spain, but mostly of an indirect nature. Philip on Elizabeth's accession expressed great pleasure at the way she responded to his brotherly affection. A little later, in 1564, commissioners were appointed by both countries to meet at Bruges for the settlement of commercial questions; but after this there are few indications of diplomatic intercourse between the two countries. No ambassador from Spain was received in England after the departure of Mendoza early in 1584; and, indeed, Elizabeth complained that for two years before he left Mendoza had transacted no business with her for his master—but seems rather to have acted as agent for the Queen of Scots. A paper of intelligence speaks of “ the Spanish Ambassador that departing is,” and must refer to Mendoza. There are many incidental references to the King of Spain and his attempts to stir up trouble for Elizabeth, but the latter was careful to maintain apparently friendly relations.

Of the attack on Lisbon in 1589 two brief but most interesting accounts are given by factors of merchants of Lubeck writing home to their employers.

The expedition against Cadiz in June, 1596, was a much bigger affair, and of this a very good account is given by Sir George Gyfford to the Earl of Southampton, written from Cadiz Road on 5th July.

Results of the expedition, as appears from these papers, were the acquisition of a considerable amount of spoil and the arising of a quarrel between Sir Anthony Ashley and Sir Gelly Meyrick over the appropriation of that same spoil.

There was still another method of offensive defence against Spain, the effectiveness of which was recognised by English and Spaniards alike, and that was to cut off the King of Spain's supplies by attacking his Indian fleets. The necessity of seizing these ships was one of the reasons offered by Elizabeth to the Sultan to induce him to send his triremes to Spain.

Cecil MSS. : *France*. In the latter half of the volume papers concerning
 Part XIII. France and French affairs are very numerous, surpassing in number and interest those relating to Scotland. A great many, and those the most important, are letters to and from the Earl of Essex, who had been placed in command of the English troops sent into Brittany in 1591, from which time he maintained a constant correspondence with the two kindred spirits Henry IV and the Duc de Bouillon. At his rebellion and execution in 1601 all the Earl's papers were seized by Sir Robert Cecil, and therefore naturally appear in this collection.

The first paper to which attention may be directed is the account given by the Earl of Derby and Sir E. Stafford of their audience with the French King, 3rd March, 1585. They had been sent to discuss with the King French relations with the Low Countries since the death of Anjou; and the King urged a joint interposition with the King of Spain in order to secure to his subjects in the Low Countries their old customs and liberties. The Queen Mother objected to the proposal on the ground of the disturbed condition of France: and this condition is accentuated by the following paper on French affairs, the writer of which goes so far as to predict a second St. Bartholomew.

In January, 1587, the King of Navarre appears upon the scene in an instrument setting forth an agreement with Horatio Palavicino as Elizabeth's representative. Henry, after publishing a declaration of the causes that compelled him to take up arms, was trying to form a league among the Princes oppressed by the Pontiff, and sent Segur to ask their assistance with men, money and munitions of war in defending the common cause. In response to this appeal the Queen aided him with 100,000 gold crowns, to be repaid after peace had been obtained in France from the French King; and in August following we get a glimpse of the use made of such aid.

In November further reinforcements to the number of 10,000 men were promised by John, Duke Casimir, to the King of Navarre to serve till peace be made; and again the Queen is found supplying the sinews of war.

A terrible picture of the state of affairs in France in 1589 is given in two letters to Archibald Douglas.

A letter to Burghley from Ottwell Smyth in November, 1590, also draws a vivid picture of the distracted state of France. Upon Paris specially, which held for the League, the struggle was pressing severely; **famine and** terrible mortality from the plague soon led them to contemplate a surrender and a general peace. Moreover, the Spaniards were in Brittany, and it was probably this consideration and the threat it implied of cutting off communications between England and France, that led the Queen to send 4,000 troops to Brittany to be used specially about Havre and Rouen, under the command of the Earl of Essex, Sir Roger Williams being second in command. A portion of this force was drawn from the companies serving in the Low Countries. By September Essex had arrived in France, and the first letter to him from Henry in this collection occurs at p. 451. It was in cipher and contained the King's in-

structions as commander-in-chief to Essex as general of the English forces. Cecil MSS. : Part XIII.

Late in the summer of 1594 a treaty was concluded for sending 4,000 foot and 100 horse into Brittany, but at the King's expense. Strong complaints were made of their conduct there.

Essex was not employed again in France, although there seems to have been an idea of diverting the expedition under him against Cadiz in 1596 for the relief of Calais, which had been captured by the Spaniards in April of that year. But de Bouillon, alike soldier and statesman, was at this time Henry's chief minister, and was sent into England on several occasions, being employed to negotiate the treaty of 1596. Essex and he had much in common, and from 1594 de Bouillon used the influence of Essex with Elizabeth as the chief means of bringing pressure to bear upon the Queen and inducing her to aid the French King; and his letters give a vivid and continuous picture of the state of affairs in France.

At length in a dispatch to La Fontaine informing him of the condition of affairs in France and the ebbing fortunes of those of the religion, de Bouillon intimates plainly that Henry was inclined to treat with the King of Spain. This convinced the Queen of the necessity of sending further aid to France; and in the spring of 1596 a treaty with de Bouillon was concluded for the purpose. But in the opinion of the Duke the assistance promised was utterly inadequate, and he did not fail to let Essex know it, at the same time warning the latter that his ruin was being sought at Elizabeth's Court.

With a few more letters from de Bouillon to Essex of an unimportant character the documents relating to France in this volume come to a close. At the end of 1596 we see Henry, despairing of getting effective aid from Elizabeth, and doubtless anxious for the good of his crown and realm to bring the long drawn civil strife to an end, ready to make peace with his ancient enemy Spain, having already in 1593 made his peace with Rome.

Queen Elizabeth's general foreign policy. With regard to the general foreign policy of England under Elizabeth an interesting definition of it is given in a paper of December, 1589. It is in Italian and headed simply "M. to F.," and is addressed to some one high in the service of the Grand Duke of Florence. It is a very able state paper; after speaking of the general European situation the writer remarks:—

"It is therefore easy to see how necessary it is both for the *Princes of Italy* and for the *Queen my sovereign* to maintain the *balance of Europe*; for which *she* has done, and will do, *her part*."

Much and varied information relative to the Low Countries, Portugal—the rival claimants to which throne on the death of Don Sebastian in 1580 both alike turned to Elizabeth for assistance—and other countries will be found in this part.

Ireland. With regard to Ireland this volume is comparatively silent; though there are copies of letters from Henry VII. and Henry VIII. to the city of Waterford, and a declaration of the value of Crown possessions in the country about 1547. There

Cecil MSS. : are also mentions of the disturbances that were chronic there, references to the revenue and general memoranda on the country; but more papers concerning it may be expected in the next volume, covering the period that Essex was Lord Deputy, and the suppression of the rebellion that followed.

This part of the calendar covering so long a period, many well-known historical personages are naturally referred to in it.

Lord Burghley. Of these Sir William Cecil Lord Burghley is the most prominent, and he appears before us in many different aspects. As Chancellor of the University of Cambridge he is frequently consulted by individual Colleges to secure their privileges or to settle disputes. One of his chief hobbies was Theobalds, which came into his possession in 1563; many of these papers relate to the works and alterations he carried out there. The description of the accommodation afforded by the house in 1572, contained in a paper drawn up in preparation for a visit by the Queen in July of that year, is very full and particular. Another favourite pursuit was the study of pedigrees, especially of the Cecil family, of which many proofs are to be found in the present volume. He also kept a diary of the principal events that happened during his life, beginning characteristically with his birth:—"1521, 13th September. I, "William Cecil was born between 3 and 4 in the afternoon!" Of the correspondence a large proportion is naturally addressed to him as Secretary or Lord Treasurer; but after 1590 Sir Robert Cecil takes more and more of the burden from his father, and by the year 1596, when he was made principal Secretary, was transacting most of the business connected with that office. But the most important work done by Burghley, as here illustrated, was that pertaining to the office of Lord Treasurer.

Earl of Essex. The personage who comes most prominently forward in these papers, after Lord Burghley, is perhaps the Earl of Essex. His first appearance is as commander of the troops sent to Brittany in 1591 in aid of the French King, and from that moment till the end of the volume he is the most conspicuous figure on the stage. From that time he was immersed in martial affairs; Henry IV. found in him a kindred spirit, and knowing his influence with Elizabeth sought to bring it to bear for the purpose of inducing the Queen to aid him more effectually. But the most important friendship Essex formed in France was with the Duc de Bouillon, with whom he entertained a correspondence represented in these papers by numerous and important letters. From these and from the letters of Ersfeld to Essex, a good picture can be obtained of the state of affairs in France, and of the hopes they entertained, too often doomed to disappointment of help from England.

We hear little of the Earl until he is again put in command of an expedition, this time in conjunction with the Lord Admiral, in 1596. It was originally intended for the relief of Calais, then hard pressed by the Spaniards; but on the capture of that place on 17th April its destination was altered to Cadiz, where it arrived in June. By the expedition, said an eye-witness and member of the force, "our "generals won great honour, yea, even of the enemy." They also

obtained more material results but not enough to satisfy their somewhat grasping Sovereign, whose anger fell heavily on all the leaders, including the Earl of Essex. Cecil MSS. : Part XIII.

The only direct evidence as to the relations of Essex and the Queen in this volume is contained in a letter from him to Elizabeth. It is endorsed in French, and with the date 1595, which is most likely correct.

Hints are not wanting of the intrigues against Essex, that were carried on by his fellow courtiers, as he asserted.

The Earl of Leicester. But few of these papers concern the Earl of Leicester, Essex's predecessor in the royal favour, and most of those refer to his governorship of the Low Countries.

James, Earl of Bothwell. Incidental notices of Bothwell occur frequently in these papers, but the most important document is the recitation in full of the process for a divorce between him and Lady Jane (or Janet) Gordon, his "putative" wife, in April and May, 1567. It is chiefly in Latin and very long, covering more than ten pages of this Calendar, and ended in a divorce being granted to Lady Jane on the ground of Bothwell's adultery, superseded by a final sentence four days later declaring their marriage to have been invalid owing to the parties being within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. The last document of the series is a notarial certificate of threats and undue influence having been exerted by Bothwell's servants to force Master John Manderston, Canon of Dunbar, one of the Commissaries, to bring the matter to a definite end. As to Bothwell's connexion with the death of Darnley, the Lords of Secret Council boldly denounced him as "chief executor of that horrible murder, as well before the committing thereof as thereafter." A letter from Bothwell of a later date, written during his temporary banishment from Scotland, is of interest as showing his relations with the most prominent statesmen in England.

Archibald Douglas. Another Scotsman who figures largely in the latter part of this volume is Archibald Douglas. He appears first officially in August, 1586, when he was sent by James to discuss three pressing matters with Elizabeth—the King's marriage, the religious troubles in Scotland, and the dangers that beset the Queen's person. He is generally described, at least by Scotsmen, as "the King's Ambassador" or "my Lord Ambassador." His chief correspondents were Richard Douglas and the Master of Gray; but he does not seem to have taken part in any important negotiations after his first appearance. His countrymen were fully alive to the advantage of having a friend at the English Court in their private affairs, and he took care to turn his position to his own personal profit, following the example of most courtiers of the time. He did not always keep clear himself of financial difficulties, on one occasion being summoned to Edinburgh by the Scottish Council to answer "a suit for the return of a chanzie of gold or its value." These papers show him to have been engaged in a somewhat remarkable number of love affairs.

Henry IV. of France. The papers concerning Henry of Navarre confirm the estimate generally formed of his character.

Cecil MSS.:
Part XIII.

A careful perusal of these papers will enable the student to follow the fluctuations of the religious wars that devastated France in Henry's reign.

One letter gives an interesting account of the King's daily life amongst his soldiers and at home.

Antonio Perez. In July, 1595, the French King having requested Elizabeth to send Antonio Perez to him, the latter was dismissed and betook himself to France. On his departure he submitted a memorial to the Queen in Spanish which has been printed elsewhere from another and an imperfect version. He arrived at Dieppe, from which place an agent of Essex sent the Earl a full account of his movements and bearing.

He was regarded with suspicion; even in France a spy was employed by Wylton to watch his doings; but on his arrival at Paris he met with good entertainment. His fears for his personal safety seem to have been justified, for in France the King of Spain employed agents to kill him. Antonio Perez was a disturbing guest wherever he went. We take leave of him in these papers with a letter to Nanton, in which he alludes to letters received from the Earl of Essex, and also from Basadonna, and exhibits his usual spirit of suspicion and intrigue.

Sir Horatio Palavicino. Among the important personages by whom Elizabeth was surrounded the financier Horatio Palavicino was not the least useful to the Queen. We meet with him first in this volume about the year 1583 in a paper relating to money owing to him by the Queen. Somewhat later we come on a paper of information as to the manner in which Palavicino's business with Elizabeth was carried out. The Queen was trying to pass her indebtedness to Palavicino on to the Low Countries, and to induce him to look to them for payment; while he naturally refused on behalf of himself and his brothers, also concerned in the matter, to consent to be dependent on the success of the Low Countries—at the time very problematical. In January, 1587, Palavicino was acting as the Queens' legate in making an advance to Henry of Navarre in aid of the Protestant league. He is referred to again incidentally on several occasions; and in 1596 Battista Giustiniano writes to Cecil on behalf of his brother Fabritio Palavicino. The latter had drawn up a petition, apparently to the Lord Mayor, in which he recites the Queen's indebtedness to Horatio, his brother, since 1583, and how much of it is still unpaid. The Palavicinos, like most of her creditors, found it difficult to obtain their due from the Queen.

Many other personal matters of interest will be found in these papers. For example: A long dispute took place in 1583 between the Marquis of Winchester and Henry Ughtred, executor of the will of the late Marquis, concerning the latter's estate. In 1585 an official record was drawn up of the proceedings against the late Earl of Northumberland for treason, for the purpose of refuting "those that report maliciously of the proceedings against the Earl of Northumberland": and papers relating to the conspiracies of Babington

and the Earl of Arundel also occur. The unruly condition of the northern Borders is illustrated by the quarrel between Sir Cuthbert Collingwood and Sir John Selby. Cecil MSS. : Part XIII.

The matters of interest of a miscellaneous character touched upon in these papers are numerous. Trade and commerce of the time may be studied here in general, by means of the index, under such heads as the Hanse Towns; the Steelyard; Merchant Adventurers; Flanders; Denmark, &c.; while the cultivation of trade in various articles will be found under their names: *e.g.*, woad, wool, salt, cloths, starch, &c. Several points of International Law with regard to enemy's goods in time of war may be noted. In the time of Henry VIII. a proposal was made to exempt woad from confiscation in the event of war breaking out with the country exporting it, and another paper contains an article of the ordinances made by the French King in 1584 as to enemies' goods in French and allies' ships. By the draft of a treaty between England and France (which is undated, but may possibly belong to 1596) it is stipulated that "if there happen any war betwixt these two Princes, there shall be limited two months (or 60 days) after the publication of the war for the merchants to retire themselves with their goods."

It was no doubt due to the wars in France and Flanders from 1580 onwards that so large a number of refugee aliens sought an asylum in England. Long lists of aliens, giving their names and trades, occur, which have been printed by the Huguenot Society of London. An inquiry was also instituted as to Italians who had arrived in England; and it was found necessary to legislate generally on the subject of aliens.

Ecclesiastical matters are very frequently referred to. On the one hand perhaps the most important papers are Mr. John Udall's confession of his opinion touching ecclesiastical government, and his submission to the secular government; and in the other direction may be noted the efforts to deal with the Jesuits, especially in Scotland. James was apparently anxious to be rid of them and the more so as rumours spread abroad of the coming Spanish invasion. But it does not appear that he was able to secure their banishment from Scotland.

A commission issued to Burghley and others towards the end of 1589 on the subject of "Masterless men in Essex and Herts" throws some light on the condition of the lower orders of the people. A few papers concerning the Channel Islands are of interest, particularly with regard to the Queen's new erected Grammar school at Guernsey. Papers on naval and military matters abound, while the student of such matters as letters of marque, pirates, the plague, mines and minerals, and many others will find these papers repay investigation. Finally, mention should be made of the maps and plans, of which this volume mentions a good number, some coloured, some plain; the plans of Ostend, of Croyden Fort by Sir Martin Frobisher, and of the river Lea may be instanced: and a Welsh game or play called "Whippergundy," the nature of which does not appear.

(1536—1787.)

Earl of
Denbigh :
Part V.

The manuscripts of the Earl of Denbigh were the subject of four short notices by the late Mr. R. B. Knowles, in the Fourth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Reports of this Commission; but since the last of these appeared many more papers have been brought to light, and it has also been thought well to deal more fully with the correspondence of Isabella Countess of Denbigh, wife of William the fifth Earl.

The earliest document in the Collection is a letter from the Sir William Feilding of Henry VIII's. time, grandson of that other Sir William who fell at Tewkesbury. It must have been written in 1536, as it relates to the claims of one Master Coope (evidently the Antony Coope or Cope who was *persona grata* with Thomas Cromwell) to certain lands, and refers to the grant of the lordship of Brook in Rutland by the King.

Following this 16th century document are two or three letters in relation to the curious quarrel between Lord Denny and Lady Mary Wroth, a daughter of Robert Sydney, Earl of Leicester, and author of *Urania*, a pastoral romance, which was believed to have a satirical meaning.

But the main bulk of the earlier part of the Denbigh Collection consists of the correspondence of Basil, Lord Feilding (afterwards 2nd Earl of Denbigh) during his embassies to Venice and Turin in the years 1634-1639.

Lord Feilding and his wife left England on the 9th of October, 1634. They were hardly established in Venice when Lady Feilding died, and some of the earliest letters to Lord Feilding are those condoling with him upon his loss. Her death was followed by that of her father, Lord Chancellor Portland, and Feilding's troubles at this time were increased by money difficulties.

Lord Feilding's most regular correspondents during the years of his embassies were Peter Morton, agent at Turin, and John Taylor, agent at Vienna, whose letters to the ambassador form a useful supplement to their despatches amongst the Foreign Office State papers.

Taylor, a Roman Catholic and half a Spaniard, was all for an alliance between England and the Emperor. The Emperor, on his showing, was willing, while the Spaniards were also desirous of his friendship. How rudely this dream was shattered by the honest and clear-sighted Arundel, when he came to Vienna in 1636, is known from that ambassador's despatches; and in this collection two or three interesting letters from Col. Walter Leslie give notes of warning.

Colonel Leslie (best known by his share in Wallenstein's disgrace and assassination) was at this time Imperial Chamberlain, colonel of two regiments, and a member of the Emperor's Council of War; but he did not forget his British blood, and seems to have been sincerely desirous, though with but small hopes of success, of bringing about a good understanding between the courts of St. James and Vienna.

Taylor's letters in 1636 are chiefly concerned with the affairs of

the Palatinate, but also contain many details in relation to the approaching election of the King of the Romans. In April, it became known that the Duke of Bavaria was expecting an heir. Taylor gives a curious report that the Duchess had assured the Emperor of the contrary, and had declared that rather than hinder the good work in progress "by what was in her womb," she would wish to have never been born.

Earl of
Denbigh:
Part V.

As the year drew to an end, Taylor's hopes of a settlement fell very low. Arundel's uncompromising terms had been rejected, and after considerable delay the ambassador had been recalled. The Electors, for the greater part, were against England, and the Austrian alliance appeared not to be of that advantage to King Charles that it might have been earlier. The Imperialists were beginning to be affrighted with the ill-success of their arms; they knew not where to find winter quarters for their army, and they had so many officers that they must dismiss a great many, which would mean danger of mutiny or desertion to the enemy. Wrangel, "a brave commander of the Swedes," had already had some success, and should the Emperor's generals be beaten, "the state of Germany for the House of Austria would be worse than ever."

Taylor's last letter is dated on the 1st of January, 1639, just when his own rashness and chicanery in England were on the eve of bringing about his downfall.

Morton's letters from Turin are chiefly concerned with the politics of that Court, and only occasional extracts from them are given in this Report.

The most interesting letters written to Lord Feilding are a group of about a dozen from Dr. William Harvey, the great physician, and relate to a quite unknown incident in his life. In 1636, as is well known, he accompanied Lord Arundel on his mission to the Imperial Court. Passing through the "ruined, desolate country of Germany," they arrived at Lintz, where the ambassador had his first audiences, and where Dr. Harvey went twice or thrice a-hunting with the Emperor. While waiting for an answer to his proposals, Lord Arundel and Harvey went to Vienna, where they visited the Queen of Hungary and the Archduke, "and two very fine little babies, her children." Thence, Dr. Harvey went to Baden, near Vienna, to see the baths.

After parting from Lord Arundel at Ratisbon, he arranged to visit Lord Feilding at Venice. At Treviso, when he was expecting to be that night with his friend at Venice, he was stopped by the podestà, on the plea that his passport was not properly *visé*, and that he came from places infected with the plague. The podestà even demanded that he should go into the lazaretto.

Harvey at first absolutely refused to go into the lazaretto, preferring to lie out in the open field. Here, "scribbling on the grass," he sent off a hurried despatch to Lord Feilding, praying him at once to procure his liberation; but ultimately the podestà forced him "with terror of muskets" to go into the lazaretto, where he had to share "a very nasty room" with his vetturino and two other men.

Besides the discomfort of his position, his fears of sickness were realised. A severe attack of sciatica came on which left him much depressed and very lame. Just as he was recovering, he received a "heavy message" from the Senate at Venice that he must stay where he was until further order, and upon his asking how long, was told seven, ten, or twenty days. The unhappy doctor poured out reiterated arguments as to the validity of his pass and the infamy of his treatment, declaring that his one desire was "in any way and on any condition to be gone from this base place and barbarous people." This is the last of his letters from Treviso.

The next is written, three weeks later, in a very different mood. He had evidently been with Feilding at Venice, and was now in the fair city of Florence, enjoying "much contentment with health and mirth" and receiving many attentions from the Grand Duke. So that the doctor's visit to Italy ended much more happily than it began.

One more letter, dated in November, announced his arrival at Ratisbon, where he re-joined Lord Arundel, and with him travelled home to England.

Other letters to Lord Feilding worthy of notice are:—An account of the terrible plague in North Italy in 1631; a letter from Lingelsheim on the victory of Gustavus Adolphus at Breitenfeld; an interesting letter from Edward Nicholas concerning Lord Wentworth, then just going over as Deputy to Ireland, and a notice of "il signor Massarini," when he was sent in 1634 on a mission to France. This same correspondent, Anthony Hales, gave Feilding a graphic sketch of Videll, the author, then acting as secretary to the Duc de Créqui; a man, he said, "of singular and rare qualities," well versed in the world, an esteemed poet, and beginning to show himself "in press"; but "infinitely ambitious, unquiet, hasty," and passionate beyond reason.

In June, 1637, William Middleton, "examiner of the school at Charterhouse," sent news from London. "The way of France," he wrote, was now prevalent; his Grace of Canterbury and the Lord Keeper (Coventry) were observed usually to concur; and people were "altogether by the ears about altars"; but the great opposer of them, the Bishop of Lincoln, was to be censured in the Star Chamber, and after that it was believed little more would be heard of him.

A letter from Aston, ambassador at Madrid, written at the beginning of 1638, gives a description of a literary fête in honour of the Duchess of Chevreuse, which began "with the opening of a scene from whence appeared Parnassus, set in several degrees, full of poets."

In the spring of 1638, Lord Feilding was transferred to the Court of Turin. He had hoped to be sent to France, and remonstrated against remaining at Turin, and expressed a wish, failing the French embassy, to return to Venice.

A letter from a friend in London in January, 1638-9 gives a glimpse of the friction which always existed between Coke and Windebank, the two Secretaries of State. Curiously enough, the Protestant Coke was by no means well disposed towards Lord Feild-

ing (who was so soon to offend his friends by taking the Puritan side in the Civil War), and tried to prevent his having the superior title of *legatus extraordinarius* when he was sent back to Venice at the beginning of 1639; while Windebank took Feilding's part with the King, and managed to get the credentials sent off without his fellow-secretary's knowledge.

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Lord Feilding made but a short stay in Venice, and, leaving Sir Gilbert Talbot in charge, came to England in May. In August he married Barbara Lamb, daughter of the Dean of Arches. There was often talk of his returning once again to Venice, but he never did so, although he remained nominally ambassador until 1643. Talbot continued to act there, and reported regularly to his chief, but his letters are for the most part devoted to Italian politics, and only a few extracts have been made from them.

All who have studied the history of this period know the shrewd intelligence with which Giustiniano, now the Venetian ambassador in London, observed and commented upon English affairs. Just at the time when the Little Parliament had assembled at Westminster, Talbot saw one of Giustiniano's letters to his State. "The Venetian ambassador," he reported, "hath sent hither in this week's letters, a prognostic of the disagreement between his Majesty and the Parliament, which he buildeth upon the power which the Puritans have already showed in swaying the common votes in the election of knights and burgesses, and withal he addeth that not any one who accompanied the King into Scotland are made choice of for their delegates." Lord Feilding's deputy often found himself put to it to smooth over the various difficulties which arose both in regard to public matters and his chief's own affairs. There were heavy household expenses which he could not defray, and people clamoured for payments which he could not make. He had to soothe the authorities in regard to the arrest of the Venetian ambassador's chaplain in London, and again when an English official took upon himself to break open the ambassador's letters. In this latter case, however, handsome apologies were made by Parliament, and the ambassador's "clouds were turned into bonfires."

The last of Talbot's letters was written in January, 1642-3, by which time he was at his wits' end. The "family" was unclad and penniless; they were ordered to leave the ambassador's house, and Talbot neither knew how to pay the rent of it nor where to find credit for another one. As "a last shift," he had pawned Feilding's pictures and diamond chain, and for his own part, he declared, he should have to quit the service and betake himself "to some army for four shillings a week." As at this time Lord Feilding had upwards of thirteen thousand pounds owing to him from the King, it is not to be wondered at that his official payments had fallen into arrear. But by this time the state of the King's affairs made it impossible for him to pay anything, and in consequence, Lord Feilding's pictures, jewels and plate remained in pawn until after the Restoration, when he petitioned Charles II. to redeem them out of his arrears, offering the pictures to his Majesty as a gift, which he hoped, would no ways disgrace the royal galleries.

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Most of the Civil War letters were arranged in volumes before Mr. Knowles made his reports, and were calendared by him in the Fourth Report of the Commission, but a few additional ones have since been found, which are noticed in this Report.

Lastly we may mention three letters from "W. Aylesbury," travelling in charge of two young lords, evidently the Duke of Buckingham and his brother Francis, who had licence from the Parliament to go to Italy in 1646. Will Aylesbury was brother-in-law to Sir Edward Hyde. His father, Sir Thomas Aylesbury, had been the first Duke of Buckingham's secretary, and, by his means, had obtained lucrative office and a baronetcy, but had taken refuge in Holland soon after the outbreak of the Civil War.

The first group of letters stops at the Restoration. It is followed by a series of papers belonging to Everard de Weede, Sieur or Baron de Dyckvelt, the noted Dutch diplomatist, an intimate friend of Bentinck, Earl of Portland, and a man much trusted by William III. Dyckvelt's first mission to England was in 1672, when he was one of the "deputies extraordinary" sent over to negotiate with Charles II. They arrived at Margate, were met at Gravesend, politely escorted to Hampton Court, visited by a few irresponsible courtiers, took walks and drives, and vainly memorialized the King for an interview. The only trace of any official result of their visit is the passport which they signed for the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, then about to start, by way of the Low Countries, to negotiate with the French King. The first of Dyckvelt's papers is a copy of Arlington's letter to Boreel, the Dutch ambassdor, asking for this pass, and arranging to send his carriage to fetch "Monsieur Wede" to his own house. Dyckvelt crossed with Arlington in the "Henrietta" yacht, hurried on to the Hague in time formally to receive the ambassadors, and escorted them on their visit to the Prince of Orange.

Dyckvelt's next journey to England was in 1685, a mission of condolence on the death of Charles II.; but his first really important embassy was at the beginning of 1686-7, when he was sent ostensibly as ambassador from the States-General but came also charged with a private mission from William of Orange to the discontented party in England. The only letter in the collection which clearly relates to this embassy is one from Lord Mordaunt, evidently written soon after Dyckvelt's arrival. In August, 1688, he was again sent over by the States, but cannot have stayed long, as Burnet says that for two months before the Prince of Orange set out for England, Dyckvelt was constantly at the Hague, "making necessary arrangements." In January, 1688-9, he came as ambassador extraordinary to congratulate William III., and seems to have remained in England until the autumn of that year.

Dyckvelt's papers would appear to have come into the possession of the wife of the fifth Earl of Denbigh, Isabella de Yonge, who was related to the De Weede family. The importance of his position and the respect with which he was regarded are shown by letters from the Elector of Bavaria, the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, the King of Poland, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg and others. There

are also some five and twenty letters from Count Tirimont, written at Brussels in 1689, during Dyckvelt's residence in England. They give diplomatic and military intelligence, and were evidently written by desire of King William himself.

Earl of
Denbigh :
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The report on the Denbigh papers in the Appendix to the Seventh Report of the Commission contains extracts from what are there called "newsletters," but which are not such in the ordinary sense, being private and confidential letters, and containing a certain amount of cipher. The editor, Mr. R. B. Knowles, gave some interesting details in regard to the writer, but unfortunately just stopped short of identifying him. The letters are, as he says, unsigned, "except in the case of the first, which has only initials."

But these initials are "J. Bl." and in one of his letters, dated 8th December, 1691, the writer discusses a charge which he has in Jamaica, and the conduct of his deputies there, and speaks of the kindness of Portland in writing to the governor, Lord Inchiquin, on his behalf. These points clearly identify the writer with the Sieur John Blancard, who was provost-marshal general in Jamaica from October, 1690.

Two interesting cipher letters from Blancard have been deciphered with the assistance of previous letters calendared in the Seventh and Eighth Reports of the Commission. The first is a very curious account of the relations between the King and Queen at the beginning of 1691, which, if this account be true, were by no means so happy as some writers would have us believe they had by this time become. The King was reported to love his wife no longer; the Queen to have said that a girl marrying at fifteen did not know what she was doing; he had railed her upon her *embon-point*; she was angry with him for his attentions to some lady, probably his old mistress, Mademoiselle de Villiers. To complicate matters, a third person, almost certainly Shrewsbury, was said to be enamoured of the Queen, and to be encouraged by the prophecy of a fortune-teller to believe that, should the King die, she would marry him and he would share her throne. The Queen, "who was virtue itself," having no suspicion of his passion and never having heard the prediction, was in danger of encouraging him by her frank kindness, and the King, equally unsuspecting, had often thrown them together.

Blancard, although apparently not without fear that there was some truth in the tale, flouted it to his lady informant, but she laughed at his emphatic disclaimers, assured him that husbands seldom loved their wives, however charming they might be, and declared that the lover in question was quite credulous enough to believe the prophecy.

There are gaps in this letter which were supplied by words in cipher written on a separate sheet, for additional security, but a careful search amongst the documents has failed to bring this "separate sheet" to light.

The second letter contains a proposal to send a certain person, described as a poor governor without a government, to James II. with a letter from his daughter the Queen, in order to get informa-

tion of the state of affairs in France. This letter has also passages on a separate sheet, but fortunately this sheet was found amongst the papers, although not with the letter to which it evidently belongs.

From Blancard's next letter it would appear that Dyckvelt thought the plan too risky, and we hear no more about it.

The correspondence of Isabella de Yonge, wife of the fifth Earl of Denbigh, extends (exclusive of two or three earlier papers) from 1735 to 1753. A few of these letters were printed in the Eighth Report of this Commission, and should be taken in connexion with those printed in the present volume. Lady Denbigh must have been a very clever and lively person. One of her correspondents speaks of "*ce badinage leger qu'une Hollandaise est venue nous voler,*" and "*de l'esprit et du genie pour gouverner une royaume*"; also there are many allusions to the charm of her letters, but unfortunately no drafts or copies remain among her papers. She and Lord Denbigh lived for a considerable time in France, and made themselves very popular there, in diplomatic and literary circles; while by her intimate friends, as the Bolingbrokes, Westmorlands, Stanhopes and her cousins the De Pestors, she was evidently greatly beloved. She never thoroughly mastered the English language; Horace Walpole refers repeatedly to her lack of ability to speak it correctly, even after living for many years in England. Her sister, Lady Blandford, also spoke it very badly, and does not appear to have known French accurately either, for the one short note from her, amongst these papers, is spelt in most curious fashion.

The characters who most frequently appear upon the stage in Lady Denbigh's correspondence include her husband and her only son (the former usually spoken of as "*le Prince Noir*" "*Noireau,*" and the latter as the "*dauphin*"); Lord Bolingbroke (the Bacha or the hermit) and his lady; the Marchioness of Blandford and her second husband, Sir William Wyndham (*le Chevalier*) and the children of the latter, Charles afterwards Earl of Egremont, Percy, who took the name of O'Brien and eventually became Earl of Thomond, and Elizabeth, who, in 1748, married George Grenville. The Countess of Suffolk and her husband Mr. Berkeley, the eccentric Miss Anne Pitt and the equally eccentric Etheldreda, Lady Townshend, with many others flit across the pages, where light society gossip is found side by side with grave and often shrewd observations on public affairs.

The long series of letters from Marie, Marquise de Villette, second wife of Lord Bolingbroke, begins in the autumn of 1735, when Bolingbroke had left England and been joined by his wife at the chateau of Chantelou in Touraine. Her husband was just then in Paris, with his friends Charles Wyndham and Will Chetwynd. In the spring of 1736 the Bolingbrokes removed to Argeville, near Fontainebleau, which was their home for several years. Here Lord Bolingbroke's great pleasure was hunting in the forest. As time went on, his wife wrote, his distaste for England increased; the death of the Queen, the quarrels of the Prince with

his father and many other things conducing to prevent him from regretting his native land. At the same time, Lady Bolingbroke did not believe that he would be content to be always out of the world, although he might think so in moments "de noirceur et de bile." At any rate he was resolved to go over to England to settle his affairs; that is to arrange for the sale of his estate of Dawney in Middlesex, which he did in the summer of 1738. At this point there is a long break in the correspondence. In a letter in the summer of 1641 she says that her hermit (the name by which she generally designates her husband in the later letters) has had a fever, but is now better, and that "les eaux de Wals" have carried off his jaundice. In the spring of 1742, his father, Lord St. John, died, and he went to England, but in August he was back at Argeville. At this time he suffered much from rheumatism. The following year he had another rheumatic attack, and Lady Bolingbroke was seriously alarmed lest he should be completely *estropié*. The doctors ordered him to Aix, and his wife accompanied him. They reached Aix towards the end of August. People had alarmed them beforehand with an account of the kings and princes with whom the place was thronged, but to their great relief they found none. There were, however, ambassadors or envoys from nearly all the princes of Europe in the town, and this gave rise to the report that negotiations of some sort were going on, but Lady Bolingbroke feared they had only met there by accident. There seemed to be no English there at all.

In 1744 Bolingbroke returned to England, and his wife made ready to join him as soon as his plans were settled.

In the end, he made up his mind to live in the old mansion at Battersea, which had come to him from his father. Lady Bolingbroke landed in England in July, 1744, and they took up their abode in the old "tanière" (as she calls it), although it appears to have been in a very ruinous state, requiring constant patching to keep it wind and weather proof. Their life here was a pathetic one. All through Lady Bolingbroke's later letters the sense of pain arising from her husband's complete political effacement is apparent, in spite of—indeed shown by—her protestations that they like nothing so well as to live a hermit life, "forgetting the world and by the world forgot."

If the life was sad for Lord Bolingbroke, it was still more sad for his wife. She felt, she said, as if she had fallen from the clouds, and as strange as if she were in Japan. Almost all those who had been her friends were dead or scattered, her servants were new, and distressed her by their English ways; she hated the English climate and suffered much from the draughtiness of the Battersea house. She was in ill-health herself and always anxious about her husband. De Pestiers gives a hint in one of his letters that Lord Bolingbroke was not easy to live with, but his wife was, without doubt, devotedly attached to him, and after she came to England, they were seldom separated, even for a day.

The friends whose names most frequently occur in her letters from Battersea are Lord Marchmont; Will Chetwynd, whom Lady

Bolingbroke always calls " my brother " ; J. de Pestors, a cousin of Lady Denbigh ; Anne Pitt, who came with them from France, and more or less lived with them, and last but not least Lady Denbigh.

In the summer of 1746, Lord Bolingbroke paid a visit to a friend in Surrey, and a little later he and his wife went together to Cornbury, the Earl of Clarendon's house. But their real host there was probably Lord Cornbury, who was one of Bolingbroke's closest friends. Curiously enough, although she says that Miss Pitt accompanied them, she does not mention Pitt himself, who, as we learn from a letter of Bolingbroke's to Lord Marchmont, in the *Marchmont Papers*, made one of the party.

A year later they went to Bath, and here the poor lady was more unhappy than ever. Her " hermit " was suffering from sciatica, and it made him woefully impatient. Bolingbroke got worse instead of better, suffered terribly, and for three weeks lay in bed hardly able to move. During all this time she herself never stirred out of their uncomfortable and noisy lodgings. Her own health was, as always, very indifferent, one day better, one day worse, but she was brave and uncomplaining.

In January, 1748, a little excitement was brought into their life by the marriage of Lord Marchmont (left a widower about a year before) to a wealthy young lady in the city, with whom he had fallen in love at first sight, at the opera.

Bolingbroke's health showed little or no improvement as the months went on. The later letters are full of references to the ill-health both of husband and wife ; their house had become a veritable hospital, and each was made worse by anxiety for the other. In November, 1749, they left Battersea and went to Soho Square, and here Lady Bolingbroke died, in March, 1750.

The touching description of Lord Bolingbroke's devotion to his wife during her last days, and his melancholy letters after her death have been already printed in the Eighth Report (Appendix I., p. 567). A letter from the Abbess of Sens (Lady Bolingbroke's step-daughter) calendared in the present volume, shows how hopeful he was about his own health, even so late as November, 1751, only a month before his death. She goes on to speak of the lawsuit brought against Lord Bolingbroke by his wife's family (claiming Lady Bolingbroke's property on the ground that she had never been legally married), as to which he had assured her, with words of the tenderest kindness, that if he lost it, his greatest regret would be that he would not be able to help her as he had wished.

He died on 12th December, 1751. A few weeks later, his old friend the Marquis de Matignon, who had very warmly taken Bolingbroke's part, was able to announce that the verdict had been given entirely in his favour, and that the money thus recovered was bequeathed by Bolingbroke's will, not, as was reported, to his sister Henrietta, but entirely to " notre chère abbessse."

There are many letters from Lady Denbigh's cousin, J. de Pestors, and several from her nephew Nikolaas de Pestors. The former lived in London, and sent Lady Denbigh gossiping letters concerning the court, society and the affairs of the day. He calls

Walpole "le vieux baudet à licol bleu"; speaks of Hanover as Earl of Denbigh: Part V.
 "that place so dear to the King—and to us!" ; says that Lord Stair is a "creep mouse" more fit for Lady Townshend's concert room than for a battery of cannon; and describes Ranelagh as a crowded bee-hive, where all the world turns and twists, and where one can hardly speak, or at any rate can hardly hear. He always speaks very warmly of Lady Bolingbroke; laughs, but not unkindly, at Lady Townshend and other fashionable ladies, and writes most affectionately to Lady Denbigh. The letters of Nikolaas de Pestere are mainly concerned with his adventures at the wars in the Low Countries and with Marie Teresa's army in Italy.

A series of letters written by "Billy" Bristow (half-brother of the Duchess of Buckingham) in 1736, gives an interesting picture of Italy as it appeared to a fashionable Englishman of the 18th century. He travelled with a friend whom he speaks of only as the "President," a learned man who was making a collection of Provençal poets, and worked, as Bristow said, "comme un chien enragé," in the libraries of Florence and the Vatican.

Another whose name appears often in these pages was Elizabeth or Betty Wyndham, daughter of Sir William Wyndham, Bolingbroke's old friend. Her father married as his second wife the widowed Marchioness of Blandford, sister of Lady Denbigh. Betty Wyndham was a general favourite and had many suitors, Lord Marchmont and John Stanhope amongst them, but the favoured one was George Grenville, whom she married in 1748. As a girl she was handsome, but an attack of smallpox in 1737 destroyed her beauty.

Not many of her letters to Lady Denbigh have been preserved, but what there are are bright and lively, and written in very good French. Her grandfather, on the mother's side, was the "proud Duke of Somerset," of whom so many curious tales are told. Betty Wyndham sometimes visited him at Petworth, but did not enjoy herself there, for she could neither eat nor sleep; the beds, she declared, were detestable and the food tasted of nothing but thyme and capers.

Other friends of Lady Denbigh, from whom letters will be found in this volume, are the Earl and Countess of Westmorland, John Stanhope, Richard and Hester Grenville and Lady Townshend.

Lord and Lady Westmorland were old and intimate friends of the Denbighs. In the autumn of 1751, Lady Westmorland and her husband joined their friends in a visit to Pézénas in Languedoc, where they spent the winter. In the following spring they separated, and the Westmorlands went to Bordeaux, from which place the Earl sent Lady Denbigh a graphic account of the perils of their journey. Another letter records their enjoyment of a month's stay in Paris on their way home.

There are three or four letters from Richard Grenville to Lady Denbigh, and as many more, written after he became Earl Temple, to her son, the sixth Earl. On Pitt's resignation of the Seals in the autumn of 1761, young Lord Denbigh wished to resign also, and wrote to consult Temple. The elder man returned a very kind answer, explaining at some length the reasons which had induced

Pitt and himself to resign, but very gently suggesting that there was no reason for Lord Denbigh to give up his post (in the Household) and begging that his "Eagleship (an allusion to the Denbigh arms) will not meditate flights too bold, or indeed any flight at all," unless circumstances arise to make it more necessary.

There are two letters from Hester Grenville (afterwards Lady Chatham), the second of which is written just after she had paid a visit to Lady Denbigh. On her return home she endeavoured to give her friends an idea of the beauties and wonders of Newnham.

Lady Townshend's letters show no trace either of the liveliness or the bizarrerie which one would expect to find in them. The only one of her letters which is at all amusing is one written in 1744, after Mr. de Pestors has made Lady Denbigh's apologies for not writing on the score of her bad spelling. This, Lady Townshend says, is no excuse at all to her, "who always spell very incorrect and was bred up in ignorance."

Lady Denbigh had also many correspondents amongst her friends in France, including the Comte du Luc, M. de Chavigny (ambassador to Denmark and Portugal), the Marquis de Matignon, M. de Thomasson-Mazaugues, M. de Chateaurenard, and M. de Crebillon, all of whom wrote to her in terms of warm and apparently sincere admiration.

Finally, there are a few letters and other papers which belonged to Basil, sixth Earl of Denbigh, the "dauphin" of his mother's correspondence. In 1745 he was given a captaincy in one of the new regiments raised to oppose the Jacobite rising, and marched northward under the Duke of Bedford. There are several allusions to this in the letters of that year. In December, 1748, he was made Colonel of the Warwickshire Militia, called out upon alarm of a French invasion. His regiment was stationed in Wiltshire, and Mr. Pitt wished them to encamp in the open field, but the Earl persuaded him to allow them to remain in Salisbury, assuring him that they could there be qualified for any duty, without the danger of losing many of the men's lives by lying on the ground in wet weather.

Lord Temple's letters at the time of the crisis of 1761 should be mentioned. On 13th October, 1762, Lord Bute wrote personally to Denbigh to explain the alterations about to be made, when the King (as Bute said) "thought it expedient for his service to call Mr. Fox to the Cabinet."

In 1763, Lord Denbigh was made a gentleman of the Bedchamber. Political affairs in this and the following years are discussed in letters from George Grenville and Lord Sandwich, and there are a few incidental notices of Pitt. When Temple wrote of the resignation in 1761, he lamented the endeavours made to misrepresent and blacken him (in connexion with the King's grant of a peerage to his wife).

In September, 1764, Lord Sandwich alluded to a report that Pitt was gaining ground, a report for which, in his opinion, there was not the least foundation, as everything was in the utmost tranquillity. There was, he went on to say, just as little reason for the statement that the Duke of Bedford refused to attend the meetings

of the Cabinet because he was "disgusted," the fact being that he was at Trentham, a hundred and fifty miles away, and so entirely approved the intended measures that he gave this approval as his reason for not coming up to town.

Earl
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Lord Denbigh joined the rest of the world in lamenting Pitt's desertion of the House of Commons in 1766. In the following year, Lord Camden was at Bath when Pitt was there, but wrote that the "great man . . . remains invisible and inaccessible. . . . He is not yet in a condition to do business, but he gathers strength" and I have good hopes that the strength of his constitution will at last overcome his lingering disorder."

Three letters written in 1775 allude to the war in America, and almost on the last page are letters of sympathy to the widowed Lady Denbigh on the death of her sister, the Lady Blandford, whose name has so often appeared in this volume.

ALLAN GEORGE FINCH, ESQ.

(1537—1669.)

The large and important collection of letters and other documents preserved at Burley-on-the-Hill was the subject of a short report by the late Mr. Horwood in 1879. He chiefly confined his attention, however, to the calendaring of certain common-place books and the cataloguing of law reports, treatises, cases, &c.; printing only a very small number of letters, and those mostly of the 18th century. In the present volume the collection is much more fully dealt with.

Finch MSS.
Vol. I.

The collection may be broadly divided as follows:—

1. Miscellaneous family letters of the 16th and early 17th centuries.

2. The correspondence of Heneage, Earl of Winchilsea, during his embassy to the Porte, 1660-1668.

3. Letters and papers of Sir John Finch, who followed his cousin as ambassador in Turkey.

4. Letters and papers of Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards first Earl of Nottingham, and his family.

5. The voluminous correspondence, &c., of Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, during his tenure of the office of Secretary of State, 1688-1693. This includes three letter-books, containing copies of the Earl's letters to the King, Sidney, and others, which form a very important supplement to the letter-books at the Public Record Office; a large number of letters from Sir Robert Southwell and others, written from Ireland during the King's campaign there; and practically the whole of the letters written by the admirals and captains of the fleet to Nottingham as Secretary of State.

6. Eighteenth century letters and papers, including the correspondence of Lady Pomfret with her daughter Lady Charlotte Finch, and many other interesting letters, diaries, &c.

The early letters of the volume introduce us to three of the ancestors of the Finch family in the 16th century, Sir Thomas Finch, Sir Thomas Moyle, and Sir Thomas Heneage. The two

Finch MSS. : former were landowners in Kent, filling various public offices in their county and connected by the marriage of Sir Thomas Finch to Moyle's daughter Katherine.

The third and best known of the three was Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Heneage, the prudent and zealous Treasurer of the Household to Queen Elizabeth. His daughter Elizabeth married Moyle Finch, Sir Thomas's eldest son, and so brought in what became a favourite Christian name in the family for many generations.

There are letters from or to all the above-named persons, but the only correspondence of importance is that with Sir Thomas Heneage, to whom there are about a dozen letters from Sir William Cecil, and some very lively ones from Lord Buckhurst, giving an account of his journey to Paris in 1571.

There are also letters from the Earl of Leicester, Walsingham, Hatton, Sydney, and one from Sir Thomas Smith, afterwards ambassador to France, giving an episode in his life as a young scholar at Cambridge. There is an account of the occurrences on and after the "day of barricades" at Paris in 1590; and a holograph letter from Lady Raleigh, written in the Tower.

In 1625, when Charles I.'s parliament met, Sir Heneage was elected Speaker, and a small book in his own handwriting contains notes of his speeches and some of the proceedings in the House during that and the following year.

In 1651 another distinguished member of the family appears for the first time; Sir John Finch, second son of the Speaker, the great physican, and ambassador to Florence and to Turkey (not to be confused with the other Sir John, created Baron Finch of Fordwich). A small, vellum-covered book, in close and crabbed writing, contains a brief journal of a visit to France, interspersed with anecdotes of people, descriptions of buildings, &c.

On leaving Paris, he went to Geneva. Of this last, he notes the want of good water, and makes the remarkable statement that "the hills of snow, begirting the town, make the air raw and unwholesome; so cold that in vintage time they have gathered their grapes up to the midleg in snow." From Geneva he went to Milan, but the journal does not carry him so far; the last entry leaving him in a small cottage at the top of the Simplon, weather-bound by "the abundance of rain."

From this point in the report the interest of the papers centres in the embassy of Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchilsea, to Constantinople.

The ambassador to Constantinople was in a different position from that of any other English minister, and one of much more difficulty. Technically, he was the servant and representative of the Levant, or Turkey, Company, and his salary was paid by them, not by the King. Yet he claimed the status of an ambassador, received credentials from the King, and was expected to carry on diplomatic negotiations.

Winchilsea left England in October, 1660, with instructions to go first to Algiers, and try to bring to a satisfactory end the nego-

tiations already set on foot with the Governor there. On his way he touched at Lisbon, and there had interviews with the King and Queen-Mother of Portugal. His account of his visit to the Queen-Mother is curious. He was admitted to her chamber, though he could not say to her presence, as he saw none but ancient matrons in the room, and "like Moses in the Mount, heard a voice only," proceeding from behind a screen, it being explained to him that the Queen's age and indisposition made her unfit to see visitors. There must, however, have been some special reason for this, for at this time, far from being a decrepit invalid, the Queen-Mother was the virtual ruler of Portugal. Finch MSS.:
Vol. I.

Towards the end of November he reached Algiers, where the English Consul, Robert Browne, was vainly trying to negotiate a treaty with the Algerines. They much preferred a free hand in relation to the rich English ships which sailed so temptingly past their shores, and England could hold out little inducement to an alliance, and had to fall back upon threats.

In regard to one matter Winchilsea failed utterly. Some time before, the Earl of Inchiquin, with his son and suite, had been captured in an English vessel and carried to Algiers. The Earl's own freedom was speedily arranged, but his son and servants were still in the hands of the barbarians, and young Lord O'Brien was claimed as the special property of Ramadan, the usurping ruler there, who stood out so stiffly in the matter that Winchilsea expressed the fear that the young lord's freedom would only be recovered by the forcible argument of a fleet of ships.

After leaving Algiers, Lord Winchilsea proceeded to Messina, and thence to Smyrna. Here he remained for two or three weeks, so that it was February before he reached Constantinople. Sir Thomas Bendysh, his predecessor, was still there, and the two men met on very friendly terms. Bendysh had fallen under the suspicion of the King and the Royalist party because he had served as ambassador under Cromwell's government; but Winchilsea assured the King that "his affections were always sincere to the royal interest" and that he had only consented to bear office under "unlawful powers" when licensed to do so by the dispensation of his Majesty's father.

Winchilsea's work as ambassador was, as has been already said, encompassed by many difficulties, one of the greatest of these was the determined opposition of the ambassadors of France and Venice.

But he came to Turkey at an auspicious moment in this respect, for the French ambassador had lately roused the Vizier's anger by boasting of the greatness of his master, and threatening revenge for injuries sustained by French subjects. The Turks, who could not bear anything that savoured of a threat, struck his son in the face, dragged him by the hair out of the Vizier's palace, and committed the ambassador to the Seven Towers. When Winchilsea arrived he had been released, but was deposed from office, and looked upon merely as a hostage for a messenger, whom the Vizier was sending to France, to know whether the King would have peace or war.

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The Resident from the Emperor was also under a cloud, owing to complications in Transylvania which threatened to lead to war with Turkey; the Venetian "bailo" had fallen into disgrace and was "in the nature of a prisoner"; and there remained only the Holland Resident, a man so inconsiderable that the Vizier hardly knew there was such a person.

At this time the "Grand Signor," Mohammad Han, was not more than twenty-two years of age and was wholly governed by the Vizier, whom he called father. In a short sketch of Turkish affairs, Winchilsea describes him as he appeared some seven years later, as being of a melancholy disposition, of middle stature, sleeping little but eating much, fond of riding and exercise, devoted to his religion, a great enemy of Christians; delighting in building, yet anxious to lessen his expenses and increase his treasure.

But our interest in the Porte at this particular period centres not in the young and foolish Sultan, but in the two great ministers, father and son, who lifted Turkey to a height which it had not reached since the defeat before Vienna, and made it a standing menace to the safety of the Empire.

When Winchilsea arrived, Mohammad Kiuprili was the Grand Vizier or Vizier Azim, and is thus described by the ambassador:—

"This Vizier is a man of stronger natural parts and more refined resolution than any that has governed the Ottoman Empire. Having the sole power in his hands, he has purged the body politic by cutting off (partly by his own hands) six thousand bashas and great men, whose estates have flown into his own coffers, save such rivulets as he has let pass by to his master; and indeed the Empire was so rent by factions that a resolute spirit was necessary, who cut off those members he could not cure. He is punctual in his word, pays all debts to their day, severe in his punishments, generous in his rewards. He hates all Christians, and hopes to conquer all Italy and Rome, though he is aged, dropsical, and afflicted with gout and jaundice."

At this time Kiuprili's ambitions were directed towards Germany, and he hoped to make a stepping stone of Transylvania, then under Turkish suzerainty, and ultimately to carry the war into the Imperial dominions. Winchilsea would have welcomed such a war, to divert the Emperor's attention from the side of France, England's ally, and also as tending to bring to an end the long conflict between the Turks and Venice; but the English ministers would not authorize him to take any action, probably indeed, doubting whether he had the power to do anything effectual.

In October, 1661, the Grand Vizier, Mohammad Kiuprili, died. Winchilsea announcing the fact commented on it in a letter to Secretary Nicholas. It was strange, he said, that after holding office for five years the Vizier should die peacefully in bed, and still more strange that his son should succeed him, supplanting so many ancient and experienced pashas. The son followed his father's rules and seemed to hope to overawe the world by his severity. "Some heads of great men, which his father disposed of by will, he hath already taken off, and others . . . remain in the black book of his father's testament. He is as proud and cruel as his father and has strength to put into execution his

“ rigorous laws, so that people now talk of the father’s clemency, Finch MSS.:
 “ who only chastised them with scourges, but this one with Vol. I.
 “ scorpions.”

The correspondence at this point discloses and discusses the English ambassador’s position at Constantinople. First, as regards his relations with the Levant Company, and, secondly, as regards the payment of his expenses and the carrying on of the King’s business.

The new Vizier’s policy was apparent from the very beginning. His great ambition was to wage a successful war against Germany, and as Winchilsea probably showed his own bias on this subject, he was likely to be in favour. It was his duty to go to the Court at Adrianople to offer congratulations and presents. This he accordingly did; was very well received by the Vizier and obtained certain additions to the English capitulations.

Another object of Winchilsea’s visit to the Court was to checkmate the designs of certain deputies from Algiers who were coming to the Sultan with complaints and claims against the English. In this he was quite successful, for before the Algerines arrived he had imbued the Vizier with suspicions of their loyalty, and had laid a good foundation by gifts to the principal officers.

In spite of his early successes, Winchilsea soon found the new Vizier “ intractable and difficult to deal with.” His hatred of the Christians led him to order all their newly built churches to be demolished and the builders severely punished. In this he was encouraged by a Sheik or “ religious Softa,” who claimed to be inspired, and attributed all the misfortunes of the last years to excessive indulgence of the Christians.

As regards foreign relations it was not long before Winchilsea made up his mind that the new Vizier was secretly preparing for war. The *casus belli* at this time was the fort of Kanisia, erected by the Emperor’s orders and maintained by his arms, which the Sultan vowed to demolish.

But again, when the breaking out of hostilities seemed inevitable, there was a lull in the gathering storm. But, in the light of after events, it seems probable that the Vizier never relinquished his scheme, and only wished to lull suspicion while he went on with the preparations necessary for the success of the great campaign which he had planned.

In 1662 the war cloud hanging over the relations between Turkey and Germany had again lifted and the summer passed without any outbreak of hostilities, but influences were at work which did not make for peace.

In the spring of 1663 the treaty with the Emperor appeared to be on the point of conclusion, yet Winchilsea found it difficult to believe that the vast preparations which had been made were intended for nothing more than the capture of a few Venetian fortresses in Dalmatia. He saw pretty clearly that the Turks were only “ deluding ” the Emperor until their army was assembled, and the frontier forts given up, and that then they would spring upon him other and impossible demands. And so indeed it proved. As

Finch MSS.: the Emperor "condescended" the Turks raised their demands, the negotiations fell through, and in May the Vizier began his march from Sophia towards Belgrade.

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The Sultan himself was more firmly fixed in his government than he had hitherto been, one of his women having borne him a son. This had quieted the people and soldiers, who of late had begun to murmur, fearing the extinction of the reigning family. There were great rejoicings at the birth of this child. "For long" no Sultan had married, because by Turkish law a wife was heir to an eighth of the Empire during her life; but any concubine who bore him a son wore a crown and had a great revenue and a separate Court apart.

At the beginning of August the capture of some of the forts on the Danube raised the Turks to a "high conceit of their success," but they were quickly cast down again by the belated news of a defeat sustained from Count Souches at the beginning of July.

There is no direct mention of the battle at the abbey of St. Gothard on 1st August; but in the middle of September Winchilsea reported that the second defeat of the Turkish forces had reduced their affairs to a very distracted condition.

Although defeated in battle, Kiuprili had been amazingly successful in diplomacy. Recognition of Apafi (the Vaivode of Transylvania chosen by the Porte); the Sultan's confirmed suzerainty over that country; retention of the great forts taken, and payment of a large sum of money—these were strange terms to be given by the conqueror to the conquered, and must have sent the Vizier back to his master rather as one triumphant than disgraced; more especially as by this means repose was assured upon the northern boundaries and the Turks were left free to prosecute what they cared much more about, the war in Crete.

On 22nd July, 1665, the Imperial ambassador, Count Lesley, made a state entrance into Adrianople, attended by a numerous retinue with banners and kettledrums, led horses and litters, and three coaches with six horses apiece, and "adorned with glass windows after the new mode." He was accompanied by Henry Howard "of Norfolk," heir to the dukedom, a friend of Winchilsea's. The peace with the Emperor was duly ratified, and the Turks were much "puffed up" by the advantageous conditions they had secured.

On Kiuprili's return to Adrianople, he sent for the Venetian Resident and roundly demanded the surrender of Crete, before the Grand Signor came with his conquering army to force it from them.

While Winchilsea rejoiced over the preponderance of English influence for the moment, he saw well enough that at any time the tide might turn, and warned Lord Arlington that if the French ambassador followed the Court and spent money enough, he would probably in time obtain all he desired. This was *à propos* of the importance of the English ambassador being also at the Court to protect English interests, especially as the Vizier had ordered all the records relating to the various embassies to be transferred to

Adrianople, so that whenever they had to be consulted the ambassador must either go or send. But visits to the Court involved great expense, which Winchilsea dared not incur unless with the sanction of either the Levant Company or the King. Finch MSS.: Vol. I.

The justice of Winchilsea's warning as to Adrianople soon appeared. The "protection of foreigners" had been granted to both French and English, but probably the French had kept it more or less in their own hands until the departure of Jean de la Haye in July, 1661. From that time until November, 1665, there was no French minister at the Porte, and the other powers had only envoys or residents there, so that the protection of foreigners had fallen entirely into Winchilsea's hands, and there he meant it to remain. Hence his anxiety when he heard that the French ambassador had gone to the Court. Very shortly afterwards he found that La Haye was trying to get the coveted protection restored, and his own protests were not only without result, but a fortnight later he learnt that the tax paid by the French merchants to the Porte was reduced from five per cent. to three, while at Aleppo, the English, who had hitherto paid only three, were now ordered to pay five and a half.

He wrote to Kiuprili and the other officers in language moderate enough, but to his interpreter, Draperiis, then acting as his agent at Adrianople, he expressed himself in much stronger terms.

At the same time he urged Arlington at once to send out a man of war and threatening letters, with permission to himself to declare that unless the Turks would respect his Majesty's capitulations, he had orders to return home. To his cousin, Sir John Finch, he complained bitterly of the Levant Company's parsimony. If he might have gone to the Court and spent a few thousand dollars, he could have prevented that being lost which he must now "play the after game" to recover—if he could!

In this "state of war" not only between the French and English nations but between their ambassadors, it is pleasant to read that each party faithfully delivered to the other all letters which came out for them by their rival's ships.

Winchilsea had now come to the end of his five years' engagement to the Levant Company, but for financial reasons he decided to remain there a few years longer.

About this time Winchilsea sent Sir John Finch an interesting sketch of the situation as it then stood.

In August, 1667, Lord Winchilsea lost an old and dear friend by the death of his brother-in-law, Lord Treasurer Southampton, endeared to him, as he said, "with all ties imaginable of affection and alliance," and this trial was shortly followed by a separation from his wife and children. She went by way of Smyrna, where Paul Rycaut was now consul. On hearing of her approach he hastened to set out with a strong escort in order to guard her from the robber bands with which the country was infested. He met her somewhere north of Mandragoria and brought her safely past two robber companies to Smyrna, near which place she was met by all the English, French and Dutch merchants, entering the city escorted by two hundred and fifty horse, while all the ships in the

Finch MSS. :
Vol. I.

road fired their guns to welcome her. Here she and her children remained, waiting for a ship until 7th December, when she sailed for Europe. She had a tedious voyage, but on reaching the Thames was welcomed by her husband's old friend, Henry Howard of Norfolk, who escorted her to London, where she was met by the surprising news that her husband had been recalled and that Sir Daniel Harvey was only waiting for a ship in order to go out to take his place.

On 23rd December, 1667, Lord Arlington despatched to the Earl his Majesty's orders to return, on the ground that the King believed his domestic affairs at home required his presence. A further letter, enclosing the King's formal revocation, was sent on 17th January. That is, the letter is so dated, but it is endorsed as answered on 28th December, nearly a year afterwards.

Winchilsea's *obiter dicta* concerning the Turks, emphasise the thirst for money, the all pervading greed of gold, from the highest to the lowest. Nothing could be done without money, nothing effected save by presents and bribery. The sultan demanded large payments for offices, and great entertainments and presents from his officers. These officers—viziers, bashas, cadis and the rest—in their turn robbed and despoiled the people to get the money to meet these demands, and to fill their own purses. Each Sultan, we are told, accumulated immense treasures and these remained intact, never being touched by his successors. When the Master of the Masons was put to death, 500,000 dollars were found in his house.

Winchilsea repeatedly contrasts the Turks of his time with those of former days, always to the disadvantage of the present. "In former times, offices were not exposed for sale, but merit and "deserts acquired the honours." Also so many of the Sultan's subjects had fled or dispersed that the revenue was greatly diminished and many new and heavy taxes had been laid upon the people.

Above all, the Turkish army was not what it had formerly been. Both spahis and janissaries (horse and foot) enervated by a long peace had become effeminate, mutinous and wanting in experience of war. Men of great spirit, good soldiers, ambitious and eager for great enterprises had mostly been cut off by the older Kiuprili, jealous of all rivals. The spahis of Asia, lacking the allowances which used to be given them, were no longer able to provide their horses and arms, and so absented themselves, "by which means "the Turks' army is much inferior to those multitudes which "former histories tell of."

Yet the material was good, if only they had been disciplined. No Christian army, Winchilsea declared, could live upon so little meat as these did, and drink only a little water, and yet be strong and lusty. Of the Illyrian bands, so highly extolled by Tacitus, and of other Europeans, the Sultan had many thousands at his command, that could so well "endure hardy blows" that they wanted nothing but order and good government to make them the finest infantry in the world. But then, as later, the great strength of Turkey lay in the vast reinforcements she was able to

pour in from her Asiatic dominions. Time was always in her Finch MSS.:
 favour. The Turk was infinitely patient, and Winchilsea quotes an Vol. I.
 old Turkish proverb that "at the long run, the Grand Signor doth
 "catch the hare with a cart."

Altogether, the Turkish Empire seemed to Winchilsea, even in those days which, looked back upon, appear so prosperous, to be "in a tottering condition, and like the prophet's ripe fruit, ready "to fall into the mouths of them that shake them first." Egypt was full of "discontents and flames" and Syria in insurrection; in Babylon a rebellion headed by the daring Basha Mortazza only collapsed on his betrayal and death, and Algiers was in a state of chronic mutiny. The Sultan was too young and feeble to effect anything; only the firm rule of the Kiuprili, father and son, holding the rudder with a steady hand, steered the ship of the great Empire clear of the rocks which threatened it with shipwreck.

Of Winchilsea's private life, there are incidental notices only. When he went to Turkey, he was accompanied by his second wife, Lady Mary Seymour, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, but their five children, William, Heneage, Thomas, Frances, and Elizabeth, were left under the charge of their grandmother, the dowager Duchess. In Turkey more children were born, and their father exerted himself to such good purpose that the godfathers of the first of these were the King of England and the Doge of Venice. He was therefore, naturally, named Charles Mark. The second was "made a Christian" by the Emperor and the Dutch republic, bore the names Leopold William, and was enthusiastically devoted by his father to the arms and service of both countries. But the young Leopold showed no inclination to a warlike career. He became a learned Don of Cambridge and died as Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford. The third boy, Lesley, was called after Count Lesley, the Imperial ambassador. The little Lady Mary died in Turkey of the plague, to her father's great sorrow. Of the elder children, Lord Maidstone was killed in the action with the Dutch in May, 1672; Heneage, the second son, succeeded his brother's son as Earl of Winchilsea in 1712. Little Lady Betty died while her parents were in Turkey. These young people seem to have had their establishment in the home at Eastwell, and their father sent home many directions, especially as to the boys' "schooling."

The ambassador did his utmost to help and protect the Latin and Greek churches in the Ottoman dominions. Both these had formerly been under the care of the French ambassador, and the former, at any rate, might certainly have been expected to remain so; but for four years there was no French Resident at the Porte, and during this time the Latin Fathers were grateful for the help willingly offered them by Lord Winchilsea.

Winchilsea's interest in "rareties" and antiquities comes out in many ways. The Patriarch of Constantinople gave him a copy of the Greek Evangelists, the ancientest which he could "with the "most diligent inquisition and scrutiny procure in any of the monas-
 "teries or churches of Greece." In the first instance, the ambassador intended this for the King, or if found not "worthy," then for his

Finch MSS.: own library at Eastwell. The volume, however, found a more fitting resting-place. Lord Chancellor Clarendon had shown himself very friendly to Winchilsea concerning his office of Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and as an acknowledgment of this Sir Heneage Finch suggested that the book should be sent to him. Clarendon accepted the "precious book" very gratefully, saying that it enabled him to be a benefactor to the University library at Oxford, where it was placed with "just solemnity and acknowledgments of his lordship's goodness." With regard to this manuscript Bodley's Librarian has contributed this note:—

"This is the manuscript now marked *Bodl. MS. Anct. D. infra* 2.12 in Coxe's Catalogue of our Greek MSS., *Codex Misc.* 10. It is an Evangelistarium, *i.e.*, not a text of the Gospels but the liturgical lessons taken from the Gospels, and is not older than the 13th century. But we did not know its provenance, and had only estimated that it came in shortly before 1665."

Later, he sent Clarendon "the manuscript of St. Gregory's works," which a very good scholar, after spending four days upon it, declared to be very fit for the University library, but "another, more experienced in the hand and the language, found great defects in it, and many leaves wanting in several places." Clarendon therefore kept this volume himself.

Amongst other curiosities sent by him as presents to his friends, Winchilsea mentions "an eagle's stone" from the Lybian desert, of great virtue and rarity, and a mummy from Grand Cairo. He gratefully acknowledges some silver coins given to him by the Prince of Wallachia; and gives commissions to his cousin, Sir John Finch, to purchase pictures, statues and medals for him in Italy. To Sir George Oxinden, at Surat, he sent a list of many rarities which he desired to have:—cups from China, lacquer work from Japan and antidotes for poison and fevers from India, especially the "root of Bengal," *i.e.*, of the yellow zedoary, a plant whose root resembles ginger. He mentions this root in another letter, saying that the former Turkish ambassador to the Mogul had given him a sort of rotton wood, "rarely found swimming in a river in India, which he calls pancher." It is oderiferous, very light, and taken like "sneezing powder" once a year prevents the plague, besides being good against all fevers and poisons. "The Jesuits call it not rotten wood, but the root of Bengala." And amongst other products of the East, Winchilsea had "a particular liking to that drink which they call tea," and begged Oxinden to send him as much as would serve two persons for a year, or, if it would keep, for two years, with the best receipt how to make it and the vessels to make it and drink it in. Two years later, as the much coveted tea had not arrived, he renewed his request, particularly asking that the "instruments" necessary for making it might be "of that metal which is like copper, but hath no smell and is more precious."

There are many letters from Winchilsea to the commissioners of his estates, giving directions for planting, stocking, &c.; in one of his letters he gives particular directions for planting of white-thorn, "to harbour birds."

An important series of the letters in this collection is that relating Finch MSS. : to the proceedings of the Levant or Turkey Company and their Vol. I. factors in the East. The letter-books of the Company are calendared, amongst the Domestic State Papers, but much light is thrown upon them by Winchilsea's correspondence with the consuls and merchants of Aleppo and Smyrna.

Perpetual disputes arose between the Company and the factors over the question of dues and consulage. Winchilsea, on arriving at Constantinople, was instructed from home to give strict orders that all shipmasters and merchants should "declare their entries"—a proceeding upon oath—when no doubt could arise as to the proper payments. Similar instructions were sent to the consuls at Smyrna and Aleppo.

These two places were the chief consulates in the Levant; of great commercial importance, as the meeting places of the trade of the East and of the West.

In August, 1663, Winchilsea sent his secretary, Paul Rycaut, to England, to carry to the King the ratification which he had obtained from the Sultan of the treaty concluded between England and the Barbary States. In order to secure this ratification, the ambassador had been obliged to make the journey to Adrianople, the charges of which, including the heavy item of "presents," amounted to a very large sum; and once again the question arose:—by whom were these "extraordinary expenses" to be paid?

Rycaut was directed to ask the ministers, and especially the Lord Treasurer to consider that the Adrianople journey was undertaken by the King's command; that all England was concerned in the benefits of the peace, and that it was not reasonable that the Levant Company should bear the whole burden. He made repeated efforts to induce the Lord Treasurer to provide the money, but his lordship curtly replied that "to expect any such sum out of the King's coffers were a folly and the prosecution of the business a loss of time." He seemed, however, to approve of Winchilsea's suggestion of a duty on the goods of all ships trading to the Mediterranean, until the money was re-imbursed.

Then Rycaut went to a court of the Company. "Great complaints they made, that their money should be spent without their order," declaring that when the ambassador received his instructions for the negotiations, he should have sent home to know where the money might be levied, "rather than to have used their estates for effecting what they never desired, nor knew, nor consented unto." Rycaut replied that his lordship had but obeyed the King's orders for the journey, but was very sensible of the great charge it was to them, and had instructed him to do his utmost to get it from the Lord Treasurer. When he touched upon the proposal for duties on the ships, they were all up in arms at once, desiring him "to desist from that way," for impositions once laid on were never taken off again. If he could procure the money from the King's revenue, well and good; but otherwise, the remedy would be worse than the disease.

Unfortunately for Winchilsea, the credit he had hoped to gain

Finch MSS.: by obtaining the Sultan's agreement to the peace with Algiers was lost, for no sooner was the treaty signed than that piratical people proceeded to violate its articles, and the English ministers speedily came to the conclusion that the only way to enforce their being kept was to send a fleet to the Mediterranean.

When delivering the ratifications to Winchilsea, the deputy of the Grand Vizier had suggested that if the English King would aid the Sultan by his navy against Venice, still more advantageous results for the English trade might follow. The Earl advised the King to answer that the republic of Venice being "a prince Christian" and in league with England, he could not go to war with them, but would willingly act as mediator between them. The King agreed to this, and Secretary Bennet wrote to that effect.

Rycaut left England at the New Year, and reached Pera on 16th March, just in time to stop Winchilsea from going to Adrianople, whither he had been summoned in haste by the Sultan.

The difficulties between the ambassador and the Company were however, about this time, brought to a happy end by the latter appointing Sir Heneage Finch as an arbiter in all their differences.

Paul Rycaut is one of the most interesting personalities in the volume. Grandson of a grandee of Brabant and son of a man who had ruined himself in the cause of Charles I., he came with Winchilsea to Constantinople as his secretary, a post for which he had been well-fitted by many years already spent abroad. Winchilsea bears repeated testimony to his abilities and zeal. He was not only secretary but steward of the house, and so modest, discreet, able, temperate and faithful, that his chief entrusted him with all his secrets and consulted him on every occasion.

Rycaut on his journey to Algiers and England in August, 1663, wrote long and interesting letters to his "master." The first, from Smyrna, is rather remarkable, as showing his admiration for wild scenery, a thing most unusual in the 17th century.

In April, 1665, Rycaut and the chief dragoman, Draperiis, were sent by Winchilsea on a mission to the Vizier, then supposed to be at Sofia. By way of Adrianople they reached Philippopolis, where Rycaut expressed his pleasure at the good air and the wide spreading Thracian plain over which they had travelled. Thence their journey was through mountains and woods infested with robbers. On reaching Sofia they learned that the Vizier was at Belgrade. A nine days' journey brought them thither, where they had audience, and stated the object of their journey, viz., to complain of the Emyr at Aleppo. He answered only "Yes and no, and we shall consider," according to his reserved fashion, but they heard from other officers that he meant to give them satisfaction. Not many days after, the Vizier and his army began their march back to Adrianople, and Winchilsea's agents had perforce to accompany them, not having got much satisfaction from their journey.

Rycaut rejoined his master only in time to prepare for another visit to England. He started in the train of Count Lesley, the Imperial ambassador, at the end of November, but his letters on the journey appear to have been lost, for Winchilsea complained that

after he left Belgrade, nothing had been heard from him. He Finch MSS. returned to Turkey in May, 1667, but three months later left it Vol. I. finally to take up his post as consul at Smyrna. There he remained until 1679, spending his leisure time in writing his "Present State of the Ottoman Empire," issued in 1668, and "The History of the Turkish Empire from 1623 to 1677" (a continuation of Richard Knolles' work), which was published the year after his return to England. In 1685, he was knighted and went as secretary to Ireland, and in 1689 was appointed resident at Hamburg.

The affairs of the factory at Aleppo may be briefly mentioned. We find there, as at Smyrna, recurring difficulties as regards the Turkish officials, and a certain amount of friction between the merchants and the Levant Company. But Benjamin Lannoy, the consul, was a man of judgment and tact, and ruled firmly and well. He was evidently much respected, both by Turks and Europeans, and generally managed to bring any disputes which arose to a satisfactory termination. He held out against unreasonable demands, refused to give bribes, and made it plain that the English must have good usage, according to their capitulations; but he also took care that the factory should never give the authorities any cause of offence.

Towards the end of 1664 we find the first notice of the Rev. Robert Frampton, chaplain to the factory, who introduces himself to Winchilsea as "an old son of the Church of England and a loyal subject to his Majesty." He was afterwards Bishop of Gloucester and one of the seven bishops sent to the Tower by James II. When, in 1666, he was sent to England by the factory, reports came to his friends in Aleppo of his being made chaplain to Prince Rupert "in the ship when they drove the Hollanders from our coast," of his preaching before the King, to his Majesty's great content, and of his appointment as chaplain to the King and to the Rolls. But, in spite of these honours he returned to his charge at Aleppo, as he had promised the factors before leaving them. He appears to have returned finally to England in 1670.

An interesting feature of Lannoy's letters from Aleppo is the news contained in them concerning affairs in India and Persia. He corresponded with the President at Surat and the English agent at Ispahan, and also received intelligence from the Latin fathers at Bussora and Bagdad.

At the time of Winchilsea's embassy, the power of Portugal in India was fast waning, and the Dutch were everywhere getting the upper hand. In 1661, Lannoy wrote of them:—

"They range in the South Seas at pleasure, and has most part of the trade thereof in their own hands. The Spice Islands of Malacas and Banda, &c., with the trade of Japan and China, are wholly theirs. Last year the sale of their goods did amount to above 200,000*l*."

A year later the President at Surat reported to the same effect:—

"The Dutch at this time in India are the only lords of the sea and seacoasts in all places where they trade, and are making themselves masters of the islands of the South Seas, wherein all the spices are, and now only in their hands. They have so far of late prevailed upon
(B1720—Gp. 5)

Finch MSS. :
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the Portuguese that not above five sail of ships in a year are employed by that nation, and they by stealth more than strength."

All who have studied sixteenth and seventeenth century Household Books know what a large part spices played in the cookery of those days, and can realize the importance of the trade.

When, upon Charles II.'s marriage with Catherine of Portugal, it was arranged that not only Tangier but some station in India should be yielded to him as part of her dowry, Winchilsea hoped that Ceylon would be fixed upon, especially on account of the great quantity and fine quality of its cinnamon. It was true that Colombo, the chief place in the island, was in the hands of the Dutch, but he thought it might easily be gained, either by treaty or conquest. The Portuguese, however, knew better, and Bombay, with its dependencies, was agreed upon, although there was a clause in the treaty that if, by the joint forces of England and Portugal, Ceylon were to be recovered, the English King should have half the conquests made, the city of Colombo excepted.

Failing Ceylon, the ambassador was well satisfied with the choice of Bombay, and believed that such a door would be opened to all trade as would make England "again" one of the most flourishing kingdoms of Christendom.

There are a good many notices of the English factory at Surat, taken from letters written by Sir George Oxinden to Lannoy.

On the other side of the Indian peninsula, the factory at Fort St. George had been for some years under the control of Sir Edward Winter as agent. In 1666, the East India Company being dissatisfied with his proceedings, his appointment was cancelled, and George Foxcroft sent out to take his post. Foxcroft's enquiries into abuses enraged Sir Edward, who believed that some of his own actions would be thereby brought to light, and that, in fact, the examination was to that end. Throwing up his seat in Council, he entered the fort with many followers in a mutinous manner, whereupon the agent had him and two other of the ringleaders put under arrest. But he so wrought upon the captain and soldiers of the fort that they shortly afterwards assembled tumultuously in the courtyard of the fort, declaring their intention to seize the agent for treason. In the struggle which followed, one of the factors was killed, and Foxcroft, his son and another factor were wounded and made prisoners. Winter took the fort and the town again into his own hands, and it was feared that he might lose or betray it to the Dutch. For the next year or two, the Company appear to have been so much in the dark that they did not know which of the two men was in command, or even whether Winter had given it up to the Dutch. In May, 1668, Lannoy reported that it continued in its unhappy position; Winter still in possession and the agent under restraint. By this time, however, the Company had determined what to do, and in the following August, commissioners reached Madras, took possession of the fort, insisted on Winter's withdrawal and re-instated Foxcroft.

We several times find mention of the famous French traveller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, in relation to the purchase of precious

stones, &c. A diamond engraved with the English arms, was in Finch MSS.: Tavernier's hands at Gombroon in 1667, where it was seen by the Vol. I. East India Company's agent, Stephen Flower. Flower agreed to purchase it for 1,500 dollars or thereabouts, but one Van Wick, who managed the affairs of the Dutch at Gombroon, and at whose house Tavernier lodged, got it into his possession and prevented Mr. Flower from obtaining it.

Of Tavernier, Lannoy wrote that he had been often sent to India, Persia, &c., by the Duke of Orleans and others, to collect rarities for them, and had received many civilities from the English nation. He was next heard of in Persia, with the silk caravan bound for Smyrna, and report said that he and a Dutchman in his company had brought up vast quantities of jewels in India, which they were carrying into Christendom. Tavernier had given 7,000*l.* for a diamond in Ispahan, but he was far outdone by the Dutchman, one David Bazu, of Amsterdam, who had paid 100,000*l.* for a single stone, and had moreover, been obliged to take up money at 46 per cent. in order to purchase it. There can be no doubt about the price as reported by Lannoy, as he writes it out in words, not in figures.

Eventually Winchilsea himself saw Tavernier, who told him that he had sold "the diamond seal ring of his Majesty" to Van Wick at Gombroon for a thousand dollars, but that after the purchaser's death, it was sent to the Dutch General and his Council at Batavia. The origin of the jewel is never mentioned, but it seems probable that it was one of the jewels pawned by Charles II. during the Exile.

When Winchilsea first went out to Turkey, his official correspondent in England was Sir Edward Nicholas, until the autumn of 1664, when this faithful and long tried servant of the Stuarts had to announce that his Majesty "found it convenient for his service to employ a younger man," and had appointed Sir Henry Bennet to take his place. The same letter contained the information that the King had also found it convenient to sell Dunkirk to the French, for 500,000 pistoles. From this time Morice was Winchilsea's usual correspondent, and there are only two or three letters from Bennet. From Williamson there is only one short note, announcing the "glorious victory" of Solebay, on 3rd June, 1665.

Lord Clarendon's letters in relation to the manuscripts sent him by Winchilsea have been already mentioned; another, written in September, 1666, informed Winchilsea that the King was very willing to send him his portrait and intended to sit for it. A post-script to this letter tells of the terrible fire, "which hath destroyed three parts of four of the whole city of London; and we who live in the suburbs preparing for the same fate, fled from our lodgings and have hardly yet recovered our goods or our wits."

Lord Winchilsea was very happy in his personal friends, being on terms of close intimacy with his brother-in-law, Lord Southampton, with his cousins, Sir Heneage and Sir John Finch, and with Sir John's *fidus Achates*, Dr. Baines. To Sir Heneage's judgment and experience he appealed for advice in all his difficulties, and

Finch MSS. : seems not only to have asked for it, but invariably followed it.
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Amongst the papers of this period in the Collection is a series of letters written by Sir Heneage, then Solicitor General, to his eldest son, Daniel (afterwards second Earl of Nottingham), which show him as a most affectionate and careful father, keenly solicitous about his boy's studies, and still more so about his character. Daniel appears to have been an extremely "good boy." His letters home were written in so superior a vein that his father suspected him of invoking his tutor's help in their composition, and urged him not to seek another's pencil to amend his own, "for who does not know when "the crow wears her own feathers."

Daniel Finch left Oxford without taking a degree, a common enough thing at that time, but in his case, perhaps, due to his delicate death and the desirability of his going to a warmer climate. He crossed into Holland, through Germany to Venice and thence to his uncle, Sir John Finch, at Florence, warned by his father not to let the civilities of Flanders or Germany cheat him of his health, nor those of Italy of his religion.

In one or two of the later letters from Sir Heneage we get a little information about himself. He has been three times to Mr. Lely, to sit for his picture. He plays at bowls, rides, and reads ballads, and can look with pleasure on his grey hairs so long as he hears good news from his beloved son. After the great fire, he is busy building himself new lodgings in the Temple (in place of those destroyed), which will cost him "near" a thousand pounds, when they are finished. Then he will know his losses by the fire. The end of this letter both throws light on Daniel's character, and illustrates the change in the meaning of one of our words:—
"Preserve the reputation you have gotten of a very serious man, and be assured that 'tis no part of the wisdom of Italy to be a sceptic. . . . While others take religion only into their discourse, do you avoid all talking of it, and let the world see it in your conversation."

Besides Lady Finch's letter to her son, there are two very charming ones written to her husband when she was at Bath, with her younger children. The two boys were getting good, she thought, from the Bath, especially little John; it had taken away his yellowness and made him very merry, and he was immensely delighted with the guide who taught him to swim. Sir Heneage then lived in what is now Kensington palace.

When Daniel Finch had been abroad two years, he was summoned home, but finding that he was anxious to go to France, his parents consented that he should spend the winter there, to make himself sufficiently master of French for conversational purposes, and to perfect his fencing, riding and dancing. He afterwards obtained a further extension of leave, and was still in Paris in the following June, 1668, when his father ends the last letter to him noticed in this volume, by a half humorous apology for warning him against the plague and the danger of being out of his lodging late at night; these, he wrote, "are your Mother's cautions."

MARQUESS OF BATH.

(1685—1721.)

Hitherto the world has known little of Matthew Prior save as a man of letters; for as to the serious business of his life it was vain to seek for enlightenment in the misty account of his negotiations compiled by his executor Adrian Drift (2nd ed., 1740). This lack the third volume of the Report on the MSS. of the Marquess of Bath in some measure supplies; for, though it contains no State paper relating to the Treaty of Utrecht, it illustrates every phase of the earlier period in which, as successively Secretary to the Embassy and Minister *ad interim* at The Hague, 1693-7, Secretary to the Embassy at the Congress of Ryswick, 1697, and, finally, Secretary to the Embassy and Minister *ad interim* at Paris, 1698-99, Prior served his apprenticeship in the mystery of diplomacy. It contains, moreover, a "Journal of the Proceedings at Ryswick, 1697," drawn up under his personal supervision, which, with the subjoined Memoirs and the relevant correspondence, furnishes material for a clear and consecutive narrative of the entire negotiation from the first overtures of the French to the ratification of the treaty.

These papers in some degree elucidate the inner history of the treaty, and serve to explain the immense concessions made by the French. In 1695 France had lost in Marshal Luxembourg her ablest general, and had good reason to be dismayed by the fall of Namur, but her position was still by no means desperate. It would have required more sieges, no little time, and much hard fighting to compel her to evacuate the Netherlands. Her financial straits were extreme, but those of the Allies were probably not less so, and the separate peace with Savoy (1696) enabled her to effect a considerable economy and concentrate her forces where they could operate with most effect, on the Rhine and the Spanish seaboard. Her overtures for peace on the basis of the treaties of Westphalia and Nymegen therefore took the world by surprise, the more so as notwithstanding Callières' "*beau mot*," that we must make a peace on all sides, as we cannot "make a war," lack of funds did not prevent the raising of recruits. Prior was at first sanguine as to the result of the negotiation, but was soon discouraged by the slow progress made towards the adjustment of preliminaries, which indeed was not effected until January, 1697.

Notwithstanding the settlement of the preliminaries, there was still a great deal of discussion before the Congress could assemble at Ryswick (May), or the real work of negotiation begin; and by that time King William entertained such grave doubts of the good faith of the French that in default of express assurances on that head he was prepared to withdraw from the Congress. "His Majesty," wrote Prior 21st-31st July, "with the greatest wisdom and calmness has let the French plainly understand that he will have peace or war; and I believe this declaration will do more towards the procuring a speedy peace than all the *factums* and musty papers which can be given in to and transmitted by the Mediator here."

This prognostic proved to be accurate: the subsequent course of the negotiations were comparatively smooth, and on 20th September,

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Marquess of N.S., 1697, the treaty was signed with no other concession to France than the renunciation (not without compensation) of the claim to Strassburg.

There is nothing in the papers to explain so almost total a surrender of the fruits of so many years of fighting and chicane, unless we may accept Prior's statement that Madame de Maintenon was the real peacemaker. "Madame Maintenon," he writes from Paris, 10th April, N.S., 1698, "is our friend and will keep the Peace, if possible, *as she made it*, not out of any kindness she has to us, but from a notion that the King's engaging in business impairs his health. 'Tis incredible the power that woman has; everything goes through her hands, and Diana made a much less figure at Ephesus."

Some interesting matter relating to the financial crisis of 1696 will be found in this volume. Prior, whose pay at that time was only 1*l.* per day with an allowance for "reasonable extraordinaries," felt the pinch sorely, and wrote piteously to Charles Montagu:—

"My tallies I cannot sell under thirty per cent. loss; my aunt will not send me one farthing; the chain and medal the States gave me is at pawn; I have but two pistoles in the house or (to say plainly) in the world, and I have every morning a *levée* (God be thanked for the respite of Sunday) of postmen, stationers, tailors, cooks and wine-merchants who have not been paid since last December."

Later on he wrote to Richard Powys, of the Treasury:—

"Tallies at 45 per cent. may make a man mad, especially if he has but 20*s.* per day; but the wood, I hope, will sell better, and the allowance be augmented in some time. . . . Some miracle may possibly mollify the hearts of the Treasury that we may get a little ready money for these bills and the ordinary appointments. Who knows? We should do well, I think, to try it, though I am ashamed to ask Mr. Montague anything when I fear to put him upon the hardship of refusing me."

To which Powys drily replied:—

"It must be a miracle indeed, as you say, if our Treasury give you ready money, for I can assure you our condition is such at present that there is not sixpence of disposable money, all that is in the Exchequer being either appropriated for the war or repayment of loans."

Prior's means were eventually augmented, in a manner characteristic of the age, from the Irish establishment by his appointment to the office of Chief Secretary to the Lords Justices, which he held as a sinecure, the duties being discharged by a subordinate.

Prior's letters from Paris are in a literary sense the cream of the collection, for with little else to do than to record his impressions and report the gossip and scandal of the hour, Prior could hardly fail to be entertaining; and he is never more entertaining than when he writes in French. How excellent is his characterisation of Louis XIV. in his letter to Albemarle of 1st March, N.S., 1698:—

"Le Roy a beaucoup de santé pour un homme de soixante ans et plus de vanité qu'une fille de seize. On n'a qu'à voir sa maison pour en mépriser souverainement le maître; bas-relief, fresco, tableaux, tous représente Louis le Grand, et cela d'une manière si grossière que le Czar y trouveroit à redire. Il ne

sçauroit cracher, dans aucun coin de ses appartements sans voir sa propre figure ou celle de son lieutenant le Soleil, et sans se trouver Héros et Demidieu en peinture.

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During his residence at Paris, the exiles at St. Germain's of course engrossed a great deal of Prior's attention. The favour shown them at the French Court, their evident hopes of a speedy restoration, half amused, half alarmed him; and he was at infinite pains to fathom their supposed designs, and sent regular reports to Secretary Vernon of such information as he received from various correspondents who professed to be in the secrets of the Jacobites. It is evident, however, from the correspondence that neither Prior nor Vernon attached undue importance to these communications.

The style in which Prior writes of the late King and Queen is regrettably harsh, not to say brutal. He has no pity for fallen greatness, and notes with evident exultation the old and worn appearance and stooping gait of King James, adding "the Queen looks ill and melancholy; their equipage is mighty ragged, and their horses are all as lean as Sancho's." And in another letter he writes:—

"I faced old James and all his Court the other day at St. Cloud. *Vive Guillaume!* you never saw such a strange figure as the old bully is, lean, worn and riv'led, not unlike Neal the projector; the Queen looks very melancholy, but otherwise well enough; their equipages are all very ragged and contemptible."

Nevertheless he strongly deprecated the meanness of withholding from the Queen her stipulated pension.

The following extract shows the friendly and indeed familiar footing on which King James stood with King Louis:—

"Our friends of St. Germain's shine extremely at Fontainebleau: all the court is made to Queen Mary; everybody is at her toilette in the morning, from whence the King of France leads her to chapel: the two Kings and the Queen in the midst sit at the head of the table at dinner with equal marks of distinction and sovereignty, and '*à boire pour le Roi d'Angleterre!*' ou '*pour la Reine*' is spoke as loud and with the same ceremony as '*pour le Roi*' when they mean their own King. It is really not a right figure which we make being here at Paris whilst all the other ministers are at Court; and on the other side, I know not what we should do there, or how behave ourselves in a place where the two Courts are inseparable."

Very early in his career Prior was complimented by Sir William Trumbell on having "found the secret of joining two things generally thought incompatible, poetry and business, and both in perfection," nor, when due allowance is made for the taste of the age and the style of the courtier, will the eulogy be found to be devoid of truth. On his appointment as Secretary to the Embassy at Ryswick, Prior wrote to his friend Charles Montagu with pardonable pride, that he had "got it with the advantage of having the King say that he was satisfied with my service, and thought my requests reasonable"; and there appears to be no doubt that, as long as he lived, William's satisfaction remained unabated. During great part of his time at Paris Prior was virtually ambassador, for Portland's mission terminated in May, 1698, Jersey did not arrive until the following September, and was absent during November and December, and Manchester, who was appointed to succeed him upon

Marquess of his recall in April, 1699, delayed his coming until the following
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In consideration of the increased responsibility thus laid upon him the King was pleased to double Prior's allowance from the time of his departure for France.

It was, however, but natural that Prior should be dissatisfied with an employment in which he bore the burden but had neither the acknowledged position nor the full pay, while he was bound to maintain as much as he could of the state of an ambassador. He also felt aggrieved that he was not sent as envoy to Nancy upon occasion of the marriage of Mlle. de Chartres to the Duke of Lorraine, a commission to which he deemed himself entitled by his long service, and his acquaintance with the Duchess, and in which his "fine clothes and new *livrées* made for my Lord Jersey's entry" would have "come mightily in play." Hence on Jersey's appointment to the office of Secretary of State he was eager to return home and serve under him; which he humorously describes as "descending from the high rope to tumble more safely upon the ground." "For God's sake," he continues in the same letter (to Charles Montagu), "will you think of a little money for me? for I have fluttered away the Devil and all in this monkey country, where the air is infected with vanity, and extravagance is as epidemical as the itch in Scotland."

Prior was in correspondence with Portland while the first Partition Treaty was on the *tapis*, and his letters reflect the nervousness which then prevailed at the French Court.

It would seem that Prior at first thought the first Partition Treaty a masterpiece of statecraft. Yet in 1701 Prior voted for the impeachment of Portland, Somers, Orford, and Halifax for the parts they had taken in advising and negotiating this and the subsequent Partition Treaty; and at a later period he declared that he had never "much approved" the policy.

Prior's long residence abroad and his large and varied experience of affairs of state had taught him to view the English system of government by party with unmitigated disgust, which was vastly increased by the recklessness with which the Commons reduced the forces of the Crown at a time when France was prepared for war, all Europe was expecting in breathless suspense the imminent demise of the King of Spain, and the arrangement effected by the first Partition Treaty had been upset by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. In this connexion a peculiar interest attaches to the exposition of his own theory of kingcraft contained in the letter to Portland of 11th March, N.S., 1698-9 and its sequel of 18th March, a theory substantially the same with that afterwards developed by Bolingbroke in the *Idea of a Patriot King*, and reduced to practice with no very happy results by George III. during the earlier part of his reign. From Portland's reply, 16th-26th March, it would seem that these letters were laid before the King, and we may fairly suppose that they were not without their influence on the royal counsels as evinced in the subsequent reconstruction of the administration upon a broader bottom.

The letters of the Earl of Manchester serve to supplement those printed long ago by Christian Cole in *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, 1697-1708, London, 1735. Marquess of Bath :
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The later correspondence throws little light on the course of public affairs. Such interest as it possesses is mainly biographical and literary; and it must be owned that in Prior's letters to Lord Harley there is a deplorable degree of sameness. Prior was now a disappointed and needy man. His part in the negotiation of the Treaty of Utrecht had all but ruined him. Though in effect ambassador at Paris after Shrewsbury's departure (August, 1713), he had been both inadequately and irregularly paid. Upon the change of Government he had had much ado to induce the Treasury, though his old friend Montagu, by that time Earl of Halifax, was at its head, to furnish him with the funds to pay his debts, and he had returned to England to find his public life closed by impeachment and imprisonment. Prematurely aged and infirm, he was thus, as at the beginning of his career, almost entirely dependent on his pen and his patron. No wonder, therefore, that his gaiety is somewhat forced and his flattery at times fulsome. The sale of his works and Lord Harley's bounty in course of time secured him a modest competence and a small country house for the adornment of which he called to his aid all his *virtuosi* friends; but he did not live long to enjoy his hard-earned *otium cum dignitate*.

Nor do Prior's correspondents make us much amends for the disappointment which his own letters cause us. There are indeed two characteristic letters from Atterbury and three letters from Swift, but the latter are of no great interest. For the rest, the Abbé Gaultier with evident sincerity deplores Prior's ill-treatment by his country, and assures him of his own and Torcy's unalterable regard: the Duke of Buckingham returns *Solomon on the Vanity of the World* with a preposterous compliment, and Lord Bathurst protests that he is in love with *Alma*; the Countess of Sandwich sweetly acknowledges the gift of their author's likeness; Lord Chesterfield cites Alcadiana, "that great and extraordinary lady," in praise of the *Nut Brown Maid*; Mrs. Manley, announcing the revival of *Lucius* for her benefit, craves for "gracious Mrs. Oldfield," who is to speak Prior's "admirable epilogue," the advantage of his instruction; and letters from Richardson Pack, John Dennis, Giles Jacob, and Charles Gildon further illustrate Prior's relations with Grub Street.

VARIOUS COLLECTIONS. VOLUME VIII.

(1590—1759.)

I. *MSS. of the Hon. Frederick Lindley Wood*.—The collection of manuscripts at Temple Newsam noticed in this Report consists mainly of letters and miscellaneous papers ranging in date from the end of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth. They are of a varied nature, particularly rich in the section dealing with the Rebellion of 1745. Var. Coll.
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The earliest letters in the collection relate mostly to the affairs of Sir Arthur Ingram, the first of his name to own Temple Newsam. Besides being secretary to the Council in the North, he was a very

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conspicuous figure in the commercial history of the reigns of the first two Stuart kings.

In 1606 he and other financiers decided "to part with no more money or security to Sir Walter Raleigh upon any terms," and on 18th August, 1607, Sir Lionel Cranfield, afterwards Earl of Middlesex and Lord High Treasurer, wrote a long and interesting letter relating to dealings in starch, logwood, and other commodities.

It was from the alum monopoly that Ingram reaped most "cares, pains and scandal," as well as profit. In the course of the seven years, during which he was a farmer, he was said to have wrongfully appropriated 35,000*l*. The letters at Temple Newsam which relate to this subject commence in 1617 and are a dreary record of mismanagement and chicanery. Most of them are written to Ingram either by George Lowe, another of the farmers, or by Thomas Russell, one of the makers; the main object of each being, apparently, to discredit the other.

While the principals quarrelled, the works at Gisborough went to wrack and ruin; little alum was made; and the workmen, receiving no wages, became desperate.

Sir Arthur Ingram's connexion with the alum works continued until 1624, when Sir John Bouchier, who had been one of the original patentees and had recently attempted to buy him out, brought charges against him which resulted in his arrest. A year later his discharge was sealed.

Alum, however, is not the only subject dealt with in these early letters. George Lowe occasionally forgets his grievances to write of some public event. On 13th March, 1619-20, he describes the accident which marred Gondomar's reception at Whitehall on his return to England, and on 7th August, 1624, he mentions the production of Middleton's *Game of Chess*, which was suppressed by the Council on account of its presentation of Gondomar and the King of Spain.

The domestic side of Sir Arthur's character appears in the quaintly spelt letter to his wife, dated 4th December, 1621, in which he makes arrangement for Christmas festivity.

The next considerable series of letters relates to the Irish Customs, of which Ingram became farmer in 1632. They are mainly from Sir Arthur's cousin, Robert Cogan, his agent at Dublin, or Sir George Radcliffe, Strafford's devoted friend, and contain a good deal of information as to the condition of trade in Ireland.

A letter from Laud, dated 19th June, 1638, appeals to Sir Arthur Ingram for help in the rebuilding of St. Paul's. An interesting book, too long to be printed in full, contains particulars of work done at Holland House from 1638-1640.

On 5th August, 1641, Lord Finch, in exile at the Hague, writes to his brother, Sir Nathaniel Finch, commenting on English affairs and, in particular, the position of the judges.

In November, 1641, the King, on his return from Scotland, was entertained at Sir Arthur Ingram's great house in York. Sir Arthur himself was absent, but his lady did the honours with conspicuous success.

The collection contains few papers of interest referring to the Civil War. Of old Sir Arthur's sons, his namesake and heir was a passive parliamentarian, while Sir Thomas was on special service with the Marquess of Newcastle. A paper endorsed "Concerning my Mr. and Sr. Tho. in 1643" gives a clear statement of the respective attitudes of these half-brothers.

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A short series of letters from the astronomer Jeremy Shakerley to John Matteson, a servant of the Ingrams, shows the second observer of the transit of Mercury in a somewhat unorthodox light.

The Restoration is represented by four letters from Elizabeth Fraiser to Mrs. Warmestry, who records the progress of the Queen of Bohemia's illness and the gayer aspects of Court life.

Lord Irwin's part in the Revolution of 1688 is described in a letter from Robert Stapylton to John Roads, which is immediately followed by one from Bevil Skelton, the diplomatist, a faithful if somewhat incompetent servant of James II., describing his own flight from England and the reception of the dethroned Stuarts at St. Germain.

Arthur, third Viscount Irwin, was Vice-Admiral of Yorkshire, and a series of letters, extending over a greater part of the reign of William III. and chiefly written by Arthur Todd, the deputy vice-admiral, gives interesting details of the methods and fortunes of the press-gang at Hull and elsewhere in the county. Todd's letters are full of complaints as to the difficulty of obtaining men, the inferior quality of those taken, and their proneness to escape. Elsewhere he describes the escape of Blocklesbank, who had been the King's pilot, and a hand-to-hand encounter with some of the impressed men.

The third Viscount Irwin, who was M.P. for Scarborough from 1693-1702, wrote constantly to his wife whenever his duties kept him from her side. The majority of his letters are too intimate to find an appropriate place in this Report, but a few are of wider appeal. He invariably begins "My pretty dear Penny," and his orthography is sufficiently curious to merit preservation. In January, 1695, he sends her a Jacobite song which he has been told is to be sung at Queen Mary's funeral. Several times he alludes to the Queen's lying-in-state. The preparations for the funeral are described in a letter from M. Dawson to John Roads.

The impressions of a new boy at Eton are amusingly given in a letter from Edward, Lord Ingram, to his father's steward. A few years later he—Viscount Irwin since his father's death in 1702—having passed in due course from Eton to Cambridge and from Cambridge to the Grand Tour, sends his mother lively descriptions of his life in foreign cities.

Though overshadowed by the series of letters illustrating the '45, there are a fair number concerning the Rebellion of 1715. For the most part addressed to Rich, fifth Viscount Irwin, in his double capacity as Governor of Hull and Colonel of the 16th Foot, they chiefly relate to the garrison of the town or the concerns of the regiment, which was stationed at Fort William, described by Lord Irwin's Lieutenant-Colonel as "the sink of the world." A few

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other aspects of the crisis are, however, touched on. In July, 1715, in a letter to his mother, Charles Ingram, of Oriel College, describes the effect at Oxford of the flight of Ormonde, who was Chancellor of the University, and also his own peril as a Whig. Another letter from Oxford, also apparently written by Charles Ingram, describes the disturbances which took place on the King's birthday (28th May), 1717, and may be compared with the account of the same occurrence in the seventh volume of the Report on MSS. at Welbeck.

A few letters of various interest represent the next thirty years. A letter from Sir Richard Steele to the Commissioners for Forfeiture, excuses his absence from their deliberations. Business about a new patent has been the chief cause. He has given the public the best years of his life, and begs to borrow of the public a few days of it for his own use. Steele's idea of a "few days" was somewhat generous. This letter was written in May, 1718. In October, 1719, he was still absent from his place on the commission and had been so for over two years.

The series of papers relating to the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 form an almost continuous narrative of events from the eve of Prestonpans to the morrow of Culloden. The presence of these documents at Temple Newsam is explained by the fact that Henry, seventh Viscount Irwin, was Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding.

Many of the letters bear neither signature nor address and are apparently of the nature of newsletters. Where similar documents have been printed elsewhere, or where there is little variation from the reports in the *Gazette*, inclusion in this report has not been considered necessary or only brief abstracts have been given. Such cases are, however, exceptional.

While Lord Irwin kept in close touch with the Highland army during the march to Derby, letters from Edinburgh or Dumfries informed him of the state of affairs over the Border. He also heard frequently from Wade's army and from friends in various parts of Yorkshire.

It would be too much to claim that these papers modify or even materially add to our knowledge of the '45. Nevertheless, they furnish a number of fresh and interesting details, and may serve to correct sundry small misconceptions.

In a letter dated 30th December, 1745, "from the camp near Carlisle," is a list of rebel officers in the town which, though incomplete and very possibly inaccurate, contains a number of names not in the list printed in the *Gazette*.

Of other points of interest it is only possible to indicate a few. Two undated and anonymous accounts of the Highland army are printed, both apparently written before the commencement of the southward march. The second account, which is more explicit as to numbers, contains a curious story to illustrate the lack of discipline in the Scots ranks. "A fellow in defence of one that was ordered to be whipt the other day by Lord G. Murray cocked his pistol at him, and Lord G. thought it expedient not only to pardon the fault, but shake hands with the offender that threatened him."

A letter dated 19th September draws a striking picture of the

“ melancholy condition ” of Edinburgh, and several subsequent describe the state of the town during the occupation. Var. Coll. Vol. VIII. : Hon. F. L. Wood.

The Postmaster of Penrith, in a letter to Lord Irwin, describes the army on the march :—

“ They march with droves of black cattle and sheep, three wagons of biscuit and cheese, which they sit down at noon to eat, at night and morning get a little oat meal, which they buy up at their own price or take away wherever they can get it, and constantly carry it in a leathern bag for their subsistence; every one has a sword, a target, a gun and a dirk. The rear always push forward the front, and they march in a very great hurry.”

A lively description of the entry into Kendal is given. “ You will excuse my being merry,” the writer concludes, “ my spirits were quite raised at such a comic scene as this procession from first to last. I assure you it gave me great joy to see such sorry fools as they are. Had King George been with me to-day he would have been very merry.”

Enclosed in a letter from Dumfries, 3rd November, is a copy of a letter from Arthur Elphinstone (the gallant and ill-fated Balmerino) to his wife, dated from Edinburgh, 30th October. This was evidently intercepted and circulated, chiefly for the details it contains of the numbers and financial condition of the Prince’s army, partly, perhaps, as a trophy.

References to the person of Charles Edward are not very frequent. He entered Jedbergh “ mounted on a bay gelding in Highland dress.” At Wirwick Bridge, near Carlisle, he was seen, or thought to have been seen, in treaty with a miller for oatmeal. His quarters at Penrith are stated to have been at Mr. Thomas Simpson’s. It is added: “ The Prince lodged in what was then the George and Dragon Inn, now or lately the shop of Mr. Ramsay, chemist.”

There are several references to the apprehension of spies, and some fresh details about the Jacobite Dr. John Burton of York, the “ Doctor Slop ” of *Tristram Shandy*. Two letters in this connexion are from Dr. Jacques Sterne, Laurence’s uncle, but the most interesting document is the examination of the innkeeper, James Nisbett, a fellow-prisoner with Burton in York Castle, but a loyal Whig, who when the doctor drank to the downfall of the Guelphs raised his glass to the downfall of “ whelps and Jacobites.”

With reference to the Prince’s foreign allies, Christopher Oldfield writes to Lord Irwin 16th April, 1746: “ Some of the French officers are reduced from lace to have a piece of cowhide tied about their feet instead of shoes.” Commenting on the battle of Culloden, an anonymous writer remarks that “ it were to be wished the French had no better engineers than they sent them.”

The letters from the Duke of Newcastle and Henry Pelham to Lord Irwin, though mainly of an official character, contain occasional comments on the situation. On 30th November, 1745, Pelham writes :—

“ I find your neighbours are alarmed at the approach of the rebels. I don’t wonder at it, but, by our intelligence, it does not look as if they meant to come your way. They are undoubtedly not so terrible as

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they have been lately represented, nor so insignificant as they were thought by some at first. Thank God, we have now an army in England and a prince of the blood to head 'em. I wish only for a meeting, I fear not our giving 'em a hearty drubbing. Uncertainty and delays are as bad almost as a defeat, for our credit cannot much longer hold out in such a case."

In May, 1746, Newcastle writes:—

"His Royal Highness's unexampled conduct and bravery has retrieved the honour of our troops and restored peace to this kingdom. We must now endeavour to make such use of this great event by regulating affairs in Scotland and punishing the rebels as may prevent the like rebellion in the future."

Four days previously Archbishop Herring had told Lord Irwin that the King had "had a paper put into his hands at the masquerade "with these words, 'Recall that bloody tyrant, the D. of Cum. out "of Scotland.' " The preparations for Cumberland's reception at York in July are also the subject of several letters from the Archbishop.

The letters written subsequent to the rebellion are mainly composed of political and social gossip. Edward Gascoigne describes, as an eye-witness, the operations of the allied armies in October, 1746. Edward Dickinson, the Dowager Viscountess Irwin's man of business, tells his aged client of the fire which broke out in Change Alley, 25th March, 1748, and of the earthquakes which frightened London in the spring of 1750. Henry Lowther comments on George II.'s dislike of French clothes, which were very fashionable in London in 1752. "Our streets swarm with French milliners, "loaded with bandboxes." Major C. Weddell writes of the visit to York paid in 1753 by "the famous Mr. Westly," by whom he was "neither edified nor diverted."

Many of the later letters are addressed to Mrs. Charles Ingram, whose husband became the ninth (and last) Viscount Irwin in 1763. She, who was the illegitimate daughter of Samuel Shephard, sometime member for Cambridge, was a considerable heiress and, judging from the terms in which several of these letters are couched, a person of singular charm for her own sex. Her most frequent correspondents are her sisters-in-law Isabella Ramsden and Elizabeth Ingram, the daughters of Colonel Charles Ingram. They are full of entertaining small-talk.

In August, 1761, Mrs. Ramsden describes at length the preparations for the arrival of the new Queen, Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and in 1767 Elizabeth Ingram sings the young Duke of Cumberland's praises from the social point of view.

Of more serious topics may be specially mentioned an account of the negotiations between Cumberland and Pitt in 1765 and Edward Dickinson's report of a conversation which he had with James Grenville *à propos* of his retirement from the representation of Horsham. It was proposed to offer the vacated seat to Nathaniel Bayly, Lord Irwin's brother-in-law, who was petitioning against John Morton, the member for Abingdon. Bayly, however, would not accept this compromise and was eventually successful in his petition.

II. *MSS. of M. L. S. Clements, Esq.*—1. *Molesworth Correspondence*.—This collection consists, for the most part, of letters and papers of the 17th and early 18th centuries written by, or to, the first three Viscounts Molesworth. They had been preserved in an old Indian cabinet at Killymoon, co. Tyrone, the residence of the Stewart family, and were brought to Ashfield Lodge by the late Colonel Henry Theophilus Clements, who inherited Killymoon from his uncle, Colonel William Stewart, who was a son of Elizabeth Molesworth, and grandson of Richard, third Viscount Molesworth.

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From the purely historical point of view the most interesting documents here dealt with are perhaps those connected with the English and Irish Parliaments of King Charles I. Under the former head there are copies of the Demonstration of Grievances of 7th June, 1628, and of the Declaration concerning Tonnage and Poundage. These were compared with copies of the same documents already published, and, though the purport was substantially the same in both cases, the language showed considerable variation. The reading given by these manuscripts sometimes gives a better sense, while the general tone of the expressions here used is considerably stronger in its statement of the abuses complained of, noticeably less respectful to the King and milder towards the Arminians.

A more remarkable discovery, however, was that of a manuscript Journal of the Irish House of Lords for the period 1640-1641. It was found, upon examination, that this contained a number of passages, amounting to more than 4,000 words in the aggregate, which are not to be found in the printed edition or in the rough original notebook preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland, from which the printed copy appears to have been taken. In a few cases, where the passage omitted was not of very great length, it was found to be present in the Record Office original, but had been so carefully scored out as to be almost illegible. The volume now under notice is well bound, well kept and carefully written, superior in these respects to the Record Office copy, and, from a marginal direction on the 79th page (which indicates that a particular document is to be entered "as of the 18th day, when it was voted and "passed"), it appears that this volume, too, was intended to serve as a notebook, from which the journals should afterwards be copied in a more elaborate and permanent form. The discrepancies between the volume in these manuscripts and the Record Office copy are more numerous and more marked towards the end of the session, where the official version leaves out passages of such a length and so situated that their absence would be explainable by the supposition that a whole leaf had been torn bodily out. The version hitherto accepted as official makes no mention of any sitting of the House of Lords on 5th March, 1641, whereas the copy in this collection shows a rather stormy meeting on that day, the proceedings of which, owing presumably to the abstraction from the Irish Record Office copy of the leaf showing the change of date, have been confused heretofore with the proceedings of the previous day, and are now clearly exhibited. There are several other omissions, not less

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remarkable either by their length or the nature of the suppressed portions. Thus, when the judges are called in by the Lords to advise whether an Irish Parliament can continue to sit on the death of the Lord Deputy, pending the arrival of a new governor, the official copy is found to omit several of the bolder statements made on this subject, which the copy in these manuscripts gives in detail. Again, when the Lord Chancellor is accused of treason, the Record Office copy omits passages of great length and importance, which are here given in full.

The hand in which the volume is written appears somewhat later in character than that of the Record Office copy.

The remainder of the collection consists of family letters and papers, and mostly falls within the period 1689-1744. Indeed, one of its chief points of interest is the picture which it gives of a Whig family of the second rank, probably typical of many others, whose united strength upheld the ministries of Anne and the first two Georges.

The first person to appear is Robert Molesworth, then ambassador to Denmark, afterwards raised to the peerage as Viscount Molesworth, a man of some literary ability and considerable insight into economic problems. Having an estate in Yorkshire, as well as in County Dublin and King's County, he was able to take a leading part in the affairs of both countries. In England, he showed himself an ardent and thorough-going supporter of the Whigs during the troubled reigns of William and Anne, and a curious indication of the depth of his feelings on this subject is afforded by the letters of 1712, recording his utter dejection during that year of danger and defeat for the Whigs.

In Ireland, on the other hand, Robert Molesworth, was one of those who deeply resented the policy of subjecting the "old English" long resident in Ireland, to which class he himself belonged, to the "new English" officials sent over from time to time by the authorities in London. He complains of being, as he says, "nosed and oppressed" by Lord Lieutenants and Lord Chancellors, and declares that they in Ireland were all slaves, and, what made it worse, to their own brethren. His outspokenness in this and other respects seems to have attracted the unfavourable attention of the Irish Government, and on at least one occasion he thought it well to flee from the country in some haste, fearing to what lengths the vengeance of his enemies might go. The climax to this policy of subjecting the "old English" in Ireland to Westminster was reached in 1719, when what little independence the Irish Parliament enjoyed was destroyed by the Act known as the Sixth of George I. Molesworth did not fail to enter a protest, and among the papers is a speech, which he probably delivered in the Irish House of Lords on this occasion.

After 1719 he seems to have turned rather to English politics, and was soon prominent in connexion with the South Sea Company debates, in which he intervened with all the vehement indignation natural to one who had suffered personally. The letters in this collection for the years 1720 and 1721 exhibit a number of different points of view

as to the South Sea Company and its reconstruction. For instance, Robert Molesworth and his son Richard are hostile critics throughout; Arthur Onslow, afterwards the great Speaker of the House of Commons (who is represented by two letters showing great ability), and Daniel Pulteney represent a more neutral and dispassionate view; and the standpoint of the unfortunate private individual is illustrated by letters from two women, Mrs. Tichborne and Mrs. Stanley.

Robert Molesworth's action at the crisis of the South Sea Company and his denunciations of the dishonesty disclosed brought him a good deal of popularity, and at this time he supported a newspaper, the *London Journal*, which attacked the ministry in unmeasured language, Molesworth's own contributions appearing therein under the significant *nom de plume* of "Cato." The Government retaliated, it appears, by showing marked disfavour to those of Molesworth's numerous family who happened to be in its service, particularly to John, his eldest son, then envoy at Turin. During the height of his popularity, Robert Molesworth was elected by the students as Rector of Glasgow University, but their choice was set aside by the authorities of that institution. There are several letters in the collection showing the resentment felt at what was regarded as an arbitrary act and an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the students.

Robert Molesworth died in May, 1725. His eldest son, John, who succeeded him and died after enjoying the title for nine months only, was a diplomat both by profession and inclination. He was sent on diplomatic missions to Italy, first, in 1710, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence, of which period hardly any letters survive, and afterwards (1715-25) to the Court of Sardinia at Turin. His first mission put the family to severe financial straits, which are shown in his father's letters from November, 1710, onwards. Money had to be borrowed at heavy interest, and, though the salary was paid in the end, the Molesworths seem never to have recovered from their financial embarrassments, which culminated at last in the sale of their property in Dublin city (now Molesworth Street), and their large woods at Edlington, in Yorkshire.

John Molesworth, as is shown by his numerous letters received while at Turin, was a man of artistic tastes, which he had many opportunities of gratifying in Italy. His diplomatic duties there were to hold a "watching brief," as it were, for Great Britain in the tangled politics of Italy, and, in particular, to attend closely to the movements and designs of the Pretender, who had at that period his headquarters at Rome. John Molesworth seems to have kept agents in all the Italian courts, and, among other duties, acted as a protector to the distressed Protestants of Piedmont. His foreign correspondents include the secret agent *Le Connu*, who writes almost as a personal friend, and gives him information as to the proceedings of the Dutch foreign ministers, the negotiations for the surrender of Knight, ex-Treasurer of the South Sea Company, a refugee at Brussels, and other details of European interest. Some of the letters in French deal with political topics, for instance, the futile

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and protracted Congress of Cambrai, the relations of France and Spain with the Empire, &c. The writers in this language appear to be for the most part nobles of the Sardinian Court.

More interesting, however, are the letters of his English and Italian correspondents during the period of his last Turin embassy (1720-25). The former include Arthur Onslow and Daniel Pulteney, already mentioned, John Lekeux, a follower of Walpole (a lively and amusing writer), Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, and Robert and Richard Molesworth, the envoy's father and brother. These represent all shades of Whig politics, and their long and frequently graphic letters must have kept the distant ambassador well informed of the course of home affairs. A letter of Daniel Pulteney's and another of Lekeux' exhibit the rising animosity between Walpole and the Pulteneys.

John Molesworth had made a friend of the Lord Chancellor under remarkable circumstances. Lord Parker, Macclesfield's eldest son, afterwards the astronomer and reformer of the calendar, while touring in Italy, had fallen into an undesirable entanglement with a Venetian woman. His father, greatly alarmed, besought Molesworth to use his influence to separate the pair. The envoy succeeded in the task, and was rewarded by heartfelt gratitude on the part of Macclesfield, who spared no pains subsequently to serve Molesworth with his colleagues in the Government and promote his advancement generally. But the Chancellor did not enjoy many opportunities of benefiting his new friend, for he was impeached in the following year, fined and dismissed from office. Here again the collection presents both sides of the case, for it contains Lord Macclesfield's defence to Molesworth of his own conduct, with dark hints that some secret influence, possibly meaning that of Walpole, was responsible for his downfall, also some letters from Lekeux with caustic comments on Macclesfield's behaviour and the progress of the impeachment.

Molesworth's Italian friends were Florentines for the most part, and their letters deal chiefly with matters of art, for instance, painting, sculpture, the publication of illustrated art catalogues, the production of operas, &c. He acted as an intermediary in procuring Italian works of art for his friends in England, and frequently made use for the purpose of a clever Florentine, bearing the illustrious name of Galilei. This person, who was an architect and engineer, paid a visit to Ireland and was probably employed by Robert Molesworth to ornament his seat at Breckdenston, now Brackenstown, near Swords, co. Dublin. The elder Molesworth complains on this occasion that the Commissioners for building St. Werburgh's Church, Dublin, were so foolish as to reject the offer of Galilei's' assistance.

A romantic feature of John Molesworth's life is indicated by the unsigned Italian love-letters received by him during his stay in Turin. They were written by a lady whom he had met in Florence some years before, who had apparently succeeded in renewing a former attachment, when Molesworth came back to Italy in 1721 as a recently married man. Her letters are full of the most ardent expressions, and she even goes so far as to affirm her affection by

writing in her own blood; yet there is ground for believing that the whole correspondence was no more than a typical piece of 18th century sentimentality with but little serious meaning, for the parties could very rarely have met, and sometimes long periods passed without the interchange of a letter.

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Richard Molesworth, the second son of Robert and brother of John, also figures largely in this collection. He was a man of eager and sanguine temperament, a soldier by profession, and had begun his service under Marlborough, whose life he claimed to have saved at Ramillies, though with all his efforts he could never induce the Marlborough family to admit the fact or make him any acknowledgment. Placed on half-pay, he speculated and lost heavily in the South Sea Company, and was driven by poverty to turn to all kinds of plans for obtaining money. His devices are decidedly entertaining and varied. The first, which came so near to success as to attract the favourable attention of Sir Isaac Newton and the Royal Society, was an invention of a chronometer or timepiece sufficiently accurate to afford its designer hopes of winning the handsome reward offered by Parliament for "the discovery of the longitude," or, in other words, for an instrument which would enable the sailor to calculate his longitude by comparing local time with that of Greenwich. The progress of the work, which is usually referred to as "Sir Jerome," was much retarded by duns, and eventually it was relinquished. Other designs of his were the writing a Life of Marlborough, going abroad as a soldier of fortune, and providing London with a water supply from the Thames, the last of which was in execution when the illness of his father called him away to Ireland. There he obtained the command of a regiment, succeeded to the title on the deaths of his father and brother, and resumed his long interrupted military career, which culminated in the distinguished post of Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.

Other members of the Molesworth family figure in the correspondence, while among the friends not already mentioned may be included Lady Arabella Pulteney, Sir J. Hewett and Colonel Humphrey Bland.

Besides the political interest, which is most marked between 1720 and 1725, the letters contain a great deal of matter illustrating the social and economic life of England and Ireland, and, to some extent, of the Continent. Thus there are numerous letters dealing with estate management and adornment, planting, gardening, travelling, wages, and prices, popular customs, &c. Among the innumerable topics may be mentioned the confusion of titles to land in Ireland, the grounds on which an Irish landlord based a claim to increased rents, the settlement of Quaker manufacturers at Philips-town, the enclosure of commons, the exhaustion of Ireland after the Williamite wars and again after the South Sea, the "naturalizing" of such wild flowers as cowslips and lily of the valley, elections, schools, emigration of Irish Protestants to New England, the ideal country clergyman, fox-hunters and their ways, the behaviour of travelling Englishmen on the Continent, and the treatment that travellers met with at the hands of the local peasantry, the sending

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of parcels of every size and shape despite all the difficulties of transport (even such strange loads as young trees and live fish being sent from England to Ireland), the establishment of cross posts, the suspicion of the honesty of the post office, trials for heresy and blasphemy, &c.

There are not many literary references, though Mary Monck, daughter of Robert Molesworth, who is represented by two letters, was a poetess of some note, and her brothers, John and Richard, were both writers of occasional verse. Swift's appointment to the Deanery of St. Patrick's is hailed with the significant comment, "This will vex the godly party beyond expression," and later on, Captain Malcolm quotes an alleged exchange of rhyming repartees between Swift and the Lord Lieutenant. There is also a reference to a project for an English dictionary to be compiled by one Mr. Phillips.

As regards military affairs, there are descriptions of battles at Pratz del Rey and Guastalla, the latter forming the subject of a letter from an Irish officer with the Austrian forces. There are also letters showing the practice with regard to military promotion and the personal interest taken by George II. in all such matters, and a copy of a speech calling for militia in Ireland in order to cope with a threatened Spanish invasion.

As both Robert and John Molesworth suffered much from ill-health, there are frequent references to medical topics.

For local history and topography the letters dealing with the county and city of Dublin and with Philipstown are best, the most noticeable among the former being a reference to a project for building the Irish Parliament House on the Molesworth estate. There are some references to Sheffield and its vicinity and to Yorkshire ways and habits. There are, too, spirited accounts of life in the West Indies, and of the reception of an English embassy at Gothenburg and Stockholm.

2. *Military Order Books*, 1758-1759.—The volumes, which form the subject of this section of the Report deal with the movements and organization of the British forces in North Germany between 30th July, 1758, and 30th April, 1759. A list shows the composition of the brigades and giving the names of the chief staff officers. There were in all 12 British regiments present, six of cavalry and six of infantry, the commander-in-chief being the third Duke of Marlborough. The cavalry units were the Blues, Inniskillings, Royal North British Dragoons (Scots Greys), Bland's (1st Dragoon Guards), Howard's (3rd Dragoon Guards), and Mordaunt's (10th Dragoons, afterwards 10th Hussars). The infantry regiments were the Welsh Fusiliers, Brudenell's (12th Foot, now the Suffolk Regiment), Kingsley's (20th, now Lancashire Fusiliers), Hume's or Home's (25th, now King's Own Scottish Borderers), Stuart's (37th, now 1st Hampshire Regiment), and Napier's (51st, now 1st King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry).

At the commencement of the first order book the British troops are still at Jemgum, near the mouth of the Ems, and are preparing to march up that river to join a large force of Hessians,

Hanoverians and Brunswickers, under Ferdinand of Brunswick, who subsequently acted as commander of the whole allied army. The last orders deal with preparations for departure from Münster and for marching out on that campaign, which ended so brilliantly at Minden three months later. Unfortunately no book has been discovered which would continue the history of the operations to that extremely interesting point.

Possible points of interest for the military historian and student of strategy may be afforded by the details as to the route from the coast to the interior of Germany by way of Emden and the course of the Ems, also as to the scheme of defence followed by Ferdinand during the summer of 1758. However, the main importance of the books appears to consist in the very complete picture they give of the organization and working of the British army on active service at this period.

Light is thrown incidentally on the character of Lord George Sackville, who took over the command of the British contingent after Marlborough's death in October, 1758. He shows a tendency, not very characteristic of a military officer, to explain and, as it were, apologise beforehand for an order which he thinks unwelcome. Perhaps this unwillingness to shoulder responsibility may account for his subsequent fatal inaction at Minden.

One of the volumes bears on its cover the entry "Colonel Webb 50 dollars," which may perhaps be taken as evidence that the order books belonged to that officer, who was Quartermaster-General of the force to which they relate. This supposition is borne out by the fact that Mary Webb, his daughter, married in 1770 the Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, and it may be presumed that through this alliance the order books came into the possession of the Clements family.

III. *MSS. of S. Philip Unwin, Esq.*—The documents described in this report are the diaries of Joseph Bufton, son of John Bufton, a weaver at Coggeshall in Essex, where he was born 26th October, 1651. He was for a time in the employment of a weaver in his native town, Mr. Hedgthorn, but subsequently moved to Colchester. His diaries consist of a number of small leather-bound almanacs, and the entries, written in a neat hand, are of a varied description. In 1863 eleven of these little books were in existence, and Dale inferred the loss of eleven others from a list in one of the extant volumes. They had belonged to J. N. Hunt, a connexion of the Bufton family, and were then in the possession of Mr. Kirkham. In 1890 they belonged to Mr. G. F. Beaumont, author of *A History of Coggeshall*, who had purchased them from Mrs. Kirkham, widow of Mr. Richard Meredith Kirkham. Both Dale and Beaumont give extracts from these diaries.

Of the three now in the possession of Mr. Unwin, one consists of a record of births, marriages and deaths, which occurred in and about Coggeshall during the last quarter of the seventeenth century; a list of letters which passed between Bufton and his brother John; and a chronicle of events mainly of local interest. A good many

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extracts from this book are given by Dale and Beaumont; a further selection will be found in this report. The second diary contains the rules of the company or guild which was founded in Coggeshall for the purpose of reviving the woollen industry there; "the articles of 'the combers' purse,'" a short-lived benefit society; some lists of the employees of Mr. Hedgthorn, Bufton's master; and other entries of a kindred nature. These are given in full, as being of considerable interest, but a short chronicle of public events and some purely personal notes, which the volume also contains, have been omitted. The third diary, from which nothing has been taken, consists of extracts from sermons and from books then recently published.

THE STUART MSS.

(1687—1718.)

The Stuart
MSS., Vols.
IV., V., and
VI.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the Calendar of the Stuart MSS., belonging to Your Majesty, published in 1910, 1912, and 1915 respectively, cover the sixteen months from 1st March, 1717, to 30th June, 1718. The sixth volume begins with the Historical Account by Thomas Sheridan of Tyrconnell's government in Ireland and other matters in the reign of James II., which is frequently referred to by Macaulay in his History as the Sheridan MS., preserved at Windsor. This is printed *in extenso* and is full of interest. At the beginning of Vol. IV. and the end of Vol. V. are calendared a very large number of letters and papers, which ought to have been included in the first three volumes, but which were discovered at Windsor too late to be inserted in their proper places.

On 1st March, 1717, James was at Asti in Piedmont. He reached Pesaro on the 20th, where he stayed till 22nd May, when he went to Rome and stayed there till 4th July. He reached Urbino by the 11th and remained there, except for a visit to Fano for the carnival, during the rest of the period included in these volumes. He was at first pleased with the magnificent palace, but ere long he and his attendants were heartily tired of the place, where they were so out of the world and where there was no good wine to be had, and where there were but few walks, and all of them either up or downhill. The winter was severe enough to try the hardest constitution. Mar found that James' visit to Rome, and especially his being present at the solemnities of Corpus Christi and St. Peter's Day procession might have a bad effect in England.

James on his way had stopped a few days with his uncle at Modena and had fallen in love with his eldest daughter, but his suit found no favour in her father's eyes. His partisans continually insisted on the necessity of his marrying speedily and having children. The English Jacobites suggested a daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse, who would be acceptable, being a Protestant, but she was reported to be fat and unlikely to bear children and also to have bad teeth. In October the Czar offered to James one of his daughters, probably the eldest, in marriage, but she was said to be only 13 and to have been born before her parents' marriage. The

Duchess of Courland, the Czar's niece, was also mentioned, but in March the offer was withdrawn by the Czar. In February, 1718, Wogan was dispatched to Germany to inspect and report on eligible princesses, particularly the daughter of Prince Louis of Baden and a Princess of Saxony, cousin to the King of Poland. The project relating to the last was soon after abandoned. Wogan, in a letter which gives an amusing account of the two Courts of Baden, reported unfavourably on the Princess, but recommended two daughters of the Countess of Furstenburg. From Ohlan he gave a most favourable account of the charming Clementina, the youngest daughter of Prince James Sobieski, and in June, James Murray was sent with formal proposals for her hand, which were gladly accepted by herself and her parents.

Queen Mary died on 7th May, 1718. A detailed account of her illness and death was sent by her confessor to her son. Her pension had been much in arrear and now ceased altogether. Consequently a great many of her servants and pensioners were reduced to great distress. Numerous letters from them imploring assistance occur in the latter part of Vol. VI.

James had been unwell before hearing of his mother's death. The illness proved to be a tertian ague. Before the end of June he was convalescent but was much weakened by his illness and the great heat.

Mar parted from James at Montmelian on 16th February, 1717, and arrived at Paris on the 28th, to see his wife and to be at hand in case the expected Swedish invasion of England took place. He remained there very privately till 6th July, when he went to Mouchy near Chantilly. Ormonde, in expectation of the invasion, which was believed as late as May to be imminent, was summoned and was at Paris by 19th May. The Czar visited Paris in May, and shortly after his arrival his physician, Dr. Erskine, had two interviews with his cousin, Mar, and proposed from the Czar that Ormonde should go to the King of Sweden on account of James and the Czar. Mar and Dillon endeavoured to get the Czar to send such a message to Sweden as would make it worth while for Ormonde to go, but this the Czar put off till he received the Regent's proposals. At the end of May Mar was informed by Dr. Erskine that the King of Sweden had refused the Czar's proposals, on which Mar and Dillon concluded that the King was certainly coming to terms with King George, and that therefore Ormonde should not go, but on hearing that King George's proposals had also been rejected they decided that George Jerningham should be sent, it being doubtful if Ormonde would be well received. Draft letters to be carried by Ormonde and Jerningham were sent by Thomas Sheridan to be signed by James, which when signed were carried to Prague by Sheridan. Ormonde saw Dr. Erskine and the Czar at Spa in July. The latter professed great inclination to serve James.

Ormonde proceeded to Danzig by way of Prague and decided to send Jerningham and Sheridan to Sweden and to remain himself at Danzig till he heard how Jerningham, who had parted from him on 15th October to embark at Königsburg, was received, but proceeded

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to Mittau, where he passed the winter. In February the Czar, on account of complaints from England about Ormonde, offered to convey him to Sweden, but it was replied that he could not go there till he heard from Jerningham how he would be received. At last in March letters came from Jerningham that the King of Sweden had showed inclination enough to serve James, but said it was not in his power to do so till he had settled with the Czar. If that failed, he must make up with his other enemies, especially King George. He would not consent to any person from James coming to Sweden. Ormonde having requested passports for his return, if there was no likelihood of an agreement between the Czar and the King of Sweden, left Mittau on 13th May and reached Paris by 20th June, where he lived very privately till his departure for Spain in November. The Czar, it was said, had ordered his removal, not from goodwill to King George or coolness to James, but only to avoid suspicion.

Mar had gone to the neighbourhood of Liège in August to be near the place where the peace negotiations between the Czar and Sweden were expected to be carried on. His object was frustrated by their being transferred to Finland, so he returned in October to Paris, which he left on the 13th, and arrived at Urbino on 22nd November, having visited Venice on the way to see the place and hear the operas there.

The following spring he spent five weeks in and near Rome and greatly enjoyed visiting the monuments, the statues, pictures, &c.

Jerningham, after a visit to Holland, went to Petersburg to inform the Czar of the true situation and temper of Sweden. The Czar was pleased with his errand, and told him to assure James he would assist the King of Sweden in forwarding the restoration after they had come to an agreement, and permitted him to correspond with Goertz on condition that his letter should be read before it was sent.

In the introductions to the three volumes some account is attempted to be given of the intricate negotiations between the Czar, the King of Sweden and James. The object of the last was to induce the other two to make peace with the view of afterwards joining to effect a restoration. To persuade the Czar to abate his demands on Sweden Dr. Erskine was instructed to offer him 200,000*l.*, to be paid three months after the restoration, as an equivalent to what he should give up to the King of Sweden.

As to hopes from Spain, in Alberoni's words *Nondum advenit plenitudo temporis*. James, on account of the danger to his person from the German troops in Italy, requested the King of Spain to allow him a retreat in some part of his dominions.

Though the King of Sicily was friendly to James, when asked for assistance he replied that the measures he was obliged to keep put it out of his power to do anything for him.

The hopes of the Jacobites in England were encouraged by the divisions of the Whigs, Townshend having been dismissed in April, 1717, and Walpole and others having resigned. Their efforts were directed to keep the three parties, the Court Whigs, the dissenting Whigs, and the Tories distinct, and to prevent the last being drawn

into either of the other parties. Their hopes were raised by the famous quarrel between King George and his son in December, 1717. It appears by a letter of Mar's of 29th January, 1718, that the Earl of Oxford had not been privy to the rising of 1715 and that it was by his advice that the Bishop of Rochester was employed as the chief manager of James' affairs in England. There are incessant complaints of the ungovernable temper of the latter. He complained that there was a plot to diminish Ormonde's interest, that Oxford and Mar were at the bottom of it, and he was resolved, it was said, to break the neck of the Scotch interest, in which he included Oxford. Intrigues against Mar were also carried on in Paris by the Court Marischal, General Hamilton, Brigadier Hooke, Robert Leslie and others.

The Stuart MSS., Vols. IV., V., and VI.

The suspension of the sittings of the Convocation in 1717 caused great discontent among High Churchmen and particularly among the Nonjurors. At Dr. Leslie's suggestion James wrote to him on 29th November that he understood that the power of the Keys had ever been thought an essential right of the Church of England, so that she might inquire into the doctrines of her members and inflict ecclesiastical censure. The civil government's stopping such proceedings was to take away that right, which James promised to maintain, if restored, adding his assurance of maintaining all the just rights and privileges of the Church. His letter gave great satisfaction in England, but caused uneasiness at Rome. James explained that what he had said about the power of the Keys was to be taken as a quotation and not as his personal opinion. Father Puese by a mistranslation had appropriated that power to the King. His only intention had been to show that his own religion did not prevent him from showing complete protection and favour to the Protestants. He had previously declared that he was king, not apostle; and that he was not obliged to convert his subjects except by his example, nor to show a partiality to the Catholics, which would only injure them in the long run.

Partly on account of this mistranslation James desired that Puese should take no further part in his affairs. His chief reason, however, was that he believed that Puese was influencing the Queen against him.

When Dr. Leslie was obliged by his health to leave Italy, James caused two English clergymen to be summoned to Urbino to take his place. His Protestant subjects were less tolerably treated in France, a celebration of the Communion at St. Germain's being prohibited.

A schism having arisen among the Nonjurors, James was advised to use his influence to reconcile them, to prevent his interests being prejudiced.

A great many of the papers relate to the alleged design of the Earl of Peterborough against James' person, his arrest at Bologna, and his release. It appears that the original warning against him came through Anne Oglethorpe from Lord Oxford. The Bishop of Rochester, on the other hand, declared everywhere his opinion that the report was an idle, groundless tale.

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Negotiations with the Duke of Argyle and his brother, the Earl of Pluy, went on all through this period. In June, 1717, a pardon to them was signed by James and lodged with the Marquis de Mezières, through whose sister-in-law, Fanny Oglethorpe, the negotiations had been carried, and on 10th March, 1718, a patent was signed by James creating Pluy a baron and earl of England (titles not specified). This was also lodged with the pardon. Other peerages conferred during this period were an English earldom on the Duke of Mar (Earl of Mar) and an English barony on Theophilus Oglethorpe (Baron Oglethorpe) with a special remainder to his brother James.

At the end of the Introduction to Vol. VI. are printed the keys to eleven of the principal Jacobite ciphers.

LORD POLWARTH, VOL. I.

(1711—1718.)

Lord
Polwarth.

This Collection of Correspondence, preserved at Mertoun House, in Berwickshire, the residence of Lord Polwarth, is only a portion of what may be properly described as the Marchmont MSS., of which another portion, preserved at Marchmont House, has already been made the subject of a Report by the late Sir William Fraser (*Fourteenth Report, App. 3, pp. 56-173*). Of the papers at Mertoun House some were published in 1831, by the Right Honourable Sir George Henry Rose, in a work entitled "The Marchmont Papers." The remainder form the subject of this and subsequent volumes. In the preface to his Report, Sir William Fraser explained how these papers came into the possession of Hugh Scott, Lord Polwarth, formerly Laird of Harden, who, as grandson of Hugh, third Earl of Marchmont, was found by the House of Lords in 1835 to be entitled to succeed to the peerage of Lord Polwarth of Polwarth.

With the exception of a few pages at the beginning, supplementary to the above-mentioned Report on the Marchmont MSS., this present Report deals only with the diplomatic correspondence of Alexander, Lord Polwarth, as Plenipotentiary at the Court of the King of Denmark, between the years 1716 and 1725. He was the third son of Sir Patrick Hume, eighth Baron of Polwarth and afterwards first Earl of Marchmont, and was born on 1st January, 1675. While he was but a boy, his father, being indicted for complicity in the Ryehouse Plot, fled abroad, and his estates were confiscated until the Revolution, when he returned with King William the Third, by whom, after serving as Chancellor of Scotland and in other offices, he was created Earl of Marchmont on 23rd April, 1697.

While his father lived in Holland, Alexander spent some years at the University of Utrecht, intending to follow the profession of the law. He married in 1697 Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir George Campbell, of Cessnock. On Sir George's death he assumed the name of his wife's family, Campbell, and was known as Sir Alexander Campbell. He not only succeeded in right of his wife to the Ayrshire estate of Cessnock, but he obtained the seat in the Court of Session left vacant by his father-in-law's death, and sat

there as Lord Cessnock. On the death of his elder brother in 1709 he became Lord Polwarth, and shortly afterwards went to Hanover, where he became acquainted with the Elector, afterwards King George the First, and warmly espoused the cause of his succession. For a time he held the appointment of Lord Lieutenant of Berwickshire, and in that capacity took an active part in the suppression of the rising of 1715. In the following year he resigned his seat in the Court of Session in favour of his younger brother, Sir Andrew Hume, who took the designation of Lord Kimmerghame; and very soon afterwards Lord Polwarth was dispatched as Plenipotentiary to the Court of Denmark, at which point we enter upon his diplomatic correspondence as set forth in the following pages.

He was abroad until 1725, and when he returned home it was to find his wife and four of his children, two sons and two daughters, dead, and likewise his father, who died in 1724. He therefore came home as second Earl of Marchmont, which title he bore until his death in February, 1740.

The diplomatic correspondence of Lord Polwarth is preceded in the Report by some parliamentary correspondence, for the most part letters by George Baillie of Jerviswoode, M.P. for Berwickshire, to Lord Polwarth and his father, and one or two letters relating to Lord Polwarth's proceedings during the Rebellion of 1715.

Lord Polwarth was at first accredited to the Court of Berlin as well as to that of Copenhagen, but before he had reached the Prussian capital it had been decided that Berlin should have a special British Resident, and Mr. Whitworth was dispatched thither. Lord Polwarth accordingly took up his residence at the Danish capital. Here he was associated with General Frederick Bothmer, envoy from King George as Elector of Hanover, each of whom assisted the other while attending to their respective spheres of work. To them was added the presence of Admiral Norris, with his fleet in Danish waters. The correspondence of Lord Polwarth was chiefly with the British ministers in London, and incidentally with representatives of the English Crown at other European Courts; but the most important letters are those which passed between him and John Robethon, the private secretary of Count Bernstorff, who was the Hanoverian prime minister of King George the First. To him Lord Polwarth wrote more fully and more confidentially than to the foreign Secretaries themselves, and from him Lord Polwarth received more ample information of what was going forward both at home and abroad than in the strictly official correspondence received by him.

The correspondence is very extensive, and consists of a large collection of original letters and papers, as well as thirteen volumes in which the letters sent by Lord Polwarth have been entered. Many of the original letters have been injured by damp, and all of them have had to be sorted out and arranged in their chronological order.

When Lord Polwarth reached Copenhagen the Northern War had entered upon a new phase. Sweden had been driven out of the last of her German possessions, but was still as full of fight as ever,

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Polwarth

and the Northern allies were preparing to carry the war into Sweden itself by a joint descent upon Scania.

The instructions given to Lord Polwarth were to preserve and strengthen the friendship between the two Crowns of Britain and Denmark, and promote the advantage of British subjects and interests generally; but specially to observe the movements of the Danish Court, find out their designs with regard to their relations with neighbouring countries and princes, particularly with reference to the present war in the north, and, by maintaining good fellowship with the ambassadors of those princes at the Danish Court, to endeavour to ascertain the views and intentions of their respective masters, and communicate the same to the Secretary of State. He was also to maintain constant correspondence with the British ministers at other foreign Courts. To enable Lord Polwarth the better to accomplish his task, he was provided with a memorandum describing some of the characteristics of the men with whom he would have to do, and another similar paper of a later date by Count Flemming, the Saxon minister, was also in Lord Polwarth's hands. He reached Copenhagen and entered upon his duties in the end of July, 1716 (new style), his first official letter to Mr. Stanhope, narrating his audience with King Frederick the Fourth of Denmark being dated 4th August.

He found the Czar at Copenhagen busy making arrangements with the King of Denmark for the proposed descent on Scania. This it was intended to make by the united fleets of twenty-four Russian, eighteen Danish and nineteen British ships, and by the landing of a large body of 20,000 Danish and 36,000 Russian troops, the latter then lying in Mecklenburg. Peter was very anxious to proceed, as the season was so advanced, and the mode of operations to be followed was the subject of the first conference which Lord Polwarth and Sir John Norris had with the Danish ministers and those of the Czar at Copenhagen. The Czar and the King of Denmark had already agreed that the expedition was to be commanded, when both were present, by each king on alternate days; and it was now stated that the Czar would take command on sea both of his own and the Danish fleet. "That may be so," replied Sir John Norris, "but I shall command my own squadron, and am quite ready to co-operate with the others in driving the Swedes into port." It was no part of his instructions, he says later in a letter to Lord Polwarth, to surrender "the ranck of our country." This expedition, after much delay, was postponed to the following spring, and ultimately abandoned altogether.

The stoppage of the expedition, however, raised a new problem: What was to be done with the Russian troops? The Czar proposed to leave a third part of them in Denmark, paying for their maintenance there, to quarter another third part in Mecklenburg, and the remainder in Poland; while he himself went to Holland. His fleet also, it was suggested, should lie up for the winter at Copenhagen. But the Danes would not hear of the Russians remaining in their country or immediate neighbourhood on any terms. King George was as concerned that they should not go to Mecklenburg or

any part of the Empire, and pleaded with Frederick to allow at least some of the Russian troops to remain in Denmark, as they would protect his country. But Frederick was as firm with George as he had been with Peter. He was then asked to give his assistance against the landing of the Russians in Mecklenburg, even by force, if necessary, but he refused. It was none of his concern where they landed if they were out of Denmark. The result was that, in spite of all protests, the Russian troops went to Mecklenburg, and for the next ten months or so remained there, to the great misery of the inhabitants and the disquietude of the neighbouring powers. They were not got quit of until the end of July in the following year.

The town of Wismar was another question with which Lord Polwarth had to deal, though it affected Hanoverian interests rather than British. It had been taken from Sweden in April, 1716, by a joint army of Danish, Russian, Prussian and Hanoverian troops, and to obviate the competing claims of the conquerors it was proposed to demolish the fortifications and make it a free city of the Empire. The King of England was opposed to the demolition of the fortifications, but was overruled on the ground that having least of all taken part in reducing the town he had least right to interfere in its disposal.

In January, 1717, the English ministry startled Europe by suddenly seizing Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish minister at London, and taking possession of his papers. This was immediately followed by the apprehension of Baron Goertz, Swedish agent at Arnheim, by the Dutch authorities at the instance of the British ambassador. Gyllenborg had been using his privileged position to further the interests of the Pretender in England, and Baron Goertz was actively assisting, not, indeed, from any concern for the Pretender's cause, but in the belief that thereby he could best further the interests of his own master, Charles XII., though there is good reason to believe that that king was to a large extent ignorant of the proceedings of his ministers. The incident is known as the Swedish Plot. The Jacobite leaders, after the failure of the rising of 1715, had approached Sweden and offered a substantial subsidy if Charles would send ten to twenty thousand of his troops to Scotland to their assistance. Baron George Heinrich von Goertz von Schlitz of Holstein-Gottorp had attached himself to the King of Sweden as his financial minister and was devising all manner of expedients both within Sweden and without for raising money to carry on the war. With him the chief thing was to get the money, and Gyllenborg lent his ready assistance at London to further the scheme. Their apprehension upset the plot. Both were ultimately liberated, but only after a good deal of trouble. Charles, on hearing of the arrests, threw the British minister at Stockholm, Mr. Jackson, into prison, and kept him there until Gyllenborg was released. He also refused to make any apology for the conduct of his ministers, and it was only on the interposition of the Regent of France, who consented to make a declaration on behalf of Charles that he knew nothing of the interference of his ministers in the affairs of the Jacobites, that the tension was relieved. Gyllenborg was then sent back in July,

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1717, in a warship to Sweden, and Goertz was set free at the beginning of August.

Meanwhile the Czar was making a tour in Europe, visiting the capitals of the several countries, and his movements are followed in the letters. His marvellous military successes, and his determination to create a fleet which would make him at least partner, if not master, in the Baltic, made him a factor to be reckoned with in the maintenance of the balance of power. Prussia had practically ranged itself on the side of Peter, and there was a fear in England that Denmark would follow suit. The efforts of Lord Polwarth and Baron Bothmer to prevent this provide a great part of the subject matter of this volume. There was a strong anti-British party in the Danish cabinet, which maintained that in all he did George the First was only looking after his own interests. "Very well," said Lord Polwarth, "if you think so, my master has no need to send his fleet year after year in your interest to these waters." The fear of this, more than anything else, helped to draw them into the treaties. The Danes had a fleet of fair dimensions, but it was poorly equipped and they had not the means for its maintenance. They depended to a considerable extent for this on subsidies from Britain, and these were to be guaranteed by the treaties and not to be less than 50,000*l.* sterling yearly. Another element in the situation was the efforts which Baron Goertz was making to bring about peace between Charles XII. and the Czar. After his release this Baron, finding that his financial schemes were not so easy to float as he had hoped, turned his attention to the bringing about of a peace with Russia. He interviewed the Czar, and was so far successful that a meeting of plenipotentiaries from the two powers was arranged for. It was first proposed to be at Abo, but the island of Aland was finally agreed upon. From the commencement of the negotiations the rumour was constantly circulating that a peace had been concerted; and the Danes were constantly reminded that if this was the case there was nothing more probable than that the Russian fleet would join that of the Swedes with Denmark as their objective, and the certain loss of Norway, if not more, would follow. But the Danes were hard to move and their methods were sometimes provoking. At one stage the edict went forth from the Danish Court that all communications for the King must be put in writing and pass through the ministers. Lord Polwarth declined to conform to any such rule, and declared he would refrain from all communication until the obnoxious order was rescinded, as he had not been sent there to conduct a correspondence, which could be carried on without resident ministers. The absurdity of the ordinance, however, was too manifest, and the old order of things was restored. But this with other provocations stiffened the backs of Lord Polwarth and Baron Bothmer and they ceased for a time to press their attentions on the Danes, who then, becoming alarmed lest they should really lose the British support, evinced a greater readiness for friendly treating.

From the many complaints of British merchants there was no lack of cause even for exasperation against the Danes. Instead of

reciprocating the protection afforded to their coasts and ships by the British fleet, they lost no opportunity of harassing and oppressing British merchantmen, sometimes even after they had already been spoiled by the Swedes. They attempted also to lay an embargo upon the free navigation of the Elbe, and actually seized several ships; and it was only when threats were used of forcible measures being taken that they desisted.

When the intended "descent" on Schonen was finally abandoned it was proposed to make a combined naval attack upon Carlskrona, and Admiral Byng, in April, 1717, conducted a British fleet to Copenhagen for the purpose. That project also was found impracticable, which Admiral Byng shrewdly guessed the Danes well knew it would be. The Danes then suggested attacking the island of Gothland, but in this they were forestalled by the Russian fleet, which landed there the troops they had removed from Mecklenburg. That the coalition of the Russian and Swedish fleets was considered quite within the field of possibilities is evident by Admiral Byng demanding instructions as to what he should do if such a contingency arose, the reply being that he must endeavour to prevent such a union if any attempt was made to effect it.

The only active hostilities at this time were between Denmark and Sweden. Their object was the rectification of the frontier between Sweden and Norway, and they lasted until December of 1718, when the death of Charles at the siege of Frederikshald put an end to the operations and the whole Swedish army returned to Sweden. This event also brought to a sudden close the activities of Baron Goertz, as the Swedes, considering him one of their greatest enemies and oppressors, immediately brought him to book and put him to death. To this point only in the progress of the Northern war do the letters printed in the present volume come.

The letters, however, are also full of references to events taking place during their period both at home and in other European countries. From the Hague Lord Polwarth had numerous letters from the residents there—first Horatio Walpole, then Charles Whitworth, who was later associated there with Earl Cadogan; from Hamburg Sir Cyril Wych, the British resident there, kept him informed of what was afoot; at Paris his correspondents were John, Earl of Stair, and Thomas Crawford; while from Berlin Charles Whitworth, who was resident there for some time before he went to the Hague, wrote regularly. At Dantzic his correspondent was Joshua Kenworthy, through whom also generally came the letters received from Frederick Christian Weber, the Hanoverian resident at St. Petersburg, whose letters record the tragedy of the death of the Czarewitch at the hands of his own father. There are occasional letters from Stockholm, Dresden, Brussels, and other places, and a number from both Admiral Byng and Admiral Norris.

Throughout the correspondence there are references to the military and naval operations which were taking place in the south of Europe. In August, 1716, Mr. Robethon reported to Lord Polwarth the tidings of a great victory obtained by Prince Eugene over the Turks, and a little later the fall of Temesvar. In August,

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1717, that prince followed up his victories by taking Belgrade, with great slaughter among the Turks. The Turks yielded up Belgrade and other districts to the Empire, and a treaty was signed on 21st July, 1718, at Passarowitz in Servia, between the Turks on the one hand and the Emperor and Venice on the other, by which peace was guaranteed for the next quarter of a century.

Meanwhile Philip of Spain, under the guidance of Cardinal Alberoni, had commenced an attack upon Sardinia, with ulterior intentions on Italy, so as to oust the Emperor from his possessions there. Philip openly declared that his design was against Naples. In August, 1717, it was reported that the Spanish fleet had already landed 7,000 men in Sardinia and taken possession almost without opposition. Cagliari, indeed, held out, but was reduced in October. Still greater preparations were being made in Spain for a more formidable expedition in the spring, and the British Court became uneasy and instructed Lord Stair, the resident at Paris, to sound the Regent of France upon the position of affairs. The result was an attempt to bring about a peace between the Emperor and Philip, but these negotiations fell through. It was now June, and the Spaniards had their expedition ready at Barcelona. The King of Sicily wrote asking for the assistance of the British fleet in terms of the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Italy, and the like representations were also made to the Court of France. A fleet under Admiral Sir George Byng was dispatched to the Mediterranean in pursuit of the Spanish flotilla which had already gone, and Lord Stanhope undertook a mission to Madrid to endeavour to persuade Cardinal Alberoni to forgo his belligerent projects and fall in with the other powers for securing peace. He had a three hours' conversation with him at the Escorial, but made no headway, and returned without achieving his purpose. But even before their conference took place Admiral Byng had succeeded in getting into touch with part of the Spanish flotilla. His progress is reported in the letters. On 11th August he caught the Spanish fleet at Cape Passaro about twelve miles off Syracuse, when he destroyed nine of their ships and surrounded other twelve, which, he writes, he hoped to capture. The story of the destruction of their fleet is given by Admiral Byng with a list of their ships. This naval victory was followed by the rapid movement of Imperialist troops to Sicily and the other parts invaded by the Spaniards, and the letters here printed terminate with the beginning of the efforts of the Spaniards to extricate themselves from the toils in which they in turn were now involved. Unfortunately the news of the destruction of his fleet so exasperated Alberoni that in revenge he seized all British ships and goods and subjects in Spanish ports, recalled his minister at London and confirmed the two countries in a state of war.

At an earlier period, Philip, Duke of Orleans, the Regent of France, had fallen in heartily with the efforts of King George to bring about peace in the Empire and other European States, all the more that it assisted to secure the stability of his own position. A treaty was entered into between the two nations, and Holland was invited and accepted the invitation to enter the alliance. This was

known as the Triple Alliance, and was formally ratified in January, 1717. Lord Polwarth.

One of the results was that the Pretender could no longer find an asylum in France. Reference has already been made to some letters relating to the Rising of 1715, and in the correspondence now printed there will be a good deal found relating to the sequel of that event. In the office circular there are numerous references to individuals who had been arrested for participation in the rising and the arrangements for their trial and fate. There are references also to some of those who escaped abroad and busied themselves either at the Pretender's Court or in his service elsewhere. As for the Pretender himself, by the treaty with England he was not to be permitted to remain in France, but to be made to cross the Alps with his followers. The Regent agreed with the Pope that he should go to Italy, but the latter did not wish him at Rome. There are many references in the volume to his later movements.

VARIOUS COLLECTIONS. VOLUME VI.

(1717—1818.)

I. *The MSS. of Miss M. Eyre-Matcham.*—The collection in the possession of Miss Eyre-Matcham consists of a part of the correspondence and other papers of George Bubb Dodington, and includes interesting letters from Henry Fox, Lord Bute, Horace Mann, Lord Talbot, the Irish Chief Baron Wainwright and Lord Chancellor Bowes, James Thomson, the poet, and others. On the whole, the letters present Dodington in a more pleasing aspect than that in which he is generally viewed. He probably sums up pretty correctly the opinion of his contemporaries when he says: "It has always been my lot to be represented as an arrogant, self-sufficient, empty coxcomb, and in the same quarter of an hour . . . a deep, designing, dangerous spirit." Posterity has endorsed the former rather than the latter view. But that he could be a warm and steadfast friend is shown by his defence of Byng (in a speech called by Horace Walpole, who did not love Dodington, "humane, pathetic, and bold") and of Lord George Sackville after Minden. And many of the letters in this collection prove the real affection felt for him by men such as Lord Halifax, and his kindness of heart and willingness to help others. He was a kind patron to James Thomson, the poet, who thanks him for advice and encouragement, as well as for many other obligations, in a letter written just before his journey to Italy with Lord Talbot's son, in 1730. Thomson was then ardently looking forward to "seeing the fields where Virgil gathered his immortal honey" and to gaining inspiration from treading the ground where "men had thought and acted so greatly." His next letter, written a year later, is in strange contrast to the earlier one. He had been through most parts of France and Italy, and had found his enthusiasm for travelling go off very fast.

The first letter in the collection was written by Lord Stanhope before George Bubb had taken the name of Dodington, and while he was minister at Madrid. This is followed by two from Admiral Byng to George Dodington the elder on the question of Gibraltar,

(B1720—Gp. 5)

Var. Coll.
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Miss Eyre-
Matcham.

Var. Coll.
Vol. VI. :
Miss Eyre-
Matcham.

the difficulties of his own task, and his desire to return home and see quiet days.

In 1732 and 1733 there are several letters to and from Frederick, Prince of Wales, in the first of which Dodington begins by posing as a candid friend who scorns to flatter, and ends with as fulsome a piece of flattery as one can well imagine.

The Prince's earlier letters are short, friendly notes; but in the autumn of 1733 he wrote a long letter on the subject of divers stories then current to Dodington's detriment, in which, although he takes his friend's part, there are signs of a rift in the lute. Dodington, then on the eve of going over to Ireland, defended himself at great length, but the rupture with the Prince followed not long afterwards.

A supposed petition, dated in February, 1739-40, from a Miss Hamilton to George Denoyer, the popular dancing master, praying him to procure her a post as rocker in the Prince of Wales' nursery, on the ground that, as she heard, no person was admitted into that part of Norfolk House who was not a Hamilton—is an evident skit upon the number of Hamiltons whom Lady Archibald, the Prince's mistress, had placed about his court.

In this same year, 1740, Dodington again joined the Prince of Wales' party.

Three letters from Thomas Prowse, M.P. for Somersetshire and a member of the secret committee for investigating the charges of bribery and corruption against Walpole in 1742, illustrate the strong animus of the majority of those composing it—an animus so bitter that some of his more moderate antagonists ceased to attend the meetings.

Letters written in the autumn of 1744 show the deep depression of the party to which Dodington at this time belonged. "If we can do nothing," he wrote in a letter to Sir Watkyn Williams Wynn, "let us at least agree in that nothing, and show that it proceeds not from meanness, but from a noble despair." And again to Hillsborough: "If I foresaw any moral possibility of repelling the broad ruin that now stares us in the face, I should call upon your Lordship." But almost immediately afterwards Granville's ministry fell, and in the "broad bottom" administration which followed, Dodington was made Treasurer of the Navy.

At this point there is a hiatus of some years in the collection, and the next papers relate to Dodington's return to the Prince of Wales in the spring of 1748-9. At this time also Dodington's *Diary* (printed in 1784) begins, and helps to elucidate the letters. At the beginning of March the Earl of Middlesex was sent by the Prince to Dodington to offer him "the full return of his favour." His answer, accepting the Prince's offer, was given on 11th March, and on the same day he resigned his office of Treasurer of the Navy. His professed reasons, as given to Luke Gardiner, were—the hopeless state of the country and his own powerlessness to remedy the evils he foresaw, so that he thought it better to retire than to "stand loaded with emoluments, without the power of doing any real service" either to his country or his friends. His statement to

Mr. Pelham, as related in the *Diary*, is almost identical with this. Var. Coll.
 He agreed, however, to act until the appointment of a successor, Vol. VI. :
 and did not actually quit office until the 3rd May. After this, Miss Eyre-
 he was made much of at Leicester House, invited to sup or to dine, Matcham
 and appointed Treasurer of the Chamber, with a salary of 1,200*l.*,
 though it would appear from a passage in the *Diary* that this was
 made up to 2,000*l.* by the Prince, privately. This for the present.
 In the future, when the Prince should come to the Crown, he was
 to have a peerage, the management of the House of Lords and the
 Seals for the Southern Province, and was allowed to kiss hands, by
 way of acceptance, upon the spot.

A short note from the Prince of Wales (written in December, 1750) brings this chapter of Dodington's history to a close, so far as these papers are concerned. Frederick died in the following March, and the next document calendared is the " memorial of several " noblemen and gentlemen " concerning the education of the new Prince of Wales.

In 1754 Horace Mann gives an amusing account of Elizabeth Pitt's conversion (or re-conversion, as he considered it) to the Roman Church.

A series of letters to a young friend named East and his mother show Dodington as a kind, but by no means always a judicious, mentor of youth. In one of the letters he incidentally mentions that he has not played at cards for ten hours in ten years.

On 2nd September, and again on 3rd September, 1755, Pitt visited Dodington, as we learn from the *Diary*, and on the 6th Dodington exactly echoes his sentiments as regards the foreign subsidies, in writing to Halifax; yet when Fox, proving more pliant than his rival, was about to be made Secretary of State, Dodington, who ever loved the rising sun, and who also had certainly a warm attachment to Fox, wrote to congratulate him:—

" That of all those who are in the King's service or likely to be so, you are one whom I most cordially wish to see in the first rank, is a truth that I hoped to convince you of by contributing both to the placing and supporting you in it, and not by words. . . . I always wished you should be an actor—a principal actor—but where honour and reputation, as well as power, and profit distinguish the part you appear in; for, dear Mr. Fox, believe an old man that loves and esteems you, there is nothing else worthy of an honest, noble, well-regulated ambition."

Both Newcastle and Fox were anxious to engage Dodington, but doubted whether he would accept the " subsidiary treaties." They therefore wrote to Halifax (who was known to have great influence with him) praying for his assistance. On 10th October, Newcastle and Dodington had a long conference, but separated without coming to terms. On the 19th, however, they " settled preliminaries," and on the 22nd Dodington kissed hands as Treasurer of the Navy.

In the autumn of 1756, the burning question was the establishment of the Prince of Wales. The King wished to get him away from his mother's control; the Prince did not wish to leave her. Newcastle dared not meet Parliament until he had come to terms with Leicester House, and at length persuaded the King to allow the

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young Prince to remain with his mother, and to consent to their wish that Lord Bute should be Groom of the Stole.

In November, Newcastle and Fox resigned, and Dodington lost his place as Treasurer of the Navy.

In Fox's next letter, written on 12th March, 1757, he sketched a ministry which he believed would be acceptable to the country, but declared that if the King kept Pitt and Temple two months longer he should look upon them as complete conquerors and "Leicester House the Court." He wished Dodington to approach Halifax on his behalf, but the latter declared that as Mr. Fox had no positive proposition to make, he could have no positive answer to return. On 15th March, Fox informed Dodington that Temple had had "an unkindly audience," but he believed they did not mean to resign on it:—

"So," he continued, "now things tend to delay again; and you and I think alike of the consequence of that. . . . Pitt, &c., have by their faults and want of judgment, put themselves into our power; it is now our turn, by the same means to make them again masters."

Dodington seems to have suggested that Halifax would prefer to be Secretary of State. To this Fox replied:—

"Capacity is so little necessary for most employments that you seem to forget that there is one where it is absolutely so—viz., the Admiralty. It is there we want Lord Halifax's active ability. . . . Now, when the King with difficulty can be brought to open his closet door to Lord Halifax as head of the Admiralty, do you believe his declining that office will leave a possibility of his being Secretary of State?"

The great object was to extricate the King and country from their difficulties, and this could only be done by placing men "not" where they chose, but where they may best answer the great purpose they are called upon for." On 2nd April the downfall of the ministry was known to be imminent, and Fox was busy arranging the administration which he believed it would fall to his lot to form. He offered Dodington (through Hillsborough) the Treasurership of the Navy, and had already got Winchelsea's promise to go to the Admiralty. Matters were not, however, so easily settled, and at the beginning of June Dodington wrote:—

"I hear you are to come to town, but not much more informed of the settlement of the administration than the King himself. How long is this gentleman to trifle with his sovereign and benefactor and to keep our destiny in suspense; you of too much consequence, I of too little, to be trusted with or admitted to the honour of supporting him?"

To this Fox the next day replied that it was impossible to recollect half the absurdities he had that day heard.

Fox's last letter to Dodington at this crisis was written on 6th June, when Newcastle had been to the King to know what terms he might offer Mr. Pitt:—

"The King gave the Duke little encouragement to think he would condescend to such terms as they would accept, and the Duke gave the King as little to imagine that he would come in without them. His grace is to be at Court to-morrow, when, according to present appearances, they will part for good and all. . . . But the very reverse of this conjecture may prove to be the event. *Incertus non perturbatus.* I'll go to dinner. Adieu."

Following the Fox letters are several from Lord Talbot and Horace Mann. Var. Coll.
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Horace Mann, writing from Florence in March, 1758, evidently replies to a letter from Dodington describing the "union of counsels" in the ministry and the popularity of the King of Prussia. Not long after this Horace Walpole wrote to Mann:—"Our unanimity is prodigious. You would as soon hear 'No' from an old maid as from the House of Commons." Another letter from Mann about this time tells of his efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the dowager Lady Orford and her husband, Mr. Shirley, and a third discusses the probable consequences of the death of the King of Spain and the English success at Guadaloupe.

On George III.'s accession to the throne, Dodington lost no time in applying to Bute for some mark of favour from the young King and the Princess, who had ever been his most gracious mistress. He exerted himself to please Bute by getting "as many members" as he possibly could (and his parliamentary patronage was very large), and by sending him verses of a flattering nature.

There are many letters from Bute to Dodington and Dodington to Bute in the collection.

In October, 1761, two short notes from Young, the poet, offer emendations to Dodington's metrical *Epistle to the Earl of Bute*. It has sometimes been stated that this was merely his *Epistle to Walpole* altered to suit the circumstances; but this is an error, as they are entirely different.

The second section consists of letters on Irish affairs (1725-1762). The earlier letters are chiefly from Lord Chancellor West, Baron Wainwright, W. Cary, and Dr. Hart, Bishop of Killmore. They tell of the amusing plan of the Irish House of Commons in 1725, which in order to make an estimate of what the revenue might produce in two years, "it being thought necessary to take a *medium*" of what it had hitherto produced, it was gravely done by taking one year, and that the highest ever known; of the friction between Lords and Commons on the question of the "communication of bills" in 1733-4; of the difficulty in carrying a bill for the relief of the creditors of Burton's Bank; of the plot to oust Wainwright from the Exchequer by "kicking him upstairs"; of the great run on the banks in 1744; of the mischief brewing by the papists, and of the solemn vote of thanks given to a valiant cornet "for his great zeal and intrepidity in rummaging the monasteries, friaries and seminaries of Galway," and carrying off their papers.

In 1735, John Bowes, the Irish Solicitor-General, appealed to Dodington for help against a bill in the English Parliament which he feared would tend to promote the growth of popery; and also repeated a speech made against him by "that eternal snarl Swift." Alluding to Dodington's place as Clerk of the Pells, and speaking of the good nature of his countrymen, Swift had said:—

"One Carey, last session, introduced a gentleman from England, dressed him in a suit of Irish manufacture, which cost thirty shillings, and then showed him for a patriot, upon which the good people of Ireland gave him seven hundred pounds per annum."

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Sir Arthur Acheson thought that too much had been made of a small matter. Luke Gardner had been "talking like a great patriot," and said no gentleman of the country should be forgiven that wore anything but the manufactures of it. The Dean retorted that Gardner had got into employments worth two thousand pounds, while he possibly might lay out ten in a suit of clothes, and then made the speech about Dodington, but only in the "way of rattling the Dean has always indulged himself in," and which, it is to be feared, "he will never be broke of."

There was a good deal of opposition to the vote for Dodington's salary. In the end, however, the matter was settled in his favour, and the vote was passed without a division and with only a few words of objection which never "rose to the shadow of a debate."

A letter from Dr. Lewis Bruce gives an account of the discussion in the House of Lords in February, 1756, in relation to the creeds of the church; and one from Bowes (now Lord Chancellor) describes the tumult in Dublin in December, 1759, on the alarm of an intended union with Britain, when the mob broke every door in the Parliament House, and, surrounding the coach in which the Chief Justice and the Chancellor were sitting, insisted on the latter being sworn that he was against the Union. To this letter Dodington replied very gravely. However diverting the sight might be "of a Chief Justice swearing a Chancellor in the hands of an enraged multitude" it was a thing which he saw with great concern, and the more so because he did not see a remedy. His love of Ireland, he continued, made it very distressing to him to see "a Protestant multitude attack a Protestant government, in a country where all together do not make a sixth of the whole," and though all was said to be quiet again, "methinks we are dancing upon a mine that may spring at once, in the very moment that we imagine we are most entertained and entertaining." He congratulates his friends, however, upon their escape, and also sincerely rejoices at their safety from foes without, "for had not Hawke been more and Conflans less than a man, Ireland must have been as much lost as Minorca."

There are other interesting letters from Chancellor Bowes, in more than one of which he refers to Lord George Sackville's court-martial. Several other letters from the Chancellor follow, discussing the political situation in 1760 and 1761, and especially the question of sending bills (particularly money bills) over to the English Parliament. The latest Irish letters in the collection tell of the arrival and favourable reception of the Earl of Halifax in 1761, and the last of all is from Halifax himself, when, after a toilsome six months, he was preparing to leave Ireland, where, "what with claret and with business," he declared, he was almost dead, although he had been "as sober and busy a lieutenant as any of his late predecessors."

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Knox.

II. *The MSS. of Captain Howard Vicente Knox.*—The manuscripts which form the subject of this report consist for the most part of the official papers and correspondence of William

Knox, best known as Under Secretary for the Colonial Department from 1770 until 1782, when the office was abolished. Knox was born in Ireland, in 1732, and in a memorandum preserved amongst the papers he gives an account of his ancestry. Var. Coll.
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The papers contain nothing which throws light on William Knox's early life, but he must, as a young man, have shown considerable capacity and intelligence, for, when only four and twenty years of age, he was appointed Provost Marshal of Georgia by Lord Halifax, going out with the new Governor, Henry Ellis, in December, 1756. His narrative of his journey to and proceedings in Georgia is in this collection. Many names are indicated only by initials but these are easily identified by the registers of the proceedings of the Council, the official entries confirming the accuracy of Knox's account. At Charlestown, in South Carolina, Knox for the first time met William Henry Lyttelton (then Governor there) afterwards one of his most intimate friends.

In 1760, Knox made up his mind to return to England. Neither the climate nor the country of Georgia was agreeable to him, and he complained that the whole burden of affairs lay on his shoulders. His residence in the colony had not, however, been without satisfactory results, as he had set up a plantation there, with every prospect of a good return.

Not many weeks later his plans received a sudden check upon the receipt of news of the death of his brother and father. As the desire of ministering to an aged parent had been his strongest reason for wishing to return, he determined to postpone his intended voyage, if he could acquire something better than his present office. His salary and fees together at this time only amounted to 150*l.* per annum, on which he was expected to keep up his position as a member of Council in a land where every necessity of life cost nearly twice what it did at home.

Governor Ellis was, just at this time, going to England, and offered to propose Knox as his lieutenant during his absence, but Knox declined this, partly indeed from the difficulty of carrying on the government without support, but partly also from lack of means. He would have liked the post of English agent with the Indians, urging his knowledge of the people in general and of the Indians in particular, and especially emphasising the need of kindness in the treatment of the latter; it "being ridiculous in the highest degree" to think of gaining an influence among a people who are as free "as the wild beasts and as jealous of their liberty, by assuming a "superiority over them." The expected vacancy, however, did not occur.

In February, 1762, the legislature of Georgia appointed him their agent in England, and he received the King's permission to return. He farmed out his office of Provost Marshal, let his plantation and negroes, and before the end of April was in England.

At the end of the year 1762, when the preliminaries of the Peace of Paris were under discussion, Knox was brought to the notice of Lord Shelburne, as able to give him valuable information and assistance in regard to the provinces of Florida and Louisiana, the

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acquisition of which was treated by the Opposition as a matter of no importance.

Lord Shelburne, soon after, gave him a commission to execute in Paris of "a pretty hazardous nature," it being in fact to procure, out of the French King's bureaux, maps and plans of the French islands and fortifications in the West Indies; but, on reaching Paris, Knox found that, some short while before, a draft had been purloined for the Duke of Cumberland, in consequence of which the Government had taken precautions, and there was no longer a chance of anything being obtained.

The English statesman whom Knox most heartily admired, and with whose views he was in fullest sympathy, was George Grenville. His connexion with Grenville had already begun when he returned from France, and from that time he never thought of leaving him "either in or out of office."

Two intimate conversations at Wotton are recorded. Knox's friends, Lyttelton and Ellis, shared his admiration for Grenville, and were greatly pleased by the intimacy. Lyttelton, in 1767, congratulated him on having paid a visit

"to a man who will know how to do justice to your talents, and who is himself such a fund of useful knowledge that everybody who frequents him must improve from his conversation, especially when matters of government are in question."

In June, 1768, Grenville sent Knox a long letter, chiefly on the subject of preventing the American Colonies from manufacturing their own raw materials, a possibility which filled the minds of English statesmen and English merchants with dismay.

This was followed by another letter on the same subject. Knox was in favour of the plan proposed by Franklin, that the taxes should be, as it were, compounded for; that each colony should furnish a certain quota, and that all taxes should cease to be imposed, except in case of refusal by any colony to provide its quota.

"To such a surrender," Grenville wrote, "I can never be a party, as I think it the highest species of treason against the constitution and sovereign authority of this kingdom to deprive it of one-fourth of its subjects; but tho' I cannot adopt nor approve of such a plan, yet I can submit to it, . . . and so far I am from thinking, if I had the power, that I have a right to carry matters to extremity, as you tell me it is supposed I would . . . that if I were to see the King, the Parliament and the people ready to run into extremes on that side, I would employ all the means in my power to prevent it."

Many other letters follow upon this subject and others allied to it. At this time Knox was diligently writing on political matters. On 11th September Grenville congratulated him on having almost got through the tedious business of correcting for the Press, and hoped soon to have the pleasure of seeing his "performance upon "the State of the Nation" complete.

In 1765 Knox married Letitia, daughter of James Ford, of Dublin, and in either 1766 or 1767 a son was born, to whom Lyttelton stood godfather. This child died in infancy, but in 1768 a little daughter arrived, whose "spiritual direction" was under-

taken by Lord Clare; and in 1769 Lyttelton's hope of having another godson to replace the one he had lost was fulfilled.

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During the summer of 1770 Knox was appointed joint Under Secretary for the Colonies with John Pownall, and served successively under Hillsborough, Dartmouth and Lord G. Germain until the suppression of the department in 1782. Germain and Knox appear to have worked very harmoniously together. Lord George's letters are business-like, but always courteous, and he evidently appreciated his subordinate's superior knowledge and experience in relation to America.

In matters of policy or the conduct of the war it is not to be supposed that Knox's voice would have great weight. In fact, Germain would appear to have been only too ready (with the King's support) to undertake the control of military operations. It may be, however, that he was not personally so responsible as is sometimes supposed. There is a letter from him to Sir Guy Carleton, evidently in reply to a protest from that commander against the powers exercised by the Secretary in regard to military affairs. Business of such importance, he assured Sir Guy, received the fullest consideration from his Majesty's principal servants, and was then submitted to the King, who, after mature deliberation, gave such orders as he thought proper. The execution only of these orders belonged to the Secretary's department, and for the manner, but not for the matter, of the despatches must he be held responsible. In some cases Germain went even further, for in July, 1778, after he had received his instructions for a letter to the Commissioners in America, and had had the draft drawn up and revised it, he desired that Lord North, some other ministers, "and in short the whole cabinet if possible," should see the despatch before he signed it.

Knox was by no means so opposed to concessions to the colonies as was his chief, although he was quite as strongly convinced that England's sovereignty over them must be maintained at all costs. It has been seen that he advocated the abandonment of all taxation, supporting the idea of some voluntary proposal as an equivalent; nay, he went further, and thought that "there were many unjust as well as unpolitic restraints upon the colonies which ought to be taken off."

Knox's acquaintance with Thurlow began when General Burgoyne called for an enquiry into the cause of his miscarriage at Saratoga. Thurlow, then Attorney-General, came to Knox for information as to "the motives, measures and failure of the expedition," and the Under Secretary at once put into his hands a precis which he had drawn up (according to his annual custom) of the letters of that year. Thurlow examined it and exclaimed:—

"Why, this is the very thing I wanted, and you have done it already; pray, do the ministers know of this?" "Yes, Sir, they have all had copies of it." "Then, by God, they have never read it, for there is not one of them knows a tittle of the matter."

From that time Thurlow was always very civil to Knox, who

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regularly visited him at his levées after he became Chancellor, and in time was admitted to a closer intercourse.

In the spring of 1782 the suppression of the American department deprived Knox of his office, while the "fatal revolt of New York" and Georgia had left him without income from his American property. After the recovery of Georgia, he had indeed re-established his plantations there, and towards the end of 1783 his private fortune had so far recovered itself that he was able to buy an estate in Wales, and to ask the King for the baronetcy which his circumstances had not allowed him to demand in compensation for the loss of his office in 1782. He claimed to have a definite promise of this baronetcy from the King, but the promise was never fulfilled. Moreover, when the time came for settling the compensation to be given to the American loyalists, Knox found that his name was placed in the class of neutrals, or such as had rendered no service "to the King during the war," and this although the State of Georgia had passed an Act for the sole purpose of confiscating his property, on the ground "that he had always shown himself inimical to the liberties of America, and was then, as Under Secretary of State, counselling and advising the King of Great Britain in his arbitrary and tyrannical designs." In 1786, he was appointed High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire and offered knighthood, an offer not very gratifying to a man who believed himself entitled to a baronetcy.

This neglect made Knox very bitter against the Government in general and Pitt in particular; and on 25th May, 1788, he wrote to Lord Walsingham, announcing his adherence to "a middle party" (*i.e.*, Lord Rawdon's) that has sprung up from the inattention and "partiality of Mr. Pitt in disposing of offices."

Walsingham assured his friend that he did not doubt the purity of his motives, but questioned the utility of his lending his talents to men "who may not be able to substitute so good an administration as that which it is their object to subvert."

After the "erection" of the Province of New Brunswick in 1784 Knox was appointed agent, and diligently attended to the guardianship of its affairs.

In 1801 he was also appointed agent for Prince Edward Island, without salary, but with a promise of at least 60*l.* a year, and the following year was requested to sit for his portrait; the said portrait to be placed in the first public building hereafter to be erected in the colony. The picture was duly painted by the Baroness de Tott, but neither money to pay for it nor any remuneration for his three years of work was for some time forthcoming. Eventually, however, owing to the energy of the Governor, both were received.

The latest letter from William Knox contained in the collection is dated 9th October, 1809, and addressed to Dr. Herschell. In it Knox rather daringly embarks on astronomic enquiries, which the great astronomer very courteously answered.

Amongst Knox's friends and correspondents a foremost place was held by William Henry Lyttelton, Governor successively of South Carolina and Jamaica; afterwards created Lord Westcote,

and, in 1794, Lord Lyttelton. In July, 1764, he wrote from Jamaica on the subject of the proposed stamp duty, praising the part taken by Knox and his fellow agents.

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In 1765 Lyttelton lost his wife, and throughout this and the following year had much difficulty with the Jamaica Assembly and the "obstinate people" committed to his care. He managed, however, to get the Stamp Act "fully carried into execution" in his government. In more than one of his letters at this time he speaks with affectionate admiration of George Grenville, who, it will be remembered, was his first cousin.

In 1767 he returned to England, and was appointed minister to Lisbon. Twelve years before, the city had been half destroyed by the great earthquake; and when the new ambassador arrived he found "a most singular prospect of regular new-built streets, intermixed with the ruins of vast edifices, palaces, churches and convents," while in answer to his demand for good pictures, as for all other things that were lacking, the one answer was:—they were lost in the earthquake. Other letters from Lisbon follow in 1768-70, and then either the correspondence flagged or the letters have not been preserved. But there are two letters written within a very short time of each other, in April, 1803. In the earlier of these he says:—

"I am in mourning for my very old cousin, Lady Chatham, who survived all her brothers many years. It is no personal loss to me, for she lived at so great a distance from me that I have had no society with her for a long time past."

The second letter written a week or two later ends with a frankly personal outlook upon public affairs, so naïve as to be amusing.

In 1805 he mentions that his much lamented friend Champion had left him his library as a legacy. This was Anthony Champion, an old schoolfellow of Lyttelton's, who edited his poems.

His last letter is dated 4th January, 1807:—

"I will not omit to tell you, my very worthy old friend, that I am this day completely eighty-two years old, and shall give and partake of a cheerful dinner with some of my neighbours. What a pleasure would it be if I could add you to their number! Yet I will not propose a journey to you in the winter; I believe I shall outlive it and shall be happy in your company if you will favour me with a visit in any one of the next summer months."

The old man's belief was well-founded, for he lived until the autumn of 1808.

Next in order amongst Knox's correspondents is Henry Ellis, ex-Governor of Georgia, under whom Knox had worked when Provost Marshal of that province. After leaving America, Ellis led a wandering life, apparently in search of health, and, from the summer of 1774, seems to have spent most of his time at Spa. His letters give the gossip of that fashionable watering-place, intermixed with comments and reflections upon public affairs. He was a bitter opponent of the Americans, and found it impossible to conceive that they could hold their own against England. "The ignorance of people upon the continent," who thought such a thing possible, struck him as amazing. He spent the winter of 1778-9 at

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Marseilles "very agreeably, particularly as none of my own country-folks were there, who are the most restless and discontented people upon earth." A general order had excluded all British subjects from the ports of France, but Ellis obtained an exception from King Louis in his favour, and associated freely with the French, who treated him with "uncommon attention." In 1780 the King of Sweden was at Spa, and Ellis, whom he distinguished by his notice, pronounced him "one of the most amiable and captivating princes" he had ever seen. Gustavus III. praised the King of England as "a most worthy and well informed prince," and begged the Governor, on his return to England, to assure his Majesty that he should never forget the good he had done him. Ellis could not tell what this good was, but said it seemed to have made a great impression on the King of Sweden's mind.

In the winter of 1780-81 Ellis was again in the south of France, where he found the people so "warmly attached to their prince and to the honour of their country" that faction dared not show its head a moment. Although the effects of the war were pretty severely felt, there was no appearance of discontent, and hardly any murmuring. So little did he suspect the storm that was soon to burst over the land. Some suspicion had, however, as he said, crept in, in relation to Neckar's publication of the state of the finances. A few weeks later he mentions Neckar's fall.

Ellis, like Knox, suffered severely from the loss of his American possessions, and the close of his life was clouded by financial anxieties in consequence of the threatened failure of the bank into which he had put much of his capital. In August, 1805, there was a violent earthquake at Naples, where he then was, and he had a fall, followed by a paralytic attack. From this he partially recovered, but the improvement was only transitory, and he died on 28th January, 1806.

Intimately associated with Governor Ellis was George Cressener, who sent Knox letters of news concerning foreign affairs. He was a shrewder observer than Ellis, and from the first was doubtful as to the issue of the quarrel with America, emphasising especially the smallness of the English force there and the need "to ensure success by numbers." But he was just as bitterly hostile to the insurgents, and spoke of the Bostonians as men in a high fever, whom bleeding only could bring to their senses. In this same letter he gives an anecdote showing the violent temper of the Prince Royal of Prussia, who in the following year became King Frederick William II. "Judge," he concludes, "what a king he will make, with such a fiery disposition."

Amongst Knox's other correspondents may be mentioned Lord Clare, his fellow Under Secretary, John Pownall, from whom there are many letters in the collection; Lord Hillsborough; Sir Grey Cooper; and Lord Rawdon, from whom there are two long letters on the position taken up by himself and his friends in 1789.

The second section of the papers in this collection contains letters and documents relating to Ireland, the earliest writers being Sir Lucius O'Brien and Sir John Blacquiere, who in 1776-1778 discussed

matters of trade, especially in relation to exports and imports and the fishery. Var. Coll.
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In 1778 are many letters from Sir Richard Heron on the same subjects. He also alludes to the attempts made at this time to relieve the Roman Catholics of Ireland from their disabilities. The most violent opposition was expected "against repealing the "gavelling clause, which the Roman Catholics abhor, and their "opposers—even moderate men—consider as the palladium of "Ireland." Dean Tucker, of Gloucester, wrote, somewhat later, that as regards the repeal of the persecuting laws, he had one short remark to make: "that when the Papists are reforming the very "worst and most mischievous parts of their religion by their open "disavowal of persecution, some of us, who call ourselves Protes- "tant, adopt those very principles which they are casting off."

Other correspondents in Ireland are Edmund Pery, General Cunningham, William Eden, the Marquis of Buckinghamshire, and Archdeacon Hastings, the last writing in relation to the publication of Knox's "Extra Official State Papers."

The last document relating to Ireland is a paper by Knox on the question of Emancipation, in which, referring to the doctrine of the Real Presence, he observes:—"The only difference is that "the Catholics believe *more* than the Church of England."

Following the Irish papers are *Reminiscences, Political Anecdotes, &c.* Knox's proceedings in Georgia and his conversations with George Grenville have already been mentioned. These are followed by the circumstances of Lord Hillsborough's resignation in 1772, Anecdotes at Spa, and a memorandum on the proceedings attending Lord George Germain's appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies. A difficulty had hitherto been made in considering the American Secretary as a Secretary of State at all. Lord Hillsborough "was only held to be first Lord of Trade with Seals and "Cabinet." Lord Dartmouth's commission was the same, and Lord Weymouth had refused the department on that very account. Lord George being a commoner,

"it became necessary to make some alteration in his commission, for the former commission made it a new office and consequently excluded him from the House of Commons. A commission in the terms of those of the other Secretaries obviated this difficulty, for there were precedents of three persons being at the same time Secretaries of State."

But opposition was expected, especially from Lord Weymouth. "The King, by one of those minute strokes for which he is so "eminent, removed all difficulty." When Council met, and the Lord President moved that Lord Weymouth might be sworn, the King replied: "There are two Secretaries of State to be sworn; let "them both be sworn together"; which was done accordingly. Lord Weymouth perfectly understood the King, and accepted the situation.

Next follow papers in relation to America; a sketch of the King's speech to his cabinet on 21st June, 1779—when "he sat down at the "head of his library table, and desired for the first time since he

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“ became King all the ministers to sit down ”—and a note on the proposed changes in July, 1779.

A quarto copy-book contains a number of personal sketches, entitled “ Curious Political Anecdotes.” The first gives an account of an audience of Lord Rockingham, as narrated by the King to Lord George Germain

Lord Rockingham urged the importance of liberty to export woollen cloth from Ireland:—

“ But,” said the King, “ I could not help observing how people are affected by their particular interest, for I was talking of what Lord Rockingham proposed to Lord Hartford, and he said the exportation of woollens would do nothing for Ireland; advantages in the linen were the things wanting.”

Sir William Howe, Lord Hillsborough, William Eden, Wedderburn, Thomas Hussey are in turn the subjects of sketches; followed by one on Lord Thurlow, part of which, in relation to Knox, has already been quoted. A curious little anecdote is told of Thurlow in relation to the proposal to apprehend Hancock, Adams and other American leaders. The two Under Secretaries were in the outer room awaiting the end of a sitting of the Cabinet when Thurlow, then Attorney-General, came out:—

“ ‘ Well,’ cried Pownall, ‘ is it done? ’ ‘ No,’ answered Thurlow, ‘ nothing is done. Don’t you see,’ added he, ‘ that they want to throw the whole responsibility of the business upon the Solicitor-General and me, and who would be such damned fools as to risk themselves for such—fellows as these. Now if it was George Grenville, who was so damned obstinate that he would go to hell with you before he would desert you, there would be some sense in it.’ He walked off, and the project was dropped.”

An account of a Cabinet meeting on “ the Dutch business ” in 1780 states that Lord North and the President (Bathurst)—

“ fell asleep as soon as the business was opened; Lord Hillsborough nodded and dropt his hat; Lord Sandwich was overcome at first, but rubbed his eyes and seemed attentive; Lord Amherst kept awake but said nothing. Lord Stormont, the reader of these important papers, the Chancellor and Lord George Germain only gave them consideration, but when the others awoke, they approved of what was proposed.”

There is a long account of the circumstances which preceded Lord George Germain’s removal in 1782

After a paper on Lord Thurlow, giving the story of “ the Regency “ business ” in the Chancellor’s own words, there follows a sketch of Charles Townshend.

Townshend’s manner of reading a book was curious:—

“ He turned over the leaves at the beginning extremely quick, first glancing at the middle of each page. ‘ That’s all preface,’ says he. He then ran over the facts with more attention, and when he had gone through them, turned over the remainder of the leaves as he had done the beginning, saying, ‘ that’s all conclusion, I can do that myself,’ and he received oral communications in the same manner, always confining the narrator to the fact.”

The sketch closes with an entertaining account of the advice given by Townshend to Yorke, when the latter was offered the choice of being Attorney-General or Master of the Rolls in 1764.

The subject of the last sketch is Lord Lansdowne.

Some miscellaneous papers, chiefly in relation to American affairs, are followed by letters and other documents on the subject of presents to the North American Indians, a business in which Knox was actively concerned. The value of those sent out in the years 1775-1779 amounted to about 87,500*l.*, and in 1781 the demands made by the officers charged with their distribution fell little short of 55,000*l.*, without reckoning charges of freight or delivery.

After the text of the present volume was completed, Captain Knox found and sent up a packet of letters from Dr. Philip Skelton, which it was thought a pity to exclude. They, therefore, form a short supplementary report at the end of the volume.

A few of the letters calendared in this report are printed, partially in Knox's "Extra Political State Papers," but have been included in this volume, in order not to break the continuity of the correspondence, and the rather, as Knox's book has long been out of print.

In a small packet with the letters is a silver tinselled, jewelled leek, and a note by Lady Dillon, saying "This was given to my dear Father by the Prince of Wales on St. David's Day, who took it out of his hat, asking my father to give him his in exchange, saying they would exchange again next year on St. David's Day, but, alas, my dear Father had passed away before that date."

III. *The MSS. of Cornwallis Wykeham-Martin, Esq.*—This selection of letters addressed to Admiral the Honourable Sir William Cornwallis, G.C.B., although without claim to any very high importance in a historical sense, possesses interest of various kinds naturally arising out of the Admiral's own position and achievements. He belonged by birth to two famous English families which reached a very high point of renown and prosperity during his own lifetime. His long and distinguished services embraced the most glorious period in the naval annals of Great Britain. And while the earlier letters present a most pleasing picture of English family life, of union firmly knit by pure affection, governed by high principle, and directed to worthy aims, many of those of a later date are the unstudied effusions of great seamen, whose deeds lend undying lustre to our national records.

Sir William Cornwallis, born on 20th February, 1744, was the fourth son and youngest child of the fifth Viscount and first Earl Cornwallis, by a marriage with the eldest daughter of Viscount Townshend, a leading statesman in the reign of George I. He appears to have entered the navy at the age of eleven. When the correspondence opens in April, 1761, we find him sharing as a Lieutenant of the *Thunderer* under Captain Proby the glory of a successful action with a Spanish frigate near Cadiz. There are only a few letters to him from his father, all written in the course of that year. They are affectionate and full of good counsel, urging him particularly to cultivate the esteem and friendship of his superior officers as the surest means of professional advancement, and pointing to the example of his eldest brother, Lord Brome, who, at the age of twenty-three, already commanded a regiment in Germany with

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great reputation. A letter from Brome himself, overflowing with fraternal regard and with grief for the recent death of their brother Harry in Germany, belongs to the same period. The Earl died in 1762, leaving his two younger sons, James and William, still minors, and but slenderly provided for, under the guardianship of their mother. James, who had gone to Merton College, Oxford, soon won a fellowship, and entering the Church under the favouring auspices of his uncle, Frederic Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained rapid preferment. Having thus happily got her elder charge "off her hands," all Lady Cornwallis's care and aspirations centred in William, her favourite child. All her efforts and resources were employed in pushing him forward in the navy. Having obtained for him from Lord Halifax, now at the head of the Admiralty, the command of a schooner in which he sailed for the West Indies, she set her heart on having him promoted to the rank of post-captain before the close of the Seven Years' war.

It appears from a letter written to him by Admiral Keppel that his mother's efforts to have him posted were frustrated by some blunder or change of purpose on the part of Admiral Burnaby, who commanded in the West Indies. William seems to have thought that her eagerness for his promotion outran discretion, and to have asked her to abstain from any further application to the Admiralty on his behalf. Thenceforward she schooled herself to a severe control of indiscreet feeling. "All her happiness," she told him with touching submission, "consisted in obeying his wishes." In 1765 the Whigs, returning to office for a brief period under Lord Rockingham, conferred on him the rank so much coveted for him by all his family.

Some of the early letters of the Dowager Countess give current news of social or political events. Notwithstanding her staunch loyalty she seems to have sympathised with Wilkes in his struggle with the Crown. In a letter written in 1763 during the political crisis provoked by George Grenville's arrogant lectures to George III., we have a striking picture of the Great Commoner passing in his "gouty chair" through the crowded park from Buckingham House, after a prolonged interview with the King, during which the Prime Minister, calling to administer his daily admonition, found the Royal closet closed against him. In the interval of peace between the Seven Years' War and the War of American Independence the correspondence is broken by long and frequent blanks. Captain Cornwallis seems to have been for the greater part of this time absent from England on foreign service. During the year 1770, his sister Mary, who had married Mr. Whitbread, sent him news of the day, and contributed to his comfort at sea by liberal supplies of porter from her husband's brewery. The evidence afforded by her letters of a most amiable and generous nature leaves a feeling of regret for her premature death. In 1771 Captain Blankett, having "come to peep in London," sent Cornwallis a report of what he heard of the particular fortunes of their naval friends, and saw of the general society of the capital. Their friend Stott had taken possession of Falkland Island, and returned safe to Plymouth. Mr. Banks "was

“going on another expedition to the South Sea, taking Cook as
 “one of his captains. . . . Cotton still continues idle in regard to
 “our service, and is entered into that of a wife (though he denies
 “it), which probably may be attended with as many storms,
 “hurricanes, and tempests as any frigate in the West Indies.” His
 picture of the general aspect of social life in London at this time is
 not edifying. “Extravagance,” he wrote, “luxury, and gaming are
 “the fashionable vices of the town, and it will astonish you on your
 “return to see the vast improvements of the age. The Lotorie,
 “Macaroni, White’s, Almac’s, &c., are in the most flourishing state,
 “and cards in all companies are the only things worth living for. A
 “man of taste must play all the morning, or at least four or five
 “games before dinner, which is shortened to give time for the
 “exquisite pleasures of *Quinze* and *Vingt-Un*. In fact, idleness
 “and debauchery are so far taken possession of all ranks in society
 “that opposition to the King’s measures is a piece of barbarity
 “inconsistent with the manners of the present age. All wit is at
 “Court, all knowledge at the gaming table.”

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During the war with the American States and their European allies, Captain Cornwallis was constantly on active service, every year adding to his reputation as a brave and skilful officer. In November, 1777, when in command of the *Isis* frigate on the American station under Lord Howe, he took a prominent part in the attack on Fort Mifflin. His ship being much damaged, Captain Cornwallis returned in her to England early in 1778. In September of that year we have two short but remarkable letters written to him by his sister-in-law, Jemima Lady Cornwallis. They paint in the gloomiest colours the state of parties in England; an administration, obstinate and incapable, rushing blindly on national disaster; an opposition, in which the spirit of faction has killed every patriotic feeling, rejoicing in public reverses which must soon overwhelm all in common ruin. This picture in some measure reflected the morbid melancholy to which the writer had fallen a victim. She was dying of a broken heart. In 1776 George III. had appointed Lord Cornwallis to a prominent post in the army assembled under Sir William Howe to repress the American revolt. Lady Cornwallis, unable to endure the prospect of separation for an indefinite time from a husband to whom she was tenderly attached, privately contrived, through the influence of their uncle, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the King, to have the appointment cancelled. But Cornwallis, though devoted to his wife and strongly opposed to the colonial policy of the Government, insisted on joining Howe. He considered military service in time of war as a call of duty which he could not evade without dishonour. At the end of the campaign of 1777 he came home for a few months, returning to New York in April, 1778. His wife, with their children, accompanied him to Portsmouth, where he embarked, and sorrow for this second parting brought on her an illness which proved fatal. When her husband heard of her danger, he threw up his command and hurried back, only to see her die. By her express request no stone was inscribed to her memory, but a thorn was planted on her grave, as nearly

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 Vol. VI. : C. 5th May, 1779, announced to William, now commanding the *Lion*
 Wykeham- man-of-war on the West Indies, that he returned to America not
 Martin, Esq. with views of ambition, but because England had become insup-
 portable to him. All the joy had gone out of his life.

In the disorderly battle off Grenada, in July, 1779, between the English and French fleets, commanded by Admirals Byron and D'Estaing, the *Lion*, being exposed without support to the whole fire of the enemy, was shattered and dismasted. Escaping capture by good fortune, the disabled ship drifted on the current to Jamaica. However inglorious for the British arms, this fight reflected lustre on Captain Cornwallis. Admiral Barrington, second in command to Byron, on returning to England in very bad humour with the general conduct and condition of the fleet, spread his praises everywhere. His brother James, already Dean of Canterbury, his uncle the Archbishop, and Captain Leveson Gower wrote to assure him that his valour and seamanship were the theme of every tongue. Lord Cornwallis, still plunged in grief for his irreparable loss, sent him cordial congratulations from New York. "God bless you" the letter ends, "May success, honour and riches attend you. Mind I put honour first, which you will approve of." Later in the same year Lord Cornwallis wrote to his mother: "For yourself I have in this world neither hopes nor fears. I will endeavour to do my duty to my country and be honest; and then, with perfect resignation to His will, I will put my trust in God's mercy."

Early in 1780, Captain Cornwallis, being in command of a small squadron in the West Indies, encountered a stronger French force under Admiral La Mothe Piquet, and bore off the honour of the day. At a time when the public mind in England was depressed by repeated defeat, and hostile fleets rode triumphant in the Channel, this partial success to which the official report of Admiral Sir Peter Parker did full justice, seems to have caused a considerable sensation. At the end of the year Admiral Parker despatched Cornwallis to England in charge of a large convoy.

During these events in the West Indies the mind of the old Dowager Countess, as exhibited in her letters, was a constant tumult of excitement. Her joy and pride in the rising fame of her favourite son, and the compliments showered on him from all quarters, which she fondly treasured up in her diary, were mingled with anxiety for his safety, and a passionate longing to see him again.

In 1781, after resting a short time in England, Captain Cornwallis applied to the Admiralty for active employment. Sailing again to the West Indies in command of the *Canada*, Cornwallis won additional renown early in 1782 by a gallant attempt to save St. Kitts from the more powerful French armament of Count D'Estaing. A little later he took a leading part in Rodney's brilliant victory over Count de Grasse, the closing, and for England the most glorious, event of the war. His fame was now high, and firmly established. Letters from his mother and brothers in England, informing him of a change of Ministry and other matters of public or personal interest, contained many particulars flattering to himself. James Cornwallis,

now bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, wrote in reference to the naval action at St. Kitts, "the King spoke very handsomely of you the other day to Tommy Townshend, the present Secretary of War." And again, after news had arrived of Rodney's victory, he wrote, "the King made your praise the subject of his conversation at the *levée*. Lord Rockingham was as strong in his commendation of you to me." Lord Rodney, too, lauded him to the skies. Lord Cornwallis, now back in England as a prisoner of war on *parole*, sent equally favourable reports. The Dowager Countess, grown feeble, and satisfied with the renown William had acquired, now sighed for peace, and lived only in the hope of having him with her again. Hearing that Rodney had offered him De Grasse's captured flagship, the *Ville de Paris*, to take to England, she wrote on 27th May:—"Why did you not accept the Admiral's offer? By all the accounts, you had a very considerable share in the taking her. The coming home in her would have been an *éclo*t, and what is material, I should have the comfort of seeing you soon. Perhaps that would have been an objection to you. If so, I withdraw my wishes, for they are always governed by what you like. Myself is always out of the question where you are concerned, and I should be more happy with your being in the West Indies than nearer to me did I know that it was your choice." This is her last letter. It gives the finishing touch to a beautiful picture of maternal devotion.

Captain Cornwallis having returned to England with a convoy, and the war being now virtually over, the Earl brought him into Parliament as one of the members for the family borough of Eye, leaving him full liberty to choose his own political line. Shortly afterwards Lord Cornwallis, being offered the appointment of Governor-General of India, tried to obtain the command of the naval squadron in the Indian seas for William. But Lord Keppel, now at the head of the Admiralty, thought Admiral Parker had superior claims. And in fact, notwithstanding the old relations of the Cornwallis Family with the Whig party, and particularly with Charles Fox, and ties of friendship with Lords Shelburne and Keppel, it was only after some delay, and angry complaints from William of being overlooked, that Keppel gave him command of the *Foudroyant*. After the fall of the Coalition Ministry Lord Howe, on becoming First Lord of the Admiralty under Pitt, seems to have conferred on Captain Cornwallis the post of Colonel of marines; and in 1788 Lord Chatham, Howe's successor, made him naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, with the rank of Commodore. During the war of American Independence Cornwallis had formed intimate friendships not only with Lord Howe and the Hoods, under whom he served, but also with Captains Jervis, Nelson, Collingwood, and other famous seamen of his own rank, whose letters diversify and sometimes enliven the correspondence. With Nelson his relations were particularly affectionate, and continued so to the end.

After his arrival in India two objects, suggested by the Governor-General's advice or example, appear to have specially occupied the Commodore's attention. One was to create a convenient and

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secure station for the British fleet, adequate facilities for which seemed to be afforded by the Andaman Islands. The second was a reform of naval administration, the whole public service of the East India Company being at this time gangrened by fraud and speculation. Lord Hood, now first Sea-Lord of the Admiralty, wrote to assure the Commodore of the full approbation and support of the Board. And letters from Lord Chatham expressed in very flattering terms the confidence of Government in his advice, and its appreciation of his exertions. Schemes of improvement were interrupted in 1790 by the breaking out of war between the East India Company and the Sultan of Mysore. During this conflict the Commodore co-operated with his brother by keeping vigilant guard over the ports through which the enemy might obtain foreign supplies. Several letters from the Governor-General, and from the Rev. Christopher Wells, give interesting accounts of the difficulties the former had to overcome in the tedious campaigns of 1791 and 1792. On 10th February, 1792, Lord Cornwallis announced to his brother the storming of Tippoo's camp near Seringapatam. A fortnight later he sent him a copy of articles of peace just signed, "which I flatter myself," he wrote, "you will think advantageous for us." The success had been so decisive that the conditions of the treaty, though sufficiently onerous for the vanquished, bore testimony to the moderation of the victor. Hardly had the new territorial arrangements arising out of this conflict been settled when news reached the Governor-General, now Marquis Cornwallis, of the renewal of war between France and England. With the help of his brother, now Rear-Admiral, he took possession of the French settlements of Pondicherry and Chandernagore. Having thus restored internal tranquillity in India, and provided against external attack, he returned home towards the end of 1793, and was followed by the Admiral a few months later.

When Admiral Cornwallis arrived in England in 1794, the war of the first coalition against the French Revolution was in full operation. And already it afforded an example of the striking contrast between the extreme caution of British generals and the heroic audacity of British admirals which marked it throughout. A letter, dated 23rd May, from Nelson, then serving under Lord Hood in the Mediterranean, alludes with veiled sarcasm to General Dundas, commanding five British regiments in Corsica, who pronounced the siege of Bastia utterly impracticable, and held his force aloof, while Hood and Nelson, at the head of 1,000 men from the fleet, carried the town by storm with little loss. Cornwallis, now promoted to be Vice-Admiral, hoisting his flag on the *Royal Sovereign* of 100 guns, soon raised his professional reputation to a very high point. When cruising off Brest, in June, 1795, with a squadron of five men-of-war and two frigates, he fell in with a French fleet of twelve men-of-war and twelve frigates, under Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse. The English squadron, being over-matched in sailing power as well as in force, was in imminent danger of being taken or destroyed, when Cornwallis, by a bold and skilful manœuvre which completely deceived his antagonist, checked the enemy's onset, and secured for the English vessels an unmolested retreat to Plymouth.

It would appear from a letter of congratulation from Lord Howe, dated 30th June, that Admiral Cornwallis, with the modest reticence habitual to him when his own credit was concerned, did less than justice in his official report to his personal share in this action. But, when the full particulars became known, public approval of his conduct was loud and universal. Congratulations poured in on him from all quarters, and when Parliament met in November, the speaker, Mr. Addington, conveyed to him "the high and unanimous sense entertained by the House of Commons" of his "judicious and gallant conduct."

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Admiral Cornwallis had now proved his capacity for high command. The greatest employments, the most splendid achievements, seemed to be fairly within his grasp. But during the five years that elapsed between the beginning of 1796 and the beginning of 1801, a most eventful period of that war, and, as regards British exploits, one of the most brilliant in naval annals, he disappears altogether from the scene. Nor does this collection of letters give us the slightest hint as to the cause of his professional eclipse. On turning, however, to James's "*Naval History*," we learn that Admiral Cornwallis was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies in February, 1796. Going out in charge of a convoy, his flagship, the *Royal Sovereign*, suffered damage by colliding with another vessel; and he returned to England in her for repairs, leaving the convoy to pursue its course. The Admiralty sent him orders to embark at once in the *Astræa* frigate, and rejoin the convoy; but he excused himself from obeying by pleading that the state of his health could not endure the discomfort of a frigate. He was thereupon tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders, and, although acquitted on this charge, was censured by the Court for leaving his convoy. He tendered his resignation, which was immediately accepted; and during the remaining years of Mr. Pitt's first administration he obtained no further employment. This authentic account of an unfortunate conflict with authority leaves much room for conjecture. Various circumstances might be suggested in explanation of an offence which was visited by such severe punishment. On the other hand, we find Lord Cornwallis deploring to Colonel Ross, in a letter dated 18th March, 1796, the conduct on this occasion of his brother William, who showed himself to have become incapable of listening to rational argument. It appears also that the Marquis had interposed in vain with his colleague Lord Spencer to prevent a court-martial, from which he feared the worst consequences for his brother. We learn from the same source that the real cause of Admiral Cornwallis's refusal to sail in the *Astræa* frigate was a disinclination to be separated from Captain Whitby, his Flag-Captain, whom he afterwards made his heir.

Of this long period of forced inaction the collection tells us little. When the Addington administration was formed in February, 1801, Lord St. Vincent became First Lord of the Admiralty, and recalled William Cornwallis, now full Admiral, to active service as Commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet.

The service of the Channel fleet during the spring and summer of

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1801 was confined to the hard and tedious task of blockading the combined naval squadrons of France and Spain in Brest harbour, where the French fleet was neither in a condition nor in a disposition to fight. It lay in inglorious security within the defences of the port until preliminaries of peace, signed in London on 1st October, put an end to hostilities with France, Spain and Holland.

During his short term of service in 1801 Admiral Cornwallis's relations with the Admiralty had been of the most cordial character. Lord St. Vincent's letters to him evince unbounded confidence; and when the peace of Amiens came to an end in 1803, he was called on to resume his command, now owing to Napoleon's threats of invasion the most important, perhaps, under the British crown.

Admiral Cornwallis, in command of an inferior force, kept watch over the principal naval division of the enemy at Brest with an unwearied vigilance which seems to have raised him high in public favour.

When Pitt returned to office in 1804, Lord Melville succeeded Lord St. Vincent as First Lord of the Admiralty. This change did not affect Cornwallis's position, or his cordial and confidential relations with his official chief. But no exciting incident occurred during all that year to relieve the monotony of his harassing employment. In 1805 came the crisis of the maritime war.

Of the great victory, of Nelson's death, and of the storm that scattered the victorious fleet, Admiral Collingwood sent an account to Cornwallis, dated 26th October.

Early in the year 1806 particulars of the last illness and death of his brother, the Governor-General of India, were communicated to Admiral Cornwallis by Captain John Gore, writing from the *Medusa* at sea, on 23rd January. "Great Britain," the letter concludes, "will long mourn the loss of her most brilliant ornament, "and the world at large one of its best men."

Two very interesting letters from Charlotte Nugent, wife of Admiral Nugent, dated respectively 23rd January and 4th May, 1806, give details of the last illness and death of Mr. Pitt and of Lord Melville's trial before the House of Lords.

As may have been gathered from foregoing remarks, readers expecting to find in this collection of letters anything even approaching to a biographical sketch of Admiral Cornwallis will be disappointed. It does not contain a line written by himself. He is indeed little more than a shadow for us. Nearly all his life, apart from periods passed on active service, is left in complete obscurity. The professional record itself is broken by long, sometimes perplexing, gaps; and it leaves on the mind of the reader a sense of incompleteness, and even of failure, inasmuch as it necessarily omits those crowning achievements and honours of which early exploits and rapid advancement gave promise, and which fell to competitors more fortunate, but not of higher desert.

Admiral Cornwallis appears to have been a favourite with British sailors. We are told that they called him among themselves "Blue Billy" and "Billy-go-Tight." Naval biographers ascribe those *sobriquets* to the false suggestions of a jovial presence, a com-

plexion inclining to purple. They insist on the Admiral's exemplary sobriety. We find Lord Howe, also, in a letter dated 17th November, 1785, complimenting him on being "a pattern of self-denial." But sobriety and self-denial are terms which vary in signification as manners change. There is a passage in the *Cornwallis Correspondence* which leads one to suspect that the playful satire of the sea-dogs may not have been altogether unwarranted. It occurs in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to Colonel Ross, dated 12th July, 1802, on the subject of a contest for the borough of Eye, and runs as follows:—

"The Admiral got very drunk at the election, and the next day insisted on my steward taking 500*l.* towards defraying the election. Without having given a vote in the House of Commons for many years past, and, perhaps, never intending to give one again, no youth of one and twenty was ever more pleased at coming into Parliament.

This volume also contains a note of a letter of General George Monck, a copy of which is in the possession of Lord Oranmore and Brown, and of some documents belonging to Mr. K. B. Tighe, of Woodstock, co. Kilkenny.

MRS. STOPFORD-SACKVILLE. VOLUME II.

(1775—1782.)

The present volume (completing the re-issue of Appendix III. to our Ninth Report) contains that portion of the report by the late Mr. R. B. Knowles and Mr. W. O. Hewlett on the manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, which relates to America and Canada; the other portion, consisting of the documents relating to the British Isles, the Continent of Europe and India, having been re-issued in 1904.

The papers which relate to the American War of Independence range from 1775-1782, and, being in fact State Papers, are the most important of the Stopford-Sackville collection. They should be read in connexion with the Irwin letters (calendared in Vol. I.), which, beginning in 1761, go down to 1784, and form, as it were, a running commentary upon the events here dealt with.

Lord George Sackville, to whom almost all the letters are addressed, was Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1775 to 1782, and consequently received most important despatches from all concerned in the war. The papers may be divided into two classes; those from other ministers or officials in England communicating despatches which they had received from the seat of war, and those directly from abroad.

Of the first class, there are numerous letters from Lord Suffolk, Principal Secretary of State from 1771-1779; Lord Stormont, who succeeded him; William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, Under Secretary for the Northern Province, 1771-1773; Alexander Wedderburn, Solicitor General, afterwards Lord Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn; Lord North, Sir William Pulteney, and others. In the second class are despatches from General Burgoyne, Admirals Rodney, Arbuthnot and Sir George Collier, the Hon. G. Damer, Sir Henry Clinton, Lords Percy and Cornwallis and others.

Of these, Admiral Rodney's are of the greatest importance. In

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his letter of 22nd December, 1780, he lays bare the gross mismanagement of affairs by those at the head of the army, and the grave mistakes made in the conduct of the war. Another, dated 4th March, 1781, and marked "private," gives valuable information with regard to some of the West Indian Islands, St. Eustatius, St. Martin's and others, which had been taken by him, and as to the means adopted for their reduction. His letter of 15th April, 1782, announces the important victory gained by him over the French fleet (at Martinique, on 10th April). The letters of the Hon. George Damer (a son of Joseph, Lord Milton, by Lady Caroline Sackville, sister of Lord George, and who was afterwards Earl of Dorchester) are numerous and valuable. One of his, dated 23rd April, 1780, announces Rodney's victory off St. Dominique, another, of 13th October, 1780, mentions the capture of the unfortunate Major André by the rebels, while two others, dated respectively 27th September and 29th October, 1781, deal with Lord Cornwallis's disaster in Yorktown.

There are also copies and drafts of Lord George Sackville's despatches to America, many of them marked "private" or "most secret," and several papers dealing with the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed in 1778 to restore peace to the Colonies.

The papers dealing with the war in Canada consist chiefly of original letters from Wolfe, Amherst and others, and contain very full details of the campaign. There remains a bundle of letters from Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford, and, in 1780, one of the Under Secretaries of State for the American Department, in which office he continued until it was finally abolished in 1782. He was a personal friend of Lord George Sackville, and raised during the war a troop of dragoons known as the "King's American Dragoons," with which he did good service and received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief.

A large number of additional letters and papers in relation to America will be found in this new edition of the Report. The most considerable addition consists of letters from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain and drafts of Lord George's replies. These were omitted in the previous Report probably because manuscript copies of some of them (though by no means of all) exist either at the Public Record Office or at the Royal Institution, but it has now been thought better to calendar them, in order not to break the continuity of the series of Sackville Papers. There are also additional letters from General Burgoyne, Admirals Arbuthnot and Sir Geo. Collier, Sir John Dalrymple and others, and many papers in relation to the West Indies, including interesting letters from Governor Dalling in Jamaica and the Rev. James Ramsay at St. Christophers. Amongst the miscellaneous papers now included for the first time will be found an interesting account of "the State of the rebel army" in 1775, by Lieut.-Col. Benj. Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford; a "View of the Colonies" in this same year by a writer who states that he knows Washington well, and believes him to be an honest man, with a character distinguished by extreme coolness and caution; enquiries in relation to Howe's campaign in 1776; and observations upon Burgoyne's campaign in 1777.

A long paper by Sir John Dalrymple, "Thoughts on Instructions to Mrs. Stopford-Sackville: Vol. II.
 "the American Commissioners" in 1778, contains the following suggestion:—

"From all accounts of General Washington's character, there is a resemblance between his character and General Monk's, for he is silent, keeps his mind to himself, has plain understanding and is a man of principle. . . . Charles II. owed his kingdom to his personal application to Monk, delivered by one of Monk's own friends. Might not the ministers . . . or the King himself, write a private letter to Washington to remind him of the similarity between his situation and Monk's, desiring him to ask terms for America fair and just, and they should be granted, and that the terms for himself should be the dukedom given to Monk and a revenue to support it, in order to give dignity to the man who generously gave up his own power to save his country."

Dalrymple ends by suggesting a Mr. Lloyd Delany, "the bosom friend" of Washington, then in London, to carry the letter.

After this, there follow:—Secret Instructions to the same Commissioners; an unsigned paper upon "The Object of the War in 1779"; Queries by Sir George Rodney on his being sent to the West Indies in December, 1779, and a lengthy and interesting Report by Lieut.-Governor Henry Hamilton on his winter expedition in 1778 from Detroit to St. Vincennes, six hundred miles away, by way of Lake Erie and the Miamis River; his defence of Fort Sackville and surrender to Col. Clarke, and the subsequent imprisonment and sufferings of himself and his companions in Virginia, until liberated on parole in October, 1780. In this document, attention may be called to the interesting picture of the venerable Père Potier exhorting and blessing the Indians accompanying the expedition; the curious account of the way in which beavers made possible the navigation of a river; the scene on Hamilton's arrival at St. Vincennes, where the people, "kissing a silver crucifix at the foot of the altar" in the little church, renewed their oaths of allegiance, and the occurrences at the time of the surrender of Fort Sackville, in February, 1779.

AMERICAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF
 GREAT BRITAIN. VOL. III.

(1782—1783.)

The third volume of the calendar of American MSS. in the Royal American
 Institution covers a period of nine months, from July, 1782, to MSS. at the
 March, 1783. Royal Insti-

Sir Henry Clinton, having returned to England, was succeeded Vol. III.
 in New York by Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, who had previously served as Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Canada from 1768-1778. Like his predecessor, Sir Guy held, together with his powers as Commander-in-Chief, the authority to act with Admiral Digby as Commissioner for restoring peace. Before leaving England he was acquainted with the negotiations for peace opened by Lord Shelburne upon his appointment as Secretary of State, and though on the first of the month when this volume opens, the death of the Marquis of Rockingham had closed that short administration, yet Lord Shelburne being placed at the head of affairs, the negotiations proceeded with but little interruption.

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The military events belonging to these dates are therefore few, but the details of this concluding period of the British occupation of their late colonies are not without interest.

One of the first papers is a state of the army under Sir Guy Carleton, giving the total of the effectives as 34,529.

The evacuation of Savannah took place in July, under a parting protest from Governor Sir James Wright. That of Charlestown was next proceeded with, and took much longer to accomplish, the correspondence with General Leslie, who was in command there, continuing to the month of December. The artillery and ordnance stores were sent to Halifax, while most of the troops were distributed in the West Indies, East Florida, Halifax and New York. The decision to retain East Florida as an asylum for the loyalists induced a great number of these with their slaves to remove thither. Many other loyal inhabitants went to Jamaica and a few hundreds to Nova Scotia.

On the 20th December Carleton writes:—The evacuation of this place (New York) is to commence as soon as possible.

It was decided that Halifax should be put in the best state of defence, and in his letter of the 9th September to Major-General Paterson, the Commander-in-Chief intimates that the whole reinforcement of the year was to remain in Nova Scotia. To that province came the civil governor—John Parr—in October, and the correspondence and arrangements as to providing lands, shelter, and provisions for the loyalists, disbanded troops, and others arriving there, continue to the end of these papers. The “troublesome post” of Penobscot, as Washington calls it, was also retained for the time being.

The payment of the various provincial regiments by warrants issued every two months to their own paymasters is explained by Mr. Morgann, secretary to Carleton, as a method introduced by Sir Guy on his arrival. Three of these American regiments were placed on the British establishment from December, 1782, viz., the Queen’s Rangers under Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the King’s American Regiment under Colonel Edmund Fanning, and the cavalry of the British Legion commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton.

Delays and difficulties thrown in the way of exchange of prisoners are remarked on in another letter from Mr. Morgann to Commissioner Elliot. The prisoners which remained of the troops under the Convention of Saratoga had actually been in captivity since the year 1777. Papers in the months of December, 1782, and January, February, and March, 1783, describe the sending out from Headquarters of supplies of clothing, money, and other necessaries, conveyed under passport by Captain Armstrong and Major Gordon to the various prisoners—British, German, and Provincial—in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and the seizure and detention of some of these supplies *en route*. The action of the Spaniards towards the prisoners taken in the capture of Pensacola and West Florida calls forth a very angry letter from Major Campbell.

Depositions of Germans show the efforts made to induce them

to become American settlers. A letter from Lord Cornwallis regarding his personal exchange may be noted, as well as some papers relating to the release of Captain Asgill.

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Of the unscrupulousness of army contractors a glimpse is given in the destruction of certain barrels of flour, which consisted of "sweepings of storehouses and bakehouses, rags, paper, and old hats."

Some private bills of the Commander-in-Chief for groceries, haberdashery, &c., show incidentally the prices of such articles at the time in New York.

The situation in the West Indies was an anxious one for the various commanders, naval and military, in view of the movements of the combined French and Spanish forces at Hispaniola, and of the known fact that while the negotiations for peace with both countries were being conducted in Paris, an expedition was in preparation at Cadiz of which the French Admiral—Comte D'Estaing—was to take command. On the 24th March, however, the French minister at Philadelphia communicated to Sir Guy Carleton his official news of the signing of the preliminaries on the 20th January and consequent cessation of hostilities.

A few papers at the end of the book may be pointed out as showing the exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, better known as Count Rumford. In August, 1782, he had been publicly thanked in General Orders for completing the King's American Dragoons. At the end of March the papers referred to include a scheme to attach four companies of light infantry to that regiment, as well as plans for the raising of a corps of volunteers from the disbanding provincial forces to serve in the West Indies.

VOLUME IV.

This fourth and last volume of the Calendar covers the few remaining months of the British occupation of the late colonies, that being now limited to New York, St. Augustine, and the small post of Penobscot. The correspondence extends from April to November, 1783; a few subsistence accounts are made out to the 24th December; some papers bearing no month follow, while a few to which no definite year has been attached bring the Calendar to a close.

Having urged his request to be relieved, and received permission to return, Sir Guy Carleton was only waiting the arrival of his successor in order to embark. At the end of May he had still to complain of the embarrassment caused by the non-arrival of Sir Charles Grey, appointed to succeed him. The change of ministry had broken off the arrangements with that general, who, besides his political views, had desired active service and had no wish to be employed in diplomacy or negotiation. On the first of June Sir Guy received from Lord North, the new Secretary of State, an earnest appeal to remain and carry out the evacuation. This appeal, as Sir Guy answered the following day, left him no choice, and the papers in this volume abundantly testify to the way in which the trust reposed in him was fulfilled.

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Though preliminaries of peace with America had been signed on the 30th November, 1782, they were conditional upon the settlement of that with France and Spain. These were signed on the 20th January, 1783, and the news was immediately transmitted from France to the Americans, being received by them before official notification from England reached New York. An account of its reception at Philadelphia is given in the opening letter from the pen of a British officer—Captain Armstrong, Deputy Quartermaster General, who, as shown in the third volume of this Calendar, had been commissioned to convey certain stores and money to the British and German prisoners of war in Pennsylvania and Maryland. In spite of passports these stores were stopped in transit, and representations to the authorities took him to Philadelphia, where he evidently made good use of his opportunities of observation, though not daring from his situation to commit anything to writing. On his return to New York, at the Commander-in-Chief's desire, the interesting narrative quoted was set down, and includes the opinions of the Americans on the articles of peace, remarks on their relations with the French and Spaniards, and on the French Minister, their finances and army, General Washington and Congress, parties in Pennsylvania, the future union or disruption of the thirteen states, trade with England, &c.

The last military episode of the war was a successful though belated attempt made in April, 1783, to recover New Providence, Bahamas, from the Spaniards, who, assisted by some American ships, had captured it in May, 1782. The small expedition started from St. Augustine under Major Andrew Devereaux, a provincial officer of South Carolina. In General McArthur's words:—"With
" a handful of ragged militia and five privateers he took Providence,
" where were five hundred Spaniards, seventy pieces of cannon, and
" six galleys, but unluckily he was nine days too late." By the fifth article of the treaty with Spain, Providence and the Bahamas had been restored to England. He remained on the island some time, together with the Spanish governor, and his action was rewarded by Carleton with the temporary gratification of 20s. a day to the 24th December and a strong recommendation to Government for a more permanent mark of the King's favour, not only for his gallantry in this, but for previous services and losses. He and others of the same family or name appear at a subsequent date amongst the claimants under the royal commission appointed in London to compensate American sufferers.

By the cession of East Florida to Spain the minds of the loyalists of South Carolina and Georgia who had removed thither were again disturbed. It was hoped that the Bahamas might be available for settlers, and Brig.-General McArthur, who commanded at St. Augustine, was instructed by Carleton to send Lieut. Wilson of the Engineers to examine Providence, and, later, all the other islands, to report on their nature, soil, harbours, defences, &c. His plan of the harbour and town of Nassau is still amongst these papers. The reports of some intending settlers as to Providence were not very favourable, as the soil was said to be rocky and no tracts of

land contiguous where negroes could be employed. Many, however, of these southern loyalists did remove to that and other islands, and from New York more than a thousand persons associated themselves to settle at Abbaco. The question of titles to ungranted or escheated lands was one of the subjects submitted by Carleton to the home government. The islands were put by him for the time being under the military direction of McArthur, who, on the evacuation of East Florida, was to take thither the remains of the garrison of St. Augustine. Strong representations being made by the Governor and Houses of Assembly of East Florida against the too early removal of the troops, under apprehension of depredations by lawless people on the frontiers, a detachment of the Royal Artillery, reinforced by three companies of the 37th Regiment from New York, was ordered to remain till the actual delivery of the province to Spain. The attachment of the Indians to the British is dwelt on by Governor Tonyn, by the Brigadier and by Lieut.-Colonel Brown, the Superintendent of Indian affairs:—"The minds of the Indians are as much agitated as those of the unhappy loyalists on the eve of a third evacuation, and however chimerical it may appear to us, they have seriously proposed to abandon their country and accompany us, having made all the world their enemies by their attachment to us." On this point, however, Carleton's orders to the Superintendent were decisive,—to discourage the idea as destructive and embarrassing.

A good deal of correspondence occurs over the question of the disbanding of the Royal Garrison Battalion stationed in Bermuda.

Two sets of prisoners remained in the hands of the Americans, namely: those of General Burgoyne's army held since the Convention of Saratoga in 1777, and those taken at Yorktown in Virginia, by the capitulation of Earl Cornwallis in October, 1781. By the end of May these had nearly all been returned, but in the case of the German troops the numbers fell short of what were expected. Amongst other reasons, no doubt, it was found that, in consideration of money paid for their release from prison, many had become indentured servants and taken the oath of allegiance to the States, the Americans said "willingly," the Germans themselves said "by compulsion." A particular case is cited of about thirty-five who were thus indentured to a Mr. Fæsch at Mount Hope, and to whom, on the calling in of prisoners, the following propositions were made by the American officers. First, to purchase their liberty by the payment of 30*l.* each and become free citizens of America; second, to enlist in the American army; and third, on refusal of these, to go back to Philadelphia jail. Choosing the latter, they were actually marched off, but apparently hesitated and sent for Mr. Fæsch to whom they are said to have entered into "a voluntary agreement" on his paying the 30*l.* per head required. General Lincoln, the American Secretary for War, disclaimed all responsibility, maintaining generally that if prisoners did not come in, it was to be inferred that they did not wish to return. The Governor of the State also declined to act and the matter was said to rest with the inhabitants. The conclusion of the case is not given in these papers,

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but the last mention of Mr. Fæsch is at New York, where he was expected to be found willing to release his claim to several.

By the letters of recommendation from Carleton to Governor Parr it will be seen that numbers of officers and men of these corps took advantage of the permission from the German Princes to quit the service and joined the settlers in Nova Scotia, where they received grants of land as others.

With the exception of six of the best regiments, which were kept to the last, the German troops with the British invalids were returned to Europe as a first embarkation in June and July.

Amongst the miscellaneous activities of the Commander-in-Chief's office throughout these months was the establishment of numerous boards of commissioners, the most noticeable of which were: that to settle and adjust matters of debt, and that appointed, jointly with General Washington, to superintend embarkations at New York, complaint being made of the shipping of negroes who were said to be American property. A careful register and description was kept, and is still here, of all the negroes embarked and inspected by these commissioners, to be of service in any claims of unlawful deportation which might be put forward later. There is also in this connection a bill of 18*l.* for a dinner given at Roubalet's tavern by the British Commissioners in return for one given by the American Commissioners at Black Sam's tavern, as well as some accounts of Captain Gilfillan and others, presumably in the same capacity, for dinners and suppers, in which the entry "a large chicken paye" at a cost of over 2*l.* figures more than once. Another subject is the disposal of the prisoners in the provost, many being recruited for service in the West Indies; in the case of the worst criminals sent thither an opportunity was to be taken of dispatching them to the coast of Africa. Orphan children in the Orphan House were sent to Halifax in the care of a minister of religion. Public records were handed over and property delivered up. Militia was organized for the Bermudas, the Bahamas and Nova Scotia, and stores and money transferred there. The people of the civil departments of the army were assisted to Nova Scotia; other clerks received six weeks' pay to enable them to get to their homes. Towards the end, as the city fund got low, even the question of a supply of oil for the lighthouse had to be submitted to the General. Several accounts of wages to his own servants and "chore women" remain, in one of which is this item: "Bought by the Commander-in-Chief's orders, clothing for two poor children, 5*l.*"

But that which lends to this evacuation its peculiar interest is the spectacle of the enforced emigration of the thousands of loyalists of all classes, who, after the peace, found that they were still under existing laws of proscription, banishment, and confiscation of property, and that any attempt to return to their homes or native States met with maltreatment and threatened death. Carleton writes of the leaders of the Americans as elated and intoxicated by the peace and as having cast off all desire to be reconciled to the loyalists, and refers to associations forming to prevent restitution of property and renewed intercourse, which associations were quite

uncontrolled by the States. He suggests to Clinton; the Governor of the State of New York, that "seeing the hostile dispositions of the committeemen, the legislature might give some direction to a more desirable spirit by repealing laws made during the war." To Lord North he writes: "It is utterly impossible to leave exposed to the rage and violence of these people men of character whose only offence has been their attachment to the King's service," adding that "the proceedings are not to be attributed to politics alone—it serves as a pretence; and under that cloak they act more boldly, but avarice and a desire of rapine are the great incentives." So many loyalists were driven to the necessity of seeking fresh homes that the tonnage available at New York was wholly inadequate. In the official return by Brook Watson, Commissary General, dated two days before the troops finally left, the total number gone from New York to Nova Scotia is given as 29,244. Adding those from Penobscot and Carolina, part of the Garrison Battalion from Bermuda, and troops discharged at Halifax, the result is 32,224, while those to Abbaco number 1,458 and to Quebec, 1,328, the latter not including those who went there by way of the Lakes. No complete return appears here of those who went to Britain. Copies of the almost daily letters of recommendation written by Sir Guy Carleton to Governor Parr on behalf of individuals or parties are preserved, as well as those to the Secretary of State for such as went to England, and to the Governors of Bermuda and the Bahamas. In calendaring the appeals addressed to him for relief and assistance it was found impossible to narrate the circumstances of each claimant, but one or two entries are suggestive:—A refugee from New York has signed to go with his wife and family to Nova Scotia "and cannot command as much money as would purchase either of them a pair of shoes." Another is "without a shilling," and a third family formerly "lived in plenty and even fashion, but lately have been nearly in want of bread."

That class of loyalists which had taken up arms, spoken of throughout these volumes as the Provincial Troops and British American forces were now to be disbanded and also settle in Nova Scotia. By royal order given early in the year each non-commissioned officer was to receive 200 acres, and each private 50 acres, exclusive of what he should be entitled to in right of his family, with rations for one year. Many of the regiments in New York had, by their agents, selected lands in the vicinity of St. John's River, and, on the 12th September, transports conveying seventeen corps sailed direct to that place, where they were to be disbanded and hut during the winter on their own lands. One of the transports, the *Martha*, on which were the Maryland loyalists and part of the 2nd Battalion of Delancey's Brigade, was wrecked on Seal Islands in the Bay of Fundy, and one hundred lives lost, six officers and seventeen persons being saved. Strict orders were issued for the preservation of peace and regularity amongst so many disbanded soldiers, and names of officers fit to act as justices of the peace were recommended to the Governor.

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By the exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Thompson, of the King's American Dragoons, whose letter recounting his efforts on their behalf, the officers of the Provincial regiments became entitled to half-pay. Colonel Thompson himself a native of America, and was proscribed and banished as a loyalist by the State of New Hampshire. As Count Rumford or Von Rumford, his brilliant career is well known, and it is worth noticing that he was the projector of the Royal Institution, in which this collection of MSS. is now deposited.

Only a hint is given in these pages of the Royal Commission established by Act of Parliament in July of this year in London to afford compensation to loyalist sufferers. Its history belongs to the next few years, the papers relating thereto being in the Public Record Office.

On the 21st to 22nd October the evacuation of New York by the British troops began in earnest, having only been delayed, as Sir Guy pointed out to the Americans, by the necessity of first seeing the loyalists in safety. Fifteen days later the last of the Hessian regiments followed, together with the Royal Artillery and the ordnance ships. On the 25th November the remaining loyalists and the troops were withdrawn from the city "without the smallest circumstance of irregularity or misbehaviour of any kind." By arrangement with Governor Clinton and his Council, Staten Island and a few other convenient points were reserved till the transports which were daily expected arrived to remove about two thousand of the troops still left. Sir Guy himself embarked on His Majesty's ship *Ceres*. Though not in this collection, it is characteristic that his last letters, dated off Staten Island on the 29th November, are both in connection with the loyalists—the one, a recommendation of certain memorials of widows of Provincial officers; the other, concerning lists and statements on behalf of the officers themselves.

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

(1799—1806.)

Dropmore
MSS.

Three volumes of this valuable and interesting report have been published, namely, Vols. VI., VII., and VIII.

These are prefaced by elaborate and closely reasoned historical introductions which cannot be satisfactorily summarised, the following extracts from which, however, will serve sufficiently to indicate the extent and matter of the report.

VOLUME VI.

Vol. VI.

The letters and reports contained in this Volume embrace a period of one year and five months—from 1st November, 1799, to 31st March, 1801. They conclude the histories, so far as these are related in Lord Grenville's confidential correspondence, of the second coalition against France, and the passing of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, begun in Volume IV. and continued in Volume V. Volume IV. records the formation of the coalition, and the abortive attempt to carry an

Act of Union through the Irish Parliament early in 1799. Volume V. relates mainly to the Continental campaigns of 1799. Volume VI. deals with the secession of Russia from the coalition; the new alliance of Great Britain and Austria; the abolition of the Irish Legislature in 1800; the negotiations and military operations of Bonaparte and of the allies during the same year; the peace of Luneville and the resignation of Pitt's first ministry, in February, 1801.

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The radical weakness of the coalition, its want of cohesion and concord, was explained in the Introductions of the two preceding volumes; how the British and Austrian Governments, while both leaning on the support of the Tzar, formed their plans not only without mutual communication, but in a spirit of antagonism to each other. Owing in large measure to Russian aid, Austrian plans were crowned with success beyond all expectation; British plans, notwithstanding Russian aid, ended in complete failure. We shall now see how that success and that failure contributed about equally to the disruption of the coalition as originally formed; and how by their mutual antagonism, the British and Austrian Governments not only flung away a fair opportunity of accomplishing all their aims in conflict with the French Revolution, but gave the Revolution, in its completed form of military despotism, an opportunity of establishing its supremacy in Europe for fifteen years.

The discord of England and Austria which had such disastrous results was the outcome of forty years of political estrangement, followed by four years of distrustful and unprosperous alliance during which the dislikes, suspicions, and prejudices of unfriendly tradition became incarnate in two able and strong-willed foreign ministers of the two monarchies. The transference of the Spanish Netherlands to the Emperor by the treaty of Utrecht, and the Dutch Barrier Treaty four years later, were arrangements made in the interests of England and the Dutch Republic, to secure the Belgic provinces against annexation by France. But Austrian statesmen from the first regarded the acquisition of those provinces as a burden and a danger. . . . Partly as a means of escape from this situation, also, perhaps, in the hope of being enabled by the aid of France to exchange the Belgic provinces for Bavaria with the Elector Palatine, the Empress-Queen Maria Theresa, under the guidance of Prince Kaunitz, entered into the ill-omened alliance with Louis XV., which was cemented by the marriage of the Dauphin with her daughter, Marie Antoinette. This new grouping of European powers proved in various ways hurtful to England. It took away from her an old and powerful confederate against France; and the security it afforded for continental peace allowed the French Government, during the war of American Independence, to diminish its army and enlarge its navy. At the same time it encouraged the Emperor Joseph II. to give free rein to the ill-regulated ambition and restless spirit of innovation which, in a few years, brought the Austrian monarchy to the brink of ruin. . . . The fatuity of his proceedings, which imperilled the chief benefit derived by England from Marlborough's victories, was only fully seen a few

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years later, when the French Revolution assumed a militant and aggressive character under Girondin guidance; and Joseph's successor, Leopold II., found himself exposed to the first assaults of Jacobin hostility. Leopold, an able and prudent ruler, contrived by skilful management to convert Joseph's most formidable antagonist, Frederick William II., King of Prussia, into an ally against the French Revolution. But as this statesmanlike policy drew away the Prussian King from the Triple Alliance and Pitt's short-lived system of non-interference in the internal affairs of France, it gave deep offence in England. It is, indeed, a striking proof of the strength of English prejudice against Austria that, on the very eve of the Revolutionary war, the most pacific prince, and the most conservative in his policy among the sovereigns of his time, figures in Lord Grenville's correspondence as the most dangerous enemy of the peace of Europe.

Leopold died before war broke out, in 1792; Prince Kaunitz retired from the political stage; and the reins of Austrian government fell to the hands of Baron Thugut. England joined the coalition of German powers after the conquest of the Netherlands by Dumouriez in the autumn of 1792, dragging reluctant Holland in her wake; and infused a fiercer spirit into the war. From the beginning of their new association against France the relations of England and Austria were a perpetual jar. In the campaign of 1792 the confederate powers, still governed by the spirit of the Emperor Leopold, had invaded France as allies of a dethroned sovereign against revolted subjects. But memories of the war of American Independence were as yet too recent and bitter to allow of any feeling of sympathy for the House of Bourbon finding admittance into the minds of George III. and the majority of Englishmen. They seem at this moment to have regarded France as an old and implacable foe in which revolution was only a new phase of wickedness; and which, whatever form of government it might choose to adopt, must, in the interests of England, be reduced to impotence. During the year 1793, George III. would not allow either brother of Louis XVI. to set foot in any part of his dominions. And the British Government was able to stamp its own policy on the coalition. The plan of campaign for 1793 proposed at Vienna was a combined march of all the forces of the allied powers on Paris to crush the Revolution in its stronghold and dictate terms of peace to France. But the English and Dutch Governments insisted on making the expulsion of the French from the Netherlands the main object of the campaign. A few months later Lord Auckland, at the conference at Antwerp, carried a resolution that no peace should be made with France that did not provide "indemnity for the past" and security for the future." This resolution altered the character of the war. Begun in 1792 for the defence of monarchy and the order it symbolised, the war became in 1793 a scheme of partition. By this new programme, when the French had been expelled from the Netherlands, and that country had been more effectually secured against future aggression, the British Government was to employ its forces in destroying the naval arsenals and commerce, and

capturing the colonies of France; while its allies found compensation in stripping the common enemy of the territories she had annexed in Europe since the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. And under pressure from England, the Emperor agreed to relinquish all purpose of exchanging Belgium for Bavaria on condition that the Belgic frontier should be extended to the River Somme. This was Dundas's policy, warmly approved by the King, and adopted by the Cabinet. The War Minister himself advocated it as "the only practical policy," Mr. Windham afterwards described the system of his colleague as one of "plunder abroad, and patronage at home." Pushed too far, it saved the French Revolution. Early in August the campaign reached its crisis. France, convulsed with civil war from end to end, had no longer a force in the field which could resist invasion. The Royalists were victorious in the West. In these circumstances the Prince of Coburg, Austrian Commander-in-Chief, proposed to march with the full strength of the allied forces on the French capital, and thus finish the war. But the privateers of Dunkirk had been preying on the commerce of London; and in deference to the clamour of the City, Dundas sent positive orders to the Duke of York to take that little sea-port, for the benefit of England, before engaging in any larger operations. As a result of these orders, the allied armies separated in order to fritter away their strength and spirit in petty sieges, which brought them disgrace. The generals quarrelled and sulked in winter quarters; while the Committee of Public Safety worked with revolutionary energy, rallying to its standard the patriotism and national spirit of France to save the country from dismemberment. The opportunity thus lost did not return. And from this date it seems to have become a maxim with Austrian statesmen that selfishness was the governing motive of all British policy.

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It was only in 1795 that Pitt, having to face the alternative of resigning the Netherlands to France, entertained the idea of alliance with Austria on any basis of financial aid, and after long hesitation, and with manifest reluctance, consented to guarantee an Austrian loan of £4,400,000. Help thus afforded at a high rate of interest, and asserting a right to criticise and direct the operations of Austrian armies, excited no gratitude, and much irritation. And relations requiring easy and delicate handling were only too likely to become strained to the point of breaking in the tenacious grasp of Lord Grenville or Baron Thugut.

Baron Thugut had risen from low beginnings, by eminent merit, the appreciation of successive sovereigns, and good fortune, to the highest position in Germany open to a subject not belonging to a sovereign house. The Empress-Queen, his earliest patron, as we are told, changed his name from Thu-na-gut (do no good) to Thugut (do good). His ascent to power was greatly facilitated by an unusual dearth of conspicuous talent among Austrian officials; and he seems to have been finally lifted into the office of Imperial Vice-Chancellor by the strong recommendation of Count Mercy d'Argenteau, whose own claims to it, from long and distinguished service, were pre-eminent. Here his superior ability, knowledge, and assiduity

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quickly won for him the entire confidence of the young and inexperienced Emperor Francis II., and complete control over the Councils of the Empire. This splendid position was not a bed of roses. A proud and powerful aristocracy which filled the chief offices at Court, and nearly all high public employments, looked with scorn and aversion on the low-born adventurer who had climbed into the seat of Prince Kaunitz; and lost no opportunity of thwarting a policy which kept him in power.

We have sketches of Baron Thugut in Lord Grenville's correspondence by different hands. There is a general agreement as to the leading features of his character, but in some pictures the shading is much darker than in others. His career does not entitle him to take rank as a great minister with Kaunitz or Metternich, who filled the same office before and after him; but his great ability, his unwearied industry, his intense devotion to what he believed to be the interests of his sovereign and country, were not denied by candid enemies. On the other hand, the exercise of supreme authority and the impediments, personal as well as public, which he had to encounter, seem to have brought out into greater prominence the defects of a strenuous, vehement, astute, but not lofty nature. His most pernicious weakness as a minister was, no doubt, an unfaltering, but erroneous, belief in his own superior capacity for ordering military operations. He aspired to fill the *role* of Cardinal Richelieu, or Lord Chatham, without possessing the qualifications of a great war minister. This inordinate lust of sway contributed largely to the disasters that overwhelmed Austria in 1800, and brought his own political career to an inglorious end.

Lord Grenville had assumed the direction of foreign affairs in England, under many disadvantages, at the urgent request, and for the convenience of Mr. Pitt. The appointment came as a surprise to the official world. He does not appear to have been specially marked out for the post by natural or acquired fitness. His temperament and habits were rather those of a student than of a man of the world. He had never given his mind to the study of European politics. Foreign travel had not opened to him opportunities of insight into the manners, peculiarities, and interests of other countries, or corrected the prejudices of an insular education. His diplomatic training did not extend beyond two short missions to Holland and France in 1788. Lord Auckland seems to have been his chief guide and instructor during the first years of his career at the Foreign Office. Owing in a great measure to self-distrust, Lord Grenville's influence in shaping the foreign policy of England during the earlier years of the Revolutionary War seems to have been inferior to that of Mr. Dundas. From their first association in the Cabinet, these two chief colleagues and advisers of Pitt seem to have been in constant conflict. And in the conferences of the three ministers at Wimbledon or Holwood, when all important measures of government were discussed and settled before being communicated to the whole Cabinet, Pitt, in all matters bearing on the conduct of the war, seems to have almost invariably followed the counsels of Dundas. It was not long, however, before great

ability and unwearied application, always directed and sustained by conscientious motive, made Lord Grenville master of all that could be learned from the sources of official information at his command. Intercourse also with the many foreigners of distinction, such as Count Mercy, Talleyrand, Calonne, Malouet, Mallet du Pan, whom the throes of the French Revolution cast from time to time on the shores of England, enlarged and enlightened his mind and increased his knowledge. With knowledge came self-confidence. And the failure of Dundas's "practical system" to cope with revolutionary energy and enthusiasm; the entrance into the Cabinet of leading Whigs, political pupils of Burke, with whom Grenville seems to have found himself, on most questions, in close accord; the strength of his convictions and his tenacity in adhering to them regardless of personal consequences; and his conspicuous success as leader of the House of Lords, gradually raised him to a position in the ministry immediately next to that of Pitt. During the last three years of that famous administration he seems to have been able to make his own views prevail in the Cabinet, on all important questions of external policy. In the meantime Pitt's original policy of exacting from France "indemnity and security" gave place to one, adopted too late and followed too timidly, of co-operating with the emigrant princes for a restoration of the French monarchy, with the boundaries of 1792. But, however Lord Grenville's personal position in the ministry may have varied, during the whole period of his tenure of the Seals as Foreign Secretary all important papers issuing from his office were drafted by himself, and bore the stamp of his own character. It was a character thoroughly English in its qualities and its defects. Its patriotism was so ardent as to inspire a profound belief that the cause of England in all its developments, and all circumstances, was the cause of right and of civilisation. A high and even haughty spirit, which scorned anything resembling mean trickery or petty evasion, informed his public utterances; and guarded well in times of danger and discouragement the dignity of the British crown and the interests of the monarchy. And he prided himself on maintaining in international relations the high standard of rectitude by which he governed his private conduct. It may be said that no English statesman of his time stood higher in public confidence for enlightened views, personal integrity, and fidelity to principle; although, owing, perhaps, to his secluded habits and a want of popular fibre in his nature, his personal influence fell short of his reputation; and, beyond the limits of his own social circle, he was respected rather than loved. On the other hand, the very fervour of his patriotism made him often unable to appreciate justly the character and situation of a foreign adversary, or to form a correct estimate of forces opposed to him. It made him prone to undervalue an antagonist; to class Continental statesmen, bred amidst other traditions, representing other national interests, who did not concur in his political views, as "knaves or fools." For the same reason he was habitually over-sanguine in everything that concerned military enterprises in the planning of which he took part. Pitt sometimes

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interfered by way of suggestion, and with a studious avoidance of all appearance of dictation, to tone down passages in Grenville's drafts, which appeared to him unwise or unseasonable. In fact, though never wilfully unjust, Lord Grenville too often tempered justice with severity. His natural bent seems to have been to coercion rather than conciliation; and when the combative mood prevailed, it was harsh and inexorable. Lord Cornwallis wrote to Colonel Ross in 1800 that he had left the Cabinet with little regret, because its decisions were so much swayed by Lord Grenville's "unplac-able" temper.

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There is reason to doubt whether Thugut, in this apparently frank revelation of rapacity, made a full avowal of the ambitious designs he had formed in the intoxication of rapid conquest. A few months later Lord Keith, commanding the naval forces of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, sent Dundas from Palermo the substance of what purported to be a memorandum on Italy, presented by the Imperial Chancellor to his sovereign. In this document the policy is insisted on of bringing all the states of that peninsula under the Emperor's sway, either as absolute possessions or as dependencies. In the latter category figure the Kingdom of Naples, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and whatever remnant of territory Austria might leave to the Pope. The communication seems to have been made to Lord Keith by the Queen of Naples, sister of the Empress, both of these ladies being political antagonists of Baron Thugut.

The British Cabinet was quite willing, so far as the Emperor Paul could be induced to consent, to give Austria a free hand in Italy. It was desirable for British interests that stronger barriers should be raised in every quarter against French aggression. Pitt even considered that compensation for the King of Sardinia was rather a matter of favour than of right. As for the wishes or interests of the populations affected by these territorial changes, if they entered at all into the calculations of statesmen at that time, they weighed as chaff in the balance of political advantage. But English distrust of Thugut's methods had not been diminished by Dietrichstein's mission to Switzerland and the explanations of it given at Vienna. Thugut, indeed, vehemently repudiated all responsibility for his emissary's language, but no one seems to have attached any credit to the denial. And the British Cabinet, though placing a much higher value on Austrian co-operation than it had done earlier in the year, still looked on a Russian alliance as the main plank—in fact the only sound plank—of its Continental system. Lord Grenville, therefore, instructed Lord Minto to inform Thugut that the British Government would enter into no negotiation with that of the Emperor without the concurrence of the Tzar, its best ally; and that the financial convention, when ratified at Vienna, must be laid before the British Parliament. These conditions being satisfied, it would do everything in its power to promote Austrian interests in Italy.

The season for military operations on a large scale in 1799 having

now passed, the British Government prepared a new plan of campaign for 1800, which Lord Grenville sent to Mr. Wickham to be laid before Souvorow. Following nearly the same lines as that which had failed so signally, it proposed to assemble in Switzerland an army of 100,000 men in British pay, under the marshal's command, composed as to two-thirds of Russians, and as to one-third of Germans, Swiss, and French. But to supply deficiencies of the Russian military organisation there was to be an English commissariat and a staff of English, German, and French officers formed by Lord Mulgrave, who was to fill the post of adjutant- or quarter-master-general, besides taking command of the Swiss.

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Meantime Thugut had produced his plan of campaign at the beginning of December. It discarded Souvorow, and excluded Russians from the chief fields of military operations on the Continent. The Austrian armies, it declared, would be quite able to expel the French from Italy and Switzerland if the British Government reinforced that of the Archduke with the 30,000 German auxiliaries Mr. Wickham was about to levy; or, what would answer better, gave a subsidy to the Emperor to enable him to levy them himself. Russian troops, it added, could be used by the British Government with great advantage to the common cause in expeditions to Holland and the coasts of France, with which the Austrian armies might co-operate. In forwarding this sketch to Lord Grenville, Lord Minto reported in cipher that the Austrian Chancellor showed himself more eager every day to come to a thorough understanding with the English Government. In fact, notwithstanding the dogged obstinacy with which he clung to his projects and his antipathies, Thugut could not altogether shut his eyes to the peril involved in the improving relations of Russia and Prussia, or his ears to Lord Grenville's repeated warnings against driving the Tzar to extremities. Then, again, financial difficulties weighed on him more heavily every day. His expectations of relief from the resources of Italy had been disappointed. Not only had French requisitions impoverished the country, but a spirit of passive resistance, aroused by the arrogance and ineptitude of Austrian officials, by old dynastic attachments, and by national aspirations, sealed up the ordinary sources of revenue in some of the occupied States. Slowly and with evident reluctance during the early part of December he receded from untenable ground. He reduced the Austrian demand of all Piedmont and Savoy to one for the Novarese, including Alexandria and other fortresses, for which the King of Sardinia should receive full compensation from Genoese territory. He agreed to make the restoration of the French monarchy a leading article of the common programme. Finally, he consented to ratify the financial convention of 1797. Having thus cleared his ground, he proposed as terms of alliance and concert—(1) that the British Government should relieve the Emperor of the burden of the last Austrian loan; (2) that it should advance to him £1,600,000, soon afterwards raised to £2,000,000, of which £200,000 was required at once for pressing needs; the whole to be repaid from a new Austrian loan to be floated

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after the close of the war with the help of British credit ; (3) that it should support the Emperor in the acquisition of the Papal Legations, the Novarese with its fortresses, and the city and territory of Genoa.

These proposals of Baron Thugut, coming immediately after the Emperor Paul's letter to George III., were followed by a complete change in the political attitude of the British Government towards its Imperial allies. The chief agent in effecting this alteration, so far as individual influence operated, was Mr. William Wickham. His mission to Switzerland in 1796-7 had won for him unbounded confidence from Lord Grenville. He returned to that country in 1799 invested with extraordinary powers, and instructed to act at once on his own judgment in all matters requiring prompt decision. Whatever arrangement Wickham should make, Lord Grenville wrote in confidence, he was prepared to approve as the best that could be made in the circumstances, and to give it full support. In the course of this second mission the British minister formed or renewed intimate personal relations with nearly all the Continental leaders of the coalition against France—with Archduke Charles and Prince Italiski, with Baron Thugut at Vienna, Count Montgélas at Munich, and Advoyer Steiguer in Switzerland ; with the chiefs of the Royalist party in eastern and southern France, Pichegrue and Willot its generals, M. D'André its most influential and trustworthy agent, Count de Précý the heroic defender of Lyons. These connexions enabled him to throw light on various subjects of high importance, of which the British ministry had only very imperfect knowledge. It was mainly from Wickham's reports of the defects of Russian military organisation and the open hostility of the Russian and Austrian armies, that it learned the impracticability of its plans of campaign in Switzerland. Glowing descriptions in the same reports of the superb condition of the Austrian armies, under able commanders and staffs of extraordinary merit, taught it to form a new and quite different estimate of the comparative importance of Russia or Austria as an ally for accomplishing British aims on the Continent. It was also through Wickham that the Cabinet obtained its most valuable information in regard to the state of France.

As an adviser under ordinary circumstances, and in matters with which his mission was concerned, Wickham appears to have been not undeserving of the trust reposed in him by Lord Grenville. He was able, zealous, hard-working, and personally devoted to his official chief ; an acute judge of men and political conditions, and skilful in turning them to advantage. Unsparing of himself, he was by his own confession irritable and exacting in his relations with subordinates whose methods did not please him, or whose labours fell below his own high standard of public duty. We may also allow him the credit he claims for himself of being patient and wary in dealing with adversaries. And although his personal integrity was spotless, he seems, when British interests were to be advanced, to have been hardly less hampered by scruples than Count Haugwitz or Baron Thugut. In fact, his qualities as a public servant made him a type of what is called *efficiency*. He had also the

defects of these qualities. His self-confidence led him to form estimates, which sometimes proved exaggerated, of the influence he exercised over men and events. Intensely practical, his mind seems to have been but slenderly endowed with the faculty of imagination, and therefore wanting in the insight which recognises genius of a high order, with its power of creating resources and opportunities, inspiring men, moulding events, working miracles. He read Baron Thugut in his changing moods like an open book. He could discern the great abilities and sterling qualities concealed from ordinary observers under the dull aspect of Archduke Charles. The superb order, exact discipline, and military pride of the Austrian army, the scientific methods of its staffs, "unequalled in Europe, and from whom it is more than probable that some of the first generals of modern times will spring," appealed so convincingly to him that he accepted it, at its own valuation, as practically invincible. But Souvorow remained to the end of their intercourse more or less of a mystery to him. It never seems to have entered into his calculations that the substitution of Melas for the Russian marshal as commander-in-chief in Italy could sensibly affect the fortunes of the war. Yet Souvorow's victories had been to a great extent instrumental in raising the military spirit of Austria from a state of profound dejection to that condition of arrogant self-reliance which so moved his admiration. Far more hurtful to the cause for which he laboured was Wickham's failure to see any particular significance in Bonaparte's return to France to grasp the reins of government. It hardly appears to have occurred to him that France under Bonaparte was a more formidable adversary than under Barras. This was, of course, blindness common to the whole British Cabinet. There is nothing more noticeable in Lord Grenville's correspondence at this time than the absence of any recognition of merit in Bonaparte. He is mentioned only to be depreciated. When he became First Consul, *Sa Majesté très Corse*, figures in letters between Lord Grenville and his brothers as a ridiculous pretender. When the victorious Consul had pulverised the coalition, he became to them all an object of virtuous hatred, an incarnation of evil. But for Wickham, who lived in a broader and less prejudiced atmosphere, and who had seen, at the time of his first Swiss mission, all that he had been able to accomplish during many months of assiduous labour and secret intrigue completely demolished by Bonaparte's marvellous achievements in Italy, there was less excuse.

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A leading feature of the original British plan of military operations for 1799 was the despatch of a body of troops to Brittany in the autumn. When the army employed in the expedition to Holland returned to England at the end of October, Lord Buckingham urged that it should be sent at once to help the French royalists. More timid counsels prevailed. Lord Grenville replied that Government could not risk the loss of the 30,000 effectives who had come back from the Helder in an enterprise full of hazard at that late season. Its policy must be to nurse the military strength of the country during the winter, so as to have 70,000 men available for foreign

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service in the spring of 1800. In the meantime liberal supplies of money, arms and ammunition should be sent to Brittany to feed the insurrection. At the end of November he announced that two such consignments had already reached the French coast.

On 30th November, 1799, Lord Grenville officially informed Wickham that reports of the disaffection of General Masséna and his army to the new French Government had reached England, and authorised him to purchase their aid on any terms that might secure it. Wickham was also instructed to induce deserters from the Republican armies to take service under Louis XVIII. by offering them French military pay at the current rates. Count d'Artois, it may be stated, had been empowered to recruit the royalist forces in western France in the same manner to the extent of 70,000 men. A long *confidential* letter accompanied this despatch. It expressed Lord Grenville's "infinite obligations" for intelligence and advice which had been "his chief guide and direction" in recent difficulties, and had saved him from the error of trusting in Souvorow as the instrument designed by Providence to give victory to Great Britain in a final effort against France. For however able the British Government might be to carry on a defensive struggle for many years, one more Continental campaign was the limit of its power for offensive warfare. He felt confident that, even without Russian aid, Austria would be able to reduce France to the frontiers of 1789, perhaps to restore the French monarchy, if Thugut could be brought to pursue a straightforward course. The English Government on its side was silently preparing for "an immense effort" in the following spring to support the royalists of western France. Bonaparte could only maintain his power by using French armies to repress his Jacobin enemies. This necessity must leave him without troops to oppose western insurgents, or Austrian foes advancing from the east. His only resource, therefore, lay in a negotiation for peace. If this expedient failed him, as it must "if there was a grain of sense in Austrian councils," he should have to choose between deportation to Cayenne and submission to Louis XVIII. In order to force the Consul quickly to one of these issues, Wickham was urged to raise insurrections during the winter in the south and east of France, which might distract attention from La Vendée, and co-operate with British expeditions in the following spring. In carrying out these instructions he was to act on his own judgment without fear or delay, and to continue supplying the Cabinet with information and advice.

On 13th December Wickham replied to these communications by a public despatch and a private letter. In the former he reported that, with the approval of Archduke Charles, he had commissioned General Pichégru to enrol an army of French deserters to act with the Austrians in Franche Comté; and General Willot to collect another army of the same material in Dauphiné. Willot would concert operations with General Melas, and with the British commanders in the Mediterranean. Count de Précý would raise Lyons and the surrounding districts. Trustworthy intelligence had enabled him, Wickham wrote, to form an estimate of the comparative strength

of the opposing forces in the next campaign. The Archduke would have under his orders 100,000 Austrians on the Rhine; and Melas the same number in Italy. To the Rhine army Wickham hoped, by Swiss enrolments and German treaties, to add 40,000 men in British pay; and 20,000 Sardinians might also be taken into British pay to reinforce the army of Melas. On the other hand, the military strength of France was greatly exaggerated in official returns. The army of Italy, exceeding on paper 60,000 men, had only 30,000 effectives. Bonaparte by great efforts might be able to place in the field from 150,000 to 180,000 men altogether, a force inferior to the Austrians in number, and still more in quality and equipment. As to financial resources, a leading banker of Paris calculated the extraordinary aid the Consul might be able to obtain, by using every means at his disposal, at three and a half millions sterling; a sum utterly inadequate to supply the needs of the French armies. In conclusion, the despatch stated that the new French Government would probably have general support for a time. "It seems possible that the war will be conducted with more talents and energy than has lately been the case." But Bonaparte "cannot steer long between Jacobins and Royalists." If he fails to obtain peace he must lean for support on the former, and forfeit public favour, as he can only carry on war by resorting to revolutionary methods.

In his private letter of the same date Wickham wrote:—The question (of carrying on war) is reduced to this: "are you prepared to throw yourselves into the arms of the House of Austria or no? If not, renounce at once every idea of a Continental war against France, for you can neither carry it on without Austria nor force her to carry it on in any other than her own way." Lord Grenville, he continued, must alter his methods, must flatter and cajole and feign confidence, instead of dictating military operations and criticising political action. By doing with a good grace what he cannot help, giving Austrian strategists a free hand; by praising and occasionally pensioning them; he can exercise considerable influence over the movements of Austrian armies. Above all things, it was necessary to avoid showing distrust of Baron Thugut, however tortuous and irritating the Chancellor's conduct might be. His quarrel with the Russians had fixed him on his throne for ever; reconciling to him his bitterest ill-wishers, the army of the Rhine and the states of south Germany, which had hated him for hating their favourite, the Archduke. He now reigned without rival or possible successor. The British Cabinet followed this counsel, though in some respects with halting steps.

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With the end of the year [1799] came Bonaparte's letters to the chiefs of the coalition, proposing peace. Lord Buckingham, to whom Lord Grenville sent a copy of the Consul's letter to George III., as a new year's gift, counselled his brother to return a "moderate" answer, it being for the interests of the Ministry to conciliate public opinion, which inclined strongly to negotiation. The British reply, or rather replies, were wholly written by Lord Grenville, though altered from

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the original form in deference to suggestions from Pitt and Canning. Thomas Grenville informed Lord Buckingham that the answer to the Consul's letter caused a good deal of dissatisfaction even among supporters of the Government. It was in fact a public declaration of the convictions already expressed in Lord Grenville's confidential letters to his brothers and to Wickham. "His very Corsican "Majesty," without adequate resources in men or money for carrying on war, or independent support from either of the two hostile parties that divided France, could only maintain his position by making peace. It would be sheer folly, therefore, on the part of the allied powers to negotiate instead of crushing him, and thus ending the war on their own terms. And this opinion of Bonaparte's extreme weakness found support in the inaction of the French armies during the winter, in striking contrast to the all-conquering energy he had hitherto shown in war. But events in France had already disproved the assumptions on which Lord Grenville based his train of reasoning, making it clear that the great mass of the French population were neither Jacobins nor adherents of Louis XVIII. They would no doubt have preferred some form of constitutional monarchy, such as that accepted in 1791 by Louis XVI., to the feeble and corrupt Jacobinism of a Directory which trampled on civil and religious rights and prolonged war to serve its own selfish ends. But the Frenchmen who would have welcomed back a monarchy of divine right, the *ancien régime* with its inequalities and abuses represented by the emigrant princes, at the price too of national humiliation and diminished territory, formed only a small minority of the nation. The return from Egypt of the victorious general who had dictated the peace of Campo Formio, the most glorious in the national annals, awakened in France a sense of profound relief. His seizing the reins of government was sanctioned by general support. The conciliatory measures that followed, repealing proscriptive decrees, opening the churches for Christian worship, inviting able men of all parties to unite in serving the State, increased public confidence. With confidence, credit revived, and the great obstacle in his way, financial distress, rapidly diminished. Instead of the three and a half millions sterling to which his prospect of borrowing was limited in the reports sent in by Wickham, he contrived to raise thirteen and a half millions—an amount insufficient for the needs of the Consular government, but enough to give it a fair start. If the French people ardently desired peace, Bonaparte also sincerely desired it as necessary for France, and for the establishment of his own power. But it was peace on lines not too dissimilar from those of Campo Formio. He knew well that peace on terms to which the British Government would consent must destroy the reputation for success on which his authority rested. It is probable, therefore, that the haughty and scornful answer returned to his overture to George III. was far from unwelcome to him. Meant as a trumpet blast to rouse up opposition against him, it appears to have produced a contrary effect. It gave Talleyrand an opening for a telling retort. It silenced the cry for peace in France; and it stimulated the opinion which, as we shall see, was rapidly gaining ground on the

Continent—that England, from selfish motives, prolonged a war by which she alone profited, while all other nations suffered.

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Negotiation did not retard strenuous preparations by all the belligerent powers for the renewal of hostilities in spring. Count d'Artois having notified in December his intention of putting himself at the head of the Breton insurgents, Pitt agreed to send him with a large body of British troops to the peninsula of Rhuis in the following spring, on condition that the plan of this expedition prepared by M. de Rozière, a French strategist, provided a safe landing place, a defensible position on the peninsula, and adequate facilities for re-embarkation in case of defeat. De Rozière insisted that his plan fully satisfied these requirements. But General Sir Charles Grey, to whom Pitt referred it for advice, condemned it in unqualified terms. Before any decision was announced, all opportunity of testing the merits of the project passed away. One of the first matters to which Bonaparte turned his attention on becoming Chief of the State was the pacification of western France. With this object he offered the insurgents full redress of all their grievances in return for submission, and authorised General Hédouville to arrange an armistice in order that terms of peace might be discussed. The theatre of civil war was divided into two sections by the River Loire. During the obstinate struggle for religion rather than for monarchy, ended by General Hoche in 1796, La Vendée, to the south of the river, had been turned into a desert. It still remained in a very impoverished state, besides being, during the greater part of the year, shut in from external aid by a treacherous coast. In the departments north of the Loire, particularly those of Brittany and Normandy, the fire and sword of Jacobin conquest had made much less havoc; and frequent communication with Count d'Artois, and consignments of money and arms from England, kept the spirit of insurrection from flagging. The disintegrating influence of these differing circumstances manifested itself in a conference of Royalist leaders held at Pouancé at the close of the year 1799. The southern delegates, swayed by the advice of Abbé Bernier, an able and politic ecclesiastic who had convinced himself of the stability and good intentions of the Consular Government, were for accepting Hédouville's proposals. Those from districts north of the Loire, following instructions from Monsieur, stood out for an additional pledge that monarchy should be restored, and despatched two of their number—Hyde de Neuville and Andigni—to Paris to treat with Bonaparte on this subject. An interview at the Tuileries effectually dispelled any illusions the envoys may have cherished that the First Consul intended treading in the footsteps of General Monk. And when, on their return, the chiefs at Pouancé sought to gain further time by spinning out negotiations, Bonaparte put an end to the armistice, and placed General Brune, a red-hot Jacobin, at the head of 60,000 troops to proclaim martial law and crush the revolt. The Vendéans immediately accepted the terms offered by Hédouville. The royalists of Anjou, Maine, and Brittany, after a feeble attempt at resistance, laid down their arms on the same conditions. The

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Norman chief, Count Frotté, who submitted last, was taken and shot in violation of good faith. The other leaders, with the exception of Georges Cadoudal, who retired to England, accepted the new order of things in France with more or less of good will. And the British Government found the chief avenue through which it hoped to assail the Consular Government effectually closed against it. For although it offered shortly afterwards to land Viomenil and his Russians on the Breton coast, it refused to risk British troops in such a desperate adventure.

In the middle of February the British Cabinet had definitely fixed the main lines of its policy for the year 1800; and Lord Grenville communicated its decisions to Mr. Wickham, Lord Minto, and Sir Charles Whitworth. Wickham was informed that all his plans had been approved and his advice adopted. He was authorised to conclude treaties with the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and minor states of southern Germany for troops to serve under Archduke Charles, at a cost to the British Exchequer of £1,000,000, afterwards raised to £1,500,000. £500,000 more was placed at his disposal, as secret service money, to defray the expenses of royalist armies under Generals Pichégru and Willot. And the British Government undertook to send 20,000 British troops to the Mediterranean to co-operate with Willot.

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Probably at no other period of its history did the military reputation of England, in all respects except bravery in the field, fall so low as during Pitt's first ministry. It was not only the Emperor Paul who refused to allow his troops to serve under an English general; neither Baron Thugut nor General Melas could be induced to detach a body of Austrian cavalry to act in France under Sir Charles Stuart. Nor was this unflattering judgment merely the verdict of foreign opinion. The incapacity of British officers specially selected for important duties on the Continent is a subject of constant reproach and misgiving in the confidential letters of Lord Grenville and Mr. Wickham. On 27th March, 1800, Wickham wrote in reference to British officers sent to organise and pay a Swiss army corps—"I have sworn never to have anything to do with your military men again unless they will learn their own business better before they come abroad, or have a more moderate opinion of their own knowledge, and suffer themselves to be instructed. Besides, it is not to be conceived (bravery and presence of mind in the field excepted) how very cheap we are holden on the Continent." Again, on 8th May—"Our officers, particularly those that call themselves staff-officers, are totally unfit for anything of the kind; and it is only since I have meddled with military arrangements myself, in consequence of their evident incapacity, that I have been able to judge of the extent to which that incapacity is carried." Lord Grenville replied on 20th May—"I have long seen reason to judge as you do of the capacity of our officers. Something may be allowed for want of opportunity to learn; but if when that is thrown into their way they will not learn, they are incurable." Lord Elgin, British Minister at Constantinople, wrote on 29th

December, 1799, in reference to officers sent from the Horse Guards to train the Sultan's troops in a knowledge of military science—"Seeing Englishmen in authority in Turkey takes away all delight in reading Don Quixote."

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So many miscarriages, and particularly in attempts which had seemed to offer all the conditions of easy conquest, caused great dissatisfaction in England. Dearth of food and of employment produced much misery and turbulence in many parts of the kingdom during the year 1800; and George III. seems to have been averse to despatching troops that could ill be spared at home on such uncertain ventures. It is evident from some of Dundas's letters that his relations, as war minister, with his sovereign, and with the Duke of York, involved a good deal of friction in the course of the summer. We learn also from the diaries of Mr. Windham and Lord Malmesbury that a little later in this year, the king meditated a change of ministry, which would have installed those statesmen in the offices of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville. Dundas, however, with little support from the rest of the Cabinet, organised the bold and fortunate expedition to Egypt, in which Abercromby amply redeemed any discredit that might have attached to him from previous ill-success, and closed a meritorious career by a splendid victory. Two letters, written in March, 1801, and included in this volume, from General John Moore, afterwards victor at Corunna, to his father, the author of "Zuleika," give us interesting accounts of the landing of the British army at Aboukir; and the subsequent action, in which Abercromby received a mortal wound.

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Lord Carysfort's confidential letters from Berlin contained in this volume are valuable as bringing to our knowledge an important element of public opinion on the Continent at this time, in regard to which Lord Grenville's other official correspondents appear to have joined in what may be termed a conspiracy of silence. He was an amateur diplomatist who had accepted a mission to the Prussian Court at Lord Grenville's request. And his independent position and intimate relations with the Foreign Secretary enabled him to speak his mind with candour, and tell unpalatable truths without fear of consequences. His letters leave little doubt that the show of moderation and the pacific efforts which the circumstances of France, and his own, dictated to Bonaparte, contrasting forcibly with the implacable attitude and the oppressive maritime policy of the British Government, had not only arrested the hostile tide of Continental feeling against France, but turned it full against England as the common enemy of Europe. Instead of the honour justly due to the champion of outraged right, ordered liberty, and all the highest interest of civilization, which Lord Grenville claimed for her, England under his auspices had become odious—not in one country alone, nor merely to popular prejudice, but, as Carysfort declared, universally, and to educated conviction in its most conservative manifestations, whether political, social, or literary, as a sordid monopolist—keeping war alive for her special objects and

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particular profit, without regarding the evils her selfish egotism entailed on the rest of the world. It may be mentioned in this connection that, when negotiating early in the year with the Emperor, the British Government demanded Austrian support for its maritime system, as the condition of English support of an Austrian annexation of Genoa and other territory bordering the Mediterranean, Thugut, as Lord Minto reported, preferred relinquishing Genoa to incurring the public odium to which compliance with this demand would expose his sovereign. Carysfort proposed to employ Gentz, a brilliant German publicist, who stood with Burke and Mallet du Pan in the foremost rank of literary champions of the old order against revolutionary innovation, to combat hostile criticism, and educate foreign opinion to a juster appreciation of British policy. Ill-will, which he thought utterly unreasonable, does not appear to have given Lord Grenville much concern; nor did he care much, perhaps, to convert antagonists whom he so frankly despised as "fools and madmen." Still he allowed his brother-in-law to retain Gentz's literary services to explain and defend English policy, by a pension of £200 a year. An Introductory essay or *Memoire*, by the German writer sent to Lord Grenville, and included in this volume, amply confirms Lord Carysfort's representations, and shows in what discouraging circumstances Gentz advocated a cause which must have seemed well-nigh desperate, until the fears excited by Bonaparte's unbridled ambition caused another revulsion of European opinion.

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After the conclusion of the peace of Luneville Baron Thugut disappeared from the political stage on which for ten eventful years he had filled so large a space. Nothing, perhaps, in his conduct on it became him less than his manner of leaving it. His unavailing struggles, as described by Mr. Wickham, and with more of sympathy and indulgence by Lord Minto, to retain the direction of public affairs, without enjoying the confidence of his sovereign, or being willing to accept arrangements which the welfare of the monarchy made imperative, betrayed a lamentable want of personal dignity and public spirit. The Emperor broke his fall, and acknowledged his services, by the grant of an estate in Galicia.

On the subject of the political measure which involved, as an unforeseen consequence, the downfall of Pitt's first administration, Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the correspondence in Volume VI. is significantly reticent. It tells us nothing of the means or methods by which failure in the Irish Parliamentary session of 1799 was converted to success in that of 1800. Lord Grenville, no doubt, was kept well-informed of all essential particulars by the Irish Chief Secretary. But Lord Castlereagh, instead of committing them to paper, appears to have reserved them for personal communication in London. Lord Grenville seems to have been equally cautious in his mode of conveying intelligence to the Marquis of Buckingham, whose eager interest in the measure chafed under this unaccustomed reserve. Brief notes from Mr. Cooke, Under Secretary at Dublin Castle, recorded for Grenville's informa-

tion the daily progress of the Bill through the Irish Parliament. These bulletins, though doubtless very acceptable at the time, possess little historical interest. The writer's evident anxiety in regard to the stability of the Government majority, as numbers rose and fell in the division lists during the course of the debates, recalls the Lord Lieutenant's statement to General Ross, that half of those voting for the measure would be at least as much delighted by its defeat as any member of the Opposition. A temperate letter from Lord Farnham, an Irish peer, dealing with the fiscal part of the new settlement, seems to show that the arrangements fixing the proportion of taxation for each island pressed very unequally on Ireland. This communication does not appear to have been answered. Pitt's letters contain no allusion whatever to the Act of Union. A still deeper silence covers everything bearing on the introduction of the measure intended to supplement that Act, by substituting a political for a religious test as a qualification for public employment. Two brief notes from Pitt to Grenville, dated 1st February, 1801, refer obscurely to differences of opinion between Ministers and the King, and serious consequences involved. Lord Buckingham wrote to his brother on 3rd February warmly approving of the course adopted by the Ministry in resigning office. On the 6th Lord Grenville wrote to Lord Carysfort announcing the resignation of a majority of the Cabinet, in consequence of the King's refusal to sanction a Bill for the removal of the religious disabilities of the Irish Catholics; the formation of a new administration by Mr. Addington from colleagues and followers of Mr. Pitt; the writer's determination to give the new Ministers zealous support, and earnest hope that his personal connexions would follow his example. Of the unlooked for dissensions in the Cabinet, or the secret intrigues disclosed in Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, we find no hint whatever. One of the earliest appointments made by Mr. Addington gave Lord Hawkesbury charge of the Foreign Office. Lord Grenville wrote on 11th February in most cordial and characteristic terms, to place at his successor's service whatever knowledge might have been acquired by the writer in the course of "ten years' observation of those wretched things which are called governments on the Continent of Europe." Then the King's health broke down under the strain of the political crisis; and the formation of the new Ministry was suspended for several weeks. But Lord Grenville retired to Dropmore; and beyond responding to Lord Hawkesbury's requests for advice and information, seems to have taken no further part, except what was absolutely required by official formalities, in the deliberations of the Cabinet, or the transaction of public business.

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The correspondence included in this volume embraces a period of five years: from February, 1801, to February, 1805. This comparative poverty of material, the three preceding volumes covering altogether a period of only three years, is a consequence of the change in Lord Grenville's political situation. From being a leading

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member of the famous administration which formed, sustained, and in a great measure directed two European coalitions against the French Revolution, and the recognised organ of its foreign policy, he figures as the reluctant chief of a small party, strenuously advocating the same principles in opposition, but divested of official authority and cut off from those sources of information which had overflowed in his correspondence. Still, however inferior it may be to its immediate predecessors in general importance as a historical record, this volume possesses peculiar interest on account of the light it throws on Lord Grenville's own career, of which these five years of opposition formed the turning point, and on the domestic politics of Great Britain. Readers will find mirrored in its pages the various influences, foreign and domestic—fears and perils caused by the growing ascendancy of a conqueror of extraordinary genius and ambition, new motives of action arising out of the course of political life in England—under the operation of which ties that had bound Pitt and Grenville together for nearly twenty years, dissolved; and were, in the case of the latter, replaced by a union with statesmen who for the same long period had been political foes of both.

In order to appreciate fairly the circumstances of a separation still resented by many who can see no fault in a historical idol, it is necessary to bear in mind Lord Grenville's situation in Pitt's first ministry and the conditions of Mr. Addington's accession to power. A great deal has been said of Grenville's political obligations to Pitt; and no one could acknowledge them more fully or in more grateful language than did Grenville himself. But Pitt also owed a great deal to Grenville. It has become a habit in our days to ascribe to Pitt the merit of everything making for national glory or advantage that illustrates his first ministry. Panegyric of this sort is more than usually extravagant when applied to him. Perhaps no great Minister ever more freely appropriated the ideas of others, depended more on the assistance of able colleagues, or was more governed by their advice. The Dropmore correspondence affords abundant evidence that for considerable periods subordinate ministers—Lord Hawkesbury in matters of trade, Mr. Dundas in war, Lord Grenville in foreign relations—shaped the policy of the country without detracting from Pitt's supremacy. In fact, Pitt carried his disposition to accept advice to a fault. Friends and foes agreed that it too often resulted in instability of purpose, a condition of mind especially fatal to success in war. Where alone Pitt showed himself as a Minister inexorably firm and consistent was in whatever concerned his own power and supremacy, with which, it is only fair to add, in his own belief and in that of a host of fervent adherents, the greatness of England was closely identified. In his first make-shift Cabinet, all except himself members of the House of Lords, he had not from various causes a colleague on whom he could rely for efficient support. It was therefore of great importance to him to find in a near kinsman an able, assiduous, and devoted helper in whom he could absolutely confide. And as the country, recovering from the lassitude and exhaustion which resulted from

the American war, began again to turn attention to its Continental interests, and Pitt made his first excursions into the field of foreign politics in which he never found himself quite at home, the need and the value of Grenville's services sensibly increased. And there was another advantage accruing from the association which Pitt probably prized more highly. It brought him the support of a powerful political connexion. Amidst all the selfish aims and freaks of morbid egotism which distorted Lord Buckingham's public conduct, he never wavered in affection for his youngest brother, or in care for his interests. At various times this tie alone kept him steady in his support of Pitt's administration; and it was probably to this family influence with its command of votes in the House of Commons, rather than to his own merits or the Prime Minister's appreciation of them, that Grenville owed his rapid advancement in an official career. Pitt and he, though strongly attached to each other, and having some personal traits in common, differed much in character and sentiment. Grenville was a Whig aristocrat, after the pattern of the statesmen who governed England from the Revolution of 1688 to the death of George II., who regarded France as a natural enemy, and were equally jealous of the Royal prerogative and of everything that savoured of democratic innovation. Although always ready to sacrifice his position in the ministry to Pitt's convenience, no matter how the change might affect his prospects or inclination, on points involving principle or personal conviction he showed himself inflexible even to obstinacy, and incapable of compromise. Pitt's opinions and sympathies were rather those of the great mercantile class whose good opinion he sedulously cultivated. His intellect expanded in peace and found congenial exercise in finance and the development of trade and industry. It seemed to shrivel and become sterilized in the breath of war. By nature and training he was more liberal than Grenville; more pliant in discussion; but also much more prone to make expediency, which always kept in view his own predominance in the State, the rule of his political conduct. He had talent of a very high order, and transcendent gifts as a Parliamentary leader, without a spark of his father's genius. When the Whig statesmen who had separated from Fox coalesced with Pitt in 1794, they all, with the exception of the Duke of Portland, seem to have found themselves in closer agreement with Lord Grenville than with their chief, or the Tory members of the Cabinet such as Mr. Dundas and Lord Hawkesbury. Lord Spencer and Mr. Windham resigned office with him in 1801 solely on the Catholic question. All of them seem to have accepted indefinite exclusion from office as a consequence of their decision. Lord Grenville sold his town house, and retired to Dropmore, with the declared intention of restricting attendance in Parliament to particular emergencies. Pitt's resignation seems to have been due to various causes, of which the Catholic question was only one. No doubt he would have preferred to make the passing of the Act of Union the occasion of emancipating Irish Catholics. But when after discussion with Lords Clare and Auckland he became persuaded that the measure might more easily be carried through

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the Irish Parliament on the old lines of Protestant ascendancy, he threw the Catholic cause over. He enlisted Auckland's aid in framing the financial provisions of the Act on this understanding. George III.'s letter to him approving of his sending Lord Cornwallis to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant to pass the Act, expressly forbade all further concession to Catholics. Pitt knew from what had passed during Lord FitzWilliam's vice-royalty in 1795 that this aversion was of the strongest kind, deep-rooted in religious scruple. When, however, after an unsuccessful trial, the Irish Government assured him that an Act of Union could not be passed without the help, or at least the neutrality, of the Irish Catholics, the Cabinet under his guidance authorised Lord Castlereagh to assure them that it favoured their claims. Armed with this new means of influence, Cornwallis passed the Act, but Pitt neither informed the King of his change of attitude towards the Catholics, nor the Catholics of the King's continued opposition to their claims. When the time came to redeem the pledge implied in the assurances given by the Irish Government, he hesitated and delayed until the secret was betrayed to the King by the Lord Chancellor, who led a large minority of the Cabinet in unexpected revolt; and the agitation produced by the revelation in the King's mind forced on an explanation. As Pitt afterwards told Canning, this loss of supremacy he had hitherto exercised in his own Cabinet "obliged him to resign." And there appears to have been another which the King and Canning thought the principal motive. General distress and discontent caused by a succession of bad harvests, the unpopularity of the war, the isolation of the country consequent on the defeat of its Continental allies, and the derangement of national credit, had convinced Pitt of the necessity of peace with France. But in existing circumstances he could not hope to obtain such terms as would satisfy Lord Grenville and colleagues who shared Grenville's views. As Dundas said, it was desirable in the interests of the party that a new administration should be formed to negotiate peace. It seems clear, also, that Pitt and his more intimate confidants regarded the Addington ministry as a temporary expedient which would facilitate his return to the helm under more favourable circumstances, and, in the mean time, enable him to remain in power though divested of office. Addington, one of his oldest friends and followers, only consented to obey the Royal command at Pitt's earnest solicitation, enforced by an absolute promise of counsel and support. The exact terms of this pledge are not on record; but Pitt informed Canning that it bound him until Addington himself, or the King, or Parliament called on him to form another Government. Before new arrangements were completed in February, 1801, the King's reason gave way for some weeks under the strain of excitement. When his Majesty recovered he sent Dr. Willis with a message to Pitt which announced to him this restoration to health and reproached him with causing the illness. Pitt, in Addington's presence, charged Willis with the answer that he would never raise the Catholic question again during his Sovereign's reign. George III. expressed satisfaction and relief, and for some days Pitt and

those in close touch with him, Dundas, Canning, and Rose, expected a Royal refusal to accept his resignation. But the King said nothing more, and when it was suggested to Addington that he should advise his Majesty to retain Pitt's services as Prime Minister, Addington declined. They could, he replied, offer that counsel themselves and take the responsibility of the effect it might have on the King's health. Pitt then interfered to curb the zeal of impatient adherents and gave up the seals. But he seems to have left Lord Grenville in complete ignorance of the pledge he had given to the King and the expectations he had founded on it. The relations of these two statesmen to the new ministry differed widely from the outset. Pitt was its avowed protector and confidential adviser. Grenville was a candid friend who extended patronage to it on condition of good behaviour. In the minds of personal adherents of both it appears to have excited the same feelings of derision and distrust. Canning would only promise Pitt not to laugh at the new ministers, and seems to have allowed himself some latitude in performance. Lord Grenville's correspondence shows how he failed to reconcile his nearest connexions to his own attitude of toleration. In fact, in point of ability, the new Cabinet presented a very unfavourable contrast to the last. It was composed of the inefficient members of the late Cabinet, Portland, Westmorland, and Chatham, and recruits of more or less promise, but selected mainly on account of conformity to the King's political views. Addington himself, an admirable Speaker of the House of Commons, had made no mark in politics. Lord Hawkesbury, son of the old leader of the "King's friends," now Earl of Liverpool, succeeded Grenville at the Foreign Office. Lord Loughborough, "an engineer hoist with his own petard," found himself, to his great astonishment, not only deprived of the Great Seal which the King gave to Sir John Scott, created Lord Eldon, but altogether excluded from the ministry. Lord Auckland, Loughborough's reputed confederate, "an eternal intriguer," his Majesty said, again missed his aim of Cabinet office; but Lord Hobart, his son-in-law, replaced Dundas as Secretary of State for War. Mr. Pelham, who enjoyed an extraordinary reputation for statesmanship which his political career hardly justified, joined the Cabinet for a short time at the special request of the King, but never seems to have won the confidence of his colleagues, or to have acted cordially with them. But though weak in ability, the new administration possessed in abundance other elements of political strength. Formed on no-Popery and high Tory lines, it enjoyed in complete measure the favour of the Crown. Addington was a minister after the King's own heart. With Pitt's support he commanded large majorities in both Houses of Parliament. The Whig Opposition showed forbearance to a ministry that was known to desire peace, and, in advocating peace, Fox now represented public opinion. At the same time Addington's courteous and conciliatory manners disarmed personal jealousies and dislikes.

At the outset also Fortune smiled on the new administration. In April intelligence came of two great victories, which lightened the depression caused by a long run of disaster. The first was the

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sudden breaking up of the "armed neutrality of the North." Lord Spencer had dispatched a powerful fleet under Admirals Parker and Nelson to assail this league at Copenhagen, its most vulnerable point. News of a battle fought by Nelson against the Danes on 1st April, was followed in a few days by the receipt of a convention concluded by Parker with the Crown Prince of Denmark, by which the belligerents agreed to suspend hostilities for fourteen weeks, with liberty, if either thought fit, to renew the conflict at the end of that period.

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Following fast on the news from the North came intelligence of General Abercromby's brilliant victory of 21st March which demolished French supremacy in Egypt. In this case also military skill and valour had been largely favoured by fortune.

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In June, 1801, Lord St. Helens and Count Panin signed a treaty at St. Petersburg which practically ended the quarrel between Great Britain and the Northern Confederacy for the defence of neutral trade. Each party made concessions, and the treaty was generally held to constitute a reasonable settlement. But when communicated by Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Grenville it drew from the latter a long letter of severe criticism and unfavourable comment.

On 1st October, after discussions extending over five months, preliminaries of peace between France and England were signed in London by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto. Lord Hawkesbury immediately announced the event to Lord Grenville. "We retain possession," he wrote, "of Ceylon and Trinidad; the Cape of Good Hope is to be made a free port; Malta is to be restored to the Order, under the guarantee and protection of a third Power; Egypt is to be restored to the Turks; the integrity of the Turkish Empire and Portugal to be maintained; the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory to be evacuated by the French armies. I am inclined to hope that, under all the circumstances, you will consider this an honourable peace." On the same day Pitt, in announcing the signature of the treaty to Lord Carrington, described the conditions as "highly honourable and advantageous to the country, although not perhaps in every point exactly all that was to be wished." In Lord Grenville they aroused intense indignation. He denounced the surrender of the Cape and Malta as a sacrifice of the honour, interests, and even safety of the monarchy. His brothers were equally unmeasured in condemnation. Before deciding, however, how the treaty should affect his relations with the ministry, he wrote to his principal colleagues in the late Cabinet to gather their opinions. Pitt defended it as highly expedient in existing circumstances. Dundas's reply, marked *secret and confidential*, was characteristic. He emphatically condemned the concessions to France, but declared his intention to refrain from all censure, private as well as public, so as not to weaken an administration acceptable to the King. Lord Spencer and Mr. Windham having expressed full concurrence in his views, Lord Grenville gave notice to Mr. Addington of his intention to oppose the policy of

Government in its dealings with Russia and France. He did so when Parliament met in an elaborate speech, which, after undergoing careful revision, was published by Cobbett, editor of the *Porcupine*, the most virulent assailant of Addington in the ranks of the press. But it produced little immediate effect. Public opinion was almost unanimous for peace. A mere handful of peers followed Lord Grenville in the House of Lords. In the House of Commons Windham did not venture to divide. Henceforth, however, Lord Grenville seems to have assailed the ministry with a personal animosity which it is not easy to account for, considering that the provocation was merely a political difference in which his opponents had the nation on their side. Addington and Hawkesbury had spared no pains to retain his goodwill. They had offered an embassy to his brother, and to his brother-in-law, and given appointments to Mr. Wickham and other friends whose fortunes he had recommended to their care. Even when not agreeing with him, they had invariably shown deference to his counsels. But it would appear from his correspondence that from the moment of their opening negotiations with Russia, and more particularly with France, he watched their proceedings with contemptuous distrust. The fact seems to be that hatred of the French Revolution, and of Bonaparte especially, had mastered his judgment, and distorted his political vision. He could only see in the First Consul "a tiger" "let loose to devour mankind," and in the Consular Government "a band of robbers and assassins" that neither could or would make peace. It should be recollected that, at this period at least, the Consular Government was probably the best France had seen for many centuries. It found the country at war with all the great powers of Europe except Spain and Prussia, convulsed by internal discord, and in imminent peril of being over-run and partitioned. It used the victories it gained to make peace with foreign nations; while at home it reorganised the State, reformed law, re-established tranquillity, order, and public credit, and restored religion.

Having liberated his mind by a public declaration against the Government, Lord Grenville retired to Dropmore and found solace during several months in literary and rural pursuits.

Addington, while leaning mainly on Pitt, lost no opportunity of strengthening his position by conciliating Whig opponents and, if possible, converting them into friends. Although Mr. Grey and Lord Moira declined offers of seats in the Cabinet, several of the Whig leaders, more conspicuously Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Tierney, gave him active support in the House of Commons with the avowed purpose of excluding Pitt. During debate on the Budget, a fierce attack on Pitt's finance by Tierney, but faintly repelled, as it was thought, by Addington, deeply incensed the late Prime Minister, and brought him up from Walmer in February, 1802, to demand explanations of his successor, which apparently allayed his resentment. While in town he called on Thomas Grenville and expressed great apprehensions of the danger threatening the country from Bonaparte's hostility and ambition. Mr. Grenville, in reporting this conversation to Dropmore, remonstrated with his brother

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for relinquishing by a life of seclusion all opportunity of influencing the political action of his old leader. Shortly afterwards a motion in the House of Commons reflecting on Lord Wellesley's proceedings in India, afforded an occasion for consultation which each of the estranged statesmen willingly seized. But although in conference at Dropmore they thoroughly agreed as to the danger to which the monarchy was exposed by Bonaparte's designs, they disagreed in regard to the policy that should be adopted. Pitt still thought peace highly advantageous if combined with vigilance and preparations for war; Grenville saw in it only inevitable ruin. But the meeting revived old habits of confidential discussion, and the interchange of friendly visits to Walmer and Dropmore.

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During the summer and autumn of 1802 some of Pitt's intimate friends grew daily more urgent with him to resume the direction of public affairs. Pitt fully concurred with them that the time had come for his return to office, but his pledges to Addington bound him hand and foot, as neither the King nor the public, nor the Prime Minister himself showed the slightest desire for any change of administration. Lord Malmesbury and Canning therefore set themselves to compel or persuade Addington to relinquish his post. Pitt had been seriously unwell during the summer. It was arranged that he should repair to Bath as well for the restoration of his strength as to escape from his compromising position of standing counsel to the ministry, whose reputation for wisdom had not been raised by Lord Hawkesbury's injudicious meddling in Swiss affairs. Before he left Walmer Lord Grenville arrived there, not acting in concert with the others, but not less eager that his old chief should wrest the helm of state from incompetent hands which were letting it drift on political breakers. In the course of discussion Pitt sounded Grenville as to their uniting to form a new ministry, which should include Addington and some of his colleagues, and exclude the Catholic question from its programme. Grenville asked time to consult the leading members of the "new Opposition" before giving a definite answer. On his part he seems to have converted Pitt to his avowed opinion that the safety of the country required the permanent, or at least continued, occupation of Malta, Alexandria, and the Cape of Good Hope by British garrisons, in breach of the treaty of Amiens. At Bath Pitt found himself surrounded by friends intent on paving the way for his return to office. With the view of preparing the King for a change of Ministers, Lord Malmesbury opened the subject in confidence to the Duke of York, who expressed warm approbation; but being too cautious to entangle himself in political intrigue, suggested that some man of high political standing, another Duke for preference, should wait on Addington and impress on him the expediency of giving place to Pitt. The nearest approach to a Duke available seems to have been the Lord Chancellor, who, on being asked to undertake the mission, required time for consideration. Then Canning, giving effect in a more general form to the Duke of York's suggestion, drew up an address to the Prime Minister, which, having been

shown by Malmesbury to Pitt, Lords Morpeth and Leveson Gower carried round to influential members of both Houses of Parliament for their signatures. But the movement had little success, and at Pitt's request, was not persevered in. Meantime Lord Grenville had informed his brothers of the overture made to him at Walmer. Lord Buckingham earnestly deprecated such a coalition as that proposed by Pitt on the ground that it must inflict irreparable damage on Lord Grenville's public character. And this view prevailing at a meeting of the brothers and Lord Spencer at Stowe, Lord Grenville wrote to Pitt declaring himself bound by it, but offering to support any administration Pitt might form. Pitt's reply expressed deep regret for the decision come to at Stowe. But, he added, that he had changed his mind in regard to his own line of conduct, since the conference at Walmer. The refusal of the other European powers to interfere in Switzerland showed that war with France could only be undertaken now under most unfavourable circumstances. He thought, therefore, that any measure, such as a refusal to evacuate Alexandria, which would certainly provoke immediate hostilities should be avoided; and while peace was maintained, he saw no public benefit that could accrue from his resumption of office. It may be noticed here that when, in conversation at Bath, Lord Malmesbury made some disparaging remark about Lord Grenville, Pitt spoke in the highest terms of the qualities of his former colleague, and declared that he could not dispense with his assistance.

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In a hostile atmosphere at Bath Pitt seemed for a time determined to break with Addington. He returned, unopened, papers submitted to him by Lord Hawkesbury on the plea of want of access to other sources of information. But the Prime Minister sent his brother Hiley, and Lord Castlereagh who had joined the Cabinet, on missions to his imperious protector, and by these marks of deference deferred a rupture. In fact Pitt had no cause of complaint against Addington that did not arise almost inevitably out of the situation he himself had created. He was impatient of Addington's reluctance to relinquish the position of Prime Minister, fully sharing the conviction expressed by Lord Grenville, Mr. Canning, and other ardent friends, that he alone could save Great Britain from the perils to which it was exposed from Bonaparte's ambition. But it was hardly reasonable to expect that Addington should see the situation in the same light. Addington had resigned the Speakership without compensation, at the earnest request of the King, and Pitt's own urgent entreaties, in order, as he seems to have believed, to rescue his Sovereign from a situation which threatened his reason, if not his life. He was naturally elated by the extraordinary marks of Royal favour showered on him, by his large majorities in Parliament, and by the success of his administration at home and abroad. The condition of the country had improved rapidly under his government. He had given no pledges to Pitt, and had done nothing to forfeit the benefit of the pledges given to himself. For the ministry had deferred to Pitt's counsels with a docility, or rather servility, sometimes discreditable to them.

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selves and injurious to the State. When he arrived at Bath fresh from contact with Grenville, Pitt advised them to hold possession of Alexandria and the Cape. Orders to this effect were immediately despatched from London to the officers in command at both places. When the order reached Cape Town, the Dutch governor and garrison had landed; the British garrison had nearly all embarked, and rushed back from the transports before the eyes of the astonished Dutchmen. From Alexandria, Colonel Sebastiani, a French agent, reported to Bonaparte late in November that the British commander had no instructions to quit the place, although the time fixed for evacuation by the treaty of Amiens had long elapsed. Then Pitt, as we have seen, suddenly changed his mind. The ministry, he wrote again, should limit their measures of precaution to more than ordinary vigilance and preparation. A new arrangement, he added, must be made in regard to Malta. The War Office immediately countermanded its recent orders, and both the Cape and Alexandria were evacuated in February, 1803. The intimation from Bath regarding Malta was followed with the same implicit obedience.

Addington's finance was another sore point with Pitt. Two plentiful harvests had now followed seasons of dearth in England. Discontent calmed down. Trade and revenue flourished, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement, in introducing his Budget, exhibited a picture of national prosperity in some respects over-coloured, and apparently unfair to his predecessor. Pitt also seems to have resented the complacency with which Addington listened to compliments from Opposition leaders, and especially to Sheridan's brilliant speeches, bristling with invective against the late ministry, as want of loyalty to himself. But then, as Addington's friends remarked, it was his own intentional absence from Parliament for the purpose of avoiding close communication with the ministry which had deprived him of opportunities for rectifying mistakes, and answering personal attacks, as he alone could. At Christmas Pitt left Bath, and after brief visits to Lords Malmesbury and Grenville, went on to Bromley to stay with Mr. Long, a common friend of Addington and himself. He appears to have been still in favour of maintaining peace. A few years more of tranquillity, he told Lord Malmesbury, would so improve the financial condition of England as to enable the country to bear the strain of war, no matter how prolonged. At Bromley he met Addington, apparently on their old friendly footing, and he spent some days at Richmond Lodge which the King had given to his favourite minister for life, as a country residence. But Addington, though he must have known of the movement for Pitt's return to office, avoided allusion to the subject, except by a hurried word at parting, which signified nothing. Pitt went back to Walmer decidedly out of humour with this unexpected reticence. And, excepting a confidential letter of advice to his brother Lord Chatham, held no communication with any member of the Government during the next two months.

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Pitt's action in the House of Commons in dealing with the motion of want of confidence in the ministry was deeply resented by

Addington and his friends, much as they exulted in its conspicuous failure. They regarded it as a stab in the back from one pledged to support them. Addington, they complained, though head of an administration which enjoyed the undiminished confidence of the King and the Parliament, had offered to make way for Pitt, yet Pitt had dealt it a treacherous blow because it declined to coalesce with declared foes, whose enmity had been incurred by following his advice. Their resentment found expression in an anonymous pamphlet, which must have stung Pitt to the quick. A paper war followed, from which Lord Grenville conceived hopes of working again in thorough co-operation with his old friend and leader. In conference, their views and feelings seemed to coincide exactly. They agreed that the situation of the country was perilous; and that the peril was greatly enhanced by an incompetent administration. But when it came to a question of combined action for placing the direction of public affairs in more capable hands, Pitt drew back. He would heap scorn on the ministry, or damn it with faint praise as an independent critic, but do nothing to dislodge it from office. This attitude greatly puzzled and disheartened the "New Opposition." They began to doubt whether, while professing to respond with equal unreserve to the entire frankness with which Lord Grenville laid bare his views and intentions, Pitt, governed by secret ties or motives, was not playing a game of his own. An unlooked for disclosure did much to stimulate this growing distrust. During a visit to Lord Carysfort at Eltham in the month of October, the Bishop of Lincoln told his host of the letter given or dictated by Pitt to Dr. Willis for the King, in Addington's presence, undertaking to lend no further countenance to the Catholic claims during his Majesty's reign; and the hopes founded on this communication of Pitt's remaining in office, which the Bishop thought had been blasted by Addington's secret machinations. The knowledge of this incident coming as a surprise to Lord Grenville and his friends, did much, apparently, to shake the confidence of the party in Pitt's sincerity.

As autumn faded into winter the political aspect grew darker without anything like correct appreciation by the British Ministry of the magnitude of the danger to which the kingdom was exposed. In fact, neither Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for War, nor any of his colleagues, was capable of rising to the full height of the emergency, because none of them was able to conceive what was possible for extraordinary genius and energy having absolute command of the strength and resources of such a powerful state as France had now become. Moreover, they seem to have swallowed with avidity Lord Whitworth's encouraging assurances that Bonaparte was universally hated and despised, and utterly without means of engaging in naval warfare. It was the old story of mistaking the whisper of faction for the voice of a nation. No doubt war with England was intensely unpopular in France. But the refusal of the English Government to fulfil the treaty of Amiens enabled Bonaparte to shift on to it the odium of hostilities. It was a challenge which, as he said, could not be declined without loss of

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honour, and in taking it up he had the support of all the great bodies of the State, and the vast majority of the French people. His financial difficulties were serious, but not insuperable. A rapid revival of national prosperity under his rule, and a more skilful and economical management of public resources, had brought up the annual revenue of France to 24,000,000*l.*, which amply covered ordinary expenditure in time of peace. This equilibrium, however, had been disturbed by a costly and disastrous expedition to St. Domingo. And war with England on the scale which he now designed required an additional annual expenditure of about 8,000,000*l.* Though French credit had greatly improved, the 5 per cent. *rente*, which fell below 10 under the Directory, had not yet reached 50, so that he could only borrow on usurious terms which his economical temper rejected. But by selling Louisiana to the United States for 60,000,000 of francs, he disarmed American jealousy which his colonial policy had aroused, and improved his financial position. He commuted the aid in soldiers and vessels of war Spain was bound to furnish to France by the treaty of St. Ildefonso for a considerable monthly subsidy. And these supplies, augmented by voluntary contributions from France, forced contributions from dependent republics, and an improved system of taxation enabled him to begin preparations for a descent on England with his usual secrecy and vigour.

In the same credulous spirit the ministry eagerly encouraged schemes of the emigrant princes for the overthrow of the Consular Government, which exposed itself to much obloquy and ridicule, had tragic issues for the House of Bourbon, and opened a way for the great enemy of that House to the summit of his ambition.

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The Editor confidently appeals to correspondence contained in this volume as completely clearing Lord Grenville from aspersions cast on him by modern worshippers of Pitt, who can see nothing to blame in their hero, and make Grenville the scapegoat for faults and failure which darkened the melancholy close of a great career. "It was from a sense of loyalty to Grenville," it is said, "that Pitt had suffered the negotiation for his return to office in 1803 to fall through, and now when the two statesmen could return together, and when, if ever, a strong government was needed, either a quixotic sense of honour or wounded pride induced Grenville not only to stand aloof from the new administration himself, but to do his utmost to prevent others from giving it their support." It was not from loyalty to Grenville, but because he could not form an efficient administration without the statesmen of the "New Opposition" who had given such strength and character to his first ministry, that Pitt broke off negotiation with Addington in 1803. Neither was it a quixotic sense of honour or wounded pride that induced Grenville to stand aloof from Pitt's last administration. He could not have acted otherwise except in plain violation of principle and good faith. Moreover, he had specially warned Pitt that neither he nor any of his political friends would consent to accept office contrary to the King's inclinations.

Grenville's letters to Pitt are frank disclosures of the writer's views and purposes, animated by warm affection for his old leader, and strong disinclination to separate from him which only a deep sense of public duty and urgent remonstrances from the friends who had followed him into opposition were able to overcome. They bear the impress of sincerity, and carry a conviction of it to the mind of the reader; and however prejudiced or intemperate some of the views expressed in them may appear, there is no trace in them of secret motive or personal ambition. Pitt's conduct, as revealed in his letters to Grenville, was that of a man hampered by unavowed pledges, playing a political game of his own, and consequently, sparing of confidence, uncertain and ambiguous in action. On points concerning the security of the monarchy, about which they had disagreed, Pitt in the long run came round to Grenville's views. But even when expressing full concurrence he refused, no doubt from unwillingness to offend the King, to join in any attempt to give practical effect to those views by constitutional action in Parliament, until Grenville took that responsibility on himself by independent movement, which finally carried him into a political connection incompatible with Pitt's personal objects, and therefore made separation inevitable. As for the charge that Grenville did his utmost to prevent the Whigs from joining Pitt, its sole foundation seems to be unworthy, certainly unfriendly, conjecture. No evidence is alleged for it. Lord Stanhope, who frankly avows a strong bias in favour of Pitt, founded on hereditary affection and gratitude, gives it no countenance. There is not a hint of it in the Whig memoirs of the time. All the known circumstances tell against it. Separate meetings of the two branches of the Opposition to consider Pitt's proposals, were held at the same time. The Whigs met at Carlton House, the Grenvillites at Camelford House, and appear to have deliberated and decided with entire independence. Nearly all the leading Whigs agreed with Fox in disliking and distrusting Pitt, and, as plainly appeared a year later, would not consent to serve under him. In Grenville's own party there was no difference of opinion as to the line of conduct imposed on them by the dictates of duty and honour. All Lord Grenville's correspondence, all that is known of his character from trustworthy sources, show him to have been incapable of anything savouring of base and secret intrigue; and that too against one for whom, as this volume amply testifies, his gratitude and affection burned brightly to the last. Lord Brougham's emphatic testimony to the great increase of public reputation accruing to the Whigs from Lord Grenville's connection with them is well known. In the last volume of the *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, edited by Lord Ilchester, Lord Holland refers in the following terms to Grenville's separation from the Whigs in 1819: "It is painful that so honourable a career should end by a separation from many connected with and attached to him. The termination, however, like the course of it, was manly and direct. There was nothing sordid, nothing personal, nothing even inconsistent in it, on either side. I, for one, feel that among the rare gratifications of a public life, the reflec-

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“ tion of having known and acted with such a man as Lord
“ Grenville is not the least. . . . Mr. Fox gave me his true
“ character in one word in 1805, when he said, ‘ I like Lord
“ ‘ Grenville. He is a *direct* man.’ ” The political divergence
which has been so unfairly criticized, and which dated from 1801,
was the result of a difference of ruling motive. Grenville’s domi-
nant idea was the welfare of the monarchy, without alloy of per-
sonal aim; Pitt’s was the welfare of the monarchy guided or
governed by himself. In the circumstances of the State, Pitt’s
intense egotism and love of power became a public calamity. To
stand in the way of his ambition was an offence that seems to have
erased from his mind the longest record of friendship and service.
For that offence, he treated Grenville as he had treated Addington;
not only discarding him as a friend, but even withholding from
him the courtesy due to mere acquaintance. Had he been willing,
as Fox was, to take office under a chief acceptable to both, the
strong administration desired by all parties, and demanded by the
public interests, might have been formed. As was seen after his
death, the King must have given way when he had no longer a
great minister’s personal ambition to fall back upon. These
dominating characteristics also became a misfortune for himself.
In the early vigour of life, with a good cause, the favour of the
Crown, and the support of the people, they had helped him along
a path of peaceful reform and development, most favourable to the
exercise of his great powers, to a height of fame and authority few
English statesmen have reached. In the last stage of his career,
when, in broken health, having lost public confidence, deriving
little support from King or Cabinet, he found himself pitted in
mortal strife against one of those men of all-embracing genius who
appear at long intervals to dazzle and subdue the world, they led
him, blindfold, from humiliation to humiliation, from disaster to
disaster.

The measure, styled the *Additional Forces Bill*, brought in by
the new Government to secure the country from invasion, and
supply the shortcomings of its predecessors in office, proved a
conspicuous failure. Assailed by all the parties in opposition,
it exposed Pitt to the same taunts of incapacity he had so freely
flung at Addington. Amidst the jeers of Addington’s followers his
majority in one important division fell below 30; and though he
got through the session without actual defeat, he could no longer
hope to bear up long against the increasing responsibility of his
situation, without some notable acquisition of strength. He had
also to contend against disadvantages arising out of the King’s
recurring malady, now complicated by incipient blindness; and dis-
sensations in the royal family. Interesting details in connexion with
the former subject may be found in Lord Buckingham’s letters to
his brother, the information they contain being derived from General
Grenville and Mr. Freemantle, intimate friends of the Marquis, who
filled confidential posts at Court. In regard to the latter subject,
it may be stated that the King had refused an application from the
Prince of Wales for high command in the territorial forces raised

to repel invasion. Incensed by what he considered an insult, the Prince absented himself from Court. Shortly after the change of ministry in May, one of the more dangerous crises that periodically marked the course of his father's disorder, and an omission to publish the medical bulletins, led him to imagine that a regency was necessarily impending. In this persuasion he summoned to Carlton House Fox, Grenville, and other leaders of the coalition, constituted them his Privy Council, and by their advice addressed a letter to the Lord Chancellor challenging the conduct of the ministry in carrying on government during the sovereign's incapacity without authority from Parliament. The Chancellor replied that ministers stood on their constitutional responsibility, and enclosed the bulletins, which hardly justified the Prince's indictment. When the King got better Pitt sought to reconcile him with his son, by inducing the latter to accede to his Majesty's desire of bringing up under his own immediate care the Princess Charlotte of Wales, eventual heiress to the Crown, then living at Carlton House. The Prince expressed his willingness to meet his father's wishes, and authorised Lord Moira to explain to Pitt and Lord Eldon, representing the King, the conditions on which his consent would be given. These appear to have been (1) that his wife, now living apart from him, should not be suffered to interfere in any way with their daughter's education, and (2) that he himself should have full liberty to choose his political connections. At this stage of the business, marks of favour publicly bestowed by the King on the Princess of Wales so enraged her husband that he broke an appointment for an interview with his father, and all hope of agreement seemed at an end. Through the continued good offices of Pitt and Moira, the interview took place later in the year at Kew, and was followed by a short visit of the Prince to Windsor Castle. During these meetings the King treated his son with cold civility, refrained from all allusion to his grand-daughter, and after the Prince's departure from Windsor paid another visit to his daughter-in-law at Greenwich. He then ordered the Lord Chancellor to transmit to his son a memorandum of the arrangements he proposed for the education of Princess Charlotte. This paper contained no notice of the conditions laid down by the Prince, who returned it to the Chancellor, and refused to discuss his father's proposals, except through Lord Moira, then absent in Scotland. When Moira returned to London in December, 1804, his communications with the Lord Chancellor were resumed, and were continued at uncertain intervals during the whole of 1805. In the end the Prince of Wales seems to have had his way. It was arranged that the young Princess should live for half of the year with her grandfather, and for the other half with her father, and that her education should be carried on under their joint control. For the greater convenience of readers all the letters on this subject have been brought together in the Appendix.

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Having failed to recruit his political strength at the expense of the Whig party, Pitt had two courses before him; to open the

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way by resignation for the formation of a stronger Government, or to seek assistance from Addington, whom he had treated with such contumely, but who retained in opposition a considerable following in the House of Commons. * His wisest friends counselled the former course. The King, however, brought all his influence to bear in promoting the latter; and Addington, who had also to overcome strong objections on the part of leading adherents, consented to join the administration with Lord Buckinghamshire and Mr. Vansittart, on certain specified terms. This junction so far answered Pitt's purpose as to enable the ministry at the opening of the session of 1805 to command a sufficient majority in the House of Commons. But Pitt's jealousy of power made real union impossible. Addington having submitted, after a long struggle, to quit the chamber from which he derived political consequence, found himself, as Lord Sidmouth and Lord Privy Seal, a mere cipher in the Cabinet and the House of Lords. He had to share responsibility for important measures about which he was not consulted, nor allowed any share in shaping. As he smarted under a sense of his mortifying position, controversy arising out of the charges preferred in the House of Commons against his colleague Lord Melville made it still more irksome. Lord St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty in the Addington administration, had appointed a commission to investigate and report on irregularities in the accounts of the navy during the period when Melville held the office of Treasurer; and Sidmouth had stipulated on joining Pitt that this commission should have the support of Government, and that himself and his followers should enjoy full liberty of action in connection with its reports. The 10th Report of the Commission, issued in February, 1805, incriminated Lord Melville. Sidmouth, who thought the evidence conclusive, proposed that Melville should at once resign. Pitt, on the other hand, thought that the Government should stand or fall in defence of Melville's innocence. Neither opinion seems to have prevailed in the Cabinet; but when Mr. Whitbread's resolution, carried in the House of Commons by the casting vote of the Speaker, drove Melville from office, Pitt, instead of appointing Lord Buckinghamshire First Lord of the Admiralty as Sidmouth had every reason to expect, gave the vacant post to Sir Charles Middleton, a veteran admiral, who was regarded at the time as a mere stop-gap. Sidmouth, Buckinghamshire, and Vansittart sent in their resignations. But as the session was at its height, the support of the seceders could not be dispensed with. By the personal intervention of the King, and explanations and promises from Pitt, they were induced to resume their posts. Some weeks later Mr. Bond, a leading adherent of Sidmouth in the House of Commons, carried a motion against Pitt's most strenuous opposition, for Melville's prosecution by the Attorney-General. Though they had only acted with the liberty accorded to them on crossing over to the Ministerial benches, Pitt now declared his intention of "marking" the conduct of Bond and others of the Addington party, by withholding from them offices lately promised; and at the close of the session Sidmouth, in spite of the King's renewed solicitations,

finally severed a connection which brought neither credit to himself nor advantage to his friends.

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Lord Melville's fall was a calamity for Pitt. It deprived him of his ablest and most experienced colleague, whose high Tory principles and pliant temper made him a favourite at Court, and greatly facilitated the transaction of thorny business with the King. Pitt stood manfully by his old friend, and by persuading the House of Commons to rescind its vote for his prosecution by the Attorney-General, and substitute one for impeachment, probably saved him from judicial condemnation. But he could not shield him from disgrace, and by vain attempts to do so forfeited public confidence. Melville's political trimming after his resignation of office in 1801 had been a series of blunders, which raised up for him hosts of enemies. An unprovoked attack on Lord Grenville for translating into action opinions in which Melville privately concurred, gave indelible offence to old colleagues composing the "New Opposition." Grenville repaid the injury by abstaining and advising others to abstain from affording any countenance to the proceedings in Parliament against his assailant. But the whole party stood aloof from Melville in tacit condemnation. His short alliance with Addington, from whom he accepted a peerage, surprised and seems to have offended Pitt. His sudden desertion of Addington on a vote of want of confidence made him specially obnoxious to that minister's adherents. In his mode of meeting the grave charges preferred against him by the Naval Commission he showed himself equally injudicious. His defence at the Bar of the House of Commons, according to the impartial testimony of Wilberforce, strengthened the case against him; while the arrogant tone in which it was delivered hardened the hearts of opponents, and alienated the sympathies of many members who bore him no ill-will. The Whigs gave no quarter to a bitter and, as they thought, unscrupulous foe. And public opinion was vehemently expressed in petitions from the City of London and other great centres of trade throughout the kingdom, for his banishment for ever from the King's presence and councils. It may be said, however, that Melville's conduct in the last stage of his political career did not fairly represent his character. It brought into undue prominence the defects of his qualities. Besides, he had always been too conspicuously partial to his own countrymen in the distribution of enormous official patronage, not to have incurred great unpopularity in England.

Pitt's health now began to give way visibly under the increasing burthen of his anxieties. His friends seem to have generally felt that he could no longer carry on the government with credit, and that it had become necessary in the public interests to form a wider administration on the principles advocated by the Opposition. Lord Camden opened the matter informally to Lord Grenville; while Sturges Bourne and minor lights of the Ministerial party in the House of Commons discussed it eagerly with Lord Temple. Grenville, however, cut short Camden's approaches by an announcement that the Opposition chiefs would only express their views on the situation when direct proposals were made to them by Pitt, with the

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King's authority. Then, it was understood that Pitt intended to bring the subject of a comprehensive Ministry again under his Majesty's consideration during a visit to Weymouth early in the autumn. There were gatherings of the Opposition for consultation, in anticipation of such an event, at Stowe, Dropmore, and St. Anne's Hill, to which the Prince of Wales invited himself with great perseverance; and it appears to have been a recognised condition of a new arrangement on a broader basis that Pitt should not hold in it the position of Prime Minister. At these meetings the Opposition chiefs came to know each other better. Their personal relations became more intimate, but strong differences of opinion were revealed. While Grenville seems to have approved of the foreign policy pursued by the Government, Fox, with wider knowledge and deeper insight into continental conditions, condemned it as premature and reckless. Speculations of coming change were suddenly ended at the close of September by an announcement that Pitt had abandoned all idea of negotiation with the chiefs of the Opposition. He clung to office in the hope, which his sanguine temper informed, but which was, in truth, mere illusion, that the approaching triumph of the European coalition against France which his lavish subsidies had forced into unhealthy maturity, would win back public opinion in England to his side, and give him a new lease of power.

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In the meantime M. D'Oubril had arrived in London with the treaty of Potsdam. The British Government rejected the demand of Hanover as " inadmissible "; but accepted the alternative of an alliance with limitations as proposed by the King of Prussia. Lord Harrowby therefore offered Baron Hardenberg to subsidize 180,000 Prussian troops, to be employed during the year 1806 in expelling the French from North Germany and Holland. Before any agreement was concluded, news reached Berlin of the battle of Austerlitz. Hardenberg at once assumed a reserved attitude; and when pressed by the Austrian and Russian ambassadors to carry out the treaty of Potsdam, took refuge, with evident embarrassment, in absolute silence. Count Haugwitz returned to Berlin after Christmas, but threw no light on the situation; and when the Grand Duke Constantine complained to the King of the mysterious conduct of his ministers, Frederic William declared his intention of making a personal communication to the Czar. Meantime Lord Harrowby fell ill, and got leave to return to England. It was only on the eve of his departure, early in January, 1806, that Baron Hardenberg informed him, with unconcealed shame and grief, that the King of Prussia had entered into an agreement with Napoleon to occupy Hanover till peace should be signed between France and England; but guaranteed the safe embarkation of Lord Cathcart's troops on condition that they abstained from all further hostilities against the French garrison of Hamelin.

Lord Harrington, whose mission to Austria had been cut short by the armistice which followed the battle of Austerlitz, remained at Berlin to fill the place of Lord Harrowby, till all the British

troops in North Germany re-embarked for England in February, 1806. Dropmore MSS. : Vol. VII.

William Pitt was the most illustrious victim of Austerlitz. He had gone to Bath early in December, suffering from gout, but in high spirits and full of confidence in the political outlook. The cure worked well, and promised to renew his strength for the conflicts of the approaching session of Parliament, when the shock caused by the sudden crash of all his hopes drove back the disease, with fatal effect, into his system; and he returned to Putney Heath in January, only to die. In the meantime the leaders of parties in Opposition had been at variance among themselves. During a gathering at Dropmore early in December, the views expressed by Whigs and Grenvillites on the question of the war differed so widely as apparently to forbid hope of any common plan of action against the Ministry. Lord Grenville, agreeing with Pitt rather than with Fox, had allowed his sympathies to take form in a neutral line of conduct, which exposed him to remonstrances from Thomas Grenville as being incompatible with his duty as chief of a party, and with the principles on which that party was founded. The battle of Austerlitz cleared the way for a better understanding, by merging personal partialities in a common sense of public danger. But it was not till the very eve of the meeting of Parliament in January that the various sections of the Opposition found a basis of union. In the course of a conference with Thomas Grenville at St. Anne's Hill on 12th January Fox stated that, however much he condemned the origin and conduct of the war, he considered that the interests and honour of England now required that it should be pursued with the utmost vigour, and that all engagements with foreign allies should be strictly observed. This announcement satisfied Lord Grenville, and left ground of attack open on which the Opposition could combine; Whigs, Grenvillites and followers of Lord Sidmouth being equally disposed to censure the measures of Government, offensive and defensive, against Napoleon as ill-judged and inadequate. Parliament had actually met, and a hostile motion against the Ministry had been framed, before the critical state of Pitt's health became generally known. His medical advisers, almost to the last, held the hopeful view that the only alarming symptom of his condition was extreme debility, which chiefly needed complete rest and freedom from worry. It was from Lord Wellesley, who had just returned from India, and paid a short visit to Putney Heath, that Lord Grenville learned the desperate case of the Prime Minister. Thenceforward the Bishop of Lincoln and Sir Walter Farquhar sent him daily accounts of the illustrious patient's rapid decline—Pitt died on 23rd January, 1806. Prostrated by grief Lord Grenville retired to Dropmore in order to escape from discussions to which he found himself unequal. None of his published letters, perhaps, place his character, whether as a statesman or as a man, in such an admirable light as those written by him during this brief period of seclusion. His advice to the Opposition, conveyed in a letter to his brother Thomas, was equally wise and high-minded. The deep affection and earnest solicitude for the honour of a lost

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friend and leader displayed in others drew a warm and grateful acknowledgement from Lord Chatham.

The King, after many fruitless efforts to avert the inevitable, authorised Lord Grenville to construct a new administration on Opposition principles. And the correspondence on the last pages of this volume is chiefly concerned with the formation of the Ministry of "All the Talents."

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The correspondence contained in this volume covers a period of eleven months—from the beginning of February, 1806, to the end of that year. It deals only with a part of the brief life of the "All the Talents" Ministry. For although the entire existence of that Administration did not quite extend to sixteen months, the papers left by Lord Grenville to illustrate its various aims, phases, and aspects exceed the compass of an ordinary volume. This Preface is therefore only a survey of the points of its foreign and domestic policy which chiefly claim the reader's attention during the year 1806.

Perhaps no Ministry was ever formed in England under greater difficulties, arising partly from its own discordant elements, partly from other conditions of the political situation. Fox and Grenville had been strenuously opposed for twenty years on the two main questions of British policy during that period—the course pursued by Great Britain in regard to the French Revolution, and in regard to Ireland. And although a common sense of the public needs had led them to combine against the Addington administration, yet when Pitt returned to office to carry on war with greater vigour against Napoleon, the old divergence of opinion on foreign policy revived in full force. A letter written by Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham on 7th January, 1806, on the very eve of the meeting of Parliament, expresses the intense repugnance with which he shrank from a proposal to join Fox in turning out Pitt and forming a new Ministry. It was only, indeed, on learning a few days later Fox's view that England, since the defeat of Austerlitz, had no longer any option but to pursue the war, that he yielded to the proposal, in deference to the advice of his brother and other political friends. Again, both Fox and Grenville had treated Lord Sidmouth, whom they now invited to join them on the principle of giving the new government the widest possible basis, with an avowed contempt which had been deeply resented by him and his followers, and which it was not easy for even a good-natured but vainglorious political leader to forgive. Moreover, they both differed from him irreconcilably on Irish policy, the most urgent and important domestic question of the day. The new Minister could expect little support from the King. This was one of the worst aspects of the situation. The whole tenor of his reign must have brought clearly to their minds that an English administration distasteful to George III. was a house built on the sand. And his dislike of the one which had now been forced on him sprang from personal as well as political

motive. His hatred of Fox was a plant of ancient growth with many and deep roots. Lord Grenville's imperious and unbending temper had often chafed his own during the last years of Pitt's great ministry. It seems to have brought vividly to his Majesty's mind the intolerable yoke of George Grenville in the early days of his reign. Not only had Fox and Lord Grenville championed the cause of Catholic emancipation, their political programme included as a prominent feature the reform of military administration, bringing that department of public business more directly under the control of a responsible Minister. But the King resented such an interference with the army as an invasion of the royal prerogative. It was only, indeed, on receiving an explicit assurance from Lord Grenville that no change of the existing system would be attempted without his previous concurrence, that he accepted the new Administration, which found in his favourite son, the Duke of York, a vigilant enemy, entrenched at the Horse Guards. Its accession to office the Duke declared to be "a public calamity." Nor could it hope to derive much advantage from the ostentatious patronage of the Prince of Wales. The Prince's unpopularity, his unstable character, his manifest desire to use the Ministry for his own ends, and especially to rid him of his wife, whose indiscretions had already become notorious, made his favour, to Lord Grenville at least, more often embarrassing than helpful. Then in regard to the distribution of offices, as the number of candidates with valid claims far exceeded the places available, selection necessarily provoked jealousies and ill-humour.

It was perhaps with the view of assuaging the pangs of exclusion by spreading them over a wider area that the Cabinet was limited at first to eleven members. His great position and unrivalled qualifications assigned to Fox the lead of the House of Commons and the conduct of foreign affairs. An equally unanimous call compelled Lord Grenville to take the Treasury, much against his will. There was nothing of political coquetry in this reluctance. For, besides his deep and even painful sense of the want of some of the qualities that go to the making of a leader of men, there was a peculiar circumstance which seemed even to not unfriendly critics to disable him from filling the office. Twelve years before, he had accepted from Pitt the permanent post of Auditor of the Exchequer on the understanding that he should not draw its salary in addition to his emoluments as Secretary of State. It was a provision against retirement from active service. The Auditorship had been created, as Mr. Rose pointed out in the House of Commons, to form an independent check on public expenditure, and therefore its duties could not properly be discharged by a First Lord of the Treasury. But as Lord Grenville had little private fortune of his own, he could not afford to give it up. After some unpleasant wrangling in the House of Commons, Mr. Percival, the Attorney General, suggested a way out of the difficulty, which Fox adopted. Parliament passed a Bill appointing a trustee responsible to itself for the discharge of the functions of Auditor and responsible for the official income to Lord Grenville. This impediment being removed, Lord Grenville became

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Prime Minister, and other vacancies were gradually filled up. Fox brought into the Cabinet Mr. Grey, soon afterwards known as Lord Howick in consequence of an earldom being conferred on his father, as First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Moira as Master of the Ordnance; and Lord Henry Petty, a younger son of his old antagonist the Marquis of Lansdowne, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Grenville introduced his old colleagues Lord Spencer as Secretary for Home Affairs, and Mr. Windham as Secretary for the Colonies and War. Both leaders welcomed Lord FitzWilliam as President of the Council. The high office of Lord Chancellor having been refused by the Master of the Rolls and by the Chief Justice, Lord Ellenborough, fell to Mr. Erskine, a somewhat unsteady Whig, the most famous advocate at the English Bar, but in low repute as a lawyer. Lord Sidmouth, having a considerable following in the House of Commons, claimed two seats in the Cabinet. He intended them for himself and his principal adherent Lord Buckinghamshire, who had sat in the Addington Cabinet as War Secretary, and afterwards with him for a few months in the Cabinet of Pitt. But Lord Buckinghamshire seems to have incurred such general dislike, without acquiring reputation as an efficient Minister, that he was shunted by general consent to the subordinate post of Joint Postmaster with Lord Carysford; and to satisfy the claims of Sidmouth, now Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough was selected to complete the Cabinet. This arrangement, for which the case of Lord Mansfield was thought to afford a not too remote precedent, provoked severe comment in both Houses of Parliament, and added little to the strength of the Government. In regard to employments below Cabinet rank, Lord Grenville showed himself mindful of old obligations, and contributed to his own ease at the Treasury, by making Lord Auckland President of the Board of Trade. The arrangement satisfied Auckland's personal expectations; and his wide knowledge of matters of commerce and finance, and unusual acquaintance with political eddies and undercurrents, enabled him on many occasions to give useful advice to the Prime Minister. But many other politicians of great note had to accept posts inferior in rank to their just expectations, or to remain outside the official circle. Neither Sheridan, as Treasurer of the Navy, nor Lord Minto, as President of the Board of Control, had a seat in the Cabinet. Whitbread, Tierney, Francis, even Thomas Grenville, who more than any other might fairly regard the new Government as his own handiwork, remained in the ranks. And the extravagant pretensions of Lord Sidmouth's followers, nearly all, with the exception of Mr. Vansittart, who became Secretary of the Treasury, men of little ability or weight, excited much angry murmuring among excluded Whigs and Grenvillites. In fact, it required Fox's singular gifts and powers as a political leader, and Grenville's absolute sincerity, and determination at every personal sacrifice to make the experiment a success, to bring their comprehensive non-party system of government into working order. When established it had to face an outlook in the last degree discouraging. The battle of Austerlitz on 2nd December, followed immediately by the retreat of the

Russian Emperor to St. Petersburg; the treaty of Vienna between France and Prussia on 15th December; and that of Presburg between France and Austria on 28th December, had laid the Continent at the feet of Napoleon. The French Emperor, now relieved by victory from the financial embarrassments which had so severely hampered his former efforts, was a more formidable adversary than ever. On the other hand, Pitt's lavish war expenditure had strained national credit, without increasing reserves of national strength to repel invasion. In Ireland the Act of Union had aggravated all the causes of disaffection, and put the old machinery of government out of joint.

These various disadvantages were matters of public notoriety. There were other circumstances deriving force from Lord Grenville's personal character and environment, and known to few outside the Ministerial circle, which made for discord, and sometimes even imperilled the stability of his Administration. Although cold and reserved in general intercourse, Lord Grenville's relations with his own family and with one or two particular friends were informed by affection of unusual depth and sensibility. His devotion to Lord Buckingham, to whose early and constant assistance he attributed mainly the prosperous course of his life, time and the severest trials had only served to augment. The friends to whom he was most attached appear to have been Pitt and Marquis Wellesley. Curiously enough, private sentiment in each of those three cases acted as a disturbing element in his new political relations. Lord Buckingham's character is easily read in the pages of the Dropmore Correspondence. To some amiable and even admirable qualities it united many narrow prejudices which he cherished as principles, a querulous, exacting temper, and an intense egotism which invested his personal aims with all the importance of great public objects. These aims, or rather claims, had been for many years a dukedom, or as a step to that dignity, a seat in the Cabinet. The former he reluctantly deferred, after repeated refusals by the King. The latter Pitt, warned by a short but painful experience of Lord Buckingham as a colleague in the early days of his first Ministry, contrived to evade by sending him to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, decorating him with the Garter and a marquisate, and making his youngest brother Secretary of State. Fox at the formation of the "All the Talents" Ministry won the good-will of the Marquis by offering him a seat in the new Cabinet. Fortunately for all concerned, his family dissuaded him from accepting the proposal on the ground of his failing health. But as chief of the Grenville interest, in return for this self-denial and his constant solicitude for their advancement, he jealously expected from his brothers, what they indeed willingly gave in all ordinary circumstances, entire confidence in regard to their public views and aims, general deference to his advice, and a large share of the official patronage at their disposal. This habit of mind took no account of Lord Grenville's altered position as Prime Minister, of the absorbing anxieties of a man morbidly conscious of its responsibilities, and reticent from a sense of its obligations. The silence of official preoccupation and restraint soon

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aroused in the Marquis unjust suspicions of ingratitude, which found vent in bitter reproaches. Lord Grenville's answer discloses a state of mental agony under this treatment which is almost incredible. He solemnly protests before Heaven that it was only in deference to the Marquis that he had accepted an office which had proved to be a bed of torture, and which he would quit at the first opportunity. And in a touching appeal he implores his brother not to aggravate his misery by depriving him of the fraternal affection which had been the chief happiness of his life. Lord Temple, the Marquis's eldest son, appears to have shared his father's feeling of discontent. But Thomas Grenville, who, although inferior to the Prime Minister in ability, excelled both his brethren in amiability and in generous instincts, and who now served the Ministry from which he had been excluded with unselfish devotion, exerted all his influence as peace-maker; and seems gradually to have brought Lord Buckingham, for a time at least, to a more rational frame of mind.

As to jars produced by collision between Lord Grenville's affection for Pitt and the political views of some of his colleagues, it will perhaps surprise some readers of this volume to learn that, owing to what Fox termed his "unreasonable personal delicacies," he was quite prepared to break up the new Government rather than suffer any slur to be cast, even by implication, on the administrations of his old leader; not only on the first, of which he had himself been a member, but even on the second, to which he had been publicly opposed.

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Pitt was only a passing difficulty among Ministers new to each other and to office: Lord Wellesley was a permanent cause of strife, that never ceased from troubling the Administration. He was Lord Grenville's earliest and most intimate friend; the most highly gifted by nature, the most richly endowed by education and taste, of a remarkable Irish family. Nearly of the same age, close companions at Eton and Oxford, William Grenville and Lord Mornington had both entered public life in the dawn of manhood. And when Grenville began his official career as Chief Secretary of his eldest brother Lord Temple, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, under the Shelburne Ministry, Mornington, who then figured in Irish politics as a patriot of the school of Grattan, linked his political fortunes with those of the English party to which his friend belonged, and became the exponent of its policy in the Irish House of Lords. Grenville introduced him to Lord Temple and to Pitt, both of whom were captivated by his brilliant and attractive qualities. Through the interest of Temple, now Marquis of Buckingham, he obtained a seat in the British House of Commons. Pitt rescued him from the slough of Irish politics, by placing him at the Treasury Board and at the Board of Control; and finally sent him to India as Governor-General. Nor was this all. If a somewhat obscure family, without wealth or political influence, could boast of the unique distinction of four brothers obtaining six English and two Irish peerages, ranging from baron to duke, for eminent services

to the Crown, this result was, in the three most conspicuous cases, due in large measure to Grenville's steady friendship, which opened to them opportunities of service and advancement in the earlier stages of their careers when such help was most needed. Lord Mornington's letters in this collection overflow with grateful acknowledgment of favours thus conferred.

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At length, in 1804, a terrible reverse, which, through a blunder of Lord Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, befel the British arms in conflict with the Mahratta chief Holkar, exhausted the forbearance of the East India Company. Pitt found it necessary to recall Wellesley. And at the united solicitation of the British Government and the Board of Directors, Lord Cornwallis, now old and worn with long service, returned to India to repair a misfortune which threatened the most disastrous consequences.

It should be said, however, that although his craving for applause betrayed a certain want of strength and elevation in Wellesley's character, there was nothing in it mean or sordid. He never indulged his weakness at the expense of any who co-operated loyally in his labours. In his dealings with subordinates, he showed himself generous alike in awarding praise for success, and in assuming responsibility for failure. And although he may have expended the revenues of the Company with, as they thought, too profuse a hand, no suspicion attached to him of diverting a fraction of them to enrich himself or serve any purpose of his own. In fact his personal disinterestedness passed the bounds of prudence. He refused a grant of 100,000*l.* made to him by the Company from the spoils of Seringapatam, in order not to diminish the prize-money of the army employed in the siege. Lord Cornwallis was able to say in one of his letters that after providing liberally for every expense that concerned the dignity and splendour of his great office, he had been able to save 90,000*l.* from its appointments. Wellesley went to India poor, and after remaining as Governor-General for an equal period, returned no richer than he went.

Wellesley arrived in England barely in time to take a last leave of Pitt. His subsequent career was a long course of disappointment. Autocratic rule had, in fact, unfitted him for the rough struggles of English party life, with its limited aims, its constant checks, and partial successes. Coming home with a dominating sense of the great part he had played, the little interest his arrival aroused beyond a large circle of private friends, mortified him exceedingly. Englishmen in general, engrossed by the stupendous conflict which convulsed Europe, in those days of Ulm, Trafalgar and Austerlitz, had little attention to spare for remote and obscure struggles in Asia. Lord Grenville at once invited the help of his old friend in forming an administration, and Wellesley accepted a seat in the new Cabinet. At first there seemed to be no obstacle to this arrangement. But the cause of the native princes found an advocate in Mr. Paull, an almost unknown member, who had recently returned from India deeply impressed by the wrongs of the Nabob of Oude. Lord Wellesley contended that this attack on his government was a

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mere outcome of envy and malice, having as organ an obscure adventurer—"the tailor" Wellesley called him—who aimed at forcing himself into notoriety by an unpatriotic appeal to popular ignorance and prejudice. Lord Grenville, and his nephew Lord Temple, Wellesley's leading champion in the House of Commons, adopted this view of the case without reserve. They wished to quash the charges at once as undeserving of consideration. Neither Lord Sidmouth's followers nor members of the late Ministry lent any countenance to Paull. But Fox, Windham, and other antagonists of Warren Hastings saw the matter in a different light. Without pronouncing an opinion on the case, they held that, in the public interest, grave charges of misgovernment, to which the East India Company lent tacit sanction, should be investigated; and that Paull should have a fair hearing. This opinion, which had much independent support in the House of Commons, including that of the little band composed of Wilberforce, Banks and others known as "the Saints," prevailed; and excluded Wellesley from the Cabinet until the issue had been determined. During all this time Lord Wellesley's intense irritation, working incessantly on the sympathy of the Prime Minister, was a constant peril to the harmony of the Cabinet.

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On the whole, however, its early course was smooth. It had the support of public opinion. Opposition in Parliament was disorganised. There was no member of Pitt's last Cabinet sufficiently eminent to fill the vacant place of leader. Many, indeed, of the most considerable men of the Tory party, such as Lords Lonsdale and Carrington, and even Canning, in spite of his restless ambition, looking on Lord Grenville as Pitt's most fitting successor, were willing to give his political experiment a fair trial. Age and infirmity depressed the King's energies and made him desirous of repose. Being unable to form another administration, and having received satisfactory explanations in regard to their projects of army reform, he frankly accepted his new advisers, and discountenanced intrigue against them. Grenville had one able and implacable personal foe, who plotted against the new Government with a hostility that never slept till he wrought its overthrow. This was the Earl of Malmesbury. They had lived many years in close official relations without being friends. But Malmesbury's active enmity was aroused in 1800 by what he regarded, not without reason, as a public slight offered to him by the Foreign Secretary at the close of a long and highly distinguished diplomatic career. During the Conference at Lille in 1797 Malmesbury, representing Great Britain, had secretly concerted with Pitt to accept terms of peace with France precluded by Grenville's official instructions. When the question arose in 1800 of another Congress at Luneville, Grenville, not taking sufficient account of Malmesbury's services and expectations, silently passed him over, and named his brother Thomas Grenville to represent George III. Malmesbury asked an explanation from Pitt, who made him an Earl. But Lord Grenville's offence rankled in the old diplomatist's mind, and all inter-

course between them ceased. In this feeling of aversion originated the theory announced in Malmesbury's *Diary* that Grenville's political course after Mr. Addington's accession to office was governed by an ungrateful desire "to be emancipated from Pitt's "supremacy"; that under this "ruling motive," stronger than "ties of blood and past obligations," he formed a connexion with Fox as opening freer scope to his personal ambition. Malmesbury grounds this surmise solely on his own observation. It was, however, the observation of a stranger, and a hostile critic. It had no countenance from Canning, Lord Camden, Lord Chatham, the Bishop of Lincoln, or any other common friend of Pitt and Grenville. The conjecture and the conclusions built on it are disproved by the correspondence published in Volume VII. of the Dropmore Papers.

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Fox was ill when he took office; but attacks of his malady were intermittent, and its grave character was still unknown. Early, however, in the session of 1806 the strain imposed by the lead of the House of Commons and the conduct of foreign affairs overtaxed his failing strength, and the disease which proved fatal to him in the following autumn began to develop with alarming rapidity. For some months he spoke occasionally in debate with undiminished power. But he was unable to give the constant attendance, or to exercise the close supervision which the orderly progress of public business required. His colleagues in the House of Commons, engrossed by the work of their own departments, gave him little efficient help; and the Tory Opposition gathered courage from a state of confusion occasionally hinted at in Lord Auckland's confidential letters to his chief. Passive at first, Opposition now leaped up in spasmodic activity, better sustained after Lord Melville's acquittal by the House of Lords had given it a temporary leader. Lord Henry Petty's Budget offered few points for adverse criticism. But Windham's Army Bill, intended to supply the admitted failure of Pitt's *Additional Forces Act*, substituting limited service for life service, paring down the extravagance and jobbery of the existing military system, after encountering strenuous obstruction in its initial stages from the Duke of York, was fiercely assailed both in parliament and in the country. Notwithstanding, however, the clamour industriously raised against it as unjust and injurious to the Volunteers, and what Thomas Grenville termed the "particular impracticalities" of the War Minister, it became law after a severe struggle. A still more signal success of the Ministry was the celebrated resolution abolishing the slave trade. The difficulties in its way seemed at first sight almost insuperable. A similar motion made by Wilberforce in the previous session, and supported by both Pitt and Fox, had been rejected even in the House of Commons. Powerful commercial and colonial interests, a great body of conservative and even of religious prejudice, which enlisted the King's thorough sympathies, were arrayed against it. But the government of the country was in the hands of men who not only championed the cause with heart

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and conviction, as Pitt had done, but who prized fidelity to principle more than place and power. A resolution in favour of abolition, moved by Lord Grenville in the Lords, and by Fox, at Wilberforce's special request, in the Commons, and thus adopted for the first time as a government measure, passed triumphantly through both Houses. Press of business caused a Bill giving the resolution effect to be deferred till the beginning of the next session. This was the last and crowning achievement of Fox's public career. One reverse, however, caused him deep mortification. The Government, acting within its rights, revoked the temporary appointment of Sir George Barlow, a permanent servant of the East India Company, as Governor-General of India, and nominated the Earl of Lauderdale for that high office. The board of directors resented this step. Acting also within their rights under Pitt's dual constitution, and irritated, as Lord Grenville thought, by the favour shown in high official circles to Lord Wellesley, they rejected the nomination. Whatever the dominant motive, the blow fell with especial severity on Fox, Lauderdale being one of his dearest friends. Having thus asserted its independence, the Company accepted the nomination of Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control, as successor to Barlow. This arrangement opened a vacancy in the administration for Thomas Grenville, who, to the great satisfaction of his own family, and with Fox's particular goodwill, was also taken into the Cabinet. But although a man of good counsel and of fair general ability, the new President of the Board of Control did not shine in the House of Commons. His accession to office gave little relief to his overworked leader.

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A crisis in Fox's illness completely disabled him from transacting business. Official communications between London and St. Petersburg had been much interrupted of late by adverse weather. And although Count Stroganoff seemed confident that D'Oubril would be disavowed, Lord Grenville, on whom the conduct of negotiations had now virtually devolved, entertained strong doubts on the subject. "I have been too long used," he wrote in a desponding vein to Lord Buckingham, "to the total debasement of all Continental Courts to rely much on any such hope." He, however, acted with promptitude and vigour. A despatch was sent to St. Petersburg, protesting against the breach of faith involved in D'Oubril's separate treaty, and appealing to Alexander to repudiate it. Other despatches from Downing Street conveyed a severe reprimand to Yarmouth for disobeying his instructions, and forbade him to make any further concession without the concurrence of Lord Lauderdale, who was about to join him in Paris. This announcement of the approaching arrival of a second English envoy was received with great ill-humour at the French Foreign Office. Talleyrand, Yarmouth wrote, charged the British Government with wilful delay and disclaimed responsibility for the consequences. But Grenville retorted with great effect, by showing, what Yarmouth had left unsaid, that whatever delay had occurred was attributable solely to the refusal of the French Government to adhere to its

own proposals. In view of the doubt that hung around the intention of the Emperor Alexander as to the disposal of Sicily, Lauderdale was authorised to discuss the question of an exchange of territory, on the condition that the indemnity offered should be entirely acceptable to the Bourbon King. In other respects he was to insist on the terms of peace originally offered through Lord Yarmouth. He had been only a few days in the French capital when information from various sources which he could trust convinced him that Talleyrand and Yarmouth, acting in corrupt concert, had been using the negotiation for the purpose of speculations on the Paris Bourse and the London Stock Exchange. His confidential letters to Lord Grenville on the subject, printed in this volume, pp. 270-8, were laid by the Prime Minister before the Cabinet. Lord Yarmouth was immediately recalled on the pretext of satisfying the objection of the French Government to the employment of a second British negotiator at Paris. It speaks well for the patriotic reticence of the Cabinet that this disgraceful episode in the history of British diplomacy should have remained so long undivulged. Talleyrand, of course, to borrow his own description of the French *père de famille*, was *capable de tout*.

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A vivid and authentic picture by a master of his art, of the confusion that reigned in Prussian councils, military and political, during the fortnight preceding the battle of Jena may be found in the Appendix of this volume. It is the journal of M. de Gentz, the most brilliant, powerful, and well-informed political writer of this time. In the early days of the French Revolution Gentz had been a Prussian official, using his pen with great effect under the protection of Count Schulemberg to stem the diffusion of French principles in Germany. When Count Haugwitz and the neutral policy he represented acquired ascendancy at the Court of Berlin, Gentz migrated to Vienna and pursued his work there under the patronage of the Emperor Francis II. The main object of his numerous publications was to create a national spirit in Germany which should unite Austria and Prussia in close alliance with each other and with Great Britain; it being his firm belief that by this union only could French aggression be repelled. Lord Carysford, when British ambassador to Berlin, in furtherance of this patriotic aim, and more particularly in the hope of reconciling, by Gentz's assistance, German opinion to the privations inflicted on the Continent by the maritime policy of Great Britain, had, as has been already related, prevailed on Lord Grenville to retain, not ungrudgingly, Gentz's literary services by the grant of a small English pension of 200*l.* a year. It is to Gentz's writings that the anti-Gallican feeling which compelled Frederick William III. to sign the Convention of Potsdam in November, 1805, must in large measure be attributed. And it was for the crime of selling them in June, 1806, that Napoleon caused Palm, the Nuremberg bookseller, to be shot. Towards the end of September, 1806, Gentz, then at Dresden, received a pressing invitation from Count Haugwitz to visit the headquarters of the Prussian army at Erfurth. He had hitherto

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been incredulous in regard to the danger of war between France and Prussia. That the astute and experienced statesman who had so long guided Prussian policy should have shrunk from a conflict with Napoleon in the previous December when all the circumstances were so much more favourable to Prussia, only to plunge recklessly nine months later, under every disadvantage, into a single-handed struggle with the same aggrandised antagonist, was a problem which completely puzzled him. And it was as much from the curiosity of a political student intent on solving this mystery, as from a patriotic desire to serve the German cause that he obeyed Haugwitz's summons. Of the chief personages assembled at Erfurth, Haugwitz, Lucchesini, Lombard the King's confidential secretary and for many years past the real inspirer of Prussian policy, among civilians, the Duke of Brunswick, Generals Kalkreuth and Ruffel among the leaders of the army, courted his advice, and treated him with flattering confidence. And although he did not see the King, Queen Louisa, of whom he speaks in the language of enthusiastic admiration, opened her mind to him without reserve in the course of a long interview. Haugwitz had two main objects in desiring his presence—to make use of his pen against Napoleon, and secondly, of his influence at the Austrian Court to reconcile the two great German Powers. He placed his pen freely at the service of the Prussian Government; but his knowledge of the state of affairs and of public feeling at Vienna led him to decline the second task. During his stay at the Prussian headquarters he made full use of the exceptional opportunities offered him of collecting information. He compared and corrected with insight and candour different versions of the events leading up to the present emergency; supplying the reticence of one statesman or warrior by information skilfully extracted from another, until the whole situation, with its manifold blunders, furious discords, and pitiful illusions, lay bare before his eyes; and filled his mind with painful forebodings, only too prophetic of the tragedy that followed. This journal of M. de Gentz, in which he jotted down his experiences day by day while consciously oppressed by the deepening gloom of a catastrophe which was about to overwhelm in common ruin the Prussian monarchy and his own hopes of German freedom, is a historical document of singular interest and value.

Fox died on 13th September. "Regretted by all," Lord Malmesbury records; "the last period of his life brought him great "and just honour." The unbridled passions which had dominated his glorious faculties, obscured his natural virtues, and more than once wrecked his political fortunes in earlier life, evaporated as years went on, leaving a too short period of mellow strength, just enough to show the world how supremely great his career might have been had his early training been less unfortunate. For the Ministry it was an irreparable loss. Whether as leader of the House of Commons, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, or mediator in a Cabinet containing such jarring elements, there was no one left who could supply it. The reader notes, not without astonishment, how com-

pletely, in the course of a few months of intimate association, his commanding talents, sound sense, and genial nature established an ascendancy over such old political foes, so opposite to himself too in character and habit of life, as Lords Grenville and Sidmouth. On the former of these statesmen, union with him, had, for the time at least, a most beneficial effect; broadening his mind, softening its asperities, making it more tolerant. Even the rooted dislike of the King seems to have yielded to the charm Fox exerted in personal intercourse. Lord Grenville's letter announcing Fox's death to Lord Lauderdale is a tribute of genuine sorrow and affectionate admiration. The feeling evoked by the event in old friends of Fox who had adhered to him with unswerving devotion in good and evil fortune, is expressed in Lauderdale's reply. Lord Sidmouth seems to have been deeply affected. Whatever slight chance of peace still remained vanished with the Whig leader. To firmness of purpose and a wide knowledge of Continental affairs, he alone united freedom from international prejudice, preference for friendly relations with France, and the disposition to exclude invective from diplomatic discussion especially necessary in treating with Napoleon. Within a fortnight after his death the French ruler virtually brought negotiation to an end by suddenly leaving Paris for Germany, taking with him Prince Talleyrand and General Clarke. It was not, however, till 8th October that Lord Lauderdale succeeded in obtaining passports and returned to England.

Fox's old enemy Lord Thurlow, whose force and readiness in debate and awe-inspiring aspect made him such a redoubtable antagonist in Parliament, died on 12th September. Even in the zenith of Thurlow's power as dictator of the House of Lords and privileged adviser of George III., Fox used to insist that the grim Chancellor was an imposter. "No man," he declared, "could possibly be so wise as Thurlow looked." Common enmity to Pitt, and the good offices of the Prince of Wales brought those old foes into more amicable relations during the last years of their lives. Thurlow's death was a piece of good news for Lord Auckland, which Lord Grenville hastened to communicate. It meant the falling in of a rich sinecure, of which the reversion had been given by Pitt to Auckland's eldest son.

Not the least unfortunate result for the Ministry of Fox's death was a more decided exercise of Lord Buckingham's influence over Lord Grenville, which the deceased statesman's authority had held in salutary check. The Marquis had never been satisfied with what he considered the inadequate representation in the coalition Government of the Grenville element, representing war with France and existing order at home, in passive resistance to the Whig programme of peace, and progressive as distinguished from radical reform. He now became urgent with Prime Minister to make the conservative interest in the Administration predominant, by asserting the personal pre-eminence among English statesmen to which his brother succeeded when Pitt and Fox disappeared from the political stage. As early as July, 1806, Lord Grenville, in order to mitigate a calamity which even then appeared inevitable, had sought by nego-

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tiation to draw an accession of strength from the Opposition in the House of Commons, where the blow would be most felt. Lord Howick's claims to succeed Fox as leader in that House were not disputed; but the age and feeble health of Earl Grey made Howick's removal to the House of Lords an immediate danger; and no one else in the ministerial ranks was considered eligible for the post. This may sound strange when we recollect that two of the most prominent politicians and most splendid orators of that great age of political genius, Sheridan and Windham, sat on the Government bench; and that in the ranks behind them were Tierney, Whitbread, Francis and others who had won renown in debate. But Sheridan owned allegiance only to Fox, and that in an independent fashion of his own. His relations with the Grenvilles were those of mutual aversion and distrust. Windham, whose noble and chivalrous nature and shining intellectual gifts made him one of the brightest ornaments of English public life, was the victim of a morbid scrupulosity; and occasionally indulged a Quixotic humour which unfitted him for the practical work of party leader. Whitbread held radical opinions which made Lord Buckingham shudder, and were too advanced for the most liberal Whig. Tierney had not sufficient personal weight to atone for a want of political connexion. Lord Henry Petty, although a debater of considerable promise, was too inexperienced for the office of leader, and too modest to accept it. In these circumstances Lord Grenville had authorised Marquis Wellesley to make an overture to Mr. Canning, whose political views were in general harmony with their own. The inducements Wellesley held out for co-operation would seem to have been a seat in the Cabinet for Canning, and some high legal appointment for Mr. Perceval. Canning appears to have been not unwilling to accept; but it is doubtful whether in any circumstances the bait offered would have tempted Perceval, whose ambition had now taken a loftier flight. By this time, however, the principal members of the late Ministry had come to a working agreement among themselves, under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. Their claims to office could only be satisfied by reconstruction and change on a much larger scale than was compatible with Lord Grenville's engagements to his Whig colleagues. A letter from him to Lord Wellesley, and a statement of Mr. Canning to Lord Lowther, printed on pages 387-391, throw light on this abortive negotiation, which lingered on until the death of Fox. Lord FitzWilliam now resigned as President of the Council, but consented to remain in the Cabinet without office. It only remained for Lord Grenville to fill the gaps in his Administration by selections from the Ministerial ranks. Lord Howick, as chief of the Whigs, the strongest section of the Ministerial forces, succeeded Fox at the Foreign Office, and as leader of the House of Commons. But Lord Buckingham insisted that Thomas Grenville, not Windham, should lead the Grenville wing of the party in that House as Secretary for the Home Department, and next in official standing to Lord Howick. This arrangement had the public advantage of allowing Lord Spencer, now Home Secretary, to return to the Admiralty, which he had formerly

ruled with extraordinary efficiency. But as by the *Civil List Act* Dropmore only two Secretaries of State could sit in the House of Commons, MSS.: Vol. VIII. it would also compel Windham, the Secretary for War, to take a peerage or give up his office. Windham had carried through Parliament the most important measure of the session for the reorganisation of the military forces of the country. As his reputation as an administrator was in a measure bound up with its success, he naturally desired to bring it himself into operation. He had sat in Pitt's first Cabinet from the time of the Whig secession from Fox in 1794 to 1801, in particular connexion with Lord Grenville; had adhered to Grenville in opposition to Addington and Pitt as a personal as well as a political friend; and whether in office or in opposition was "a bright particular star" in a galaxy of Parliamentary talent which shines through the ages with a lustre all its own. Grenville knew well that all Windham's aims and interests and happiness in public life were centred in the House of Commons. But Lord Buckingham had taken a strong dislike to the War Secretary, and wished to expel him from the Ministry, or, if he remained in office, from the House of Commons. Two days before Fox's death Lord Grenville wrote to Windham on the subject of the difficulties that must attend a new arrangement of offices. He suggested that Windham might help him to overcome them by accepting a peerage, but added: "it is a question on which the slightest intimation of your wishes either way must outweigh in my mind all other considerations. The object of this letter is only that of bringing the subject under your own consideration, that you may yourself decide upon it." Windham replied at once that public and private motives forbade him to entertain the proposal. This should have settled the question as it regarded him. But a few days afterwards, in a family council, Lord Grenville seems to have abandoned Windham to Lord Buckingham's private spite and ambition. He drew up a statement declaring his inability to form a new Government unless the War Secretary made way for Thomas Grenville by moving up to the House of Lords; and he asked his principal colleagues to join with him in persuading Windham to take this step as a sacrifice to the common interests. His colleagues, under stress of what they were assured was "indispensable necessity," acceded to this request; but Lord Howick, much to his credit, and the more so as Windham belonged to the Grenville not the Whig section of the Ministry, wrote: "I feel we are not acting kindly to him, and if he should reject this proposal, I cannot concur in pressing it to his exclusion from office." Windham again refused, questioning the necessity or even advantage of the change proposed, and expressing his determination to resign office rather than consent. Then Lord Grenville, somewhat ashamed probably of the line he had taken, sent a common friend, William Elliott, Chief Secretary for Ireland, to explain confidentially to the War Minister circumstances of the situation which could not be set down on paper. Windham adhered to his resolution, but wrote in most friendly and even affectionate terms to express his regret. Lord Howick and Lord Spencer proposed new arrange-

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ments in a self-denying spirit, with the view of promoting reconstruction, but they were not needed. When Lord Buckingham saw that he could not carry his point without breaking up the Government, the "indispensable necessity" vanished of itself. Thomas Grenville accepted the office of First Lord of the Admiralty without any worse consequences, apparently, than those which might result from Lord Buckingham's exercise of naval patronage. Lord Sidmouth mounted up from the post of Lord Privy Seal to that of Lord President of the Council. Lord Holland entered the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal. Mr. Tierney succeeded Thomas Grenville at the Board of Control, and Lord Sidmouth's brother-in-law, Mr. Bragge-Bathurst, became Master of the Mint. It cannot be said that in the course of this political shuffle Lord Grenville acted a dignified or a generous part. He was, no doubt, coerced into his harsh dealing with Windham by a threat of Lord Buckingham to withdraw his support from the Ministry unless his scheme of reconstruction were adopted. Their correspondence shows that at a later period of Lord Grenville's career, his brother used this threat with decisive effect in nearly analogous circumstances. We may safely infer that it was not personal ambition made Lord Grenville play what must be considered an unworthy part on this occasion, but habitual submission to family influence. There is no reason to doubt his repeated assertions that his own inclinations led him to prefer the lettered ease of Dropmore to political turmoil in high office; and that he would abandon office unless sustained in it by the support of his brothers.

The Government being again in working order, Lord Grenville suddenly dissolved Parliament at the end of October, having removed some objection to this proceeding raised by the King in consequence of a misunderstanding. A great part of the correspondence for the last months of the year 1806 is devoted to the business of the elections. The task of adjusting claims to the same seat put forward by candidates belonging to the three parties composing the administration, and alike seeking official support; and especially the conflicting pretensions of jobbing peers in Ireland which Dublin Castle cautiously referred to Downing Street, appear to have occupied the Prime Minister's attention much more than the overthrow of the Prussian monarchy.

* * * *

A financial project which he devised to enable Great Britain "to carry on many years of war without new taxes" also occupied Lord Grenville's mind during the last month of 1806. It was apparently intended to supersede Pitt's famous scheme of a sinking fund, borrowed from Dr. Price, and, as Price complained, spoiled in adoption, which was now generally admitted to be a costly failure. In working out his plan, Lord Grenville called to his aid Lord Auckland and Mr. Vansittart, Secretary of the Treasury, both of them able financiers. They gave him zealous co-operation; but, finding his calculations too sanguine, they suggested various modifications with the view of giving his idea a more practical shape. Discussions on the subject, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer

took part, seem to have been continued without definite result to the end of the year.

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The rupture of negotiations with France having been popular throughout the country, and particularly among the commercial classes, the general election in November added considerably to the strength of Government in the House of Commons. "I reckon "the new Parliament," Lord Grenville wrote on 2nd December, "at from 430 to 500 friends, from 120 to 130 contrary, and all the "rest doubtful or absent." What chiefly arrests attention in connexion with this general election is the unreserve with which a Prime Minister so politically pure and scrupulous as Lord Grenville undoubtedly was, resorted, in those times of rotten boroughs, restricted suffrage, and official patronage, to systematic bribery in purchasing seats with public money, and to intimidation of public servants in order to bring his supporters into Parliament. Even Windham, the fearless asserter of the right to differ on matters of principle, invoked the vengeance of Government on every petty official who ventured to oppose by speech or action his candidature for the county of Norfolk.

The King in signifying his approval of the reconstructed Ministry, had been particularly gracious to Lord Grenville. An intrigue of Lord Eldon and the Duke of Cumberland to prevent the dissolution of Parliament had either failed or been abandoned; and when the year 1806 drew to a close the hopes of Opposition had fallen to a very low ebb. But although launched on a smiling sea, and wafted by favouring breezes, there was a rock immediately ahead of the Administration, on which, as Lord Grenville knew well, it might probably suffer shipwreck. This was the Irish question.

The Act of Union up to this time had belied all the promises of its authors, and confirmed the evil prophecies of its foes. It had dislocated the old machinery of government without supplying new. Absenteeism, with its disastrous effect on industry, trade and social order, had become yearly more of a settled habit among the great landowners. Anarchy reigned in the Established Church. Beneficed clergymen, following the example of landlords, deserted their duties and sought more agreeable quarters in England, in defiance of bishops and canon law. The peasantry, delivered over more completely to the grinding exactions of middlemen and tithe-proctors, sank deeper in misery; and social oppression produced an abundant harvest of secret societies and agrarian crime. The Catholics of the middle class, impatient at finding indefinitely postponed the prospect of a removal of their disabilities with which the authors of the Act of Union had purchased their acquiescence in that measure, now resolved, in spite of the dissuasions of the Irish Government and of some of their more aristocratic leaders who were in closer touch with Government, to resume those methods of constitutional agitation which Irish law still allowed. They had remained passive during the current year in an attitude of expectation. Their last petition for relief had been presented while Pitt was chief Minister, by Fox in the House of Commons; and in the House of Lords by Lord Grenville in a speech of remarkable power,

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with a cogency and completeness which aroused universal attention. He and the majority of his colleagues were still staunch advocates of their claims. But it was impossible for them as Ministers to introduce an Emancipation Bill in spite of the King's invincible repugnance. In fact, what was known as the Catholic question was one of those which had necessarily been left "open" when the Administration was formed. "Open" it must remain if the Ministry, or any other founded on the same principle of comprehension, was to remain in office.

There was another phase of the Irish question not less embarrassing for the Prime Minister himself. Lord Buckingham, representing apparently the opinions and disposition of other absentee proprietors, insisted that outrages perpetrated in the counties of Sligo and Roscommon by incendiaries known as "Captain "Trasher's" band, were of a political character; smouldering rebellion in fact, fomented by the French. He urged with all the authority of a former Lord Lieutenant primed with confidential information, that the only remedy lay in "systematic and vigorous "coercion" administered by a new form of military tribunal which he proposed to establish in Ireland. Lord Grenville naturally inclined to drastic measures in dealing with popular discontent, and was much governed by his brother's advice. But the Irish Government, better informed from official sources, and directly responsible for public order, could find little or no trace of treasonable correspondence; and as the Irish Law Officers considered the ordinary process of law sufficient to quell local disorder, neither the Duke of Bedford, nor his Chief Secretary, William Elliot, nor Lord Spencer at the Home Office, would consent to the introduction of any system of arbitrary repression. It must also be said that, since the passing of the Act of Union, Lord Grenville, under a sense no doubt of particular responsibility for that measure, had turned his attention more fully to the causes of Irish discontent, and the remedial legislation they required. During the course of 1806 he more than once urged the Duke of Bedford to prepare some plan for relieving Catholic tenants of the excessive burthen of tithes. The Duke, like Lord Grenville himself, a zealous member of the Church of England, showed himself fully alive to the pressing need of this reform. But he was a very timid politician. He feared that the Orange party, which assumed to be the special guardian of Protestant interests, should raise against him the cry of the "Church in danger" unless he acted in a matter of this kind in concert with the Archbishop of Armagh, and other members of the episcopal body. His fears, and a want of opportunities for consultation, seem to have deferred the official expression of his very cautious suggestions until the following year.

Another Irish project lay very near Lord Grenville's heart; one inspired chiefly by Imperial needs, but also having for its objects the partial removal of an Irish grievance, and the directing into a useful channel of Irish energies now running to waste. Since the beginning of the war against the French Revolution, in 1793, the efforts of the British Government against France had been greatly

hampered by inability to raise at home sufficient troops for foreign service. Flourishing industries and world-wide trade gave the working classes of Great Britain more attractive occupation. In Ireland artificial social conditions, resulting from conquest and penal laws, caused a dearth of employment. And to complete the contrast, abundant material for admirable soldiers was furnished by a teeming population of men only too willing to escape from sordid poverty and enforced idleness by embracing a military life. But here religious intolerance barred the way. By an Act of the Irish Parliament, passed in 1793, Catholics were allowed to hold all commissions in the army up to the rank of general on the staff. At this time the Irish army was a separate force, limited in number to 18,000 men, which could only be moved from the island by the consent of the Irish Parliament. The Act of Union abolished the Irish army and did not give the Irish Act of 1793 validity in other parts of His Majesty's dominions. The consequence was that, when Irish regiments were moved over to England, Catholic officers lost their commissions, and Catholic soldiers were compelled to attend Protestant worship. This intolerant spirit completely checked recruiting in most parts of Ireland, and cost the Government dear. Year after year various expedients, one more costly and ineffective than another, were adopted by the Imperial Parliament to enable Ministers to fulfil their engagements to foreign powers or despatch expeditions for national objects. These difficulties seem to have suggested to Lord Grenville the idea of raising in Ireland Catholic regiments with Catholic officers for service in Malta, Sicily, Portugal, South America or any other country where their religion prevailed. By this means he thought the effect intended might be given to the Irish Act of 1793, the military needs of Government might be amply supplied and the elements of agrarian disorder in Ireland considerably weakened. The project, however, received but little encouragement from the Irish Government. It would create a distinction, Bedford thought, likely to arouse jealousies and suspicions among the Protestants, and invidious to the Catholics themselves, who aimed at equality of civil and political rights with their fellow-citizens of the dominant creed. Could not Grenville, he suggested, induce the military authorities to give Windham's Act a fair trial by allowing freedom of worship to Catholic soldiers? But Lord Grenville, now bent on the conquest of Mexico, clung to his idea with characteristic tenacity. Writing on 29th December to congratulate the Lord Lieutenant on the repression of outrage in Connaught, he again urged the adoption of his scheme of raising Catholic regiments as a measure not only beneficial to Ireland, but of great importance to the interests of the whole Empire.

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DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WELLS, VOL. II.

A full account of the manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells is given in the introduction to the first volume of the Calendar. The second volume completes the Report.

Dean and
Chapter of
Wells :
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This Report is a much amplified version of the Report prepared for the Commissioners by the late Rev. James Arthur Bennett, rector of South Cadbury, issued in 1885. The arrangement of the documents in the present volume differs from that adopted by Mr. Bennett, it having been considered that a strictly chronological arrangement is more useful to students, inasmuch as all the documents dealt with, though separate in form, are really parts of one whole, and relate to one set of transactions. Accordingly all the documents (except new charters) will be found in chronological order, the accounts being placed at the end of the year, when documents other than accounts also exist.

Obviously the charters do not fall in conveniently with this plan and they have been placed together at the end of the volume as before.

The documents referred to in this volume are:—

1. *Accounts*.—Communar's Accounts, between 1327 and 1560. Escheator's Accounts, between 1372 and 1561. Fabric Accounts, between 1390 and 1550. Various items of interest extracted from the later accounts and cash books down to 1750.

2. *Act Books*, between 1486 and 1744.—The loss of the Act Books prior to 1486 is much to be deplored. There are also two gaps, 1514-1571 and 1666-1683, which are most unfortunate: the earlier hiatus leaves us in the dark as to the troublous times of Henry VIII. and Mary and the early years of Elizabeth, while the 1666-1683 period, especially the early part of it, would have shown us the Chapter once more settling down to regular routine after the enforced absence from 1645 to 1660. We must be thankful for two years of this period, 1664-1666, but it is clear that much remained to be done.

The Act Books later than 1744 have not been examined.

3. *Ledger Books*, 1533-1565.—These two volumes have been dealt with very fully because there are no Act Books for the period. They show very clearly the extraordinary and scandalous traffic that went on in connexion with both Episcopal and Capitular property.

The later Ledger Books have been examined down to 1813 and various items of interest extracted, chiefly for the purpose of clearing up some topographical uncertainties with regard to the Canons' Barn, Montroy College and certain canonical houses.

4. *Charters*.—The accounts of the three spending officers, the Communar, the Escheator, and the Master of the Fabric are very incomplete, particularly those of the Master, Keeper, or Clerk of the Fabric. The earlier documents of each set are extracted nearly in full, but in the later ones constantly recurring items are omitted, while after 1560 only items of special interest are extracted.

The nature of the Fabric Rolls is sufficiently explained by their title. The income of the Master of the Fabric was made up of rents of various properties and some pensions from churches, oblations in the various pixes in the cathedral, other gifts and legacies, collections made by the Brotherhood of St. Andrew throughout the diocese, the income payable by prebendaries to their vicars

when there were no vicars serving those particular stalls, fees for Dean and burials, and receipts by the sale of superfluous building material, Chapter of stone, timber, lead, glass, &c., and of gifts and legacies in kind. Wells : Vol. II. His expenditure included everything connected with the maintenance of the fabric and furniture, except such items as were paid by the Communar out of the receipts from Biddisham and Barlynch.

The Communar was, as his name implies, the administrator of the *communa* or common fund of the canons residentiary. This fund, the main source of the income of the establishment as a whole, was derived from the receipts from the Chapter's manors while they were in hand, paid by the respective reeves, and the rent of such manors when they were let to farm, paid by the respective farmers, the profits of the markets of Lydeard and Stogumber, paid by the serjeants, pensions from impropriated churches (vicarages) in respect of the rectorial rights of the Chapter, payments from the bailiff of the Hundred of North Curry, rents of shops and houses at Wells, the income of vacant churches, fines and heriots, fees of the seal (*i.e.* fees for affixing the Chapter seal to deeds of various kinds), sales of corn, stone, wood, &c.

The first charge on the fund was the payment to the bishop, canons, vicars and other officers, of money for their sustenance, their commons, often called "cotidians" or "quotidians"; these had at one time been provided in kind to some extent, but the whole was converted to a cash payment by Bishop Jocelin in 1242.

After payment of the money for commons, the Communar sets down a very miscellaneous collection of items of expenditure, including stipends of minor officers, outside fees to advocates, attorneys and such-like, procurations, clerical subsidies to the King, pensions to retired dignitaries, payments to chantry-priests in respect of obits, for oil, wine and bread used in cathedral services, for repairing buildings belonging to the Chapter other than the cathedral, and for the general working expenses of the Chapter. The balance of the common fund was divided yearly among the canons residentiary.

The income from the Biddisham property had been assigned to the Communar for the repairs of the cathedral and the purchase of ornaments. The accounts for this fund are entered separately from the general fund; they show that the original purpose was not very strictly adhered to, since payments were made to the master of the schools, the sacrist, the keeper of the organs, and so on.

A third fund received by the Communar, and also entered separately, was the pension paid by the prior of Barlynch. Its primary purpose seems to have been to provide for certain obits, but payments were also made for wax candles and other purposes in connection with the services.

The name and functions of the Escheator are less obvious. The name may perhaps be derived from the fact that the income of prebends vacant by death was payable to him for the first year after the occurrence of the vacancy; the primary meaning of "escheat" (*ex-cadere*) is anything falling in to a person, not necessarily by forfeiture or failure of heirs, as in its narrower meaning. The royal escheator dealt not only with property falling

to the Crown by failure of heirs or forfeiture, but also with the Crown rights in the case of minority of the heir, and with the King's "year and a day" where the forfeiture fell to a mesne lord, both of which present some analogies to the income of vacant prebends at Wells.

These sums from vacant prebends formed the principal source of the Escheator's income. They were paid by a custom already described as "ancient" in 1320, and which was initiated by Bishop Robert and confirmed by Bishop Jocelin in 1213; two-thirds of the income belonged to the canons; one-third, "the deceased's" "portion," appearing so often in the Escheator's accounts, belonged to the representatives of the deceased for the payment of debts and obits.

Other sums received by the Escheator were the rents of certain land and houses at Wells, moneys or other endowments given for the celebration of obits and anniversaries, oblations, burial fees, and moneys derived from the sale of mortuaries.

His expenditure was almost entirely in connection with obits and anniversaries, payments to vicars, chaplains, choristers and others for conducting such services, and for bread distributed to the poor on these occasions.

Many curious words occur in the accounts and elsewhere, a list of which will be found in the index under "Words." Some of these have not been traced in any dictionary or glossary. Among these is "cawet," "cawete" or "chawet," which occurs about fifteen times.

There were eight or nine of these "cawetes" at Wells; the Communar, the Escheator and the Clerk of Blessed Mary each had one; there was one at St. John's altar, one at St. Stephen's altar, one in the Treasury, two in the choir, behind the high-altar, and another behind the high-altar to keep graduals and books in. The two behind the high-altar were probably wooden cupboards, presses, or ambries for the keeping of relics, plate, &c., and were very probably similar to the beautiful specimens of 15th century woodwork destroyed in the disastrous fire at Selby Abbey Church in 1906. Those at the other two altars, the Clerk of St. Mary's, the one in the Treasury and the one to keep books in, were no doubt of a similar nature.

But it seems clear that the Communar's and Escheator's cawetes were something different; they could not have been mere ambries. Thus, the Communar's cawete was large enough to hold a muniment chest and a till or "exchequer," a money chest, and he apparently sat within it to receive payments; the Escheator's cawete had a window in it. These details suggest something in the nature of inclosures forming small rooms, used for offices as well as for storage. They were probably timber-framed inclosures, parcloles, having doors and windows; the door of the Communar's cawete opened in two sections, an upper and a lower, a convenient arrangement if he received and paid money there. There is no indication where the Communar's and Escheator's cawetes were situated, but any vacant wall space (and there must have been plenty) would suffice.

Attention may be called to an item in the first Communar's account which was omitted in the transcript because it is cancelled. After "obit of Mr. Richard Forde" occurs "Obit of Mr. Robert Baldok, 43 weeks, 1l. 5s. 1d." A line is rudely drawn through this, and a curious story lies behind it. For Master Robert Baldok was the Lord Chancellor of England who ruined Edward II. He was prebendary of Yatton. When he was captured with Edward II. in November, 1326, Bishop Drokenesford at once filled up his prebend, putting in his nephew, Richard de Drokenesford, whom he collated afresh when Robert Baldok's death was known in May, 1327. Thus the entry is of interest, and its cancelling of more interest still, the auditor refusing to allow it to stand in the Communar's account.

REPORTS ON VARIOUS COLLECTIONS. VOLUME VII.

I. *Bishop of London*.—The records of the Bishop of London are preserved in two depositories, one in the Record Rooms in St. Paul's Cathedral, the other in the Muniment Room at Fulham Palace. The former contains the Bishops' Registers and the documents of the Consistory Court; the latter, the records of the Bishop's manors and a mass of modern correspondence.

I.—THE RECORDS IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

The series of BISHOPS' REGISTERS begins with the year 1306. Their contents are described in Richard Newcourt's *Repertorium ecclesiasticum parochiale Londinense*, 1708, pref., pp. iv, v, vii. The registers of Bishops Richard Bintworth, Ralph Stratford, and Michael Northburgh (1338-1361), William Courtenay (1375-1381), and George Montaigne or Mountain (1621-1628) are missing. In the Bishop's Registry in Dean's Court is a small folio volume, lettered *Index to Bishops' Books*, and headed on p. 1, "Index to the Installations, Consecrations, Consolidations, Letters Patent, Leases, &c., &c." This contains a separate index to each volume of the Bishops' Registers, and a second "Index to the Institutions and Collations to Ecclesiastical Benefices." The last index includes the pontificate of Bishop Blomfield running as far as 1829. The volume ends with a General Index to the former series of indexes.

The other records preserved in these rooms consist of documents and books relating to the Bishop's immediate jurisdiction and to that exercised through his vicar-general and the Judge of his Consistory Court. These may be enumerated together. They include allegations for marriage licences (from 1597), marriage licence bonds (from 1696), depositions in the consistory court (from 1467), consistory acts (from 1540), books of corrections (from 1554), citations (from 1660), vicar-general's books (from 1684), libels, sentences, &c.; acts of causes at the instance of the judge in the archdeaconry of London (1665-1694); books of ordination (from 1550), books of subscription (from 1627), visitation books (from 1554), and papers presentations, inventories, terriers, tithe-rolls, &c. Under the statute

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20 and 21 *Victoriæ*, c. 77, § 89 all documents "relating exclusively" or principally to matters or causes testamentary" were required to be transmitted to the Court of Probate and to be deposited in the Principal Registry. Consequently in 1858 the wills formerly preserved at St. Paul's were removed to Somerset House; and with them the old Vicar-General's books (down to 1684). The latter also contain marriage-licences from 1520-1521. After 1587 the entries from the Vicar-General's books are combined with the allegations at St. Paul's, but only a selection is given. The registers of the Fleet Prison (1678-1754) were also transferred to Somerset House. Other registers which remain at St. Paul's, besides many transcripts of marriage-registers from parishes in the diocese, include registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials at the Cape of Good Hope (1796-1803) and Gibraltar (1807-1812), at the British factories in Russia (1706-1815) and at Oporto (from 1716), and at Cronstadt (1807-1824), Geneva (1817-1829), and the British embassy at Paris (from 1816). There are also papers relating to East Indian chaplaincies (from 1813) and to chaplaincies on the continent of Europe; certificates of papists (1706), and of dissenting places of worship.

There is also a vast accumulation of transcripts of parish registers, almost all of the nineteenth century, scattered through both the record rooms in complete disorder.

In the Bishop's Registry in Dean's Court is a modern "List of Sundry Documents, Papers, &c., &c., contained in Bundles marked 1, 2, 3, 4 [altered from A, B, C, D] Deposited in St. Paul's," ranging in date from 1602-1709. The list is alphabetically arranged. Two other similar lists, which have been recently copied, deal with Bundles 5 and 6, and Bundles 7, 8, and 9, which contain documents respectively from 1640-1800 and from 1658-1809. They consist of miscellaneous papers, those in the first bundle being almost entirely official papers of Bishop Juxon.

II.—THE MUNIMENT ROOM AT FULHAM PALACE.

In the Muniment Room in Fulham Palace are three large presses containing documents, besides two upper presses containing the most modern papers. There is a "Catalogue of the Muniments preserved in the Chaplain's Room at Fulham Palace, January 1859," to which title is added in Bishop Tait's handwriting, "Prepared for me by Mr. Hamilton of the British Museum. A. C. London." This was Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, of the Department of Manuscripts. They fall under the following classes, no distinction being made between volumes and single documents:—

1. Court rolls, court books, &c., relating to the Bishop's manors of Fulham; and of Stevenage, Rickmansworth, and Much Hadham in Hertfordshire. 1566-1706.
2. Leases, surrenders, conveyances, &c. Sixteenth to eighteenth century.
3. Eighteen account books of the Bishop's bailiffs and receivers-general (not continuous). 7 Hen. VII.-4 Jac. I. Thirty-three account books (also not continuous). 4 Car. II.-11 Anne.

4. Rentals and similar accounts. 1598-1720.
5. Letters patent and other documents under the great seal. 1545-1694.
6. Episcopal patents, containing appointments of officers. 1629, 1738-1747.
7. Drafts of acts of parliament, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
8. Miscellaneous papers, &c. Among these are:—
 No. 156. A folio volume containing “Charges of worke done for the repaire of the West end of the Cathedrall church of St. Pauls London,” 1 October, 1639-30 September, 1640. Signed at the end of each month by Inigo Jones, Mi. Grigg, and Edward Carter.
 No. 163. A bundle of decrees of the court of judicature touching claims in respect of houses burned in the fire of London. 1668-1670.

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Among miscellaneous books may be mentioned:—

A copy of the Statutes of St. Paul's Cathedral, written by W. Hall, secretary to Bishop Compton, and afterwards rector of Acton, and presented by him to Bishop Gibson, 24th July, 1724, in whose hand is a memorandum within the boards of the book. At the other end of the volume, reversed, are transcripts of appointments to the offices of commissary, vicar-general, apparitor-general, and registrar. 1663-1683.

A volume lettered: “Letters Patent, &c.” contains ordinances “*super donatione et collatione Episcopatus London.*” (1 April, 4 Edw. VI.; 2 March, 1 Mary, &c.), with other documents relative to the Bishop's property and patronage (ending 6 George I.).

A large folio volume entitled, “A Booke Wherein is declared sondry ordres, and duties, to be understood, practized, and obeyed, in an honorable well governed Houshold; Sett downe for the better orderinge, and direction of ye House of the Right Honorable Lionell, Lord baron of Cranfeild, Earl of Midle-Sex. . . . Beegonn thee 21 of January Anno 1621; and finished the 22 of September, Anno 1622, by Morgan Colman, a poore decaied gentle-man; one of thee fraternitie of His Mat^{is}: Hospitall, at y^e Charterhouse,” and signed by him at the end. In a handsome leather binding (much worn) with green silk ties.

About sixty-four cardboard boxes contain letters on diocesan and other official business, classified under headings. They are all modern. Among them, three boxes of *Answers to Queries concerning Papists* include returns by incumbents in the diocese as to the numbers of Roman Catholics in each parish, 1765-1777.

A number of papers which were written by or belonged to Bishop Porteus, when he was bishop of Chester, and have accidentally found their way to their present place of deposit. They include tables of the “Number of Papists in the Diocese of Chester, 1780,” and in 1779, with notes in the bishop's hand for a speech in the House of Lords on the subject, Monday, 12th March [1781].

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From the same source come papers relative to Swedenborgianism in Manchester in the box lettered *Sects*.

In another press are many bundles of private letters, mostly written by persons connected with the diocese of London. The bundles have not been found to include any matter, except autographs, of general interest.

The peculiar position which the Bishop of London held as exercising spiritual authority over British subjects settled abroad, whether in plantations or colonies within the king's dominions, or in factories or other settlements in foreign states, has naturally led to the accumulation of a large number of papers,—letters, reports, memorials, and statistical returns,—in the muniment room at Fulham Palace. Those which relate to the colonies which came to form part of the United States of America, and some of those relating to the West Indies, have been calendared by Miss F. G. Davenport in the *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, &c.*, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in 1908.

Of the thirty-two boxes in which the colonial series of documents is preserved, twelve are composed of papers relating exclusively to what are now the United States of America, one consist of papers relating to Canada and Newfoundland, six of papers relating to the West Indies, and thirteen are miscellaneous. The documents go back to the reign of Charles II., and include at least two transcripts of documents of the reign of Charles I. ; but by far the greater part of them are concerned with the eighteenth century, while for the West Indies they extend on into the nineteenth. The registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials in the parish of St. George, Nevis, 1716-1723, have been printed by Mr. Phillips.

St. George's
Chapel,
Windsor.

II. *Dean and Canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor*.—The muniments of the Dean and Canons of the Free Royal Chapel of St. George in Windsor Castle are preserved in the Erary, or Treasury, of the College, an upper chamber approached through the Chapter Room. The Erary retains many of its original fittings, and most of the presses in which the documents are stored appear to date from the fifteenth century. The collection is in admirable order; the documents are classified and numbered; and a manuscript catalogue gives easy access to them.

PART I.

The presses marked I, II, and IV-IX and a large chest X (with the exception of I, B, C, F, G, J, and K, and II, B, C, and K, and X, 1-4, which, as will be mentioned in due course, contain boxes filled with documents) are mainly stored with books. The principal depository is press XV, containing 63 drawers, in 61 of which documents are stored, mainly according to a local classification. They relate to the property of the Chapter and to legal business connected with it. Outside the numeration stands a large volume, half-bound in morocco and lettered PAPAL BULLS RELATING TO THE FREE ROYAL CHAPEL OF ST. GEORGE, WINDSOR, *etc.*

Documents which may be specially noticed are:—

I. G.—19 Wills, 1396-1638.

I. J.—24 documents relating to Abergwilly in Carmarthenshire, Llangorse, in Brecknockshire, Anstey in Warwickshire, and All Cannings and Urchfont in Wiltshire. Among them are three early thirteenth-century documents relative to property at Aldeworth in Berkshire.

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IV. B. 1.—THE ARUNDEL WHITE BOOK, or THE WHITE LEIGER BOOK, begun by John Arundell, warden of the college, 1417-1452; a chartulary with some miscellaneous elements.

IV. B. 2, 3.—DENTON'S BLACK BOOK; a chartulary drawn up for James Denton, steward of the college, 1517.

IV. B. 4.—FRITH'S REGISTER, or LIBER COLLEGII, a collection of documents, rules, precedents, memoranda, &c., relative to the free royal college. This was begun in 1614.

IV. B. 5.—FRITH'S NEW REGISTER, containing an account of his visitations of the property of the college, 1624.

IV. B. 6.—HOWELL'S TRANSCRIPT, a copy of a rental known as Howell's, made by Dr. Durell (1664-1683).

IV. B. 7.—DR. DERHAM'S BOOK, a survey of the college property, made in the eighteenth century.

IV. B. 10.—CATALOGUE OF WARDENS AND DEANS [to 1729] AND OF THE CANONS [down to 1682]. 18th century.

IV. B. 16, 17.—DR. EVANS'S BOOK, a commonplace book of notes of deeds and memoranda of events relating to the college. 1701.

VI. B. 2-9.—REGISTER OF CHAPTER ACTS, 1596-1840.

Among the rest are translations of statutes, surveys, attendance books (two of the time of Richard II. and Edward IV.), lease books (from 1660), poor knights' check books (from 1772), and sundry account books.

In the Chest X, are four boxes, marked "Royal Grants" containing 56 documents; a supplement to them is placed in Press XI, P, and contains 21 documents. Among them are some miscellaneous documents apparently selected on account of their special interest. This chest also contains twelve volumes of statutes and ordinances of the order of the Garter, copies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

PRESS XI. A.—32 documents concerning the property and exemptions of the warden and college of the king's free chapel at Windsor, or the king's dean and canons of Windsor.

XI. B.—51 documents concerning the vicars and Poor Knights, vergers, organists, and choristers.

XI. D.—Papers relating to the order of the Garter and to the feast of St. George, and to the chapel of St. George.

XI. H.—Papers relating to the Poor Knights. Seventeenth and eighteenth century.

XI. M.—Four volumes containing transcripts of court rolls of South Tawton, Bramley, Isleworth, Haseley, and various other places where the college held manors. 15th-17th century.

XV. 3.—44 accounts, valors, and rentals, ranging from the time of Edward III. to that of Charles II.

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6.—Leases and court rolls, &c., of Isleworth and Twickenham, from 1562 to the nineteenth century.

8.—31 documents relating to the lands granted to Edward Seymour viscount Beauchamp, afterwards duke of Somerset (the priory of Eston in Wiltshire, the prebends of All Cannynge and Urchfont, and divers other benefices), and papers concerning those portions of his property which were granted to the dean and canons of Windsor.

9.—13 court rolls of Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire, from the reign of Henry VII. to that of Charles I.

15.—56 deeds, court rolls, &c., relating to Wycombe, Bassetsbury, and Long Crendon, in Buckinghamshire, 1395-18th century.

19.—Miscellaneous papers unsorted and uncatalogued. They include bonds, papers concerning legal proceedings, petitions, counsel's opinions, rentals, and accounts, chiefly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

24.—Miscellaneous deeds, mostly of modern date, but including a good many documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among them are a few notes of the college muniments. One, No. 112, is "A Short Account taken by Thomas Hatch Chapter Clerk "in the Year 1782 of what is contained in the several Boxes in the "Errery."

3.—71 Treasurers' rolls, beginning with the accounts of William de Polmorva, 1st December, 36 Edw. III.—23rd September [1362-3], and of Stephen Blanktre and John Loryng for the complete year to Michaelmas, and ending at 1498.

55.—33 court rolls of Euer [Iver in Buckinghamshire] from 1288 to 1507, with some other documents.

56.—77 rolls of precentors' accounts, 1363-1681.

57.—51 bills and memoranda relative to expenses, *e.g.*, of the warden travelling on the business of the college, of repairs of buildings in the college and on its manors, of legal proceedings; together with petitions for payment: ranging from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

58 c.—29 foundations of chantries and anniversaries, and other documents concerning them, 1453-1538.

59.—44 rolls of treasurers' accounts from 1502, a series continuing that in XV. 34.

61.—Modern stewards' accounts, from 1663; and bailiffs' accounts from the fifteenth century: in all 101 documents.

Diocese of
Gloucester,

III. *Diocese of Gloucester*.—In the Diocesan Registry a mass of papers was recently found which had been for many years overlooked, both bound and unbound, in great confusion and many of them mutilated and damp-stained. Upon the Bishop becoming acquainted with the discovery his Lordship requested the Commissioners to authorise further and fuller investigation. Of this the following report furnishes the results, which show that there have now been brought to light some of the earliest records of the see founded by King Henry VIII.

1542.—A brief record, in a paper book, of the primary visitation

of the first Bishop of Gloucester and last Abbot of Tewkesbury, John Wakeman, held in May, 1542. Var. Coll.
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The record is very scanty, and consists chiefly of entries, under the several deaneries, of the attendance of the Chancellor on specified days in May and June, with in most instances nothing further. Where anything is added, it is only in notes of cases of ecclesiastical prosecution in the promotion of "Officium domini"; and here and there, as in the deanery of Newent, the names of the churchwardens and some others are given. But on the first two leaves there is a copy signed "per me Johannem Tailer," the Registrar, of the answers of Prebendaries, to special articles of enquiry respecting the Cathedral, which show how at once on its first foundation gross irregularities had crept in.

At the end of the book is a copy of an ordinance made in 1304 by Bishop William [de Geynesburgh] of Worcester regarding the endowment of the vicarage of Wickwan (*sic*), a church which had been appropriated to the abbey of Beddesley.

1548.—Visitation by Bishop Wakeman in the seventh year of his episcopate, 28th May-19th November. At the close, attendance is summoned to be made in the chamber of the Bishop called "the Square Chamber." To the note of the last meeting, on 19th November, these memoranda have been added in the margin by two hands of the latter part of the century: "Mr. Deane sworne. The Statuts read to the officers and members of the Colledge at the time of Visitacion and shewed to the Bpp." The volume com- with xxxvii Articles of Enquiry addressed to the clergy of the diocese in general.

The rest of this volume, after the general visitation of the diocese is taken up with the *Acta* of the Consistorial Court from June, 1551, to June, 1553.

A Visitation Register of Bishop Hooper in the years 1551-2 follows Wakeman's, but unfortunately it only contains the record of the persons summoned in the parishes of the several deaneries, with no notes of presentments or proceedings. Of the latter record no portion, not even a fragment, of the original appears to be in existence, but an eighteenth century transcript is preserved in Dr. Williams' library in Gordon Square, London.

But there is still preserved a curious series, perhaps unique in character, on nine leaves, of returns of the election in January, 1552, of two proctors in Convocation (or as it is said in three returns, "*in Parliament*") by the clergy in seven deaneries. The return from Campden is accompanied by the mandate for the election, signed by John Williams, LL.D., Chancellor of the Diocese. For Williams himself there was an unanimous vote; others nominated were Nicholas Oldysworth and Guy Eton, chaplain to Bishop Hooper. The signatures to the returns are in almost all cases those of the voters themselves.

Some further records of Hooper's episcopate have fortunately been lately found. For among the Office Books of the Bishop's Court, there is the record of cases tried from 13th June, 1551, to 17th June, 1553, in an unbound paper volume, comprehending

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nearly the whole period. The courts were held with great frequency, often two or three times in the week, but Hooper was always present at all the sittings up to October, 1551, and very often in 1552, thus affording evidence of his continual residence at that time at Gloucester. Mention is occasionally made of examinations and sentences being deferred until he should visit the deanery in which the cases occurred, and his own non-appearance at courts in 1553 may be accounted for by his holding Visitations, and by his being also at that time Bishop of Worcester.

The Registers of Visitation, both episcopal and archidiaconal, following Wakeman's and Hooper's, are in a very imperfect series, and in more or less tattered condition, from 1563 onwards. The disordered state of things necessarily consequent upon the religious change is abundantly illustrated. The whole of this record, which fills a thick volume, is, of course, full of matter of great, and more than local, interest.

1580.—In the first of a long series of volumes, damp-stained and often imperfect, containing the records of suits and ordinary proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts from the time of Queen Elizabeth (with, occasionally, casual entries of earlier date), there are two leaves at one end and three at the other end, almost illegible through damp and partly mutilated, which contain notes of a second metropolitan Visitation of the Cathedral in October 158 [0], while the see was vacant.

Upon this Visitation of the Cathedral there follow notes of a Visitation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

Registers of episcopal Visitations of 1581, 1584, 1594, 1597, and 1599, are very meagre, often furnishing little more than the names of persons summoned. The same is the case in 1605-6, except that in this year there was a question between the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter as to the ownership of an old hall and of a water-course. A debate thereon continued for several months. From the year 1597 there had been a dispute with the Dean and Chapter as to their being subject to the Bishop's visitatorial power unless he came by royal mandate, and they were frequently pronounced contumacious for non-appearance. But on 17th October, 1606, they appeared and admitted that they were subject, and *animo deliberato* submitted themselves. A statement of the controversy (continued in 1607), in a hand of the latter half of the 17th century, is in a volume containing the Visitation in 1662.

The Visitations in 1612-13, 1619, 1622, 1625, and 1628 are recorded with very few entries besides the names. To that of 1622 is prefixed a printed copy of Bishop Myles Smith's Articles of Enquiry, printed at London by John Legatt; and a MS. list of nine preachers appointed for the several deaneries, for the mornings and afternoons, signed by the Bishop. A table of fees is noted.

The Visitation in 1635 is similarly recorded, but thirteen injunctions given by the judge are entered under each deanery: the wearing canonical dress, none to preach unless they are licensed, prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays; sermons not to be above an hour, not to be contentious or against particular persons; ministers to choose one

churchwarden, and to use the cross in baptism and the ring in marriage; perambulations to be observed, and terriers to be yearly made and sent to the Bishop's registry in parchment; the Communion table to be set north and south, and railed before it or round about it, to keep it from annoyance; all muck-hills and sinks to be removed out of churchyards; catechisings instead of sermons in the afternoon on Sundays; minister thrice a year to exhort in sermons to obedience. From this year there appears to be no record of Visitation during the remainder of the reign of King Charles I.

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Of post-Restoration papers there is a small but very interesting parcel, relating to the Cathedral, which contains the following documents:—

i. In 1661 a court is held in the Chapter House on 16th October, at which all the members of the cathedral body appeared except the sub-dean Washbourne and Dr. Thomas Warmestry; the singing-men and boys, janitors, sextons, and almsmen are all duly entered; and then adjournment is made to the 22nd.

ii. A copy of seventeen Articles of Enquiry exhibited by Bishop William Nicholson at his first Visitation in February, 1662/3, with many alterations and additions when re-issued in 1665. They enquire minutely respecting the duties and the observance of them on the part of all the members of the cathedral body, the care of the church, the provision of sufficient Bibles and of Prayer Books “of the last edition with the alterations made and lately confirmed “by Act of Parliament,” and of sufficient singing-books for the quire, &c. The answers, made by John Gregory, “archididascalus,” and Francis Hanslape, precentor, follow, dated 4th February.

Of the same date there is the reply of Robert Muddin and Richard Elliot, two of the lay clerks.

There is also a petition to the Bishop, signed by seven lay clerks, Richard Bradgat, Robert Muddin, Richard Elliott, William Jennings, John Tyler, John Painter, and John Paine, respecting the insufficiency of their salaries.

iii. In December, 1665, there is a very full answer by Dr. Thomas Washbourne, sub-dean, and Thomas Vyner, prebendary, to the articles as then issued. There were then two petty canons; the stipend of the two vacant places was applied to the increment of the salaries of other ministers and to repairs. “We have an organist “[*scil.* Thomas Low] competently skilful to performe his duty “required by statute, and we hope our future experience of him “may inable us to give our commendation of his diligence in teaching the choristers. The office of sacrist is not in all partes of it “useful to our church, but those partes of it that remayne in use, “being the inferiour ministeries of that office, are performed by the “sexton.”

iv. List of those summoned to attend a visitation of the hospitals, held at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 14th January, 1668/9. Ordered on 30th March that Mr. Fox, the minister, shall do his duty in reading prayers according to the statute; and as long as he continues minister shall hold the house wherein he now dwells, but afterwards

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that part which formerly belonged to the physician shall be allotted to the physician then present.

Under date of 11th December, 1669, there is a full statement by Dean William Brough of "Considerations to remove all misunderstanding," with "due respect and reverence to the power of the Lord Bishop of Gloucester at some times to visit us," as to the limits of that power.

v. In 1673 there are four presentments made. At a Visitation held 29th July, Dr. Washbourne and Abraham Gregory, canon, give short answers to some articles, in which the only noticeable particulars are that there are four petty-canons "which are as many as have been in the memory of man," who receive the full salary of six and 20*l.* over, and that it is intended to enquire further respecting the ringers exacting more than the ancient dues and to regulate them.

vi. In 1676 Bishop John Prickett issues 24 articles of enquiry. One is respecting the wearing of surplices, and, in the case of the clergy, of the hoods of their respective degrees.

To these articles there are three sets of replies:—

1. By Edward Jackson and John Deighton, minor canons.
2. By Dr. Thomas Washbourne and Abraham Gregory.
3. By John Wells and John Painter, lay clerks.

vii. In 1679 the same Bishop issues 24 articles, with some small variations from the previous enquiries. To these Washbourne and Gregory reply.

viii. In 1707 Bishop Edward Fowler signs 26 articles, mostly repetitions of those of former years, except that it is asked whether preachers in their prayer before sermons pray for the Queen and Princess Sophia by name. An extract from the statute "*de Visitatione Ecclesiæ*" accompanies these, with a protest and reservation of rights by the Dean and Chapter, since "for many years past there has been no visitation": exhibited 28th April, 1707. Luke Beaulieu, B.D., Treasurer, and John Newton, A.M., Prebendary, give long answers, without prejudice and with much reservation, dwelling on the impossibility of now observing the original statutes, while declaring that they have no cause to fear the Bishop's power in visitation.

There are three volumes of presentations and institutions to benefices. I. Contains some mixed entries of earlier dates than the foundation of the diocese, and extends from 1521 to about 1566. At folio 9 is the record of the induction, installation and inthronization of Bishop Hooper, by proxy, in the person of John Huntley, prebendary, on 27th March, 1550/1. At the end is a list of persons ordained who had signed the Articles of 1562, with their autograph signatures, and of others, also with autograph signatures, who having been "made by other forme than was appointed in the tyme of Kyng Edward the Sixte or in this tyme" of Queen Elizabeth, had subscribed the Articles. II. From 1570-1620, with entries, at the end, of 1627 and 1630. At the beginning are lists of persons ordained in 1570, and memoranda of, as it seems, the Bible examination of candidates. At the end are some mutilated leaves with

lists of persons ordained in 1606 and 1614-1618. III. A chronological abstract of all the like documents "now extant in the Register's office," from 1541 "to the time of Bishop Benson's consecration, 19th January, 1734/5." Var. Coll. Vol. VII. : Diocese of Gloucester.

Court-book of the manors of Hopesmeleyshull, Preston, Brompton and Hay, Dewchurch and Kilpeck, Ullingswick, Dulas and Ewyas Harold, 14 Hen. VII.-11 Hen. VIII. 1499-1519.

A paper book of twenty leaves contains proceedings in the Consistorial Court before the Chancellor, John Williams, in 1541-1542, registered by John Taylor.

Inhibition by Francis Baker, Chancellor of the Diocese, to churchwardens, forbidding their obeying a mandate of the Archdeacon to bring in second bills of presentment, which is an unheard-of innovation, and invasion of his office; dated 14th September, 1632.

Decree by Bishop Godfrey Goodman in a case of dispute with Sir Thomas Sackville, knight, respecting the Church-house at Bibury; dated 5th October, 1635.

Copy of the decree of Bishop William Nicholson annexing the church of All Saints in Gloucester, which had been in great part destroyed in the time of the late war and rebellion, to that of St. Mary de Crypt.

Letter from Bishop Robert Frampton to the Chancellor of the Diocese, directing him to enquire when churchwardens give in their presentments how far the injunctions given at the last Visitation are observed; dated 10th October, 1684.

IV. *Corporation of Beccles, Suffolk*.—The early records of this ancient town have unfortunately been lost. As in various other cases it is supposed that they either perished in a disastrous fire which occurred in 1586, or, as appears more probable, in the course of long disputes respecting the ownership of the Fen. The only remaining documents are concerning the Fen, from which the town was called *Beccles Fen*, which had been part of the possessions of the Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, and which on the Dissolution was happily purchased by the inhabitants by means of the funds of a gild, which otherwise would, as well as the Fen, ere long have been confiscated. There followed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth a law-suit respecting the land which resulted in the maintenance of the town's right to it, and in the grant of a new charter in 1584 (superseding one granted by Hen. VIII., 10th March, *anno* 31, 1540) which incorporated the inhabitants by the name of the Provost of the Fen of Beccles, three Supervisors or Surveyors, and the Commonalty of the same. Of this charter a confirmation was granted by James I., 19th May, 1605, the original of which, with the Great Seal (broken), is preserved in its own wooden box. The history of the Fen is told, with a translation of the Charter, in a small book entitled *An Account of the Corporation of Beccles Fen, drawn up in 1807 for the use of the Corporation*, which was reprinted, with notes and additions, in 1826. This volume also contains a translation of the letters patent of Charles II., dated 14th October, 1674, granting to the Corporation the ruinous buildings and the lands of the ancient Hospital (granted

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in 1605 to Thomas Kerrich); and of this grant the original is preserved, but without the seal. In order to acquire this grant it was resolved at a meeting of the Corporation on 10th November, 1673, that the help of the Bishop of Norwich should be invoked, and on 21st January in the next year thanks were returned to Sir John Pettus, knight, for his great care and pains about the procuring it. For the whole history of the town and neighbourhood, very large manuscript collections were made by Mr. S. W. Rix, at one time Mayor, gathered from all available sources; and these on his death in 1894, were purchased by Dr. W. Aldis Wright, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and presented to the Corporation. They form 36 volumes in quarto.

The earliest document now in the custody of the Town Clerk, is a release from John Rede of Weston, Suffolk, esquire, and Thomas Rede, his son and heir, to the inhabitants of Beccles, of all their right in the marsh and pasture commonly called *Becclis Fenne* or *Becclis Comon*, estimated to contain 1,400 acres; dated 4th March, 1584-85, *anno* Eliz. 27.

[1608] 5th February, Jas. I.—Grant from the King to Thomas Kerrich of the office “ of the Guider and Guydershipe of the hospitall in Beccles.”

The first book of records is a parchment volume of 18 leaves in a parchment cover, marked A, containing the “ Constitucons for “ *Beclys Fenen* ” (noted in a later hand as being of the year 1552), made by Sir Richard Riche, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, and William Rede, merchant, and Thomas his son. Most of these regulations are repeated, in more or less varied form, in the following book of 1613, but the last chapter but one prohibits shooting in more stringent terms, that no manner of person, being a dweller within the town or out of the town, shoot with a “ hand-
“ *gonne* ” within any part of the Fen. And the book ends with a chapter recording the assent of 55 inhabitants, by name, together with the four Fen Reeves, to these ordinances.

A second book, containing 11 paper leaves, in a parchment cover, marked B, contains orders made in 1585, with supplemental orders in 1587 and 1598.

A third book, bound in rough calf, marked C, contains, on 13 parchment leaves, a collection of the laws of the Corporation in 1613, with the names of the forty members; followed on three leaves, by an ordinance made in 1719, with a like list of names, and further orders made in 1740, signed with 35 autograph signatures, of which two are by marks. The orders of 1613 are printed in the *Account* to which reference is made above.

Of the yearly accounts of the Fen Reeves there is a thick paper volume in fairly good condition beginning at 1543 and ending at 1572.

A paper book, of eleven leaves, contains abstracts of the leases granted by the town from 1608 to 1628.

A series of Tax (called “ *Taske* ”) Books, made in the years 1576, 1593, 1671, 1679, and 1682, is succeeded by a bound volume, now called a “ *Tax Book*,” in 1792.

Among loose papers relating to the law-suits respecting the Fen are the following:—

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i. Part of a statement of claim by the inhabitants against Mr. Rede.

ii. A memorandum that on 8th November, 7 Eliz. [1563], “there was browght into this Courte a cheste of weinscott with twoo lockes and twoo keyes, wherein is conteyned the Lettres patentes for Beccles Fenne graunted to William Reed decased and the orders made by the Right honorable the Lord Riche, lord Chaunselour of England, towchinge the vse of the said Fennes, and the Common Seale of the said towne, by William Reed, sonne of the said William Reed deceased, here to remayne indefesently for the said towne and the said William Reed.”

Of the Minute Books of the Corporation seven volumes extend from 1670-1841 (of which the first ends in 1790) and a large volume of accounts extends from 1741-1812. The loss of the earlier records, including the Red Book mentioned *supra*, is greatly to be regretted. Hence, for all the periods of special historical interest there is nothing to be found.

The old seal of the Corporation represents what is supposed to be the Town-house, with a pen or pound in front, enclosing cattle. The inscription is “Sigilum [*sic*] cōē Nōve Incorporacois d’Beccles “Feñe” 1584.” The seal adopted on the re-constitution of the Corporation under the provisions of the Municipal Reform Act, in 1836, exhibits a representation of the south porch of the grand parish church, with the inscription “Sigillum Concilii Municip. Becclesiae. “1836.” This seems to indicate that the supposed origin of the name as standing for “Beata Ecclesia” was then recognised as correct by the authorities. There are two small but elegant, sergeants’ maces, silver-gilt, ten inches long, having at the top the royal arms with E.R. and the date 1584, and round their rims the excellent motto, “For mayntenance of truthe and righteousness, and not to execvte wronge or malice. Beccles “Fenne.” A mayor’s chain of gold was given in 1882. The insignia are described in Messrs. Jewitt and Hope’s *Corporation Plate*, 1895, vol. II, p. 336.

In the private possession of Mr. Angell, the Town Clerk, are many documents of much local interest, chiefly of the 17th and 18th centuries, which he rescued from destruction under circumstances which only too clearly show how carelessly and ignorantly such things have frequently been dealt with, and how easily the disappearance of records may therefore be accounted for. Passing along a street in the town about ten years ago he met a boy wheeling a barrow with well-filled sacks, from one of which he saw a piece of vellum protruding with a seal attached. Stopping the boy he asked whither he was going with his sacks, and was answered: To the gas-works to empty them for burning as rubbish. Mr. Angell then inquired who sent him, and found it was a resident in an office he had taken, which had formerly been occupied by a land agent and surveyor. To him therefore Mr. Angell went, and begged that he might have this refuse, which was willingly given; and he thus rescued

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from immediate destruction a mass of papers and deeds of great local interest. Amongst rent-rolls, wills, terriers, leases, &c., there are the following special items:—

i. Letters patent of Henry VI., dated 12th July *an.* 24 [1446], granting to Robert Prior of Bridelyngtone and the Convent, full and ample privileges.

ii. Various deeds relating to Monk Soham, Laxfield, Brandeston and Worlingham, chiefly between the times of Rich. II. and Hen. VI.

Grant by Sabina, daughter of Walter de Halle, to Geoffrey de St. Edmund, for ten marks, of all that part of the marsh and pasture called le Park in Werlingham which came to her on the death of her brother Philip de Halle.

iii. Court Rolls of the manor of Wathe Hall in the times of Henry VI. and Henry VIII., and of Sotterley in that of Henry VI.

iv. A very minutely kept book of household and farm accounts in the time of Charles II, in which unfortunately the name of the writer or of the estate does not appear.

v. The Chief Constable's account-book of assessments levied upon the hundred of Looes from 1649 to 1701.

vi. Overseers' account-book for the parish of Kessingland from 1676 to 1762, with a list of overseers commencing at 1658.

vii. A note to a tenant signed Elis. Mole is endorsed with a memorandum that she was a sister of Sir John Duke and formerly wife of Nath. Bacon "who raised a rebellion in Virginia" [in 1756]. She appears to have married for her second husband Thomas Jarvis, a merchant in Virginia, a copy of whose will, "late of Virginia and "now of London," dated 4th April, 1684, and proved 18th April (in which he directs his estate in Virginia to be sold) is endorsed with a memorandum that his widow married Mr. Mole, as her third husband.

viii. A petition to the House of Lords, evidently in support of Sir S. Romilly's bill for relaxation of penalties in the Criminal Code, and specially with regard to forgery, which, from its being found here, cannot have been presented, and is probably absolutely unique in its character, being in verse! It is signed by 105 inhabitants of Woodbridge, and as the third in the list of signatures is that of Bernard Barton, it may be very certainly conjectured that the verses exhibit a specimen of the Quaker poet's powers. The petition runs thus:—"The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants "and householders of Woodbridge and its vicinity interested, as "Men, Englishmen, and Christians, in the amelioration of our "Criminal Code, more especially as respects its existing enactments "against Forgery, Humbly sheweth

"That your Petitioners behold with awe
The infliction of a sanguinary law,
Which makes the ermin'd Judge upon his seat
Reluctantly its dire awards repeat,
And causes, by its ruthless interdict,
Juries to be as tardy to convict;
While e'en the injur'd Party fears to take
That Law's redress, for Human Nature's sake.

That your Petitioners regret to learn
 So slight a mitigation of this stern
 And Spartan law should be the only meed
 For which Philanthropy may hope to plead;
 A mitigation which but does away
 What had been obsolete for many a day,
 And leaves the full infliction of its force
 To take its old accustom'd barbarous course.
 That therefore your Petitioners implore
 Your Honorable House to waste no more
 Vain pruning on a tree which bears such fruit
 But lay the axe at once unto its root.
 Too long it hath encumber'd English ground,
 And, like the Upas, shed its poison round;
 But most unlike the shadows of that tree
 Emblem of England's glory wont to be,
 The British Oak, whose giant arms displayed
 Brighten the verdure underneath its shade.
 Thus should our Country's Laws be typified,
 A Christian nation's safeguard and its pride."

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 Suffolk.

V. *The Dissolved Corporation of Dunwich*.—There is much of Dunwich, romantic interest attaching to the remaining records of this Suffolk Suffolk town, once in far-off days the seat of a Saxon Bishop, and in later times a seaport of importance on the east coast, able to contribute to the naval service of the realm and sending representatives to Parliament, but now only a village with some hundred and fifty inhabitants. Slowly but by sure degrees harbour, churches, town hall, woods, have been submerged by the continual incursions of the sea, until at length the almost last witness to the old existence of a populous town is seen in the fragments of one ruined church out of a former seven, crumbling away year by year on the edge of a low disintegrated cliff. But happily some of the materials for its history have been preserved. In a massive, curiously painted, iron chest, of which the ponderous lid when let down automatically closes the four bolts of a lock of which the key can only be turned with the help of an iron bar, there are Registers which commence at the year 1595. The chest appears to be contemporaneous in date, and to be of Dutch make, and is traditionally believed to have been washed up on Dunwich beach from some wrecked vessel. It is now kept in a room which is used as the village reading-room, but was until recently in a neighbouring cottage, which used to be employed as the Town Hall for declaration of Parliamentary elections until the borough was disfranchised in 1832.

The early Registers appear never to have been examined, and several of the earliest have been lost. In 1596 there is a reference to two pages in a "first" Assembly Book, in 1603 *four books of Orders* are mentioned, and in 1692, in what is now vol. IV., an order is made for the production of four Assembly Books, which shows that then there were four in existence besides that in which the order is entered. T. Gardner, when writing his valuable history

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of Dunwich, Blythburgh, and Southwold in 1754, said that he found, to his surprise, the town's "archives ransacked of all records, except the Common Court books, and those too close confined for my due inspection." He clearly suggests that there had been wilful abstraction, and it may be hoped that the lost volumes may eventually be found in some private collection. The records are now in the custody of Trustees appointed by the Charity Commissioners, and the presence of a Trustee is required whenever they are produced for examination, and during the whole time that they are in use.

The fishing trade is found to have been carried on far beyond the English coasts. In 1634 there were four vessels going to the North Seas, and paying the town dues customary on each "adventure"; in 1640, one called the *William and Fortune*, was lost. From 1604 to 1669 we find mention of single ships going to Iceland, of which one, in 1640, was called the *Robert*. In 1634 and in 1643 one vessel goes to the Faroe Islands.

Some justification of the great complaints made by the men of Aldeburgh in the time of James I. of the harm done to their trade by privateers from Dunkirk is afforded also by the experience of the men of Dunwich; the Bailiffs' accounts have frequent mention of relief given to persons captured or robbed by "Dunkirkers." But in 1602 charitable relief is afforded, upon an Admiralty application by the levying of a rate, to nine prisoners from Dunkirk, who are to be repatriated. The cruelties inflicted upon captives by Turkish pirates are sadly illustrated, men who have had their tongues cut out by them being not seldom objects of relief.

The accession of James I. and the union of the two Crowns is marked at once by the coming of many Scottish mendicants, who do not fail to gain some help. And from 1629 onwards the number of Irish applicants for charitable aid, including ministers and their families, is large. During the Civil War period there is little sign of any disturbance; the eastern counties being Parliamentary strongholds, and Royalist forces rarely (if at all) crossing their borders, occasional relief to soldiers is all that tells of the great strife. And from 1645 to 1653 the entries in the Register are few and unimportant.

CHARTERS.

None of the original charters are now extant. But of some of the later there are copies.

ASSEMBLY BOOKS.

Six volumes in folio, and two in quarto.

Vol. I, 1595-1619 ff. 326.—In the original vellum binding. Noted on a fly-leaf as having been exhibited in Chancery in 1715, and on another fly-leaf as having been repaired by the instrumentality of Dr. F. H. Vertue, of Red House, Southwold, who also re-inserted at the beginning of the volume some leaves which he had found lying loose among other papers. Unfortunately he did not take pains to ascertain their true places in the

volume and their sequence, and hence the first sixteen leaves are very much misplaced. The volume really begins with an Assembly held 27th October, 37 Eliz. (1595).

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Vol. II, containing 180 leaves in the original parchment cover; somewhat mutilated, and injured by damp. Extends from December, 1627, to August, 1653.

Vol. III.—Folio, in a vellum wrapper [which appears to have been given in 1885 by F. H. Vertue] containing the proceedings at Assembly meetings from 1654 to 1673. The register occupies fifty-two leaves, and follows upon copies of the arguments of Mr. Littleton and John Selden at conferences of the Commons with the House of Lords [in April, 1628,] “touching the libertie of the “person of everie free man.” The first two leaves are fragments of the conclusion of another argument [that on Sir Dudley Digges?], marked at the close “Ex[aminatur] per Jo. M.”

Upon these arguments follow, i. a copy of the Grand Remonstrance. ii. Address of the Lords and Commons to the King, on occasion of the appointment of a public fast, concerning matters of religion, with his answer. iii. On the subjects’ proprietary right in their goods, without tax save by their own consent in Parliament, with notes of Sir Edw. Coke’s argument 26th March, 1628.

Up to the year 1661 the minutes of meetings are of the briefest kind, recording only admissions of freemen and barest occasional summaries of accounts.

Vol. IV.—Large folio, bound in black calf, containing 86 leaves; 1676-1695.

Vol. V.—Large thick folio, bound in dark calf; 1694-1790.

The Register begins with various entries of meetings very fully attended from 12th May, 1694, to 26th October, 1695, within the period recorded at the end of the preceding volume, including attendance of persons who in the last volume are mentioned as being removed from office. It is clear, therefore, that (as at Aldeburgh from 1693 to 1700) there was a schism in the Corporation, and a double Register was kept. Apparently rival parties claimed to act under different charters, including that of James II, and the differences were, it may be, composed by the new Charter in 1698.

Vol. VI.—Folio, bound in rough calf, partially paged and indexed, 1790-1865.—This volume contains little besides the appointments of officers and the returns of unopposed elections for Parliament.

1799, 29th September.—A part of the Dry Common, containing about sixty acres, ordered to be enclosed; but on 7th October the plan is relinquished.

Among the annual appointments of officers that of Ale-founder is found up to the year 1863, but not afterwards.

Vols. VII, VIII.—In quarto: from 11th September, 1829, to 29th September, 1846, and from 30th August, 1847, to 29th September, 1888.

A folio volume of the *Chamberlain’s Accounts* extends from 1819 to 1849.

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In a folio volume there are a few, stamped, admissions of free-men in 1720 and 1747-88.

Two folio volumes contain the Declarations on taking office, in 1829-1845, and 1845-1862.

ST. JAMES' HOSPITAL.

Eleven tattered leaves of Accounts of the Hospital of St. James for the years 1633-7.

The insignia of the Corporation are in the Record Chest. They are these:—

1. Silver mace, 11 inches long; weight, $11\frac{1}{2}$ (or $11\frac{3}{4}$) oz. There is no hall-mark, but probably it dates from the 17th century. On the base is a shield bearing a three-masted ship with three fishes swimming below, impaled with the royal arms of England, quarterly 1 and 4 (*sic*, not 2 and 3), three leopards, 2 and 3 three fleurs-de-lis. On the top is the ship with a crowned figure sitting.

2. Silver escutcheon, bearing the Town arms; a three-masted vessel, with flag; a figure sitting in the ship, apparently helmeted and beckoning with an upraised hand; in the upper corners of the plate, the sun and moon; in the sea, four fishes.

3. Silver seal; crowned figure in a boat, a star on either side, and the sun and moon above. Inscr., “*Sigillum Ballivorum de Doneswico.*”

4. The same seal in brass, with the inscription “*Sigillum Admirality Donewico*” (*sic*). For this “new Admiralty seal” three guineas were paid to Thomas Woolner in 1830.

Southwold,
Suffolk.

VI. *Southwold, Suffolk.*—The records of the Corporation of this town, once of some importance among the fishing-towns of the East Coast are unfortunately but scanty. In 1659, on 25th April, a fire destroyed, it is said, some 238 houses, and amongst them the Town Hall, when all the early documents were consumed, with one exception. This one is a small parchment slip containing an order, in French, from Thomas, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, son of Edward I., to Nicholas Bonde, the steward of his lands in Suffolk, dated at Framlingham under his privy seal (now lost), 24th March, “*l’an quart.*” The date of this writ is 1330, 4 Edward III.

CHARTERS.

Of the various old Charters granted to the town there are now only copies in existence, as contained in a Confirmation and Exemplification granted by King William and Queen Mary, 23rd January, *anno* 1 (1689/90): This begins with, i. Confirmation by Charles I., 8th May, *anno* 10 (1634), of (ii.) James I., 14th May, *anno* 2 (1604); iii. Elizabeth, 12th June, *anno* 1 (1559); iv. Edward VI., 22nd June, *anno* 1 (1547); v. Henry VIII., 1st March, *anno* 1 (1510), reciting the original Charter of Henry VII., 12th July, *anno* 20 (1505), which was granted in pursuance of an Act

of Parliament made in January, 1490, in reference to disputes between the men of Dunwich, as a corporate town, and those of Southwold, then not corporate. By the Charter of Henry VII. the manor of Southwold was granted incorporation, with the usual franchises and privileges of corporations, as well as a Court of Admiralty exempt from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of the realm.

There is also a fresh Charter of incorporation granted by James II., 5th February, *anno* 1 (1686) in pursuance of his scheme for remodelling the government of all corporate towns. In this no reference is made to any preceding grant.

RECORDS.

These begin with a folio book, in a parchment cover, marked "B. Dole and Common Book." This contains miscellaneous entries of accounts, charities, debts, regulations for the common and marshes, and occasional minutes of the Court of Admiralty of Southwold and of Assembly meetings; 1658-1824. Several leaves are wanting at the beginning of the volume, where there is a memorandum inserted by Dr. F. H. Vertue in 1887, that, finding it with the covers nearly off and many leaves loose, thumbled and dog-eared, he had taken some pains to repair it.

In a series of parchment rolls, now preserved in three tin cases, are copies of Ordinances made at Assembly meetings from the time of Henry VIII. to 1688. In the earliest of these the date of the first meeting entered is omitted, but it is conjecturally assigned to 1513. It contains regulations respecting shipping going to Iceland and the herring fishery. The letting of houses in the town to strangers is strictly forbidden. Copies are also entered of the orders at meetings on 26th September, 4 Elizabeth (1562), 12th September, 5 Elizabeth (1563), 15th March, . . . (year omitted), 16th September, 6 Elizabeth (1564), 31st December, 12 Elizabeth (1569), 6th December, 18 Elizabeth (1575), and 11th December, 1586.

The next, a long roll on two skins, is dated 6th December, 4 James I. (1606). Orders are made that (in accordance with a former ordinance) no one go to sea with spurling nets or lay lines upon Sunday before 12 o'clock, having been at divine service at the Church, upon pain to forfeit 5*l.*; and that no butcher have his shop window open or sell any flesh upon Sunday, upon pain of five shillings. Brewers must sell a wine-quart of beer or ale for a halfpenny, upon pain of imprisonment, according to a former ordinance (16th September, 6 Elizabeth, where it is added "if they have half a barrel of beere or ale in their howses"). No victualler or ale-house keeper to keep open house upon Sunday to serve any one except he be a traveller, and he only for a repast before service time, on pain for every householder of ten shillings and every other person twelve pence.

Orders, 6th December (St. Nicholas' Day, the day of the annual meeting), and subsequent orders in 1626, chiefly regarding the pasturing of cattle.

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Orders, 6th December, 1630.

Orders, 6th December, 1631, chiefly respecting fishing and building.

Orders, 6th December, 1668, a paper roll. Chiefly regarding the duties payable on all imports and exports, and the tolls. Signed by all the members of the Assembly.

Of the *Chamberlains' Accounts* there are few before the 18th century, and apparently none earlier than 1660. Those before 1700, and some of later date, are injured by damp, and partially tattered. The account for 1667, the year when the Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames and Medway, contains many entries of payments for work at the fort and at a trench, for shot, for keeping up a fire at the guard, &c. The spirit excited by danger is shown by payments being made for beer and tobacco to *voluntary* workmen at the fort.

Sessions Papers.—Four parcels extend from about 1670 to the reign of William IV. There is, however, very little of general interest in them, as they only consist of writs, pleas, and the like in ordinary trivial cases, with jury lists, and declarations in qualification for office.

The records of the *Admiralty Court* from 1782 to 1833 (in which year the Court was abolished) are contained in two books. They are chiefly concerned with cases of waifs and wrecks.

A bond from Reighnould Heylock of Waynford, Suffolk, to Robert Julians of Easton Bavent, dated 24th October, 1658, is noticeable because it relates to a messuage and two pieces of land in Easton Bavent, a parish which is now almost entirely swallowed up by the sea.

There is a copy of a letter from the Corporation [to the Board of Ordnance], in objection to an order for surrender of the town guns; dated 12th February, 1810.

A "Catalogue of books and documents belonging to [the] Corporation of Southwold" was compiled by John Eustace Grubbe, mayor for twenty years, and was printed (occupying 33 folio pages) in 1871. All the leases of the town-property are specified with their dates, with particulars of all the modern documents up to the time of its compilation.

The Corporation insignia consist of two silver maces, set in oaken stems; the total length is 35 inches, of which the silver portion is 13 inches. On the older one, which has no hallmark or maker's initials, and which may have been remade with obliteration of marks, there is a cup-shaped top with a beautifully chased rim of crosses alternating with an uncertain ornament (a fish?), together with the old borough seal, viz., a crown transfixd with two arrows, on either side of which there is a fish. The other mace has a plain top, with another form of the same seal, and is dated 1642. The Mayor has a gold chain (purchased in 1895 by subscription) with fifteen shields charged with the borough arms, and a large badge bearing the same charge.

Thetford,
Norfolk.

VII. *Corporation of Thetford, Norfolk*.—Considering that Thetford was once the seat of the Bishops of East Anglia before the

translation of the see to Norwich in the twelfth century, and afterwards was maintained in dignity and importance by the great Cluniac Priory, which was often visited by Henry VI. as well as earlier sovereigns, while the town itself was visited by Queen Elizabeth and her successor (whose house, completely modernized, is still called *The King's House*), one might expect to find in it a store of documents ranging through long periods. But unhappily this is not the case; with the important exception of a Cartulary of the Priory, there is nothing earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, except that in one volume there are copies of some monastic charters. And for the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth there is nothing whatever to be found. Nevertheless there is much of interest in what does still exist.

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Of the Royal Charters the only original one now in the possession of the Corporation is that of William and Mary, dated 18th February, *anno* 5. It is an exemplification of a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, 12th March, *anno* 16 [1574]. It occupies four skins of vellum, and is contained in a tin box; the great seal is broken.

A copy of Queen Elizabeth's charter is in a volume of transcripts.

A large folio volume, bound in parchment, containing 360 numbered pages, besides others not numbered. It contains transcripts by various hands made in the 16th century, of numerous documents of various dates relating to the possessions of the Priory and other ecclesiastical foundations in Thetford, and to the transfers after they came into lay hands. A memorandum is prefixed by Mr. G. B. Burrell (who supplies a copious index of the contents) stating that it was once the property of the Dukes of Norfolk, and that being found in a house in Thetford, where it had lain concealed for many years, it was presented to him by the finder 22nd October, 1810. He notes also that he had seen a very fair copy in the possession of John Wright, Esq., of Kilverstone, Norfolk.

Among the items are:—

i. Ground-plot of the royal warren of Methwold surveyed by Crown Commissioners in 1580, and walked over by them, with jurors, and ancient inhabitants of the several towns mentioned in the plot.

iii. A plan of "Bagots hogge hethe and pasture grounds."

v. "A brief boundarie of the franchise of Thettforde."

vi. Index, made *temp.* Elizabeth.

ix. Fulmerston deeds with conveyances from the Duke of Norfolk and Duke of Somerset.

xi. Possessions of the Priory of Thetford and charges thereon.

xiii. Grants from and concerning the Priory and deeds relating thereto, with lists of evidences.

Computus of the bailiff, 1537. Foundation charters, and confirmations, &c.

xiv. Demesne lands of the Duke of Lancaster in Thetford.

xxi. Tithes of the Prior of Buttle of Eylverson, 1270.

xxiv. Lands that belonged to the Nunnery.

xxvii. Notes of some ordinances made in the Courts at Thetford, 1485-1567, relating to fishing, highways, market, proceedings in courts, &c.

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Inserted at the end of the volume are these plans:—

- i. Plan of the pastures at Great Barton belonging to Sir J. Williamson's charity, by J. Parker, 20th May, 1777.
- ii. Plan of lands at Farnham All Saints belonging to the poor of Thetford, by William Warren, 10th June, 1803.
- iii. Plan of Methwold Warren; a duplicate of that at the beginning of the volume.
- iv. A very careful plan of the road from Thetford to Watton, and of that to Swaffham, by James Parker, jun., 1790.
- v. Of various roads from and round Buckenham, by James Parker, 1787.
- vi. From Thetford to Bury, by James Parker, jun., 1790.
- vii. Of the property of James Mingay, Esq., in the town of Thetford, by J. Parker, October, 1789; with orders of Justices, &c., for stopping up an old road and making a new one.
- viii. Of roads from Watton to Brandon, &c., by Buckenham, by James Parker, 7th December, 1786.
- ix. Of Mr. Henry Cocksedge's enclosed lands in Thetford, by William Warren, April, 1734, on vellum.
- x. Terrier of the Chapel farm in Croxton belonging to the School, by John Parker, 1762 [plan wanting].

A small folio volume of twenty-three leaves of vellum, written in the fifteenth century, bound in rough calf, contains a Register of grants to the Priory extending from 1311 to 1471. In 1705 it was in the possession of Peter Le Neve, Norroy, who has marked in the margin of all the documents "Posted." It came afterwards into the possession of John Ives, and thence to the Duke of Grafton, by whom it was given to the town "by James Mingay, Esq., 14th "October, 1809."

A small quarto volume of transcripts, bound in parchment, contains also various notes and extracts made by Gregory Faux, Town Clerk, at the beginning of the 19th century, including the Charter of William and Mary in 1693, and the bye-laws made in that year; with a history of proceedings under the Navigation Act for the river called the "Lesser Ouze," to the year 1810.

REGISTERS.

Of these there are now five volumes remaining out of nine. The earliest extends from 6th September, 1577, to 13th December, 1583, with two entries on the last leaf of 1586-7, overlapping partly the time comprehended in the next volume; it is marked on its parchment cover, by Mr. G. B. Burrell, formerly Town Clerk in the first half of the nineteenth century, as "No. 1." It is in good condition, and consists of 86 paper leaves, and it is shown to have lost no part of its original contents by the following certificate of the Town Clerk, Anthony Frere, or Fryer, at the foot of the last leaf: "Mem. this xii. of Julye, 1596, 38 Reg. Elizabeth. I Anthonie "Frere delyvered this booke to Mr. Mills with 86 leaves in yt. Per "me, Anthonie Frere. 86 leaves." It has been incorrectly paged as having only 170 pages instead of 172.

The volume ends with an entry of 29th October, 1583, and then

on the verso of fol. 86 there are two unimportant notes on 10th and 11th March, 1586-7. These are followed by a list of the town's yearly profits and payments; the latter are, to the Queen 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, to Sir Edw. Clere, 6*l.* 6*s.*, to the Mayor for his diet, 20*l.*, and to the Recorder for his fee, 4*l.*

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“No. 2.” A volume in good condition, bound in parchment, containing 275 numbered pages, besides six at the beginning not numbered. It has been carefully examined and marked by Mr. Burrell, former Town Clerk, who has added at the end a table of contents. It exhibits the record of the proceedings of the Corporation from 22nd April, 1571, to 1601, with some brief entries extending to 1622; but the record has been very imperfectly kept, and is written very confusedly and often indistinctly. Some miscellaneous documents, such as writs and warrants, have been occasionally inserted, apparently by Mr. Burrell, for preservation.

Entries of the Petty Sessions appear throughout the volume and occupy at intervals a considerable part of it. They chiefly concern the enrolment of servants, specifying the term engaged for, and the sum “*pro salario*,” often with addition of livery. The money rates vary from 33*s.* to 16*s.* 8*d.* per year. In the case of women it is sometimes “*pro omnibus necessariis sibi inveniendis*.” A shoe-maker's apprentice is engaged for eight years, and is to have at the end of the term a double fitting-out in everything, twenty shillings, “and all necessary toles for a cordwyner.”

The third remaining volume, which extends from 1639 to 1642, is numbered “7.” It contains 61 leaves, and is bound in parchment. It is not, however, a Register of the Acts of the Corporation, but only an entry-book of cases heard in the Mayor's Court from 16th September, 1639, 15 Charles I., to 5th September, 1642. In October, 1639, there is a return of there being only one prisoner in the gaol, and he for many debts to various persons.

The fourth volume, numbered “8,” contains a collection of transcripts of various documents relating to the town from the time of Henry VIII., made by George Burrell, and dated 1801. Prefixed is “A list of deeds and evidences belonging to the Corporation of Thetford, in my possession,” which have not at present been found, nor are they known to be in existence. Then, a list of mayors from 1272 to 1338, taken from Mayors' accounts and “Rolls of fairs,” which also have not been found, but which from their date and possible character ought to be of some special interest. Next, “A list of the ancient writings, &c., contained in this book,” but these have with one exception been all cut out (there being a gap in the middle of the volume), and have shared the fate of the others. Amongst these was a warrant from Oliver Cromwell for the apprehension of William Lodge, dated 11th March, 1653, and an order appointing the Post House or Office to be at the Bell Inn, 15th January, 1663, which is now affixed to the cover of the sixth volume, marked 9, and is printed in the description of that volume. Some of the less important documents, together with many writs, have been inserted in blank spaces in the Registers, as mentioned above. The one original paper remaining in this volume consists of

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three tattered fragments of a draft of a petition, in English, to Henry VIII., for some grant in help of the town, which is not unlike, it is said, [to be] in extreme desolation and decay "by meene of "meny offycers and many fermors." There is also a list by Burrell of "writings relating to the advowson of Santon, presented to me "by the Rev. Harry Charles Manning, the present Rector." And at the end of the volume he has affixed to the cover twelve seals of eleven High Sheriffs of Norfolk cut from writs directed to the Mayors of Thetford in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

The next volume, numbered "9," bound in parchment, is chiefly filled with entries of Sessions of Peace for the borough.

i. Sessions' entries from 17th September, 8 James I., 1610, to 9th July, 5 Charles I., 1629.

ii. Entries of bonds, chiefly those of victuallers and alehouse keepers, from 1619 to 1629. Up to 1622 the bonds are signed by the persons bound, almost entirely by marks.

iii. Entries of the Court of Record of the borough from 1702 to 1767, with a plea in 1772.

iv. Entries of Petty Sessions for hiring of servants in 1755-1766.

v. Several receipts for payments, including one for burial in linen in 1679.

vi. Admissions of freemen, 1720-1756; with an index of names.

The sixth volume is also numbered as "9." It contains the meetings of the Corporation from 22nd March, 1681-2, to 9th December, 1718, in 351 numbered pages.

At the end of the volume are inserted:—

i. Opinion of counsel, H. Partridge, on a case of parish liability for charge of a child, dated 22nd March, 1779.

ii. "Schedule of rules and orders, &c., relating to the binding "charity of Thetford," 1801.

iii. Letter from James Mingay, dated from Eastey's Hotel, Southampton Street, Covent Garden, 22nd January, 1807; address lost.

iv. Order by Charles Abbott, Speaker of the House of Commons, for the attendance of George Bird Burrell in the matter of the petition of Thomas Creevy, Esq., respecting an undue election, 26th January, 1807.

v. Copy of a like order to Thomas Mann, to bring all books and accounts showing any charges for meat, drinks, &c., furnished in his house on 24th October and 5th November last; 20th January, 1807.

vi. Warrant for re-arresting Edward Challis [*coroner*], who on 30th June was rescued by about forty persons when in custody for a debt of 400*l.* at the suit of William Craske; 20th July, 1704.

At the beginning there is pasted on the cover, in torn and mutilated condition, the appointment of a post-office, dated 15th June, 1663. "These are to give notice that the Bell "inn at Thetford from henceforth is to be the common post-house for the receiving of all letters, and that William Harper "there hath undertaken to receive all such and carefully to have "them carried and delivered according to the various persones and

“ places heretofore respectively . . . that all letter shall be received. . . money unlesse they be endorsed, Post paid. By the order of Mr.... Betterton of Norwich, postmaster for the stage.”

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Thetford,
Norfolk.

The Corporation insignia are very fine. The old mace, mentioned several times in the preceding extracts from the Registers, was lost, possibly during the Commonwealth period, and a very fine one, silver gilt, bearing the arms of England and of the donor, surmounted by a crown and cross, was given by Sir Joseph Williamson in 1678. He also gave a very handsome sword, in an embroidered case, supplying the place of the old one also lost. Two small silver sergeants' maces, 18 inches long, are of older date, probably of the time of James I., as they bear the royal arms as quartered in his reign; there is no hall-mark visible. A cup with a cover, and a salver, of silver gilt, were given by James Sloan, M.P. for the town, in 1697. On the bottom of the cup the words “ Prosperity to Thetford ” are engraved. There is also an elegant silver-mounted staff, six feet in length, which was given by James Mingay, Mayor, in 1800, as the Mayor's badge of office.

There are two seals. One is ancient, bearing the representation of a castle, with figures of a man holding a sword erect on one corner-tower, and a man blowing a horn on another, with the inscription, “ *Sigillum commune burgencium de Thetford.* ” The more modern one, much smaller, bears the same representation, with the inscription, “ *Antiq. Burg. de Thetford.* ”

The insignia are all described, with illustrations, in a pamphlet printed in 1902, by James Millington, J.P. (Mayor in 1907), entitled *The History of the Guildhall, Thetford*. They are also described in the exhaustive work on Corporation Insignia in England and Wales by O. Jewitt and W. H. St. John Hope, published in 1895, Vol. II., pp. 205-6.

VIII. *Duke of Norfolk*.—Ancient Deeds belonging to the Duke of Norfolk, relating chiefly to Manors in the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, including—Alburgh, Bacton and Witton, Banham, Beckham, Bessingham, Bowness (Cumberland), Calthorpe, Cardurnock (Cumberland), Cringleford, Dickleburgh, Gedney (Lincolnshire), Hales, Hardley, Moulton (a large number), Norwich, Seething, Shropham, Sprowston, Swafeld, Tacolneston, Trowse, Walpole, Walsham, Waxham, Weston, Winterton, and many others.

IX. *Sir Hervey Bruce*.—This collection is preserved at Clifton Sir Hervey Hall, Nottingham. It is reported upon in two parts, some additional manuscripts having been brought to the notice of the Commissioners after the report on the first section had been printed. It consists:—

1. Of private deeds, &c., the more ancient of which serve to illustrate the history of a corner of Nottinghamshire which, despite the researches of Thoroton and Raine, still remains somewhat obscure. The localities include—Bawtry, Blyth, Carlton-in-Lindrick, Hodsock, Oldcotes, Rock Abbey, Styrrup, Warmsworth (Yorks), Woodhouse (Yorks), and others.

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Bruce.

There are also copies of some wills of the 17th century, including those of Sir Anthony Thorold and Sir Gervase Clifton.

2. Miscellaneous letters and papers for the period 1558-1650, including some correspondence of Sir Gervase Clifton and Sir Anthony Thorold; a letter from Penelope Lady Rich to Queen Elizabeth on behalf of her brother the Earl of Essex; account of the reduction in 1612 of Elfsborg by the Danish and English forces; a proposition made by the States of Bohemia, in 1619, in their assembly at Prague, upon the election of a King, the 16th of August, being the birthday of the Prince Elector Palatine; account of the Coronation of Frederick, Prince Elector Palatine, and the Lady Elizabeth, as King and Queen of Bohemia, in October, 1619; an abstract of that which the Prince of Transylvania by his ambassadors required from the States of Bohemia and the incorporated countries; news letters from Nürnberg and the Hague, 1619-1620; a letter from Viscount Wentworth to Sir Gervase Clifton, dated at Dublin, February, 1634 N.S., and other correspondence of Sir Gervase Clifton between 1634 and 1648.

3. Correspondence, &c., of Sir Gervase Clifton from 1600 to 1642, and a few later papers. This section includes a letter from John Marston, the dramatist, a description of the entertainment of King James in Scotland in 1619, and of the country itself; letters from Lord Wentworth, his brother-in-law, the Earl and Countess of Exeter, Sir Harry Vane, the son, Gervase Clifton, the Earl of Kingston, Lord Clifton, and others, between 1630 and 1640.

Earl of
Essex.

X. *The Earl of Essex*.—The documents dealt with in this Report have been selected from the collection of the Earl of Essex preserved at Cassiobury Park. They have been arranged in two sections:—

I. Manorial documents and early deeds and papers, chiefly relating to the various estates of the Capells in Hertfordshire, Essex, Norfolk, and other counties.

II. Miscellaneous documents, arranged chronologically.

The manorial documents—court rolls, account rolls, rentals, extents, surveys, &c.—which form the great bulk of the collection, date from the reign of Edward I., and have been arranged as far as possible in counties, under the headings of the various manors to which they belong. None of them relate to any estates held by the Capells prior to the time of Sir William, the famous London merchant and second founder of his family. His first appearance in the court rolls is in June, 1485, when the manor of Porters Hall, in Stebbing, belonged to him and his co-feoffees. It had been purchased by him a few years earlier, in 22 Edward IV. Save in a few cases, only such information has been extracted as might be of value in tracing the descents of the several manors.

The number of early deeds is considerable, and a good many of the thirteenth century are comprised among them. All have been examined and arranged in counties under the parishes to which they relate, and, in the case of those which are of more interest than mere grants of land, short abstracts of their contents have been given. All Seals of Arms have been described.

There are however three charters of a much earlier date which call for special notice. These, which all relate to Stebbing, in Essex, will be found printed *in extenso*. The first, a very early instance of a dated charter, is a grant of all his land of Stebbing made 26th September, 1139, by Robert "Comes de Notingham." Now, Robert Ferrers, second Earl of Derby, whose father, Robert the first Earl died in this year, is known to have sometimes styled himself "Comes junior de Notingham," an expression which has given rise to some speculation. There seems, however, to be no record (apart from this charter, if such it be) of his having ever omitted the "junior," and the absence of the word here suggests the possibility of its being his father who made this charter, a month or so before his death. Had the latter ever styled himself "Comes de Notingham," the description "Comes junior de Notingham" in the case of his son would be more intelligible; there are, however, no records to show that he ever did do so. Moreover, the language used in the two other charters, both somewhat later, though undated, and relating to the same estate as the first, when compared with that employed in the first, certainly suggests that their author, Robert, second Earl of Derby, "Comes de Ferrariis," was the same man as the author of the first; and this is probably the case.

These two later charters are of great interest owing to the fact that in both of them mention is made of the Earl's wife, Margaret. It has always been supposed that one of the first three Earls of Derby married Margaret, daughter and heiress of William Peverel, but up till now nothing has been found to show which, if any, of them did in fact do so. That the first and third Earls were known to have had wives named respectively Hawise and Sibyl made it appear probable that the Peverel heiress was the wife of the second Earl. These charters, by proving that the second Earl had in fact a wife named Margaret, afford valuable corroboration, which, even in the absence of any direct evidence as to her parentage, may almost be taken to have decided the matter. The subject cannot be further discussed here, but it is interesting to notice, in view of the fact that in early times the two manors in Stebbing were held, one by the family of Ferrers and the other by that of Peverel, that the estate there with which these charters deal was stated to be the dower of the Countess Margaret. It does not, however, seem possible, looking at the charters, to support the tempting argument that the estate was her dower in the sense of her paternal marriage portion; everything indeed points to its having been the Earl's own estate which had been granted by him as dower to his Countess.

Another early deed is of interest, being a grant of land in the year 1341, by John Capel, of Peddington, in Gloucestershire. It is probable, however, that this man was not a member of the family of Capell of Stoke by Nayland, in Suffolk, from which the Earls of Essex are descended, but one of the Capells of How Caple, in Herefordshire, a quite distinct family. It is an isolated deed, the presence of which in this collection is probably accidental.

On p. 332 of the Report will be found extracts from the accounts of the receiver of William, Lord Ferrers of

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Groby, relating to the marriage, in the summer of 1427, of Margaret Ferrers, in all probability his daughter, and Richard, Lord Grey of Wilton. It has been supposed that such a marriage took place, but there appears to have been hitherto nothing to prove it. They relate also to the marriage of Edward, younger son of Lord Grey of Ruthyn, with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Henry Ferrers (then deceased), the only son of Lord William. Upon the death of his wife's grandfather Sir Edward Grey became in her right Lord Ferrers of Groby. He died in 1457, and his widow then married (as his first wife) Sir John Bouchier, who, as appears from the Stebbing court rolls of 19-22 Edward IV., styled himself Lord Ferrers of Groby. The fact that his wife Elizabeth is mentioned in these rolls does not prove that the Ferrers heiress was still living then, as Sir John's second wife was also named Elizabeth.

The documents comprised in Section II. are of a very miscellaneous character. One of very considerable interest is a deed made in June, 1322, three months after the death of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, containing an inventory of armour and other goods belonging to him in the Castle of Pleshey. These were handed over by Sir Nicholas de la Beche, knight, late constable of the castle, to John le Porter, of Stebbing, probably on behalf of the Crown, the Earl having fallen fighting for the rebels at Boroughbridge. This deed should be compared with an inventory of the same Earl's goods at Walden Abbey, made a few days after his death, extracts from which are printed, together with his will, in *The Archæological Journal*, II. 339.

The Valor of Peterborough Monastery, made in 31 Henry VIII., is also an important document, being no doubt the original minister's account made after the Dissolution. What should have brought it into this collection it is not easy to see.

Practically the only correspondence of interest among the papers is the long news-letter of Sir Richard Morrison, Ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, addressed to the Privy Council from Augsburg. It is unsigned and seems never to have been sent; its proper place would be among other letters of his in the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1547-1553.

A good many early papers relating to the sequestration of Lord Capell's estates were found, and the more interesting of these have been abstracted. From them appear the names of some of the members of one or two of the earlier county committees.

The only other document which calls for special attention is the list of the Danish nobility, with their territorial qualifications and employments. It was probably compiled for Arthur Capell, first Earl of Essex, who went as Ambassador to Copenhagen in the year 1669; it may be found useful for purposes of identification.

Col. Frewen.

XI. *Colonel Frewen*.—This little collection, preserved at Brick-wall, Northiam, Sussex, consists of fifty-two deeds, of which all but four relate to land in the parish of Northiam, in the county of Sussex, in which parish the ancestors of the owner have resided

since the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is scarcely possible to regard them as of more than local interest; but covering, as they do, with very few breaks of any length, a period of 300 years from the end of the 13th to the end of the 16th centuries, a good deal may be learned from them concerning the successive owners of land in the parish. Two families may be mentioned—that of Goatley, which figures the most prominently up to the middle of the 15th century, when their manor of Goatley was conveyed to John Piers, of Ewhurst, and that of Hore, which is conspicuous in the earlier deeds. A seal of arms of Henry Hore, exhibiting a family shield hitherto unrecorded, is described at p. 355. A number of the place-names which occur may still be found, or their modern equivalents recognised, upon the map. The deeds have been noticed in strict chronological order.

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Col. Frewen.

XII. *H. C. Staunton, Esq.*—The documents which form the subject of this Report are the property of Henry Charlton Staunton, Esq., of Staunton, Nottinghamshire. They were examined in the seventeenth century by Robert Thoroton, who employed them in his “History of Nottinghamshire,” published in 1677; some of them bear endorsements in a hand of the period, which may, perhaps, be his. Towards the close of the eighteenth century most of the deeds relating to Nottinghamshire were copied by Charles Mellish, Esq., of Blyth, who projected a history of the county: his transcripts are now in the possession of Henry Mellish, Esq., of Hodsock Priory, Notts. In 1825 the Rev. Dr. Staunton caused an abstract of the collection to be made, now in the possession of the Staunton family. Between Thoroton’s time and that of Charles Mellish the collection had sustained some losses; it has remained intact since the eighteenth century.

H. C. Staun-
ton, Esq.

Most of the documents relate to the manor of Staunton and to a group of adjacent villages on the eastern border of Nottinghamshire. There are, however, a number of Lincolnshire deeds, and some isolated charters, which refer to other parts of Nottinghamshire. For the manorial history of the county two of the latter, the Danethorpe and Grimston charters, are of much importance, giving information which was overlooked by Thoroton. There are five documents of the twelfth century, and a considerable number belonging to the close of the thirteenth. The abstracts which follow are arranged in the alphabetical order of the villages to which they relate.

The collection also comprises a small number of papers relating to the Civil War in Nottinghamshire, including various commissions signed by the King or the Earl of Newcastle. Reference may be made to a warrant signed by Charles I. at Welbeck on 16th August, 1645, instructing Colonel Staunton to draw his regiment out of the garrison of Newark and to march to Tuxford and so forward under the convoy of Lieutenant-General Villiers.

There are also the court rolls of the prebendal manor of Hushwaite, with Carlton, co. York, 1652-8; and of the manors of Staunton and Staunton Haverholme, co. Nottingham, 1647-1665. There are isolated rolls of the manor of Kilvington, co. Nottingham,

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ton, Esq.

for the years 18 Henry VII., 31-33, and 36 Elizabeth, and there is a series of extracts from the rolls of Staunton extending from 20 Henry VII. to 16 Elizabeth. There are lists of persons owing suit to Staunton court in 1596 and 1600, divided into freeholders, tenants, resiants, and villeins in gross—this last class comprising four persons of the same name; and there is a minute survey of the meadows of Alverton in 1575.

F. Merttens,
Esq.

XIII. *F. Merttens, Esq., of Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, and Bilton Rise, Warwickshire.*—The documents noticed in this report are the property of F. Merttens, Esq., lord of the manor of Rothley, co. Leicester, and hitherto have followed the descent of this estate. The collection, as a whole is of much value for Leicestershire topography, but it includes few early documents relating to the manor of Rothley itself. The original of the famous custumal of the soke of Rothley is included in the series, but as this record has already been printed it is omitted from this report. With this exception, the most notable document in the collection is the original charter of John, as count of Mortain, to the Templars, who had obtained the manor and soke of Rothley, royal demesne in Domesday, from Henry II. A large number of documents illustrating the survival of the courts of this soke until the last century are also preserved but are described in detail.

The rolls and rentals of the manor of Rothley are of unusual interest owing to the survival, until a recent period, of the soke to which the place gave name. From the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth the series of rolls is almost complete, but only isolated documents of the kind are preserved from an earlier time. The earliest roll is dated 8 Richard II. A rental of 25 Henry VIII. exists in the collection, together with two copies of the thirteenth century custumal of the soke (*Archæologia* xlvij). There is also a complete series of rolls of the ecclesiastical court of the peculiar of Rothley extending from 1615 to 1625; and a large number of late documents relating to this jurisdiction are included. Apart from the Rothley series, there is an isolated roll of the courts held for the prince in a number of Leicestershire villages in May, 21 Edward IV. (1481). The villages are Thorpe Langton, Ullesthorpe, Queeniborough, Rearsby, Rotherby, Brooksby, and Cossington.

SCOTLAND.

LORD POLWARTH.

Lord
Polwarth.

The Report on Lord Polwarth's Manuscripts, having to do chiefly with general history, has been summarised in its chronological place (*see pp. 106-113 supra*).

(1287—1699.)

The Laing Manuscripts here dealt with are part of a collection Laing MSS.
Vol. I. formed by the late David Laing, LL.D., who for many years was Keeper of the Library of the Writers to the Signet, Edinburgh, and was one of the most distinguished and assiduous antiquaries of his day. He was the second son of William Laing, a bookseller in Edinburgh, and was born on 20th April, 1793. At first he followed his father's calling and often went abroad in search of rare and curious books, for the discovery of which he developed great skill. He associated himself with the publishing societies known as the Abbotsford, Bannatyne and Spalding Clubs, and also with the Wodrow Society, all of which were instituted for the publication of manuscripts or the resuscitation of old texts, and his own contributions to these and other publications were numerous; and for very many years he acted as Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. He became librarian to the Society of Writers to the Signet in 1837, and held that position until his death in 1878. During his whole life he was an indefatigable collector of manuscripts, the bulk of which he bequeathed to the University Library of Edinburgh. When these manuscripts came to be sorted out, they were found to consist of manuscript books and printed books with manuscript additions, dealing with all varieties of subjects, and also of an immense mass of documents, parchment charters, paper deeds and correspondence. A kind of general arrangement of the whole was made by the late Rev. John Anderson, afterwards Curator of the Historical Department in the General Register House, Edinburgh. He separated the parchment charters from the others and made abstracts of each, which were published in a large volume entitled *The Laing Charters*. Of the other books and documents, he made a brief catalogue containing a list of the manuscript books to the number of 780 and another list of the historical documents, letters and miscellaneous papers, in two divisions, the first extending to 350 numbers and the second to 654, but in the second division most of the numbers relate to bundles of deeds and not merely to separate documents. The present report treats only of the historical documents in these collections, and is therefore not an exhaustive calendar of the whole of their contents, although it is believed it will give a fair idea of the nature of the collection.

How Dr. Laing came to amass such a collection is an interesting story in itself. He not only constantly attended sales of manuscript books and documents and purchased freely, but, being on very friendly terms with a waste-paper merchant in Edinburgh, Mr. Gilbert Adcock, whose premises were in South St. Andrew Street, he often visited these when intimation was made to him of a consignment of waste-paper in which it was expected that there might be material interesting to him. Of such opportunities he gladly availed himself. Thus many original documents containing valuable information were preserved by Dr Laing's industry.

The papers dealt with in this Report are arranged in chronological sequence and in this first volume extend to the end of the

Laing MSS. seventeenth century. They relate to an immense variety of subjects, and although the most of them are concerned with Scottish affairs there are many affecting England and Ireland, while not a few refer to matters in foreign lands.

For Scottish life and history papers will be found more or less illustrative of every reign from the time of King James I. to that of King William III. In the time of King James IV. there is a royal warrant signed by him dealing with the drawing away of the water from a mill lade, showing how even the Sovereign was brought into some of the petty disputes of the people; and we are reminded of the tragic fate of that King by the act in favour of the heirs of those who fell on Flodden Field. There are several letters dealing with affairs during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, mother of Mary, Queen of Scots, but very few relating to that Queen herself, only a Spanish account of her death, a reference to the same event by the Scottish ambassador, and the English Court's defence of their action in putting her to death. There is also a Latin copy of the *Detectio*, written by George Buchanan and first printed about 1571 (not 1580, as in the text).

For the long reign of King James VI. from 1567 to 1625 the papers in the Report include correspondence with Queen Elizabeth and the members of her Government, with notes of embassies and negotiations about many matters, such as the preservation of order upon the Borders between the two kingdoms, where trouble was never wanting. One document enumerates no fewer than thirty-seven distinct forays across the Border into England by the men of Teviotdale in less than four months, between May and August, 1587. There is an interesting paper on the raid of Ruthven, the confession of Sir James Edmonstone of Duntreath, in which the plans of the conspirators are revealed, the intention being, if necessary, to seize the King, convey him to one of the islands in Loch Lomond, and there to keep him until the rebels in England should come and receive him, or, if necessity should require it, even to take the King's life. When the time came for the succession of King James to the Crown of England in 1603, there is an account for renovation of the crown jewels for use at his coronation, which, including certain jewels for some of the courtiers, extends to 1,374*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* sterling, but this the auditors reduced to 1,300*l.* There is also an account for repairing the King's houses in various parts of England, and another for weapons and other things necessary for the holding of a tournament on the occasion of the Coronation; likewise a note of the horses bought about the same time for the King's use. Many documents will also be found illustrative of the government by King James in England; and particular attention may be drawn to the speech for his opening of the English Parliament in person in 1614. Other documents show how the King carried out his policy of governing his ancient kingdom of Scotland from his English Court by means of the pen. Some interesting information is given concerning the treatment of foreign ambassadors by King James.

The papers during the reign of King Charles I. reflect the stormy aspect of his time. In an account by his apothecary whilst he was

yet a youth there are references to sweets, perfumes, and rosewater, &c., supplied for the Prince's use. There are a goodly number of papers relating to English Parliamentary affairs, and mention is made of a loan of 2,000*l.* by Lord Dunsmore in connexion with the fleet sent for the relief of Rochelle. But in reference to Scotland his first trouble arose in connexion with his "Revocation" and the "Surrenders" of Church lands, both of which measures were engineered by Sir Thomas Hope, then Lord Advocate, several letters by whom and by others touching upon that business will be found.

The great trouble, however, so far as Scotland was concerned, arose upon the attempt of King Charles in 1637 to impose Laud's Service Book upon Scotland. This resulted in a general opposition on the part of all classes, the renewal of the National Covenant by the country in 1638, the overthrow of Episcopacy in Scotland, and a state of warfare with the King which, happily, did not long continue. These events brought the control of affairs in Scotland into the hands of the Covenanters for a period of several years until the incident known as the "Engagement" for the release of King Charles I. from Carisbrooke; but the passing of the Acts of Classes in 1646 and 1649 caused a division in their ranks. The concern aroused by the passing of these Acts is shown by the numerous petitions which were sent to Parliament from all parts of the country in reference thereto. During this period notice is drawn in one paper (where the date is mistakenly given as c. 1630, instead of c. 1643) to the alleged plot by the Marquis of Hamilton to seize the Scottish throne, which was first asserted by James, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, c. 1630, and for which he was still at this time a prisoner in Blackness Castle. The unfounded charge was now again revived, but quickly disposed of. During this reign also we find reference to the colonising of New England in a petition by the Council there in 1635 for the drawing of their patents; and there is an interesting journal by Thomas Cunningham Conservator of the Scots' privileges at Campvere, during fifteen years of his official sojourn in Holland, illustrating the relations then subsisting between the Netherlands and the British Isles. In connexion with Charles I.'s death, there is an account by his late Majesty's shoemaker for making 111 pairs of shoes, 18 pairs of boots, and 4 pairs of rich slippers for the King.

Before leaving this period attention may be called to the existence in this Collection of a third MS. of the second part of Wishart's *Latin Memoirs of Montrose*, which appears to have escaped the notice of Canon Murdoch and Mr. Morland Simpson when editing their translation of Wishart's work in 1893. This MS. is written in a 17th century hand, except the whole of Chapter I. and a small part at the beginning of Chapter II., which, according to a note attached by Dr. Laing, is added from Wodrow's MS. Owing to this imperfection it cannot be the folio MS. from which Wodrow made his copy, though most of the pages contain over forty-one lines; but it has also the same hiatus in Chapter VI. as is found in the two manuscripts in the Advocates' Library used by these editors.

Papers for the Commonwealth period are numerous and interest-

ing. In letters to his wife from Mr. James Wood, who was one of the deputation to The Hague to invite King Charles II. to come to receive the Crown of Scotland, we have some note of the negotiations with the King. After the King came to Scotland in July, 1650, he found the restraints of the Covenanters so irksome that he made an ineffectual attempt to escape from their control. The incident known as "The Start" is referred to in a letter from Sir Alexander Erskine of Dun to Lieutenant-General Middleton. An order from Alexander, Earl of Leven, the famous general of the Scottish Army, to Sir John Drummond, to raise the men of Perthshire and come to his assistance at Alyth in Perthshire, notes the final effort of the Scots to keep the field against Cromwell.

Among the chief papers of the interregnum period may be noted a lengthy discussion by letters between Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston and Cromwell relating to the Scottish National Registers, which the latter had seized in violation, as Warriston alleges, of several promises for their safety and safe conducts for their transport. Cromwell seems to have disregarded these because one of his spies had been captured and put to death by the Scottish army. Another matter to which reference is made is the proposed union between Scotland and England. Also the somewhat oppressive measures used by the Commonwealth Government, as represented in Scotland by General George Monck, are illustrated in various documents, especially in a petition by the inhabitants of Leith for the opening of their Church doors (which Monck had caused to be closed because their minister prayed for the King), so that they might no longer be compelled to worship in the open fields.

The incident of the preservation of the Scottish regalia during the period of the Commonwealth is the subject of a considerable correspondence, which seems to be additional to what has already been printed on the matter. These letters and papers detail how they were kept from the English invaders. As is well known they were officially under the care of William, Earl Marischal, who, as the English continued to penetrate northwards, conveyed them to his stronghold of Dunnottar, where it was thought they would be safe. But as that fortalice was about to be invested, the Earl, on being captured at Alyth, sent the key of his cabinet where they lay to his mother, who immediately went to Dunnottar and enjoined George Ogilvie of Barras to take some means for ensuring their safety. Barras delayed until the hazard became extreme, and then took counsel with Mr. James Granger, minister at Kinneff, whose wife was so cool and courageous as to bring the whole, except the sword, out of the castle and through the English lines without their being discovered. For the sword, Mr. Granger went to Dunnottar by boat. The whole were brought to his church at Kinneff and buried at night under the pavement, where they remained until the Restoration. When the castle was taken and the honours could not be found, Barras, who was keeper under the Earl of Marischal, was imprisoned for nearly a year, along with his wife. On the recovery of the honours at the Restoration Barras hastened to Court

and claimed the whole credit of their safe preservation, with such success that he obtained a baronetcy and an annual pension of 200*l*. Representations, however, were made on behalf of Mr. and especially Mrs. Granger, who was really the person to whom their safety was due, and Parliament awarded her the meagre monetary acknowledgment of 2,000 marks (about 112*l*. sterling), which, moreover, she never received, as at a considerably later date her granddaughter, then the widow of a vintner in Dundee, made application to the Barons of Exchequer for its payment. Laing MSS.
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Post Restoration papers to the Revolution and those for the reign of King William III. occupy the remainder of the volume. The correspondence, which includes a considerable number of letters to the Earl, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, is full of the measures taken by the ruling party to suppress the strict Presbyterians and Covenanters, the first of whom to feel the effects of the vindictive resentment of Charles II. was Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, who had placed the crown on the King's head, but whom the King had determined to destroy. This is manifest from the letter by Andrew Gilmour to the Earl of Middleton, in which his sycophantish subserviency is as largely in evidence as his specious legal pleas. References to the proceedings against the Covenanters occur throughout, but several of the letters show that both on the part of some of the nobles and also of some of the ministers who remained in the Church the proceedings of Archbishop Sharp were frequently resented and opposed; and that Sharp himself, notwithstanding his apparent success, did not find his position always a bed of roses, is shown by his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sequel of his death on Magus Muir is given in two petitions to the Lords of Exchequer by the city of St. Andrews for payment of its expenses in connexion with the execution of five men at the place of his slaughter (although none of them had anything whatever to do with it), the bill for which, and for the subsequent execution of Hackstoun of Rathillet, extended to 444*l*. Scots, which the town was unable to pay: this amount these Lords order to be paid out of the forfeited estates of such as were in the late rebellion. Another of the men who were prominent in the persecution of the Covenanters was Lord Advocate Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, who for these services earned for himself the appellation of "the Bloody Mackenzie." A letter from him complains of the want of recognition of his services, in which he says, "if soldiers who killed one man at most in two years were well paid, should not I, who killed hundreds, and much more justly and without any self-defence as they did, expect some acknowledgment." Others of the statesmen and soldiers who distinguished themselves in the sanguinary proceedings of these times are also represented in these pages. The battle of Killiecrankie is celebrated in some Latin verses. Among letters of a gossipy nature concerning affairs in both Scotland and England, attention may be drawn to one from Lady Anne Mackenzie, Countess of Balcarres, afterwards Countess of Argyll, to the Earl of Lauderdale, and to several from George Scot, of Pitlochrie, who was at London in 1675, in one of which he mentions the launch of a

Daing MSS. large frigate at Portsmouth, at which King Charles II. and his Court were present. On this occasion a great storm arose which drove the ship in which the King was towards the Isle of Wight, and for two days there was considerable doubt whether he had not been lost, but he returned in safety to Portsmouth. There is a reference to the illness and death of King Charles II. in a letter from Sunderland, and a note of the illegitimate offspring which he left.

The papers during the brief reign of King James II. occupy only a few pages. A warrant by the English Privy Council sets forth the equipment of the King's Champion for the Coronation, the champion on this occasion being Sir Charles Dymock. The chief events of this reign of which notices occur are the Monmouth Rebellion, Argyll's Rising, and the efforts to legislate in favour of the Roman Catholics. There is a list of Popish vestments and relics seized at Traquair House on the outbreak of the Revolution, at the end of which it is added that they were "all solemnly burned at the cross of Peebles." There is a letter from James, Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, to the King, in which he suggests the measures which might be taken for keeping the Scottish people in subjection, and in which he indicates that his Majesty need not be too scrupulous with regard to these as he has in the writer himself and others men who are ready to carry out any measures which will suit the King's views.

A number of documents in the collection specially relate to English affairs, some being connected with the Treasury and Exchequer, and others with military matters in various counties. Papers dealing with the estates and manors of Lynford and Crawley in the county of Buckingham will be found referred to. A considerable number of copies of Parliamentary papers and proceedings find a place in this Collection, while in some of the letters there are references to the doings of the Parliament at Westminster.

Relations with Ireland are illustrated by several papers. In 1580 there is a Treasury order for buying corn for the English forces in Ireland, and from time to time mention is made of the preparation of soldiers in England for dispatch thither. It having been reported at the English Court that the Scots were assisting Shane O'Neil with troops against these soldiers, the Scottish ambassador to Queen Elizabeth was instructed to deny it. A MS. history of events in and concerning Ireland for the years 1612-1615 is noted, and there are several papers and letters referring to the settlement in Ulster of a number of Scotsmen, conspicuous among whom is Sir Claud Hamilton, brother of the Earl of Abercorn, concerning whom the Collection contains a number of papers; one of which (noted inadvertently under the year c. 1661, but which must be about 20 years earlier), shows that his death left his young family in a state of financial distress. There are several letters during the administrations of Viscounts Falkland and Wentworth and later; also an echo of the siege of Londonderry in a crown warrant for a grant out of vacant stipends in Scotland to the widow of a minister in Ireland

who had sustained great loss there ; and mention may be made of a royal warrant by King James II. permitting the introduction of several families from Holland to set up industrial factories in Ireland. Laing MSS.
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Among a number of letters and papers relating to French affairs, dating from 1515 to 1700, special attention may be called to the interesting notebook which had belonged to Mr. Howard of Corby Castle, Carlisle, in which he describes in particular a collection of letters on State affairs which in 1738 were at the Chateau de Fourguevaux. A reminder of the exile of Andrew Melville to France, where he spent his time profitably as professor of theology at Sedan, is furnished by a receipt signed by him there. Notice of various embassies to and from France will be found ; letters from residents ; and a passport for a number of horses for the service of Scots Guards in France in 1667.

To Spain occasional references occur, but perhaps the most interesting item is the description given of Donna Maria, the Infanta, whom it was proposed Prince Charles should marry in 1623. There are also at least two letters relating to Portugal, one intimating the death in 1660 of Dom Emanuel, Prince of Portugal, the other being a request in 1667 from King Alphonso VI. of Portugal to King Charles II. for the release of two gentlemen detained in this country.

To Denmark, in 1592 or thereabouts, King James sent an envoy, and his instructions in no way do honour to the King's reputation for honest dealing either with England or Scotland. They show him directly encouraging the Spaniards in their designs to bring Britain once more under the jurisdiction of the Pope, and also that, notwithstanding his assurances given to Queen Elizabeth to the contrary, if he was not an encourager of Border raids he did not mislike these incursions into England. In the reign of King Charles I. there was a British regiment in Denmark under Sir George Keith, the expense of raising which was defrayed by a debt of 700*l.* sterling due by Charles to the King of Denmark, who in this way secured payment of the money.

With regard to Dutch affairs generally, there are a considerable number of references from as early as 1586, when payments were being made from the Exchequer towards the carrying on of the war in the Low Countries. There is word of a treaty in progress between the two countries in 1641 ; but trouble is threatening in 1661, and war is in progress in 1665, and one letter, two years later, speaks of a visit by the Dutch to the coast of Shetland and a reported blockade of the Thames by them. Affairs in Holland in 1684 are set forth in two letters of which the writer is unknown.

Military matters such as the raising, disbanding and administration of troops, dealing with fortifications and garrisons and also actual war, are of frequent occurrence throughout the Report. There are frequent Treasury orders for payments to troops, and as early as 1505 there are muster rolls of the French King's Scottish body-guard.

Maritime matters and naval questions are frequently dealt with.

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Perhaps the most interesting paper is the pay-sheet for Chatham Dockyard for the month of May in 1601, amounting in all to about 944*l.*, which includes also charges for material and other expenses. The question of abuses in the Navy is the subject of a commission in 1608, and there is also a letter regarding the supplying of two ships to Scotland for service in the narrow seas there.

There are also a number of papers relating to administrative work such as taxation and customs, &c., and some early valuation rolls, viz., a copy of that compiled in the thirteenth century by Boiamund de Visci, known as "Bagimont's Roll," one for 1479 of certain portions of the shire of Midlothian and others for the year 1554 for different parts of Scotland both in the south and north. Reference is made to several of the special taxations imposed on Scotland in 1600 and 1634, and a querulous note is heard during the Commonwealth of the exceeding great disproportion between the taxation of Scotland and England, in which the latter is mentioned as being 35,000*l.* monthly, and that of Scotland 6,000*l.* An Exchequer audit in Scotland in 1636 reports not only that the Treasurer's accounts are all "just and fair," but notes with satisfaction that a new form of book-keeping has resulted in an increased revenue. Important entries for those interested in the fiscal affairs of the country will be found in a number of bullion books and Custom House papers between 1686-1715. A list of "pensioners" receiving royal gratifications from the State in 1615 is noted, and particular instances of pensions occasionally occur. In this connexion mention may be made of the Post Office, a receipt in 1661, when it was farmed out to Henry Bishop, showing it to be a source of revenue to his Majesty to the amount of 1,850*l.* a year.

Some early protocol books of notaries appear in this Collection. One, described in the report as "*Registrum Epistolarum*," is, apparently, the precedent book of John Prophete, keeper of the Privy Seal under Henry IV. and Henry V. Another was kept by David Spens, 1541-1547. On the same page of the report will be found a reference to the Sederunt Books of the Court of Session at the period of its institution, and later references to the Court occur. Sir John Gilmour of Craigmillar became its President in 1661, and a few years later was called upon to assert the claim of the Lords of Session in a matter of precedency. Sir John Gilmour continued to be President until 1671, when, on account of ill-health, he demitted the office, and Sir James Dalrymple of Stair took his place. Gilmour died in August of the same year.

A singular episode in the history of the Court of Session is brought up by some papers in the case of the "Outed Advocates." It arose through an appeal being taken on the decision of a certain case to Parliament as the Court of last instance in Scotland, which the Bench refused to entertain, but which a large portion of the faculty supported. Upon their insistence in the matter the judges "debarred" a large number of the advocates from their employment, and the matter being taken before the Privy Council and the King, they were further ordered to remove from Edinburgh and not

come within twelve miles of the city. The incident is fully dealt with in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland for 1675. Laing MSS.
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Among documents in the Collection relating to the Scottish Universities there is a copy of the agreement made in 1444 by Bishop James Kennedy between the members of the University of St. Andrews and the citizens of that town, and some other interesting documents connected with that University occur. There is a list of students and some accounts, 1586-1592; a letter from King James in March, 1607, intimating his having imprisoned Mr. Andrew Melville in London and deprived him of the principalship of the New College of St. Andrews, to which as his successor he appointed Mr. Robert Howie; a document relating to the dismissal of a master of St. Salvator's College for drunkenness and other misdemeanours, and lastly a commission granted in 1673 by the Senatus to Dr. James Gregory, professor of mathematics there, to proceed to London and purchase instruments necessary for the establishment of an astronomical observatory in connexion with the University.

Regarding Edinburgh University there is a reference to a collection of theses in Latin and Greek by graduates in 1684-9; also letters by Mr. Robert Rollock, Principal of the College and formerly parson of Forteviot, demitting that parsonage in favour of St. Salvator's College of St. Andrews in 1586; a certificate in 1624 in favour of a student, Mr. Robert Fairlie, who was a grandson of Mr. John Craig; and the question of the filling up of the Chair of Humanity in 1665 already alluded to. Glasgow University is represented by a diploma of Master of Arts issued thence in 1619 to Mr. Hugh Muir of Rowallan, who afterwards became rector of Burston in Norfolk; and by two Latin letters from Principal John Cameron on theological questions in 1621-2. An illustration of young Scottish gentlemen going abroad to study in foreign universities is afforded in a letter of 1564.

Ecclesiastical affairs bulk very largely, and are chiefly post-Reformation. Only a few references occur to earlier dates and two of these relate to the Friars Minors; others to the Hospital at Nuremberg, the Convent of Cologne, the Priory of North Berwick (in connexion with which there is an inventory of twenty Papal Bulls), some accounts relating to the teinds of Fife and Lochleven, c. 1437, and letters concerning the Pope and certain prelates about the same time. For the stormy and chequered times of the first and second Reformation periods the documents are too numerous to particularise, but they illustrate almost every phase of the ever changing situation and shed sidelights on many incidents and ministers and men. For the ecclesiastical statistician also there are a number of documents relating to ministers and their stipends with the sources from which these were drawn, which were sometimes from old church erections and sometimes from teinds or tithes. Regarding the process of teinding, which was often a very oppressive matter for the tenants of the ground, there is a document which records an attempt on the part of Sir Claud Hamilton, c. 1610, to come to an arrangement with the feuars of Rutherglen. How sometimes the teinds were dealt

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with to the despoiling of the ministers is shown in a report on the churches in the presbytery of Forres, in which, dealing with the parish of Rafford, it is stated that the Laird of Burgie, who was for a short time also minister of the parish, disposed away the whole teinds, great and small, passing them from hand to hand among his friends until they at last returned again to himself, and he then sold most of them to some other heritors. This was by no means a solitary case. There are many papers and letters by Johnstone of Warriston and others dealing with the particular controversies of their respective times; and three large collections of papers, embracing several hundred documents, more particularly relating to the Covenanters in the "killing times," are mentioned.

The changes brought about by the Revolution of 1688 in the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland brought sorrow to the Episcopalian clergy, and their condition enlisted the sympathy and interposition of their brethren in England so far at least as to lead them to petition the King to make some provision for them. Several Church records or portions of such also appear among these papers. There is a part of the Minutes of Mouswald Kirk Session, and parts of those of some of the city parishes of Edinburgh; also a collection of certificates of character addressed to the Session Clerk of Edinburgh in 1676 for enabling certain persons to be married there. The duties connected with the Church courts in pre-Reformation times included the taking up and confirming the inventories of deceased persons, dealing with cases relating to slander, divorce and such like, the execution of which was entrusted to the Official or Bishop's Commissary. After the Reformation this work was transferred to a special court called the Commissary Court, the oversight of which we find resumed in 1610 by an assembly of the archbishops and bishops of Scotland, who then set down rules for the operation of these Commissary Courts and fixed the fees to be charged therein. These are given at length.

There are also references to ecclesiastical matters in England. A letter of 1556 denounces Bishop Bonner. A letter from the Archbishop of York to Lord Cranbourn in 1604 regrets that under his Majesty, King James, while severe measures are being taken against Puritans, who are yet most loyal subjects, the Papists are let alone and are thereby taking courage to become more bold. A number of papers relating to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, with others referring to the work of the Scottish Church in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, will also be found.

There is a copy of an interesting medical work in Latin, written it is said by the physicians of Salerno for the use of Richard Cœur de Lion, which also finds a place in this Collection, and there are several accounts by the Royal apothecaries for "phisicall stuff," perfumes, powders and sweets for the use of the members of the Royal households. Matthew Litster is named as the King's physician in 1647. Some prescriptions for the treatment of certain troubles will be found. A memorandum of King Charles II. in a case between the

surgeons and the physicians of Scotland in 1682 reminds us that by this time both bodies had become incorporations. Laing MSS.
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Among the various masses of correspondence in this Collection there are sections relating to distinct families, as Cecil, Gray, Hamilton, Primrose, Semple of Beltrees, Gordon of Earlston and Gordon of Gordonston, and a collection of 170 letters written to John, Duke of Lauderdale, already alluded to. There are also inventories of writs dealing with particular families and estates, as Murray, Earls of Annandale, the Earls of Crawford, Wedderburn of Gosford, Dalrymple of North Berwick, Purves of Purveshall, Thomson of Duddingston, &c.; and in England there is a deed relating to the affairs about 1623 of the family of Sir Henry Brouncker. Other papers yield some genealogical information about the Napiers of Wrightshouses and about the Cuthberts of Castlehill in a Birthbrief supplied to one of the descendants of that family who rose to distinction in France.

Several diaries covering between them the period 1661-1726 will be found. A fragment of one gives some incidents which occurred in and about Edinburgh 1681-5. The writer's name does not occur, but as he says he was admitted a notary on 21st November, 1684, he is evidently Archibald Kerr, a writer in Edinburgh, then aged 29, who is the only person recorded in the Register of the Admission of Notaries upon that day, and Henry Trotter of Mortonhall is cautioner for him on the occasion. As this person is mentioned as a friend in the Diary, the authorship seems fairly well established.

Other interesting items of Edinburgh history occur in several documents relating to the city's affairs and to the sanctuary at Holyrood Abbey in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in a little volume recounting the chief evidents of the town written out in 1640 from the large Inventory in the Clerk's Chamber; also in several letters dealing with the elections of magistrates between 1673 and 1678, in connection with which Mr. James Roughead was ordered by the King to be turned out of his office of town clerk. Two documents relate to Holyrood Palace and repairs to be executed upon it.

On some social customs light is thrown from many of the documents, but reference can be made to only a few. The bringing up of an orphan child in Sussex is the subject of an agreement in 1559, in which provision is not only made for bed and board, apparel and education, but also for such "chastesment as may seme mete for the "education and bringing up of an honest yeoman's child." The ties of clanship and blood which obtained in Scotland led even somewhat remote kinsmen to expect that all connected by blood or friendship would maintain each other in any legal or other kind of contest with outsiders, an instance of which is seen in a letter from John, Earl of Athole, in 1597, to the Laird of Inverquharitie, in which he refers to a lawsuit he has with the Laird of Balfour, and demands to know on what side he and others of the Ogilvies are disposed to range themselves. Clothing and apparel of the various periods are illustrated by several accounts containing descriptions

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of what was worn; and as a specimen of the diet indulged in, even by the nobility, there is an account of a present sent to a cousin by Jean, Countess of Wigtown, of Westland herrings and Glasgow whisky to digest them. Instances of marriages occasionally occur, and one document illustrates a custom which obtained in Scotland of the Session Clerk demanding a pledge on the registration of the banns of marriage that the parties would refrain from each other until the marriage ceremony was duly performed. These pledges, which were usually retained for about a year, consisted of money, jewellery or such other goods as the party might have, sometimes a plaid or a web of cloth. In this case it was a ring, and there is a request for its return. The method of taking seisin of a house in England is explained in a letter, and the daily wages of a gardener and his man in the Royal service at Hampton Court, c. 1600, are given as unitedly 2s. 10d. References will be found to the burials of Queen Anne (of Denmark) in 1619, of Archbishop Usher in 1656, and of the Earl of Eglinton in 1661.

A large number of the papers are without dates, and it has not always been an easy matter to assign such to their proper place.

As at present arranged in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, the Laing Historical Papers are in two divisions and the Manuscript Books, &c., are in a third. The contents of these three divisions are each numbered separately in conformity with a Catalogue prepared by the Rev. John Anderson. The location of the respective deeds mentioned in this Report will be found by the reference at the end of each to its special division and number.

I. refers to the Historical Documents which are inlaid and bound in several large volumes in terms of Mr. Anderson's Catalogue, pp. 53-81;

II. refers to the Historical Documents of a miscellaneous nature, mostly in bundles as noted in his Catalogue, pp. 82-135; and

III. refers to the Manuscript Books, &c., there listed, pp. 1-52.

VARIOUS COLLECTIONS. VOL. V.

Var. Coll.
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R. M. Hay,
Esq.

I. *Robert Mordaunt Hay, Esq. of Duns Castle*.—The Manuscripts of Robert Mordaunt Hay, Esquire, of Duns Castle, Berwickshire, have reference rather to lands which were once in the possession of the family, than to those which now form the estate. The most interesting of them, indeed, relate to lands not in Berwickshire at all, but in Upper Tweeddale. The collection is not a large one; nevertheless it contains many documents which throw considerable light on the life history of several old families whose habitat was by or near the Tweed. The earliest of the charters belong to lands in Peeblesshire; and this suggests the arrangement of the whole Manuscripts into the two general divisions following:—

First, Documents relating to the counties of Peebles and Selkirk; the latter consisting of a few charters of the lands of Rodono; and

Second, Documents relating to the town and lands of Duns and several other lands in the county of Berwick.

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In point of antiquity the first place may be given to the charters of the lands and barony of Drumelzier in Upper Tweeddale. They go back at least to the year 1300, and so touch the history of these lands while they were yet in the possession of the ancient family of Fraser. From the Frasers these lands passed to the Tweedies, and formed their chief possession for fully three hundred years. Of these documents Nos. 1-10 inclusive present a series of the beautiful charters of the period of the Bruces, most of them being elegant specimens of the charter caligraphy of that day.

The Frasers owned Drumelzier in the 13th century, but the charters here reported on introduce us to only one Lord of Drumelzier of the name, Sir William Fraser, whose relationship to his predecessors has not been ascertained. His mother's Christian name was Eda, for as such she appears as a witness to one of her son's charters. In No. 1 William Fraser, Lord of Drumelzier, receives a grant of the lands of Haukerston in the tenement of Balintrodo and sherifffdom of Midlothian. Balintrodo was a temple land, and is practically identical with the district now known as Temple. The full name of the holding of old was the temple land of Balintrodo, but in the lapse of time Balintrodo has disappeared, and the once merely descriptive adjunct of Temple has become the recognised designation.

The grant of a house and some pasturage within Drumelzier by William Fraser to Bernard called Sutor, and the transference thereof by Bernard's son, Roland, to Roger, son of Finlay of Twedyn (Nos. 2 and 4), seem to have been the first introduction of the Tweedies to Drumelzier, and attention may be called in these charters to the minuteness, somewhat unusual for the time, with which the conditions of pasturage are set forth. From Sir William Fraser himself this Roger acquired a large part of Drumelzier (No. 5), and the grant was confirmed by King Robert the Bruce. It is stated on very competent authority that in 1326 Sir William Fraser, Lord of Drumelzier, resigned his estate of Drumelzier into the hands of King Robert Bruce for a regrant thereof to be given to Roger, son of Finlay, and if so, this would complete the transfer of the whole of Drumelzier to this ancestor of the Tweedies of Drumelzier. It has been supposed by some that Roger Tweedie obtained Drumelzier by marrying the daughter of Sir William Fraser. Of this, however, there is no evidence in these charters, unless we may infer some such relationship from the terms of No. 12, in which Walter of Tweedie calls Thomas Fraser of Frude his beloved cousin.

The first notice we have of Roger, son of Finlay, is in No. 3, where he is the recipient from King Robert the Bruce of the lands within Cumnock, in Ayrshire, which belonged to John of Seton, who with some of his relatives had deserted Bruce and gone over to the English King, and in so doing had carried off the contents of Roger's stables. The gift was meant to indemnify Roger for his loss and damage, or at least was to remain as a pledge until Seton made

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this good, from which it would appear that Bruce did not think that Seton's defection would long continue. The fact that in this deed of gift Roger's appellative is merely "son of Finlay," and that in the later documents connected with the acquisition of Drumelzier there is the addition of "de Twedyn," might almost lead some to the supposition that this additional designation was then assumed to mark his new association with these estates on the banks of the Tweed. But such a theory is negatived by the fact that this very designation was borne by others at this time. There is mention of a William Tuedin as receiving a gift from King Robert the Bruce of some tenements in Skirling which had been forfeited by Gilbert Lindsay; of a Walter Tweedy who appears as a witness in 1302; and even earlier still, in 1296, of Finlay of Twedyn, doubtless no other than the father of Roger himself, who swears fealty to King Edward I. of England for his lands in Lanarkshire. In the parish of Stonehouse in that county there was and still is an estate which bears the name of Tweedie, and from it, therefore, it may be inferred the surname of Tweedie was really derived.

About the same time as he acquired Drumelzier, Roger, son of Finlay of Tweedies, took a lease from William de Mauchan of the lands of Edestoun, considerably farther down the Tweed (No. 7); while also he is seen in No. 8, expanding his possessions in his own barony of Drumelzier. It was probably his son James that in 1355 obtained the charter of protection from Robert, the Steward of Scotland (afterwards King Robert II.), which was confirmed a few years later by King David II. (Nos. 9, 10); and his later descendants, for the next three centuries, with perhaps a slight break at the beginning, are from generation to generation well vouched for by the charters which follow.

The Tweedies, as a Border family, appear to have been quite as turbulent as any of their neighbours. That they were of considerable power, and that they possessed in their fortalice of Drumelzier a stronghold of considerable local importance appears from what is narrated in No. 14, wherein King James II., finding it expedient to retain their services and the benefit of their castle, grants to them his royal bond of maintenance. They soon multiplied in the district, and therewithal ousting their neighbours, became possessors of not a few of the neighbouring estates, whence they were always ready to rally round Drumelzier at the call of their chief. An instance of this is seen in No. 19, where evidence of this spreading out is given; and in addition to the lands there named among others, Frude, long a Fraser possession, indeed one of their last in Tweeddale, was also acquired by the Tweedies (Nos. 12, 13, 18). It has been said that they acquired this Fraser possession also by the marriage of an heiress, but there is nothing to support that tradition here. One other acquisition may be mentioned on account of its curious tenure described in No. 35. This was the land called Hornehunterland at Innerleithen, which the Tweedies held of the Crown for the annual payment of 15*l.* Scots and the giving of four blasts of a horn for the rousing of the King and his hunters when they came to hunt in the forest.

Misfortune overtook the Tweedies in the reign of King Charles I. Becoming involved in debts which they were unable to meet, their lands were appraised from them by their creditors, and Drumelzier, with others, was acquired by John, Lord Hay of Yester, afterwards first Earl of Tweeddale, who gave them to his second son, the Hon. William Hay, ancestor of the present proprietor of Duns Castle.

The lands of Hareus, Skiprig, Northshiels and others, situated in the White Barony of Eddleston, in another part of Peebleshire, form the subject of the second section of this division, Nos. 44-68. Hareus appears as a possession of the family of Lowis of Manor, held of the See of Glasgow, and disposed by the Lowises to the Horsburghs of that ilk, whose successor was Mr. James Lawson of Cairnmuir, a cadet of the family of Lawson, of Hierigs. Between him and the neighbouring proprietor, Sir Alexander Murray of Blackbarony, there was made in 1639 the Convention (No. 56) by which in order to terminate disputes the marches of their respective properties were defined. Skiprig and Northshiels, which were also affected by this agreement, were formerly also a fief of the See of Glasgow in the possession of the Lawsons of Hierigs. Some documents relative to a dispute as to the thirlage of these lands will be found in Nos. 59-63, while No 68 deals with a right of way upon them.

A third section of these Tweeddale writs respect the lands of Halmyre, Deanshouses, Stanhope, Torpedo and others. The charters here referred to are no longer in the Duns Castle Charter Chest, but in place of them there is an excellent inventory compiled about the year 1620, and from it the notes of the documents contained in this section of the report are taken.

The lands of Rodono in Selkirkshire form the concluding section of the first division of this Report. They were given in 1535 by the Abbot of Melrose to the eldest natural son of King James V., and failing him to his three natural brothers mentioned in the charter (No. 126). The three eldest of these sons were each named James, and the youngest Robert. The eldest James having died, the succession devolved on his next brother natural, James, Commendator of Kelso and Melrose, afterwards Earl of Murray, and still better known as the Regent Murray; but he, having failed in obedience to a charge from the Court of Session to serve himself as heir to his brother, was declared to have lost his right to the lands. This right, however, he speedily reasserted, and in 1565 he sold Rodono to William, Lord Hay of Yester.

The second general division of the manuscripts deals with subjects in Berwickshire. Unfortunately the ancient charters relating to Duns are no longer in the Charter Room at Duns Castle, the earliest now extant being that granted by King James IV. to George Home of Ayton, by which the town of Duns was created a burgh of barony. Indeed this charter also was long missing, and was but recently recovered from the repositories of a deceased lawyer and restored to Duns Castle by the exertions of Mr. J. Ferguson, Solicitor, Duns, the present factor of Mr. Hay of Duns Castle. This

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Charter will be found described in the printed Register of the Great Seal under its date, 23rd February, 1489-90. There are a few writs in the Report, one of the 15th and several of the 16th centuries, which yield some particulars about the family of Lyle of Staniepeth and other ancient denizens about Duns; and which also throw some light on the tenures of their day; while in No. 138 we have the transfer to the Homes of Ayton in 1577 of certain lands in the lordship of Duns which were at one time the joint property of Robert Logan of Restalrig, and George Ogilvie of Dunlugus.

Coming to the eighteenth century, but still dealing with documents relating to Duns, a discharge by the eminent Scottish divine, Mr. Thomas Boston, minister of Ettrick, for part of his stipend, will be found at No. 145. The immediately following papers detail some lively incidents in the history of the baronial burgh, due to a somewhat prolonged friction between the baron-bailie and the burghers. So far as these papers show, it commenced in 1724 in a well-intentioned effort on the part of the bailie to promote the morals and the peace of Duns by stopping the game of football in which the burghers annually engaged on Fasten's eve. Of course such an attempt could only have the result set forth in the bailie's complaint. If in the interval the tension subsided it was renewed in 1729 over a question as to the payment of a clock and bell which had been placed in the tower of Duns Tolbooth by Mr. Hay of Drumelzier. In terms of an agreement the burghers were to pay a certain proportion of the expense, which they alleged they had liquidated, and the bailie insisted they had not. The papers show how the controversy was conducted, and how, at last, the bailie took the somewhat strong step of depriving the Skinners of Duns summarily of certain water privileges which they had enjoyed from time immemorial; and the dispute finally drifted to the Court of Session. A case of the alteration and shutting up of some old roads by the County Justices of the Peace appears in No. 159; while Nos. 160-165 are documents in a local agitation which had for its object the exchange of Duns for Greenlaw as the head burgh of the shire of Berwick, the last being a pithy letter from Hugh, third Earl of Marchmont, containing his sentiments on the proposal, which, it may be added, did not succeed.

The lands of Blackhills, as the property of the Homes of Ayton, while proprietors of Duns, form the subject of a few charters No. 166-170.

The lands of Edington with some adjuncts, while still the possession of the Edingtons of that ilk in the middle of the fifteenth century, and sold by them in 1594 to Sir George Ramsey of Dalhousie, are noticed in Nos. 171-181. They afterwards became the property of the Lauders of Fountainhall, and gave a territorial designation to a son of Sir John Lauder, George Lauder of Idington. He died without issue, and his property was inherited by his two sisters.

Another section, of rather more interest, is that which relates to the Kirklands of Ellem, Birken-side and other lands (Nos. 182-194).

In the end of the fifteenth century on a precept by Edward Cockburn, Master of the Hospital of Mary Magdalene of Duns, John Home, the eldest son of George Home of Ayton, was infeft in the lands of Birkenside, Kidcseuch and three acres in Duns. These lands with the kirklands of Ellem were annexed to the Deanery of Restalrig by King James V. in 1527, and later formed the subject of a lengthened Papal process in connection with the installation of Mr. John Sinclair as Dean of Restalrig. This dean was a younger son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, and on account of his learning and ability attained to great eminence. When Rector of Snaw he was a Lord of Session and afterwards became Lord President. He was also created Bishop of Brechin. John Knox speaks of him, however, as "that perfytt hypocryte," and as being "blynd of ane eie in the body but of boith in his saule." He died of fever on 9th April, 1566. The documents show that Sinclair with his brother prebendaries granted these lands to Home of Ayton, from whom they were acquired by the Cockburns of that ilk.

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The concluding papers of the Report, Nos. 195-197, show the infeftment of Archibald Douglas of Whittingham, in his lands of Whittingham in 1596; the marriage of John, Lord Yester, and Lady Mary Montgomerie in 1640; and the process of executing a charter in the early half of last century as detailed in a somewhat curious lawyer's account of that time.

II. *Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath*.—The family papers belonging to Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, baronet, preserved at Duntreath Castle in Strathblane, are of the three-fold character usually found in Scottish charter rooms—parchment title deeds, papers of a more miscellaneous nature, and domestic correspondence. The collection at Duntreath Castle is richest in parchment deeds, but these, with some few exceptions, are not dealt with here. The family correspondence for the most part is of a private nature and therefore not of general historical interest; but among the papers of a miscellaneous kind there are many of historical value and importance, and of these and such of the letters as deal with subjects of public interest the report is composed.

Sir A. Edmonstone.

The Edmonstones of Duntreath form a branch of an older stock which in early times was planted in Midlothian, where there still exists, a few miles to the south of Edinburgh, the estate of Edmonstone with its mansion. That is supposed to have been the original habitat of the Edmonstones of that ilk. But in addition to this the family settled in Lanarkshire and Berwickshire, in each of which counties there are lands of the name of Edmeistoun, and it was also connected with Ednam in Roxburghshire, and later with Culloden near Inverness. It was from Culloden they came to Duntreath in the county of Stirling. The Edmonstones are in evidence in Scotland so early as the reign of King Alexander II., and from that time they have held an honourable position in the kingdom. They were connected by marriage and otherwise with many of the most influential houses of the time, and

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several of the Lairds obtained their wives from the Royal family. Sir John Edmonston married Lady Isabel Stewart, daughter of King Robert II., when she was the widow of James, Earl of Douglas and Mar; while Sir William Edmonstone of Culloden, and the first Laird of Duntreath, espoused (as her fourth husband) Lady Mary Stewart, second daughter of King Robert III., and she at her death was buried in the church at Strathblane.

The lands and barony of Duntreath were acquired by the family about her time. They had belonged to the Earls of Lennox, and when King James I., after his return from captivity in England, wreaked his vengeance upon Murdach, Duke of Albany, and the aged Duncan, Earl of Lennox, his father-in-law, this portion of the latter's forfeited estates was given to William Edmonstone, then of Culloden. There is a Charter by Isobel, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, confirming these lands to William Edmonstone and his wife, Matilda Stewart (who was the illegitimate granddaughter of Murdach, Duke of Albany), dated in 1445, printed in this Report. Since that time the lands have remained in the possession of the family in an unbroken descent from father to son for the last five centuries.

At one time the lands of Duntreath were wadset or mortgaged to the owner of the neighbouring property of Kilsyth, but the mortgage was redeemed, and at a later period the Laird of Duntreath in turn acquired by purchase the estates of Kilsyth, which now belong to Sir Archibald Edmonstone. This accounts for the circumstance that a considerable number of the papers dealt with in the Report relate to the family of Livingston, of Kilsyth, these documents having been transferred with the estates and their title deeds.

The papers dealt with in this Report are of a very miscellaneous nature. Among the earliest are several charters relating to lands in Berwickshire, including one or two giving some important information about the Gordon family. An interesting record of proceedings at courts of the Knights Templars in connexion with the temple lands of Letter will be found at pp. 80-84; followed by grants of these lands made by the head of that Order in Scotland. The vassalage of the Lairds of Duntreath to the Earls of Lennox is shown by a Bond of Maintenance granted by Matthew, Earl of Lennox, to William Edmonstone, of Duntreath.

An order by King James IV. to William, Lord Livingstone, to send some of his young men to France for the assistance of the French King in 1513 is an example of the strong *entente cordiale* which subsisted between these lands in those far-off days. Yet documents of the same period show that in his own house and domain Lord Livingstone had need of the support of his own dependents against the assaults of his eldest son, who seized his house of Callander and held it against his father. This family jar, however, did not continue long, as agreements entered into between them show. A discharge by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, to Sir William Edmonstone of Duntreath reminds us of the position he held as Steward or Chamberlain of Menteith,

including the keepership of the Castle of Doune, an office which had been in a manner hereditary in the family, but the Edmonstones having been supplanted in the office by Sir James Stewart of Beath, ancestor of the Earls of Moray, there arose a feud between the two houses, in which Sir James Stewart was slain. This feud was afterwards stanchd by an agreement between parties.

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One very interesting letter is from Mary, Queen of Scots, apparently when in her twelfth year. It is written to her mother. After congratulating her on the submission made to her by the Duke of Chastelherault and the other Scottish nobles, she states that her uncle, the Cardinal, has advised her to receive the Sacrament for the first time, and she humbly begs grace to do this.

Several letters and papers relating to State and international affairs are in the Report. Among these are papers connected with the embassies of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to France in 1559 and 1563, including a letter from Catherine de Medici and a passport from King Charles IX. of France; also papers connected with his embassy to Scotland in 1567 to remonstrate with the Scottish nobles upon their treatment of Queen Mary at that most critical juncture of her reign. Later occur instructions given to Thomas Wylkie, one of the Secretaries of the English Privy Council, to proceed to France and intimate the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth and her Council at the dilatoriness of King Henry IV. in the prosecution of the war for which they had lent him their soldiers. The removal of King James VI. of Scotland to London in 1603 to assume the Crown of England upon the death of Queen Elizabeth is noticed in three letters, one of which in French by the Duc d'Entraigns is congratulatory upon the event, and another is a permit for Sir William and John Livingston to proceed to London and there wait upon His Majesty. The creation of the order of baronets by King James gave rise to the supplicatory protest by some of the English nobility against the dignifying of people of no standing promiscuously which indicates that while they do not deny the royal prerogative to be the sole fountain of honour to all the subjects, they desire to be excused from recognising these persons.

Other letters from members of the nobility and others may be left to tell their own stories. Attention, however, may be drawn to one written, according to internal evidence, in 1640, by Pope Urban VIII. to the Jesuit, Tobias Matthew, sending him to England to aid with his state craft Count Rosetti, the Papal Nuncio; also to which he narrates some events which were then taking place in the east of Europe. An inventory of the royal diamonds, as delivered by Spencer, Lord Compton, in 1625, after the death of King James VI., will be found at p. 123. Among the letters which illustrate the reign of King Charles I. are three referring to George, Duke of Buckingham, and his sisters, and a reference to the Thirty Years' War and the rumoured defeat of Tilly in the autumn of 1627, occurs in a letter by John Hamilton. There is also a license by the King to George, Lord Livingstone, to go abroad; and a passport by Louis XIII. of France to the Earl of Leicester, the

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English Ambassador, for returning to England. A little later he brought a letter to the King from Anne of Austria.

A number of papers and letters during the time of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth show, *inter alia*, how severely and repeatedly Kilsyth suffered during these civil commotions. Other papers of more general interest relate to policy, including some proclamations and letters by General Monck. In the post-Restoration period there are but few documents of historical merit, but attention may be drawn to the Declaration of the Presbyterians in arms in the West of Scotland in 1679.

Among the papers are a few which shed light on the domestic and family life of olden times. A case of alleged slander between two ladies, Lady Glorat and Lady Ballinloch, was brought before the court of the Archbishop of Glasgow and his assessors in the Synod of Glasgow. Lady Ballinloch alleged that Lady Glorat had sent a messenger to her imploring her to give her a cure for her sickness and relief from her pains, thus implying that she used the art of sorcery, and conveying the imputation that she was a witch. Lady Glorat's defence was a denial, and that if she did so it was when she was raving with fever and was irresponsible. This was the view taken by the judges, who dismissed the case.

Among the early settlers in the Ulster plantation carried out by King James VI. were some of the Edmonstone family, including William Edmonstone, the eldest son of Sir James Edmonstone of Duntreath. He acquired Redhall and Broadisland in the county of Antrim, and was made a Justice of the Peace. A number of the letters written to and from Ireland in connexion with this colonisation are given in the Report, and include letters written by Randal, Earl of Antrim, and the Viscounts of Clanboye.

The ecclesiastical life of Strathblane and Stirlingshire has at least a side light thrown upon it. There are numerous deeds dealing with the teinds of the lands from early times, but these have not been noted. More to the point in the way of encouraging the spiritual life of the community is a mortification by the minister of Campsie, in 1601, when he, regretting the growing coldness of people towards the poor, is moved to "schewe sum spunk of liberalitie and cheritable work" after his death, and therefore mortifies 40s. yearly, being the rent of some houses and lands in Campsie, for the behoof of the poor there. Later, in 1627, his successor, Mr. John Crichton, testifies the spirit of the disciple by yielding up a field to Lord Kilsyth over which they had for some time carried on a dispute. The apportionment of the kirk of St. Ninians in seats and burial places in 1639 is noticed, and in 1653 the minister of St. Ninians, Mr. George Bennet, pleads with the Laird of Kilsyth about the arrears of stipend due to him both from the Laird and his tenants, and expresses the hope that seeing he is not minded to enforce his claim by legal means, the Laird will by his example bring about a speedy settlement.

The concluding deeds in the Report embrace a letter from Simon, Lord Lovat, in 1716, in which he refers to his having been

pardoned by the King, and that he had received the thanks of his Ministers. There are letters from William Pitt, Henry Dundas, and several from King George III., and William, Duke of Clarence, afterwards King William IV.; likewise naval orders from Admiral Nelson and Admiral Collingwood, and letters from George Canning, the Duke of Wellington, William Wilberforce, Sir Walter Scott, and Lamartine, the French poet.

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III. *Sir John Graham, of Fintry*.—The manuscripts calendared are the family papers of the Grahams of Fintry, one of the oldest branches of that great Scottish house. The parent stem of the Dukes of Montrose, Viscounts of Dundee and Grahams of Fintry is reached by going back to the reign of Robert III., when Sir William, Lord of Grahame, was the head of the family. By his first wife, Sir William had a son, who was the ancestor of the house of Montrose. His second wife was the King's daughter, Mary or Mariota Stewart. By this princess he had a son Robert, from whom both the Grahams of Fintry and the Grahams of Claverhouse traced their descent, the former through the marriage of Robert Graham with Janet, daughter of Sir Richard Lovel of Ballumbie; the latter through his second marriage with Matilda, daughter of Sir James Scrimgeour of Dudhope.

Sir John
Graham.

There are no early original charters or deeds in this collection, the first being an indenture of the year 1460, arranging an "excambion" or exchange of lands. In the next deed, dated five years later, "Robert Graham of Balargus" has become "Robert Graham of Fintry," the title by which this branch of the family was hereafter known.

In the earlier half of the eighteenth century, a zealous searcher into the history of the Grahams wrote a series of notes, which are interesting as a specimen of what may be called the amateur antiquarianism of that day. His notes are, however, full of inaccuracies, and towards the end of them he gets very much confused, and contradicts what he had said at the beginning.

Under date 7th August, 1476, is a copy of the indenture by which it was agreed that the younger Robert of Fintry should marry Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of Archibald Earl of Angus (Archibald "Bell-the-Cat"), with proviso in case of death, that the place of bride or bridegroom should be taken by a sister or brother, as the case might be. This proviso proved to be unnecessary, as Robert Graham and Elizabeth Douglas were duly married. This indenture is a copy, probably made from the original deed amongst the Douglas Charters.

To it follows an account of the resignation and re-grant of certain vestments and church ornaments, dated 20th May, 1690.

The second Robert Graham of Fintry was succeeded by his eldest son David, who married a daughter of the first Earl of Montrose. He was followed by his son William, who took to wife Catherine Beaton, sister of the great Cardinal and Chancellor.

David, William's heir and successor, was knighted by James VI.

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He married firstly Margaret, daughter of James, fourth Lord Ogilvie, and secondly, Margaret Hunter. His sons were David, William and James. A notarial instrument, drawn up in 1551, relates how he had reason to suspect a grant made by his ancestors, "because their was new walx put about the seill of the auld walx."

As regards the fourth Lord Ogilvie, father of Sir David Graham's first wife, a somewhat interesting point is raised in these papers. In the older Peerages he is stated to have died "about 1554," thus surviving by some years his son, the Master of Airlie, who was killed at the battle of Pinkie, 10th September, 1547. Later genealogists have shown that the date given for the fourth lord's death cannot be correct, and that he must have died before July, 1548, when he is spoken of as the late lord. The last time he is mentioned as alive, in the State Papers, is in a letter of intelligence from Ninian Cockburn, dated 27th November, 1547, where his name occurs in a list of lords at Broughty Castle. But from a letter from the fifth Lord Ogilvie (of which there is a copy amongst these papers) it would seem that he believed his grandfather and father to have been killed "all in one day." It is possible that a wrong name might have slipped by carelessness into Cockburn's list, but it is not credible that Lord Ogilvie's death in the battle should have remained unknown. The expression "in one day" is probably, therefore, used figuratively, but it would certainly mean that Lord Ogilvie did not long survive his son. The statement about the child's age very nearly corresponds with the accepted date of "about 1541" as the time of his birth.

Sir David Graham lived to be an old man, and in 1584, King James gave him a licence, on account of his age and infirmities, to be freed from all military service, provided he sent his son with his servants in his stead. He was still alive in January, 1585-6.

His son and heir, David, was convicted of being concerned in the supposed plot of the Earls of Huntley and Erroll in 1592, and was executed at Edinburgh Cross in the following January. As regards the proselytism, it is very questionable whether the Grahams had ever forsaken the old faith. Amongst the later letters in this collection is one apparently from Dr. Thomas Innes, the historian, which unhesitatingly states that "the Catholic religion had continued till those times in the family," and that David Graham the younger "under pretext of a plot" was put to death, "to which King James VI., who had both kindness for and great confidence in him, was forced to connive by the Presbyterian party that domineered." This unfortunate member of the house of Fintry married Barbara, daughter of Sir James Scot of Balacarie. David's younger brother James is probably the James Graham who served in the French King's Scottish guard in the early years of the seventeenth century, when it was under the nominal command of little Prince Charles, the Duke of York. He is also perhaps the Captain James to whom the Earl of Montrose wrote in 1614, praying him to accompany him to the baptism of the Earl of Perth's infant son.

The family estates were forfeited upon David Graham's execution, and granted to the Earl and Countess of Mar, but on 10th June, 1594, they were regranted to his son David, who thus became the seventh Laird of Fintry, and who married Mary, daughter of Sir James Haliburton of Pitcur.

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His name first appears in a deed by Lord Balmerino in 1618, granting him and his heirs a certain part of the tithes of Linlathen. David Graham of Fintry took the King's side in the Civil Wars. The position of the Laird of Fintry's brother, James of Monorgan, is more doubtful. At the beginning of the Civil War he appears to have taken the side of the Parliament, or at any rate did not venture to oppose it, but if at any time he inclined to the Parliament party, his sympathies soon veered round, like those of so many of his countrymen, to the side of their Stuart King. In the summer of 1648, when Hamilton, now supreme in the Committee of Estates, was planning his advance into England, Lauderdale was sent to persuade the Prince of Wales to come at once to Scotland. He succeeded in his mission, and arrangements were in progress when the news of the defeat at Preston on 17th August reached them and crushed all their hopes.

The Marquis of Montrose was at this time abroad, having left Scotland after laying down his arms, by the King's orders, in 1646. He left his estate in the hands of his relations, but his enemies made their stewardship a difficult office, being determined, as he indignantly declared, not only to ruin him, but his friends also. The following year, 1648 (being then in the Emperor's service), he wrote from Vienna to James Graham of Monorgund, thanking him for his pains, and especially committing his children to his care.

In December of this year, his eldest son petitioned the General Assembly for leave to go to College, which he was not allowed to do without their warrant. In deference to their views, he spoke of his father as the "late Earl of Montrose." After Montrose had fallen in his King's cause, some difficulties arose about money matters, and letters of horning and poinding were granted against the Grahams, as cautioners for the Marquis.

The young Marquis received back his inheritance, but endangered it again by joining in Glencairn's rising in 1653. With him went his cousin, James Graham the younger, but the quarrels amongst the chieftains prevented anything decisive being attempted, and soon afterwards Montrose came to terms with the English, in which James Graham was included.

While the young Marquis of Montrose was the especial charge of James Graham of Monorgan, another youthful chief of the house, hereafter destined to make a figure in the world's history, was more particularly under the care of David Graham of Fintry. In 1656, the Laird of Fintry figures as "tutor testamentar" of John Graham of Claverhouse.

Some time before the summer of 1667, James Graham of Monorgan died, leaving a daughter Agnes, who married David

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Lindsay of Edzell. The lairdship passed to Monorgan's nephew James (second son of David of Fintry), who in time duly paid his cousin Agnes her portion of 30,000*l.* Scots and "all other goods, "gear and money due to her as her father's only daughter." This younger James of Monorgan appears to have been a thrifty and prudent person. The family historian says that the estate of the family had gone to utter ruin had not it been in some measure recovered through his industry. The unnamed "other brother" is said to have married a daughter of Col. John Hay. In much of this, the writer was certainly in error.

The second Marquis of Montrose died in 1669, and as the first Marquis had left his son in the particular charge of James Graham of Monorgan the elder, so does the second Marquis appear to have especially confided his children to the care of Monorgan the younger.

After the Marchioness's death, her daughters evidently lived under Lady Monorgan's charge. In a letter probably written in 1676, the Marquis thanks her for the extraordinary care she had had of his sisters' education. At this time negotiations for the settlement of Lady Anne were in progress. In December, 1678, the young Marquis "attained his full age of twenty-one years," and gave a formal discharge to the noblemen and gentlemen (mostly Grahams) who had been curators of his person and estate during his minority.

To return to the history of the Fintry family:—In December, 1669, probably soon after his father, David of Fintry's death, James Graham of Monorgan succeeded to part of the Linlathen estates, and in the same month was made major of a foot regiment to be raised in Forfarshire, of which some years later he became the Lieut.-Colonel. His commissions, under the sign manual of Charles II., are amongst these papers.

In 1678, Lauderdale's intolerant proceedings in the west of Scotland had roused the people to a high pitch of indignation, which was further increased by Claverhouse's harrying of Conventicles in the spring of 1679. On the news of "an insurrection and "rebellion in some western shires" reaching Edinburgh, the Lords of the Council decided that the country must "put in a posture," and sent orders to the Forfarshire Regiment accordingly. The Earl of Airlie also summoned Monorgan, urging him to bring over his companies to Bruntisland as quickly as possible. Of the course of the insurrection, the insurgents' success at Drumclog and their defeat at Bothwell Brig, these papers say no word; but that Monorgan had taken an active part in the affair is evident from a letter to him written by Rothes, the Chancellor, in the following year, expressing the King's hearty thanks for his great readiness in calling out the Forfar men, and for their good service in the expedition.

The family historian states that the David Graham who was laird of Fintry in the early part of the seventeenth century was the son of a brother of John of Fintry and James of Monorgan, which brother was himself never the laird. But there seems no doubt that

James of Monorgan succeeded his brother John, and that David was his son and heir. That the Laird of Fintry's name towards the end of the seventeenth century was James, is shown by an indenture on p. 215, and by the letters of his merchant sons, Thomas and William. And more positive evidence is forthcoming in the Register of the Great Seal.

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James Graham's daughter Margaret married Sir David Kinloch of that ilk. After Sir David's death, it is evident that proposals were made to her by Graham of Potento, at that time heir to his cousin David third Viscount of Dundee. His cousin Anna Graham, wife of Robert Young of Auldbar, wrote to him in August, 1700, protesting against this marriage on the ground that Lady Kinloch was not likely to have any more children, and stating her conviction that the lady's brother, Fintry, was promoting the marriage in hopes of securing the reversion of the title to the Grahams of Duntroon. The third Viscount is believed to have died in 1700. In August of that year, as we here see, both he and Potento were alive, and the latter must have died first, as the Viscount was succeeded by David of Duntroon, father of the Will Grahame mentioned in the letter.

David Graham of Fintry married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Murray of Abercairnie, and sister of Maurice Murray, the well-known Jacobite. Maurice died in 1740, leaving his sister, Lady Fintry, his executrix and heir.

The Laird of Fintry voted steadily against the Union in the Scottish Parliament (see *Lockhart Papers*), and in June, 1708, he was a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, probably in connexion with the abortive Jacobite descent upon Scotland just before. He was released on bail. He probably took no active part in the rising of 1715. In September, soon after the Pretender's standard was raised at Braemar, he was appointed deputy-governor of Dundee, under Viscount Dundee, "conform to his Majesty's Order," but he either declined to act or speedily made his peace, for on the 4th of the following January, the very day that James abandoned his own cause and escaped from Scotland, David Graham of Fintry received a protection for all his houses from the Duke of Argyle.

Fletcher of Balinsho, who had married Fintry's sister Jean, was less fortunate, and had to go into hiding. He had a good friend, however, in his wife's brother William, who himself in good favour with the Government, was zealous in aiding his friends in their misfortunes. Not only Stanhope but Sunderland was influenced on Balinsho's behalf, and he happily escaped without losing life or liberty.

Following this episode are some letters to him and to his wife, one being a curious little note signed Geile Clephane, possibly the wife of Col. William Clepham. The "Harry" mentioned in the letter is perhaps Harry Maule of Kellie. Balnamoon is Alex. Carnegie, who was captured after the '15, but pardoned. His property was confiscated, and just at this time his wife Margaret, one of Fintry's daughters, was in London, petitioning for her dower

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lands. Who is meant by the Cardinal does not appear. Count G——b in the following letter is probably Count Gillenborg, the Swedish Envoy.

David Graham of Fintry probably died towards the end of 1728, as Robert, his eldest surviving son, was “ infest and seased ” of the estate of Fintry in January, 1729. In 1735 he married Margaret Murray, daughter of Sir William Murray of Auchtertyre, and of Catherine Fraser, daughter of Hugh, Lord Lovat. Lady Fintry’s brother, Sir Patrick Murray, and his son, had both been out in the ’15, and were taken prisoners. Sir Patrick escaped on the way to his trial at Carlisle, and the young laird was pardoned by the influence of his relatives.

Robert Graham of Fintry died in October, 1756. Amongst these papers are bills in relation to his “ funeralls ” and Lady Fintry’s mourning. His eldest son Robert was then a mere boy. He was sent to Haddington School, and in 1763, to St. Andrew’s University. His college bills show that he attended the courses of the professors of Greek, Logic, Rhetoric and Mathematics, took lessons in French and in fencing, played golf, and occasionally went to a ball.

In 1767 he is mentioned as paying feu duty to Edinburgh Castle, as his ancestors had done before him, but his circumstances became embarrassed; he began to alienate the family estates, and at length sold all the lands of Fintry, bargaining, however, that he should retain the designation of Fintry, while the new owner, Mr. Erskine, took that of Linlathen. His eldest son was murdered in India, and he was succeeded by his second son John, who served in the Peninsular War, and afterwards gained great distinction in the wars with the Kaffirs in Cape Colony. He was succeeded in 1821 by his son Robert, who was for many years in Government service at the Cape of Good Hope, and raised a troop of horse, bearing his name, in the Kaffir war of 1851-2. His eldest son John, now Sir John James Graham, K.C.M.G., is the present owner of the family papers.

Many of the deeds in this collection are in relation to the lands of Linlathen, lying on the north side of the river Dighty, in the parish of Monyfeith. The first notice of them is in a deed of 1542, when the reversion of a part of these lands was assigned to Cardinal Betoun by the Rynds of the Carse. After the Cardinal’s murder, this reversion fell to his brother and heir, Walter, Archdeacon of Lothian, but was bought from him by David Betoun of Melgund, the Cardinal’s natural son, and from him passed to the Ogilvy family. Other portions were held in the sixteenth century by the Kers, Hays of Sandfurd, Scrimgeours of Dudhope and Graham of Fintry. In 1595, these various portions were bought by Sir William Graham of Ballowny and Claypotts, and he disposed of them to David Graham of Fintry, in whose family they long remained, being usually held by a brother or son of the head of the house.

Other deeds in the collection, in relation to lands, money or family arrangements, are signed by the Earls of Perth and of Tulli-

bardine, the “fiar” of Ochtertyre, the second Marquis of Montrose, Var. Coll. John Earl of Atholl and Sir John Drummond of Logie Almond, Vol. V. : and bring in the names (*inter alia*) of John Earl of Mar and Lord Sir John Erskine his son, the Earl of Erroll, Sir James Drummond of Graham. Inverquharity, the Master of Rollo, Sir James Colquhoun of Liss, Lord Balfour of Burghley and Sir James Halkett of Pitkerran.

In addition to the family deeds and correspondence, there are in this collection a certain number of papers relating to affairs of State, and some copies of verses. Of the State Papers, the following may be selected for mention:—A letter from the Scottish Commissioners “to the well-affected,” on their return from the Treaty of Ripon; an important letter from the Episcopalian ministers of Scotland to William III., in answer to a letter from the King, at the beginning of 1692 (the King’s letter is at the Public Record Office, but not this answer to it); an account of the fight at Glen-shiel; and two letters from the Old Pretender, “James III.,” the earlier written in 1720 to the people of England, the second in 1722 to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Two or three of the sets of verses are interesting from their subjects. The earliest is a bitter attack upon the ritual attending the consecration of Alex. Burnet as Bishop of Aberdeen in 1663, with a counterblast from the Episcopal party; following this is a short poem on the Commissioners for the Union; a longer one entitled “A Fable of the Widow and her Cat,” (almost certainly) on Queen Anne and Marlborough, and a lament “Upon a late defeat,” *i.e.*, the battle of Culloden.

IRELAND.

The Reports already summarised contain many references to Ireland.

MARQUESS OF ORMONDE.

Volumes I and II of the Report on the Ormonde Manuscripts published respectively in 1895 and 1899 remained for some years un-indexed. In 1899 this defect was remedied by the issue of a volume of index, thus making this section of the Report of much greater utility to the historical student.

Of the new series of this Report, three volumes have appeared since 1907, Nos. V, VI and VII, covering the period 1679-1688.

VOLUME V.

The portion of the correspondence of the first Duke of Ormonde comprised in this volume covers a period of exactly two years. Marquess of Ormonde : For the reasons already given in the Introduction to the fourth N.S., Vol. V. volume of this series, the papers preserved at Kilkenny become increasingly numerous, in comparison with those relating to earlier

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periods, towards the close of the public career of the great Duke. No one who is familiar with Carte's biography of Ormond, or is fairly conversant with the history of the time, would pretend that the last years of Ormond's third tenure of the Irish government are the most interesting in the crowded life of that illustrious cavalier—to adopt Macaulay's felicitous description of the Duke. The special prominence which these years receive in these pages is the result of the quite accidental circumstances that Carte dealt in less detail with this part of the subject than any other, and therefore had no occasion to include many of the Duke's later letters in the materials to which he helped himself so liberally.

Ormond's principal and most voluminous correspondents in the present volume are his sons, the Earls of Ossory and Arran, whose letters are mainly conversant with the details of Irish government and with the course of politics in England; Michael Boyle, who as Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Chancellor combined in his own person the chief offices both of the Church and of the Law in Ireland; Col. Edward Cooke, an intimate personal friend, whose letters from England detailing the movements of political intrigue at Westminster are lightened by much agreeable sporting gossip from Newmarket; Henry Coventry, whose retirement from the office of Principal Secretary of State occurred in 1680, and whose letters to Ormond both before and after that event contain a note of personal intimacy which is lacking in the communications of other officials; John Fell, Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, whose letters mainly relate to Ormond's grandson, and ultimate successor in the Dukedom; Francis Gwyn, who as Clerk to the Privy Council in England became, after the resignation of Coventry, the principal medium of official communications from the English Secretary's Office; the Earl of Longford, whose voluminous and verbose epistles relate mainly to the management or mismanagement of the Irish Revenue; and Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of Orrery, whose death in the autumn of 1679, removed a somewhat querulous critic of Ormond's administrative manners and methods.

In so far as these letters throw light upon the personal history of Ormond, they are chiefly valuable for the references they contain to his eldest son, Thomas, Earl of Ossory, whose premature and universally deplored death took place on 29th July, 1680, and is referred to in terms of obviously sincere grief by several of Ormond's correspondents. Ossory died of a malignant fever, probably typhus, on the eve of his intended departure from England to take up the command of the troops at Tangier. This disorder is described in the report of the physicians attending the patient, among them Ferdinand Mendaz, the physician of Queen Catherine, and in a certificate signed by the doctors who made a *post mortem* examination of the remains; as well as in a letter from Richard Mulys, Ossory's private secretary, to Henry Gascoigne. The symptoms suggest the worst form of typhus fever. The letters of condolence written to Ormond on this occasion by Charles II., and by Queen

Catherine, to whose service Ossory had been particularly attached as her Chamberlain, have already been published in the first series of this report. Others here printed are from Arlington, whose close intimacy with Ossory was strengthened through the marriage of the two men to two sisters; Sir Arthur Forbes, Viscount Granard, the head of the army in Ireland; Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who, as Dean of Christchurch, had charge of the education of Ossory's son, afterwards second Duke of Ormond; James, Duke of York, afterwards James II.; Primate Boyle; Louis Duras, Earl of Faversham; Sunderland, the statesman; and Sir William Temple. The tributes paid to Ossory in the correspondence now printed exhibit him as a personage fully worthy alike of the sonorous eulogium passed by Dryden in *Absolom and Achitophel*, and of the unaffected sorrow exhibited by Evelyn. Perhaps the particular condolence which sets Ossory's character in the highest light is the remarkable language of Henry Coventry, one of the Secretaries of State, who in conveying to Ormond a very genuine expression of sorrow observed that "it is a very strange thing in so very bad an age to see so good a man lamented by so many of all sorts." The somewhat chill philosophy of Sir William Temple's condolences is tempered by a feeling allusion to his own then recent loss of his only daughter.

The education of Ossory's eldest son, James, afterwards second Duke of Ormond, which is referred to several times in the letters printed in Vol. IV., continued to absorb much of the old nobleman's attention. The Bishop of Oxford continues to report pretty frequently on the lad's demeanour at Oxford; and several letters from the lad's governor, Dr. Drelinecourt, and others, are occupied with the same topic. The reports of the young Oxonian's conduct were not uniformly favourable; and occasionally the authority of tutors and governors had to be reinforced by the direct admonition of Ormond himself. A letter dated 27th September, 1679, addressed by Ormond at Kilkenny to his grandson at Oxford, is an admirable example alike of the style appropriate to such a relationship, and of Ormond's stately conception of the obligations of a great position.

Several letters bear witness to Ormond's personal tastes, and particularly to his fondness for field sports. His friend Col. Cooke, whose frequent letters describing the course of politics at Westminster are among the most interesting in the volume, was enjoined not to omit reference to sporting topics from his communications on more serious matters; and in more than one of his many letters he took his patron at his word. Thus, writing on 29th March, 1679, from London, Cooke occupies much of his space with an answer to "those material questions proposed in your (Ormond's) letter of 20th March concerning hawks, hounds, and horses"; giving a faithful account first of his sport in Gloucestershire with "a single goshawk and a single quarry of pheasants,—so cruel a pheasanter that we were fain to oblige ourselves not to kill above four brace in a day, that we might lengthen out our sport all winter." Cooke goes on to describe a day with the hounds in

Marquess of the same county;; and concludes with some anecdotes of his horse-racing exploits which may perhaps provide a hint for the historian of the turf:—"I have the famous beautiful *Burnett* in my stable, who serves but to pick up Gloucestershire plates (of which we have abundance) and get foals finer than which never any stallion yet got. He is allowed by all his Newmarketarians as the handsomest horse now in England, comes eleven, and is sound to all intents and purposes." It seems a pity that this *Saint Simon* of the seventeenth century should have no place in the stud book. This is by no means the only reference to sport which Cooke's letters contain. The last letter in this volume describes Charles the Second's enjoyment of a race run at Burford, near Oxford, for one of the King's Plates; as well as a day spent by the monarch in hawking at Oxford. Coursing was another form of sport in which Ormond and his correspondent were interested; and another of Cooke's letters gives a capital account of a day's coursing at Hampton Court in presence of the Sovereign.

The purely political portion of the correspondence is occupied mainly with three topics, viz., the measures taken by Ormond and the Irish Privy Council to safeguard Ireland from the dangers apprehended as likely to result from the Popish Plot; the proceedings of Charles the Second's third Parliament, including more particularly the impeachment of Danby; and the fierce controversy provoked by the Exclusion Bill. Incidentally a good deal of light is thrown, in the course of the discussion of these topics, on English constitutional procedure. The first of them occupies a relatively small space, the anxieties of Ormond and his principal correspondents being concerned mainly with that ebb and flow of the political tide in England by which their own fortunes were dominated; and it receives attention chiefly as an item in the frequent indictments which Ormond's enemies at Court were wont to frame against him with a view to procuring his dismissal from office. An elaborate memorandum dated 5th April, 1679, addressed by the Irish Privy Council to the Principal Secretary of State, recapitulates in considerable detail the measures taken by Ormond from the moment of "the discovery of the Plot in England" in September, 1678, and shows that the King and his chief advisers steadily adhered throughout the difficulties of this trying time to the policy which naturally commended itself to Ormond's own judgment, viz., the maintenance of order, and the steady enforcement of the measures enjoined by royal proclamation in England, coupled with a mild and discriminating lenity.

In "An Account of the Present State of Ireland presented by the Lord Butler of Moor Park to the House of Lords, 31st March, 1679," Lord Ossory deals with the same topics, giving in detail a summary of the various proclamations and orders issued by the Irish Government. In this statement, as in almost every letter and document of this period in which the difficulties of the Irish administration are explained or referred to, stress is laid on the neglect of Ministers in England to concur in the calling together of

the Irish Parliament, a step which from the moment of his accession to office in 1677 Ormond had earnestly desired and constantly advocated. Marquess of Ormonde : N.S., Vol. V.

Ossory was thoroughly justified by the facts. Indeed nothing is more noticeable in the voluminous documents bearing on the state of Ireland during the period of the agitation about the Popish Plot than the absence of any serious evidence of the existence of anything in the nature of a Roman Catholic conspiracy in Ireland. Carte's observation is indeed fully justified, that it was "a terrible slur on the credit of the Popish Plot in England that after it had made such a horrible noise and frightened people out of their senses in a nation where there was scarce one Papist to an hundred Protestants, there should not for above a year together appear so much as one witness from Ireland (a country otherwise fruitful enough in producing them), to give information of any conspiracy of the like nature in that kingdom, where there were fifteen Papists to one Protestant." Several of the papers in this volume relate to the plot which for convenience may be called David FitzGerald's Plot, a conspiracy which was represented by Shaftesbury and the organizers of the agitation in England as having been contrived in concert with the conductors of the English Plot. But there is certainly nothing in them to substantiate any of the suggestions which were founded at the time on FitzGerald's unsupported and self-contradictory testimony. Ormond in his private communications with his son Ossory, who until his untimely death remained his chief agent and assistant in England, was at no pains to conceal his opinion that the supposed plots were manufactured by the agents of his own political enemies for no better object than to procure his dismissal from the Irish Government. "I do not so much wonder," he wrote in April, 1680, "at the scandals cast upon us now as that it was not done sooner. But it was necessary to amuse the people, as with new plots so with new actors in them; and we were not forgotten but reserved to the last. The discoveries now on foot in the north and west of this kingdom can come to nothing by reason of the extravagant villainy and folly of the discoverers, who are such creatures that no schoolboy would trust them with a design for the robbing of an orchard. My Lord of Essex's tool is a silly drunken vagabond that cares not for hanging a month hence if in the meantime he may solace himself with brandy and tobacco. Murphy is all out as debauched, but a degree wiser than the others. The other fellow brought by Lord Shaftesbury to the Council broke prison, being in execution, and now the sheriff or jailer are sued for the debt. This is their true character; but perhaps not fit for you to give of them. If rogues they must be that discover roguery, these must be the best discoverers, because they are the greatest rogues."

Ormond's letters at this period show that he was fully alive to the gravity of the attacks made upon him by the ultra-Protestant party in England, supported by the leaders of that interest in Ireland, of whom Lord Orrery and the members of the Boyle family were

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perhaps his most formidable opponents. But though in several passages he exhibits a certain weariness of the perpetual anxiety and conflict to which his position exposed him, a weariness natural to his advancing years, he also shows a fine determination not to be drawn by intrigue or obliquy from a situation in which he honestly believed himself capable of rendering useful service to his Sovereign. The trend of his personal inclinations at this time are frankly stated in a private letter to his friend Henry Coventry, who had just retired from office, and so was "in some degree gotten out of the storm." In it Ormond frankly states the nature of the considerations which obliged him to retain his place:—"I will not conceal from you the reasons that keep me in it, when a few lines importing a desire to retreat could help me out of it. My first reason is that methinks the Crown and Monarchy and my bountiful Master are too apparently threatened for a man that pretends to honour and gratitude to make a voluntary resignation, at least while he has vigour or vanity enough to persuade him he can contribute considerably to serve an interest he is obliged unto. The next is that I have a little stomach left yet that rises at the thought of giving some men their will just where they would have it of me. And in the last place it may be thought that the grandeur and emolument belonging to the station may be of force; and I will not deny but it is. But if I know myself it would not prevail against the quiet of body and mind that it may reasonably be believed I wish for at these years and might hope for in a retreat." Nevertheless so little confidence had Ormond in being sufficiently supported to enable him to hold on, and so probable did it seem that "this place and I must part," that he concludes this letter by begging his friend to look out for a suitable residence for him within reach of Coventry's own lodge.

In the religious strife of the times, and in his attitude towards the rival clerical factions, Ormond occupied throughout his whole career a middle position to which, notwithstanding that his was the usual fate of the peacemaker, and that he continuously drew upon himself the maledictions of all the combatants, he adhered steadily to the end. How great were his difficulties, and of what nature they were, very clearly appears in one of his letters in the present volume. Defending himself in a letter to the Earl of Longford against the charge reported to him by his correspondent of not having exhibited sufficient activity in the suppression of the Plot and its sympathizers, he makes vigorous protest against the campaign of calumny with which he was assailed.

The changes and developments of the British Constitution for which the reign of Charles the Second was remarkable are illustrated in several of the letters in this volume, notably in those of Col. Cooke and Henry Coventry. Thus a long letter from the first-named of these correspondents, dated 22nd April, 1679, is taken up with an account of the change in the composition and functions of the Privy Council which was accomplished at the instance of Sir William Temple:—"Sunday the 20th, was a day

“ of great surprises. The King summoning his Privy Council
 “ dissolved them; declared he took no exceptions at any man, but
 “ thanked them well for their services; told them he was resolved
 “ for the future to have no Cabinet Council, and to reduce the
 “ Privy Council to the usual number of thirteen, besides a Presi-
 “ dent, when there should be any, and the Secretary of Scotland
 “ when here, and those of the blood, as Prince Rupert.” The
 letter goes on to describe in detail the *personnel* of the new Council,
 and concludes with the statement that “ there is great expectation
 “ of great advantage from this change.” Several other letters
 refer to this important constitutional experiment; and it is of interest
 to learn from two among them that it was intended to reform the
 Irish Privy Council on somewhat similar lines.

But though Ormond was willing to concur in a reduction of the
 numbers of the Council, he had evidently other objections to the
 proposal, with which a suggestion communicated by Sir Cyril
 Wyche, to the effect that under the new system it was intended to
 place the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland in commission, may have
 had something to do. His criticisms are not formulated in any
 of the letters here printed; but it appears from a letter written
 him by Sir William Temple that Ormond had indicated them in a
 conversation with that statesman's brother, Sir John Temple, and
 in a letter to Temple himself, in which he pointed out that a reduc-
 tion of the number of the Council was inopportune in view of the
 then contemplated meeting of the Irish Parliament. Temple's
 own plan was so short-lived, and his influence in the royal counsels
 so quickly shattered, that the delay occasioned by the hesitation of
 the Viceroy was sufficient to prevent the application of his system
 to Ireland.

Other constitutional questions which are canvassed in the course
 of this correspondence are the relations between the two Houses of
 Parliament, as illustrated by the frequent conferences between
 Lords and Commons concerning the arrangements for the impeach-
 ment of Danby, and the trial of the Five Lords. The many letters
 relating to these topics show how great was the strain on the work-
 ing of the constitution at this period. Among the most hotly con-
 tested points of procedure were the right of the Lords spiritual to
 sit and vote on such occasions, a question which, however, was left
 unsettled when the sudden prorogation of the Parliament in May,
 1679, followed by the unexpected dissolution in July, put an end to
 the controversy.

The principal topic of political discussion in the latter part of
 the volume is provided by the Exclusion Bill; and the Duke of York
 makes a frequent figure in the correspondence. Most of Ormond's
 relatives and friends were, like himself, warmly attached to the
 heir presumptive to the Crown; and Ossory in particular, who had
 served with James in the sea-fights with the Dutch, was devotedly
 attached to his person. A letter from one of Ormond's intimates,
 Sir Thomas Wharton, gives an interesting account of the progress
 of the Duke of York and his Duchess from London to York in
 the autumn of 1679, on their way to Scotland, to which kingdom

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Marquess of James had been bidden by his royal brother to retire. The contentions of which the Duke of York was the centre have an important place in the correspondence, several letters from Cooke, Gwyn and others dealing with the debates on the Exclusion Bill. One from Gwyn, dated 16th November, 1680, describes the concluding debate in the Lords when that measure was rejected, giving the name of the principal peers in favour of it, and mentioning Halifax as its most powerful and impressive opponent.

Several letters in this volume have reference to affairs in Scotland in 1679, when the murder of Archbishop Sharp and the movements of the Covenanters gave occasion for the strengthening of the military forces in the north of Ireland. An Order in Council, dated 13th June, 1679, directed Ormond "to give immediate order for the marching towards the north of Ireland of so many of his Majesty's forces there, as well horse as foot, as his Grace thinks may conveniently be spared without hazard to the peace and safety of that kingdom, there to remain and attend further orders, if occasion shall be for their being employed in the assistance of his Majesty's subjects of the kingdoms of Scotland for suppressing the Rebellion there." Lord Granard was despatched to Charlemont, and some Irish troops were certainly despatched to Scotland in pursuance of this order, though no particulars of their number or services are given in the correspondence on the subject, which is chiefly interesting for its references to Graham of Claverhouse; whose reported death is thus communicated by one David Maxwell:—"We had news yesterday that the Laird of Clavers, an honest gentleman in Scotland, captain to a troop of horse, who hath done good service against the rebels, was killed by them; but these gentlemen affirm the contrary."

The Duke of Monmouth, who is mentioned with approval in connexion with his humane treatment of the Covenanters, is less favourably spoken of later in the volume in relation to his pretensions to the succession. The attachment of Ormond and Ossory to the Duke of York was too ardent to suffer them to give the slightest countenance to the young Duke's pretensions; and when, at the height of the young Duke's brief popularity in 1679, all the courtiers were vying with each other in attentions to him, Ossory wrote to his father that "all the world now visits the Duke of Monmouth; but considering how affairs now are between the King and him I consider it not respectful in me towards his Majesty to make that compliment"—an attitude which Ormond cordially approved. A letter from Col. Cooke to Ormond, dated 2nd December, 1679, gives an account of the removal of Monmouth from all his civil and military appointments, and of the state of public feeling regarding him.

The present volume is not as abundant as some others in occasional communications from persons of eminence or distinction on topics lying outside the general scope of the correspondence. An exception is, however, supplied by a letter addressed by John Evelyn to Lord Ossory with reference to a negotiation for the

purchase of Chelsea House by Ormond, which was strongly recommended by the writer. Marquess of Ormonde : N.S., Vol. V.

Evelyn's encomium was supported by "A Particular of Chelsea House," furnished by Sir Stephen Fox, in which the mansion was represented as in perfect repair, and the grounds as comprising "sixteen acres of ground with several large gardens and courts all walled in and planted with the choicest fruits that could be collected either from abroad or in England." Evelyn evidently considered the place dirt-cheap at the price named. Ormond, however, though not usually economical, was at this period somewhat embarrassed by the many expenses of his family, and he declined this offer of what a modern house-agent would term a highly eligible residence; causing Ossory to be informed in language of somewhat tart reproof that "as to the house at Chelsea, how good soever the bargain may be, the purchase is not agreeable to his condition, and he (Ormond) wonders that he hears nothing of your lordship's affairs in Holland."

VOLUME VI.

Volume VI. contains a further instalment of the correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond during his third tenure of the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The history of this period of Ormond's career occupies only a small space in Carte's monumental work, and the raid which Ormond's biographer made on the Kilkenny muniment room left the material for a complete account of the events with which Ormond was associated in the last years of his life, in a great measure intact. Undoubtedly Carte exercised a wise judgment and much perspicacity in not overloading his work with a full consideration of subjects which cannot be compared in historical importance with those treated of by him at greater length, and which add little to our knowledge of Ormond's attainments and character; but at the same time he left at Kilkenny in the correspondence now appearing in this Calendar, information necessary for the true reading of the history of that time, and it seems possible that if the duration of his stay in Ireland had permitted an examination of their contents, some of these letters might have been added to the collection which bears his name in the Bodleian. Such a conjecture gains support from the fact that a vast increase in the number of letters at Kilkenny occurs suddenly, and is continued until the termination of Ormond's third viceroyalty. The present volume, although it contains only seventy pages less than the last one, is filled by the correspondence of a period of similar length, from 25th March, 1681, to 24th March, 1682-3. N.S., Vol. VI.

During the first of these years Ormond was in Ireland, where his own castle at Kilkenny was his chief abode; and during the second he was in England, where his attendance in the capacity of Lord Steward upon the King, necessitated his almost continuous residence in London. His principal correspondent was his only surviving son, the Earl of Arran, who during the first year from London, and during the second year from Ireland, where he acted

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as Lord Deputy in Ormond's absence, kept up a constant correspondence with his father. Next to the Earl of Arran, in the importance and volume of their letters, came the episcopal Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Boyle, and the Earl of Longford, who was connected with Ormond officially through his office of Master of the Ordnance and privately through his marriage to the widow of Ormond's third son the Earl of Gowran; and amongst less frequent correspondents will be found, Sir Leoline Jenkins, the English Secretary of State in charge of Irish affairs, the Earl of Arlington, Chief Justice Keatinge, who appears in a light very different from that in which he is generally regarded, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Colonel Edward Cooke, a prince amongst news-mongers and sportsmen.

Throughout the incidents which give rise to the correspondence in this volume, Ormond's loyalty to his sovereign and devotion to the public service are conspicuous, and are seen to carry him through every discouragement and anxiety that the subterfuges of Charles II., and the intrigues of that monarch's ministers could impose upon him. At the time the correspondence opens a strenuous agitation was being carried on in the Court circle against Ormond's government of Ireland. To the demand for enquiries the King lent so far as could be seen a most ready ear, and not a word escaped him publicly to show that Ormond still retained his confidence. But fearing that the strain might prove too great even for that faithful servant, and that Ormond might desert his post, which was the last thing that would have suited the royal policy at that moment, the King took an opportunity of sending him privately in April, 1681, a letter in the following terms:—"The impertinent and groundless report being now revived again of your being recalled, is the pure invention of your enemies and mine; there never having been the least occasion given for such a report. For I assure you I value your services there too much to think of any alteration. The bearer, Fitzpatrick, will tell you more at large, and give you a good account how all are here. And therefore I will say no more, only to assure you that you may be so much assured of my kindness to you, as I am of yours; which is all I can say. Charles Rex." Amongst the information to be imparted to Ormond by his brother-in-law, Fitzpatrick, not the least important point was the King's desire that the utmost secrecy should be preserved about this letter, and it was not until Fitzpatrick returned to London three months later that Ormond ventured even to acknowledge its receipt.

Meantime the English Privy Council had begun to debate the arrangements to be made for the collection of the Irish revenue, on the expiration of a contract for its farm which had been entered into during the viceroyalty of the Earl of Essex with Sir James Shaen and others. With the approval of the King, who was constantly present at the discussions and brought forward himself a proposal for a new undertaking, the proceedings were conducted without any reference to Ormond, who was treated as a person not worthy to be entrusted with a knowledge of the negotiations

that were taking place. Ormond's feelings at that time may be gathered from the following passage in a letter which he addressed on the 28th of November in that year to Lord Arran:—"With a letter of the 12th from my Lord Ranelagh I received the heads of the new contract and of his papers of objections. I did not expect that I should from him have had the first information of a transaction, wherein this kingdom and myself in all my capacities, are so highly concerned; nor can I forbear to say that no government under the Crown of England was ever so much slighted and affronted as this has been in the whole course of that affair, that is if the matter shall be finally concluded without imparting it to us whilst others less concerned and less knowing are determining our safety or destruction." This allusion is further developed in a subsequent letter in which Ormond refers to "the clerks, lawyers, and scribes" let into the secret so carefully kept from the Irish government. But at the same time he says that anyone who imagined he would think of "quitting the government" because he did not like any bargain the King chose to make for his own revenue, must consider him "a very giddy old fellow and a very silly undutiful ass."

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These proceedings regarding the revenue had a close connexion with intrigues to supplant Ormond in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

In addition to the charges against his present government of Ireland to which the intrigues for his supersession gave rise, Ormond was caused great annoyance at that time by the reflections cast upon his first viceroyalty in the historical disquisition then published by the Earl of Anglesey, as well as in the works of Whitelocke and Borlase. With respect to these criticisms, Ormond addressed towards the close of the year 1681 a remonstrance to Lord Anglesey, which was published, and became the occasion of heated passages between Anglesey and Ormond's friends. As the dispute seemed not unlikely to afford a pretext for removing Lord Anglesey, who was no longer in favour, from the charge of the privy seal, the King derived much gratification from Ormond's letter, and disconcerted Lord Anglesey not a little by saying "in his pleasant way" when his lordship called for paper at the Council table, "My Lord, you shall have none, for pen, ink and paper are dangerous tools in your hands."

At the beginning of the year 1682 the King's attitude in regard to the affairs of Ireland still gave ground for rumours that Ormond was not likely to hold the sword in that country for long. In a private interview with Lord Longford the King professed satisfaction with Ormond's government, declaring his distrust of anyone connected with Shaftesbury or Essex, and exclaiming: "God's fish! if we do not keep them under they will ruin us;" and in the secrecy of his closet he replied to Mr. Secretary Jenkins when that statesman mentioned the Conway intrigue: "Pish! do they take me for a fool and a mad man, that I do not know and understand when I am well;" but of the proceedings respecting the

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Irish revenue Ormond was still kept in ignorance, and the King continued to act in the Council as if his interests were not safe in Ormond's hands. Suddenly, however, in the summer of that year, one of the kaleidoscopic changes which occurred so frequently in the reign of Charles II. came over the scene, and Ormond appears as the statesman whose influence was predominant at Court, and whom it was the King's delight to honour. The cause of this change was Ormond's arrival in London. According to Carte his journey thither was undertaken in response to a summons from the King, but the correspondence in this volume shows that it originated in negotiations which were then being carried on for the marriage of Ormond's grandson, the Earl of Ossory, to a cousin of the Earl of Arlington. Although the young man was then only seventeen, the question of his marriage had been for some years the subject of anxious consideration, and the Earl of Arlington, who as a brother-in-law of the young man's mother, was a principal adviser in all that concerned him, had revived an idea of this alliance which had been originally suggested by the King to the young man's father. The inducement for its consummation, which however failed to tempt Ormond, was the prospect of immense wealth, and this would appear not to have been exaggerated, as a correspondent in announcing the death of the young lady's father some months later, says that she had become "one of the greatest fortunes in England, being worth at least in lands and money 150,000*l*."

To Ormond there had been accorded on his journey from Chester and on his entry into London, a reception which showed that his popularity in England had not been diminished by his long absence, and his enemies, perceiving that his power could not be lightly disregarded, and possibly not a little overawed by the magnificence of his equipage and the great extent of his retinue, were for the time silenced. The effect was visible the moment Ormond presented himself at Court. His surroundings in England were not calculated to cause Ormond to regard with favour an undistinguished alliance such as was proposed for his grandson by Lord Arlington, and the negotiations with respect to it were quickly broken off and others opened for the marriage of the young man to a daughter of the Duke of Newcastle. But unexpectedly a new development is disclosed in the correspondence, Captain George Mathew, Ormond's step-brother and financial brains-carrier, is summoned in haste to London about settlements which are to be drawn up without loss of time, and in little more than two months after Ormond had left Ireland, his grandson was married to Lord Hyde's daughter, who had only been suggested a few weeks before as an eligible partner for the young Earl of Ossory. This alliance, which was arranged by the young lady's uncle the Duke of York, had an important political bearing, and secured for Ormond, as his son expressed it, "the main stroke" in all government business that concerned him. Notwithstanding a friendship that had existed for a great portion of their lives there had been much misunderstanding

between Ormond and Hyde in their official relations, and when Marquess of Ormond's journey to England was first announced the Court gossips had given out that Hyde's management of the Treasury would be called in question, and that Ormond was coming over "full of fraud with revenge against him for his proceedings in relation to the farm." But now all was changed: the proposals in the new contract were laid before Ormond, and when it was found that they were not considered by him advantageous, the contractors, of whom Sir James Shaen was found to be again one, "were dismissed with very severe rebukes for having departed from what they had formerly agreed unto," and "amongst all the lords none was more sharp upon them than my Lord Hyde, as having deluded him more than the rest." At the same time Lord Anglesey was called upon by the Council to explain such passages in his book as seemed to reflect upon the memory of Charles I., and as he failed to do so, the privy seal was taken from him.

It had been Ormond's intention to return to Ireland that autumn, and he was prepared to resist any pressure which the ministers might put upon him to remain in England by requiring that the expense of his son's establishment as Lord Deputy, which he was then bearing, should be defrayed by the Crown, but the King himself spoke, and all considerations of personal convenience were forgotten by Ormond. The King's desire for Ormond's presence in England was connected with the effort that was then being made to bring the government of the City of London into conformity with the royal policy, and arose evidently from the King's conviction that Ormond's generosity and hospitality would go far to gain his object. During the remainder of the correspondence covered by this volume Ormond appears in attendance on the King, maintaining a princely establishment, and transporting "the table" which it was his privilege to keep at his own expense as Lord Steward, to Winchester and Newmarket when the King visited those places. Some idea of the cost of serving his royal master may be gathered from the letters of the controller of Ormond's household, who accounts for the disappearance of 15,000*l.* by laconically observing that "you cannot have your cake and eat your cake," and from a rueful letter addressed by Ormond himself to his step-brother, George Mathew, in which he says that "the King's affairs go on well and as he is told not the worse for him, but if his own decline as fast it will be hard to repair them;" and adds, which would seem rather obvious, that the English dukedom, which was then conferred upon him, was "of no other advantage than precedency."

Of the Earl of Arran, who is so conspicuous a figure throughout this volume, the correspondence conveys a pleasing impression. Even in the dry details of official business, with which his letters are almost entirely occupied, an affectionate admiration for his father is always perceptible, and no effort seems to have been spared by him to maintain his father's honour and promote his interests. The fatal illness of his eldest, and then his only, son

Marquess of Ormonde : N.S., Vol. VI. in Ireland while he was in London drew out all that was best in Arran, and a touching passage in one of the letters which he wrote at that time to his father, is specially noteworthy.

That Arran was also not without considerable talent for business is evident from a letter addressed by Archbishop Boyle to Ormond soon after he had gone to England. But Arran's abilities and character do not bear comparison with those of his father. Either from indolence, or as he says himself, from want of skill, much information that his father wished to be sent was omitted from his letters, and in the settlement of the Irish revenue there is indication that he was not altogether uninfluenced by the expectation of personal advantage. His reputation for self indulgence cannot be lightly set aside, and owing apparently to extravagance on the part of his wife as well as of himself, his domestic affairs did not always run smoothly. In the gay life of the Court he was a participant, rivalling the finest there in the gorgeousness of his apparel, and numbering amongst his friends the Duchess of Portsmouth and Nell Gwynn, who writes hoping that for her sake Arran, as Lord Deputy, will give "a speedy despatch" to the business of her pension. In the power of the Duchess of Portsmouth, Arran was evidently a firm believer, and it was through his influence that his father became at that time "so much a courtier" as to visit her, an attention which it must have been then more than ever difficult to induce Ormond to pay, as the Duchess had apparently obstructed the negotiations for his grandson's marriage by spreading reports as to the young man's life at Oxford, and had delayed the presentation of a magnificent bracelet or collar which Queen Catherine gave about that time to the Duchess of Ormond.

During the period covered by the greater portion of the correspondence in this volume the political situation was governed by the Tory reaction which set in after Oates's plot. In the opening letters some lively accounts will be found, however, of the proceedings of the short lived Parliament—or convention, as Sir Cyril Wyche thought it ought to be called—at Oxford. "Though I have seen the distractions and rejections of routed armies, a prospect "dismal enough," writes Colonel Cooke, "yet nothing ever equalled this day in this place at the surprising dissolution of this "Parliament," but it is evident from a previous letter of this doughty warrior, that everyone was not unprepared, as has been generally represented, for this sudden termination to the debates. The trials of Archbishop Plunkett and Edward Fitzharris, with which the prosecutions originating in Oates's discoveries concluded, come also under notice. Amongst the witnesses called by Fitzharris was the Earl of Arran, to whom he was personally known and whose host he had been at dinner the day before his arrest, but both Ormond and Arran seem to have been convinced that his conviction was just. At the same time Ormond observes with respect to the trial of Archbishop Plunkett: "I wish for the honour of the justice "of England that the evidence against Plunkett had been as convincing as that against the other was; for we must expect that

“ Papists at home and abroad will take his trial to pieces and make
 “ malicious remarks upon every part of it, and some circumstances
 “ are liable to disadvantageous observations.” Meantime the con-
 flict between the Court and the City of London had begun on the
 occasion of the presentation to the King of an address praying that
 a new Parliament might be summoned. The address had been
 carried in the Common Council only by a small majority, and the
 Lord Chancellor administered on the part of the King a severe
 reprimand to the delegates who presented it, telling them that “ the
 “ smallest village in England might with as much right take the
 “ confidence to address for the sitting of Parliaments as they.”
 The subsequent refusal of the city juries to find bills against College,
 the Protestant joiner, and Lord Shaftesbury, is animadverted upon
 in strong terms by all Ormond’s courtly correspondents, and the
 decision to put the laws in execution against the Dissenters and to
 suppress their conventicles is hailed with delight. At that time the
 Earl of Longford was in London, and as, in the words of Ormond,
 he was in writing “ as copious as Arran was thrifty of his pains,”
 there is a full and very interesting account of the various incidents.
 But on the great exertions made by Ormond in the following year to
 obtain the election of members of the Court party to the civic offices,
 to which Carte alludes, the correspondence in this volume does not
 throw much fresh light.

The attitude of Charles II. to the Duke of York and the Duke of
 Monmouth was the subject of constant curiosity and conjecture.
 During the residence of the Duke of York in Scotland there was a
 very circumstantial account that he had renounced the Roman
 Catholic religion and attended the services of the Church of
 England, and there is reference by Ormond to his taking the oaths
 of allegiance and supremacy there, “ which, I think, are at least as
 “ full and binding as those in England,” says Ormond, “ and for
 “ the taking whereof I do not believe the Pope will dispense.”
 According to popular report an annuity of five thousand pounds a
 year settled by the Duke of York upon the Duchess of Portsmouth,
 who became suddenly “ zealous in all his affairs,” paved the way
 for his restoration to full favour, but in Ormond’s opinion the Duke
 of Monmouth’s injudicious conduct was the chief cause of the
 breach between him and the King, and of the recall of
 the Duke of York to Court. In the autumn of 1662 a visit
 paid by the Duke of Monmouth to Cheshire, ostensibly for the
 purpose of horse racing, created great alarm. Orders were sent to
 the Earl of Arran to be prepared to send troops from Ireland in case
 the Cheshire militia were unable to cope with such disturbance as
 might arise, and a riot actually occurred in Cheshire where, as an
 old cavalier writes, the mayor, being “ a creature ” of the Duke of
 Monmouth, permitted bonfires “ on every idle occasion ” and en-
 couraged the rabble in “ their insufferable licentiousness.” To
 Charles II.’s ministers there is constant allusion in the correspond-
 ence, and especially to the first Lord of the Treasury, Viscount
 Hyde, who was then “ the greatest man in favour at Court,” and

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to the Secretaries of State, Sir Leoline Jenkins, who is said to have been slow in business, and the Earl of Conway, who from his connexion with Ireland seems to have frequently interfered in Irish affairs, although these were in the department of his brother secretary. Amongst other statesmen, who are mentioned as in attendance on the King, are Edward Seymour, who is represented as a man of boundless ambition, and the Earl of Ranelagh.

Of plots and counter plots, and of conspirators and informers, the letters tell with a diffusedness that becomes at times somewhat wearisome. In a curious communication from an anonymous correspondent to Ormond there is a long list of persons whom the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard, and others are said to have designed to impeach as promoters of "a Presbyterian sham plot." The Earl of Arran's name is in "the catalogue," but Ormond's name does not appear, although, as he remarked, this was an omission likely to be rectified in due time. In connexion with the alleged "Presbyterian sham plot," one William Smith, a prisoner for debt in Dublin, alleged that he had been asked to accuse a dignitary of the Church of Ireland and a Dissenting minister of endeavouring to induce him to give evidence of the existence of a Popish plot; but Ormond had no doubt of the genesis of Smith's statements, and that his affidavit had been "principally contrived and limited" for the service of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had shortly before been sent to the Tower. Of the witnesses who were so ready to swear informations, Ormond speaks in no uncertain terms in a letter to the Earl of Arran which has been already printed by Carte.

But the main subject, of which the letters in this volume treat, is the collection and apportionment of the Irish revenue. Although the farm to Sir James Shaen and his partners had existed for five years, the account of a previous farm to the Earl of Ranelagh and others had never been closed, and were further complicated by the accounts of Lord Ranelagh as a Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. This position led to endless correspondence between the English Treasury and the Irish government, and in connexion with it the rival merits of a farm and of a management are discussed, especially by Chief Justice Keatinge, who was evidently an authority on finance, and the miserable system under which the army and government officials were left at the mercy of "bankrupt knaves" is laid bare. In the end it was decided to place the revenue under management, and for that purpose five commissioners were appointed, the chief being the Earl of Longford, who seems to have been excellently qualified for the post from the experience which he had gained in his domestic affairs of making a scanty income meet a lavish expenditure.

The Universities of Oxford and of Dublin engaged Ormond's care from time to time in his capacity as chancellor. A project to transfer the Dublin collegians to the hospital then being built at Kilmainham for old soldiers, and the pensioners to the halls of Trinity College, and the reasons for that proposal, make a new chapter in the history of Dublin University. One of the subjects touched upon in the letters from Oxford is the fees paid to Ormond's

secretaries when his signature was required. Judging from references in other letters, as well as in those, no attention was to be expected without gifts on the most liberal scale to his entourage, and the University began to murmur at some of the exactions.

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The constitution of the episcopal and judicial benches of Ireland in the period covered by the correspondence left much to be desired. By endeavouring to act as head of both, Archbishop Boyle failed to do justice to the great abilities which he possessed, and his reputation rests on his talent for statesmanship. Of the other bishops mentioned in this volume, Anthony Dopping and Narcissus Marsh are alone noteworthy. Of some of their brethren the less said the better. An effort was made by Ormond to raise the standard by inducing John Tillotson to accept an Irish see, but the latter, who was then Dean of Canterbury, did not wish to move. Of the judges, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, John Keatinge, and one of the justices of the King's Bench, Sir Richard Reynell, are the only striking personalities. Keatinge, who had attained to a great practice at the Irish bar, and had been promoted at an early age direct from it to the chief seat in the Common Pleas, has been held up to odium on account of his conduct while James II. was in Ireland. It is, however, to be borne in mind that men of such varied views as Essex, Ormond and Clarendon were impressed by his character as much as by his abilities, and, a fact not so generally known, that it was intended to reappoint him to a seat on the Irish bench after the battle of the Boyne when his premature death intervened. Reynell, who united with professional attainments social qualities of a high order, was as well known in England as in Ireland, and during the reign of William and Mary occupied a seat in the English House of Commons while filling the position of Chief Justice of Ireland. Before this volume opens he had been created a baronet and in some of the letters there is mention of his being placed on the Privy Council—a position which had not been occupied by a puisne judge since the reign of Elizabeth. Friendship with the Ormond family played a large part in the promotion of Chief Justice Davys, Judge Lyndon and Judge Turner to the judicial bench. The last, who was a son-in-law of Colonel John Jeffreys and had succeeded his father-in-law as constable of the Castle of Dublin, was a dying man when his appointment took place, and only survived for two years. The value of the bishoprics in Ireland was then extremely small; the bishopric of Kildare is said to have been only worth two hundred pounds a year. The judges were equally underpaid, and as Keatinge says, it was difficult “to get any gentleman of parts or practice to change the bar for the bench.” They had to undertake “long and uncouth journeys with ill and chargeable entertainment,” and were not unexposed to danger from the state of the court-houses, as appears from the following passage inserted parenthetically in an account Chief Justice Davys sends of a trial before him while holding the assizes at Cork: “but as the Court was going to call upon another evidence, it happened that a great part of the floor of the court fell down, and with that a great

Marquess of Ormonde : N.S., Vol. VI. “ number of people, many of whom were severely bruised, others wounded, and one or two killed, as we are informed. The confusion, you may imagine, was very great; such as were not hurt were forced to get out of windows, and among them Mr. Baron Worth and I dropped down into the people’s arms, who stood ready to receive us.”

There is frequent reference to the prosecution of the Secretary of State in Ireland, Sir John Davys, a brother of Chief Justice Davys, for complicity in “ the Popish plot.” The allegations against him seem to have been mainly promoted by James Morley, a gentleman of good estate in the county of Meath, who in a long statement which he made exculpating Sir John Davys from all the charges, expresses sorrow for his “ precipitateness in entertaining “ an ill opinion of Sir John upon the misinformations of certain evil “ persons,” and his belief that he is “ a loyal subject and a true “ Protestant, and that he never acted in anything derogatory from “ these characters of him.” With respect to Sir Richard Stephens, who was dismissed from the position of a serjeant-at-law for disloyalty to the Church of England, it may be remarked that he became afterwards a justice of the King’s Bench in Ireland, and with respect to Mr. Herbert, who while presiding in the court of the Regalities of Tipperary, is said to have exhibited indiscretion and passion, it may be added that he was Edward Herbert, afterwards well known as James II.’s Chief Justice of England.

The pursuit of “ the Tories,” who gave much trouble in the north of Ireland to the government at this time, gives occasion for letters which are very painful reading. Treachery and cruelty, especially in regard to Redmond O’Hanlon, are very manifest, and as an officer says, “ very sad and great wrongs ” were then done.

Turning to matters that concern Ormond’s domestic affairs, attention may be called to letters from the Earl of Longford, which describe statues and a fountain made under his direction for Kilkenny Castle, and iron gates designed by Grinling Gibbons, as well as to a list of tapestry hangings sent from Kilkenny to cover the walls of Ormond’s London house. Ormond’s intention at one time to build a residence in Needwood Forest is also mentioned, and there is frequent reference to Tullow in the county of Carlow as the favourite retirement of the Earl of Arran, while acting as Lord Deputy. To Ormond’s hawks, horses and hounds there are many allusions, and while tied to a London house we find him solacing himself with cards, trick-track and basset being the games mentioned. A weakness for salads may now be added to his well-known love for a boiled leg of mutton.

In conclusion there should not be overlooked the information given with respect to foreign affairs, and in this connexion a letter from Sir Cyril Wyche about “ the persecution of the Protestants ” in France seems especially deserving of attention; the details respecting the murder of Mr. Thynne and the trial of Count Konigsmark; the repeated rumours of the King’s intention to summon both the English and the Irish Parliaments; the precautions taken in

view of the possibility of an invasion of Ireland by the French; and the schemes to build a suitable residence for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

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In the period covered by Volume VII., namely, from 25th March, 1683, to July, 1688, the correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond is concluded. More than half of it is filled by the correspondence of the last two years of his third term of office as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the remaining pages carry the correspondence down to his death, and contain extracts from inventories of his furniture, plate and pictures, and a catalogue of his books.

With the exception of the last six months of his employment as Viceroy, Ormond was during the five years resident in England, and the letters to him are almost entirely occupied with Irish affairs. As long as he held the position of Lord Deputy, the Earl of Arran continued to be his father's chief informant, with help in regard to legal questions from the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Boyle, and the Solicitor-General, Sir John Temple. From the time he was superseded in the government by Ormond's return to Ireland until his own death, which occurred little more than two years later, Arran had, however, seldom occasion to write to his father, and during the remaining years of Ormond's life, in addition to Archbishop Boyle, who governed Ireland for ten months after Ormond laid down the sword, and Sir John Temple, Ormond's most frequent correspondents were the fifth Earl of Roscommon, who commanded Ormond's regiment, the Earl of Longford, the first Viscount Mountjoy of the Stewart creation, and Sir Cyril Wyche, who acted during Ormond's short stay in Ireland in the capacity of his chief secretary. There are also in this volume a number of letters to Arran from John Keatinge, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Robert Reading, an ancestor of the Duke of Abercorn, Lemuel Kingdon, a commissioner of the Irish revenue, and others.

Ormond had been kept in London, whither he had gone for the purpose of contracting an alliance for his grandson, by command of the King, and his stay appears to have been now further prolonged by a combination of private and public motives. Although there are allusions to one or two severe attacks of illness, Ormond enjoyed on the whole good health until the time of his death, but the Duchess of Ormond's condition was then a source of anxiety. Four months after the correspondence in this volume commences she went to Bath "rather to have an opportunity of dying out of her husband's sight than out of any hopes she had of a recovery," but the waters proved beneficial, and in the autumn Ormond wrote that she was as well as he had ever known her at that time of year. A country house at Little Chelsea was provided as a retreat for her, but she remained by her husband's side until the following summer, when, on Saturday, 20th July, her death took place. In the end it came unexpectedly.

What her loss meant to Ormond may be gathered from a letter
(B1720—Gp. 5)

Marquess of Ormonde : N.S., Vol. VII. of of condolence sent to him by Archbishop Boyle:—" You have lost the noblest person, the wisest friend and the best of wives that ever lived ; one of such an universal goodness that her death doth worthily challenge not only your Grace's but the kingdom's lamentation. . . . If my computation fails me not, it is about fifty-five years that you have been happy in each other. What an age of mercies have you possessed together ! How have you supported each other through all the changes and varieties of fortune, and have made even your sufferings easy to you both by your mutual assistances !"

A month before the Duchess of Ormond's death the King had decided that Ormond should return to Ireland. Apparently it had been Ormond's intention to remain in England until the following spring, and the change of residence before that time was not altogether agreeable to him. The origin of the order was no doubt to be found in the wish of the King's advisers to remove him from the Court. A year before he had written to Arran that dissatisfaction was once more expressed in regard to the government of Ireland, and these reflections he had rightly conjectured had reference no less to himself than to his son. It was Ormond's fate to please neither party in the state, and the attack came now from the Duke of York and his friends, who had become predominant with the King, and centred round a charge that disaffection was rife in both military and civil life in Ireland and was countenanced by the executive in that country. So long as Ormond was near the King the Duke of York and his friends found it impossible to advance their policy as they wished, and as a first step they secured his removal to a distance.

That they had not overestimated the effect of his presence the result proved. On the 5th of August Ormond set out from Windsor for Ireland, arriving in Dublin a fortnight later, and on the 19th of October the King acquainted him with his determination " to put that government into another hand." Although warnings had reached him of the probability of such an event, the actual notification took Ormond by surprise. Five days before it reached him he had despatched Arran to wait upon the King with an account of Ireland that he had every reason to expect would be pleasing to his Majesty. His confidence that he was able to pursue a policy in accordance with the King's wishes is seen from the letter of which his son was the bearer.

But the changes which the Duke of York and his friends required were such as Ormond could never have been brought to recommend or to concur in. Their extent is made plain in the King's letter conveying to Ormond his dismissal, a letter in which Charles II. takes no pains to disguise his own fickle character.

Ormond seldom criticised the conduct of his sovereign, but on that occasion he gave vent in more than one letter to his sense of the injustice that had been done him. To his son in particular he communicated with much freedom his private thoughts, and gave in detail the allegations that had been made in order to secure his removal.

In reply to the King's letter Ormond had intimated his intention when he laid down the sword of returning to London to perform the duties of the office of Lord Steward, which by "his Majesty's bounty" was still left to him, and had asked that his removal should not fall in the winter, "an unfit season for an old man to travel in, or for any man to make provision for his future residence." In the interval the death of Charles II. took place. Some weeks before Ormond had learned that restrictions as to the exercise of patronage were to be imposed on his successor which had never been customary in his own case, and as this intimation had greatly mitigated his feeling of chagrin he was able to give expression to whole-hearted sorrow for one whom his extraordinary loyalty to the Crown led him to style "the best King, the best master, and the best friend that ever man had." The accession of James II. made no change in the arrangements for Ormond's departure from Ireland except that the government was to be transferred to Lords Justices instead of to Lord Rochester. Although he had been at one time willing to make an exception in that nobleman's favour, Ormond was reluctant to accept the humiliation of surrendering the sword in person, a position in which he had never been previously placed, but owing to his representations on that subject being delayed in transit, it was arranged that his successors should be sworn into office before he left Ireland. From that country he set sail, never to return, on 28th March, 1685.

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The rule of James II. cannot but have been regarded by Ormond from the first with grave misgivings, and it brought to him unhappiness and loss of income. As letters in this volume show, he viewed with deep distress the removal of officers who had formerly been attached to his person from the Irish army, and of friends from positions in civil life to which he had himself promoted them. In several letters he alludes to his own circumstances, but especially in a remarkable one to his step-brother and financial adviser, Captain Mathew. But Ormond was inclined to blame the King's advisers for what was amiss rather than the King himself, and was constant in his attendance at Court until a year before his death. He removed then to Kingston Hall in Dorsetshire, where on 21st July, 1688, he died. Of his life in the country a glimpse is caught in a letter from the faithful controller of his household to his steward at Kilkenny, written in the autumn of 1687.

In the present volume there are several references to the Earl of Arran which confirms the statements as to his habits of self-indulgence and show that his conduct while he held the office of Lord Deputy did not always become a chief governor. The "track of goodfellowship," which was followed by him at that time, was used as one of the excuses for urging his father's removal, and probably was more than ever pursued after his connexion with the Irish Government ceased, and was accountable in a large measure for his premature death. Here and there in his letters passages show, however, the ability which gained for him at first such high encomiums, and although his relations with his wife do not seem to have been

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always of the most happy kind, his affectionate nature is conspicuous in regard to his parents and his children. Two sons had replaced the one lost in 1681, Lord Tullow and Mr. James, "the finest child," observes a member of Arran's household, "I ever saw," but they lived only a short time. His daughter Charlotte, the only one of his children that survived him, was Arran's constant companion, and in one of his letters to his father there is a pretty excuse for some scribblings made by her on the back of the sheet on which he wrote. Owing to the extravagance of his wife and himself he had become much embarrassed in his circumstances and was beset by "the clamour of hungry folks at not having been paid." "Never was any man," says his friend, Chief Justice Keatinge, "so misled and made a prey of by his own servants." His straitened condition had probably some part in an idea of his volunteering for service against the Turks, or obtaining employment as Viceroy of New England. Fair friends, who drew Arran away from the ties of home and business in Dublin, particularly Bell Stephens in all her glory, receive occasional notice in the correspondence, and "rolls of music papers" sent to him from time to time by the celebrated Dr. Staggins were not the least anxiously expected communications from London. To Chief Justice Keatinge the news of Arran's death, which occurred in London on 26th January, 1685-6, in his forty-eighth year, came as no surprise, and in his letter of condolence Primate Boyle makes no reference to his death as a public loss, but dwells entirely on Ormond's sorrow.

To his grandson and successor, the Earl of Ossory, Ormond alludes in the early part of the correspondence in this volume with reserve, and as if his future was a source of anxiety to him. In the spring of 1684 the young man went to the Netherlands to gain "honour and experience" in the military operations then pending before Luxembourg, an expedition which Ormond thought was likely to prove more chargeable to him than instructive to his grandson, but in less than two months was recalled by Ormond in order to accompany him to Ireland. In the opinion of his aunt, Lady Cavendish, it would have been to Ossory's advantage to have stayed longer abroad, but according to her "nothing of that kind" had ever happened to him. Both Ossory and his wife went with Ormond to Ireland, and it was arranged that they were to remain there with her father. But even if Rochester had come to Ireland as Viceroy, the arrangement was destined not to be carried out, for on 25th January, 1684-5, Lady Ossory, who had only completed her seventeenth birthday three days before, died. Ormond deeply lamented her loss, but thought it his duty to rouse himself from his sorrow to seek a fresh alliance for his grandson. Within a month of the first Lady Ossory's death he was in communication with Sir Robert Southwell regarding a daughter of the Duke of Beaufort, and before eight months had elapsed Ossory was married to her. Ossory was attacked by smallpox when returning to England with his grandfather, but took part in June in the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion. After his second marriage he seems to have lived on more cordial terms with his grandfather, and

a letter from him to Ormond betokens affectionate devotion on his wife's part as well as his own.

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Several letters will be found in the present volume from the ninth Earl of Derby, who was married to a sister of Lord Ossory. They are concerned chiefly with his regalities in the Isle of Man, and the suppression of dissent, in which Derby was not over zealous. There are also some letters from Ormond's son-in-law, the second Earl of Chesterfield, and some references to Chesterfield's only daughter, Lady Betty Stanhope.

So far as England is concerned the Rye House Plot and the political situation created by it are the subjects most fully treated of in the present volume.

The Plot led to much activity in Ireland against the Dissenters. Arran ordered at once " some troops of horse northward " and sent also " some intelligent persons " to ascertain how far the Plot had extended in that part of the country. Two of the conspirators, Rumbold and Walcot, had connexion with Ireland, whither they were at first believed to have fled, and Colonel Richard Lawrence, a resident in Ireland well known as a writer on economic subjects, and often alluded to in this correspondence, was suspected of being cognizant of their movements. The excitement led to many false reports. In consequence of Arran's efforts conventicles were suppressed to an extent that was " not expected or scarce hoped for " and " the law of twelve pence a Sunday for those who come not to " church " was enforced. In the opinion of Ormond further severity was, however, necessary. " Dispersing of conventicles," he says, " if nothing more follow that may make them weary of meeting is " no better than scattering a flock of crows that will soon assemble " again, and possibly it were better to let them alone than to let them " see the impotence of the government upon which they will presume."

But the main subject touching Ireland of which the correspondence between Ormond and his son treats is the Irish army. The commands in it had begun to fetch exorbitant prices, and the traffic in commissions had become notorious and caused much dissatisfaction in high quarters. Projects for its regulation were also constantly under consideration, and the delay in the payment of arrears gave rise to frequent complaints. There are also many references in Arran's letters to the collection of the revenue and to disputes between the Commissioners and their predecessors, the Farmers, and much criticism, in which Arran had the assistance of the Primate and Sir John Temple, of a commission of Grace for the Remedy of Defective Titles which was appointed in the last year of Charles II.'s reign.

As regards Ireland interest will, however, centre in the letters written from thence after the accession of James II. Foremost amongst these are the letters from Archbishop Boyle, to whom in conjunction with Lord Granard the government of Ireland was committed on Ormond's departure. In one of his earliest letters in the present volume Ormond bears testimony to Boyle's judicial rectitude

Marquess of and abilities, saying that nothing less than "the conviction of his Ormonde : " most infallible senses or palpable demonstration " would ever persuade him that Boyle could be tempted " to swerve from the rules of N.S., " justice," or " to employ the authority of his place, or the great Vol. VII. " force of his reason, to the oppression of great or small," and from a letter of the Earl of Rochester, Ormond would appear to have himself recommended the appointment of both Boyle and his brother Lord Justice. But Boyle proved too ready to acquiesce in the new policy in Ireland to please Ormond. He saw no reason to complain of the disbanding of the horse and battle-axe guards which Ormond considered an injustice to the officers who had bought their commissions, and he allowed a general disarming of Protestants to be carried out without an official remonstrance, until told by Ormond that " if " he went out of the government without leaving behind him some " public manifestation of his care and concern for the loyal Protest- " ants of Ireland, he would not leave the world with that character " he had lived in it."

But the chief source of Ormond's dissatisfaction was the subservience of the Irish administration to the Earl of Tyrconnell. In this particular the principal responsibility was, however, laid at the door of Boyle's co-Lord Justice, Arthur, first Earl of Granard, in regard to whose somewhat tortuous career considerable information will be found in this volume. Accusations which were brought against him of having assisted the Earl of Argyll to escape, and of having been concerned in the scheme for an insurrection at the time of the Rye House Plot, indicate at least that his associates then were not the friends of the Duke of York, but during a visit to the Court in the last months of Charles II.'s reign his views appear to have undergone a change simultaneously with his promotion to an earldom, and these letters show that for a time he was little more than a creature of the Earl of Tyrconnell. Although Ormond had a kindly feeling towards him from a recollection of his services to Charles I., Granard was not one of his intimates and is mentioned in this volume as a rival of his son as well as of his brother-in-law, FitzPatrick, whom Granard challenged to fight a duel.

With the Earl of Clarendon, whose arrival in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in January, 1686, terminated the reign of Boyle and Granard, Ormond was on more friendly terms, and exchanged the use of Kilkenny for that of Cornbury while Clarendon was Viceroy. Ormond felt the utmost sympathy for him in the unenviable position in which he was placed, and the substitution of Roman Catholics for Protestants in the Irish army and proposed repeal of the Act of Settlement gave rise to some correspondence between them. On Clarendon's return to England in February, 1687, Ormond wrote to him that his conduct of the Irish government had won the prayers of good and loyal men, and as a mark of his own approbation appointed him High Steward of the University of Oxford.

In the opinion of Ormond the evil genius of James II.'s reign was the Earl of Tyrconnell, of whom he never says a good word. He had incurred Ormond's disfavour not only by his policy but by per-

sonal acts of discourtesy in the removal of old members of Ormond's household from the army and oppression of those who were known to be Ormond's friends. Even during Clarendon's viceroyalty, Ormond found it impossible to excuse James II.'s toleration of Tyrconnell, and could only find comfort in the hope that his employment was a temporary expedient. After Tyrconnell's appointment as Lord Deputy in room of Clarendon only five short letters from Ormond are preserved. In one of them he expresses his intention of having "writings and goods" brought to England, evidently for the purpose of ensuring their safety, and in another he says that the account which he receives of his affairs in Ireland is very bad and what makes the conditions of landlords like himself "the sadder is that there appears no possible remedy in prospect, at least none that they can hope will be applied to their relief."

Of the death of Charles II., which fell upon his Court "unexpectedly and suddenly," Ormond's correspondents give some particulars. To the sayings of that monarch another is added in one of Ormond's letters, namely, that an excuse is "seldom without a little mixture of a lie." There are also several references to the marriage of the future Queen Anne to Prince George of Denmark. Its probability is mentioned in May, 1683, by Ormond, who says that "those that are resolved to like nothing of the Court, give out that it is a French match and contrived to carry on that interest." It was thought that the Princess's fortune would prove an irresistible attraction to the Prince, who is described by Ormond as a good soldier and a "brisk man." A letter from the Prince of Orange testifies to the value which he placed upon the friendship of the Duke of Ormond and his family, but the allusions to him in Ormond's letters have only reference to his part in foreign affairs. Of Ormond's connection with the Court as Lord Steward we are frequently reminded by long lists of the appointments to the household as well as by observations on the "Bedchamber Orders" and statements as to the "Succession of the Officers Below Stairs in the King's House" and "Accommodation for White-staves and Officers of the Green-cloth," but excepting as regards Lord Rochester, whom it is evident Ormond never entirely trusted, little information is to be gathered about the English ministers.

Turning again to the sister island much light is thrown in the letters on the position of the various religious denominations in that country during the period covered by this volume. So long as Roman Catholics did not make an open profession of their faith it would appear that at the close of Charles II.'s reign they were allowed "the exercise of their religion," but the entry of two nuns "into their habits," with great pomp and formality, at Galway and the "building and fitting up of no less than four chapels" at Kilkenny led to official remonstrance, while even severer measures were taken against some nuns and "a mad friar" at Burrishoole. Before the death of Charles II. the increase of Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, and the freedom permitted to them, had excited the alarm of the dignitaries of the established church, and even the Earl of

Marquess of Ormonde :
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Marquess of Tyrconnell appears to have thought his co-religionists would do well Ormonde : " to be more discreet. The reluctance of Charles II. to call a N.S., Parliament in Ireland was attributed by Ormond to the King's fear Vol. VII. of the measures which might be proposed against Roman Catholics, and the King's apprehensions on that point proved evidently too strong for Ormond to attempt to combat. After the accession of James II. the position of Roman Catholics in Ireland is illustrated by a curious and most interesting account of the foundation by them of a University in Kilkenny, and a request addressed to Ormond from Waterford to recommend the appointment as bishop of that see of " the Reverend Father John Everard, regular of St. Francis's Order," whose loyalty to Charles II. had earned for him the sobriquet of " John for the King."

As regards the social and economic condition of Ireland information is to be obtained from letters of Lord Longford and Lemuel Kingdon, who in the capacity of Revenue Commissioners made " circuits " through the country, and from correspondence relating to the discoveries of one Isaiah Amos in the county of Tipperary, and the trial of some of the inhabitants of Borrisokane for unlawful assembly. There is also to be found in these pages an interesting supplement to the story of the Brennans, the famous gang of robbers and gaol-breakers. While on the Leinster circuit in the summer of 1683 Chief Justice Keatinge reported their depredations in that part of the country and in the county of Limerick, and suggested that they might be captured if " a desperate follow " on whose " conduct and courage " they depended were promised a pardon. Then in the autumn of that year they appeared at Chester " in greater splendour and plenty than belonged to any of their " race," having apparently assumed the name of Ormond's own family, and were taken into custody by the Mayor. But they soon escaped by means of judicious bribery, in which it is evident from an intercepted letter they were proficient, and, judging by the proposals of an informer for their discovery, within a few months were pursuing their trade once more in Ireland. Three years later they descended upon the castle at Kilkenny, which was their headquarters, and carried off plate to the value, as was currently reported, of 1,000*l.*, belonging to Ormond and his step-brother, Captain Mathew. The latter with whom the recovery of the plate was evidently the first consideration used an " authority of protection," which Lord Clarendon entrusted to him in favour of the Brennans themselves, who accused other persons of the robbery and made allegations against one Christopher Ramsey which could not be sustained. From a report of Ramsey's trial it would appear that after Ramsey's acquittal Mathew was bound over to prosecute the Brennans for perjury, but a few months later he figures as their advocate in an application to the Earl of Tyrconnell after his appointment as Lord Deputy for an indemnity of all their transgressions under Tyrconnell's own hand which Tyrconnell to his credit absolutely refused. Ormond, who was " somewhat out of countenance " that after all his services one company of foot could not be spared to protect his

castle, was evidently no party to his step-brother's proceedings and was advocating at this time very different methods in dealing with "outlaws and rogues." The exploits and capture of a Tory called Power, who was hanged, are also recounted in much detail, and "a bold but pleasant passage," told by no less distinguished a narrator than Primate Boyle, shows how he held up a wedding party and after drinking the bride's health marched off "quietly and softly" with 60*l.* which the guests gave him on his demanding the bride's portion. A further illustration of the state of the country will be found in the correspondence that ensued on the assassination of Captain William Hamilton, which so far as the evidence in the letters goes would seem to have been entirely due to his unrelenting pursuit of the Ulster Tories.

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There are several references to ecclesiastical and legal personages in Ireland, principally in connexion with actual or expected vacancies. In one case Archbishop Boyle recommended for promotion to the episcopal bench a prelate, whose conduct failed to secure the approval of some of his brethren, but judging by his letters to Ormond on the death of the Duchess and of Arran, Boyle was not wanting in the piety becoming one in his position. Amongst legal persons Chief Justice Keatinge and Samuel Gorges, who was promoted from the Recordship of Kilkenny to a seat in the Common Pleas during the period covered by the present volume, are those of whom most information is to be obtained, but there are also references to the Chief Baron, Henry Hene, and his puisne, William Worth, as well as to Sir Richard Ryves and Henry Echlin, who were subsequently promoted to the bench.

The last subject that occupied Ormond's attention was the University of Oxford, and throughout the volume lists of dispensations granted to the students and graduates will be found. As regards Dublin University the chief references are to the appointment of an Oxford alumnus, Robert Huntington, as Provost of Trinity College, which was due in a great measure "to the violent animosities which appeared amongst domestic competitors." The foundation of the hospital for decayed soldiers at Kilmainham in Dublin occasioned frequent correspondence, and there are several allusions to the erection of the chapel which was expected to be one of the finest in the King's dominions.

From the inventories at the close of the volume much information is to be obtained as to Ormond's houses, furniture and establishment. There are also many allusions to them in the correspondence. His London residence in St. James's Square and his temporary abode at Hampstead, which Arran considered "an unwholesome air" on account of its proximity to a bog, come under notice, and a list of arms which were hung up in the hall of his town house at the time of the Rye House Plot affords a graphic picture of the insecurity felt then, even in the great centres of population. But not the least curious survival is the list of provisions used in Dublin Castle during the first year of Arran's rule as Lord Deputy. The references to Ormond's hawks and hounds

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are frequent, and show that even to the close of his life field sports were his chief pleasure. His indulging in basset and trick-track, at which he lost heavily, was due probably more to his circumstances than his inclination. An allusion to "the Butlers' weather" shows that Ormond and his family enjoyed the same fortune that attends the royal family to-day, and references to Ormond's solicitude about his papers explain the origin of the noble manuscript collection at Kilkenny and in the Bodleian.

Finally, attention must be drawn as regards Ireland to the details of the fire that almost consumed Dublin Castle while Arran was Lord Deputy and to references to the Whitefriars in that city which afforded him temporary shelter, as well as to frequent mention of the Phoenix Park, the viceregal lodge at Chapelizod, Kilkenny, and the Curragh; as regards the wider field of foreign politics to the letters from Sir Richard Bulstrode, the English resident at Brussels, and to numerous newsletters; and as regards the customs of the time to two curious instances of the libatory habits in high circles.

THE EARL OF EGMONT.

Earl of
Egmont,
Vol. II.

The Second Volume of the report on the collections of the Earl of Egmont continues the calendar of the letters and papers of general interest from the beginning of the reign of Charles II. to the end of that of Anne. It carries on the fortunes of the Perceval family, but owing to the fact that it covers a period of less historical interest, and one during which the successive heads of the Perceval family were either minors or too young to take a prominent position in public affairs, it is not of equal importance to the earlier volume. The greater part of the letters and papers refer to the management of the Perceval estates in Ireland by trustees and agents, and are not of general interest, although they occasionally throw some light upon the condition of that country.

There is a small collection of papers relating to Sir John Perceval, the first baronet, whose biography, however, is dealt with in the first volume and the introduction to that volume. As a man of some note in his day, he held important offices in Ireland under Cromwell. He was a friend of the Protector's family, particularly of Henry Cromwell, and it is said, though with what degree of truth is uncertain, that by this intimacy he was able to induce Henry Cromwell, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, to acquiesce in the restoration of the royal house. By this service he is supposed to have ingratiated himself with the royal party. In any case, at the Restoration, he was in favour at court, being sworn of the Privy Council and created a baronet. His patent of creation, dated 1661, contains a singular clause—that each heir apparent upon attaining his majority may receive the order of knighthood from the king. Sir John about this time obtained grants of several offices. His father had held the very lucrative office of clerk and registrar of the Court of Wards in Ireland, which is said to have produced an income in 1640 of 7,500*l.*, and to have yielded on an average not

less than 3,400*l.* a year (*House of Yvery*, II., p. 351). Although there was little profit from it during the Commonwealth, the abolition of the Court of Wards in 1662 was a serious blow to Perceval. Possibly in part recompense of his loss Perceval received a grant of the offices of general registrar, chief clerk and examiner to the Commissioners for the Settlement of Ireland, said to have been granted to him by Charles I., but which were claimed by Sir James Shaen. His father had also held the offices of clerk of the crown, prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, and Keeper of the Public Accounts, and these Sir John Perceval also claimed, and to them his sons were afterwards appointed. He was also made one of the four counsellors to the President of Munster, and had a grant jointly with Sir Richard Lane of the profits of all markets and fairs in Ireland which had become forfeited by the rebellion.

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According to the custom of the time these offices were served by deputies, who received some small remuneration, while the titular holder took all the profits. In the case of the offices of registrar, chief clerk, and examiner of the Court of Claims, Thomas Kennedy acted as deputy and executed the office while Perceval received two-thirds of the profits. Thus it may be imagined that Perceval in a settled condition of affairs in Ireland had potentially a very large income derivable from the many offices he held. The traffic in offices was openly carried on at this time as a common practice both in England and Ireland.

Sir John Perceval resided at Dublin, and led an active life as member of Parliament for the County of Cork, and as a leader in many political and charitable works. He distributed the charities granted by the Hon. Robert Boyle to the poor ministers of the County of Clare, and as a member of the Council of Trade for Ireland he took a prominent part in the opposition to the Act prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England. In connexion with this Act he urgently pointed out that the consequences of it would be to beggar Ireland. In this cause it is said he went to England in June, 1665, crossing by the *Dartmouth* frigate to Mostyn, thence by Chester to Gloucester, and so on to Bath. He was at this time in a bad state of health from gout and dropsy, and found that the journey by road was so injurious that he procured the use of a barge, probably down the Severn, which he described as a feather bed, "for I was so bad that no coach or wain could have been endured." At Bath he obtained some slight relief; but in July he appears to have been unable to use his hands for writing. Valentine Savage quaintly urged him to forbear drinking wine and strong liquors, "for as strong liquors break naturally through my face and elsewhere, it gets into your joints and limbs."

Sir John remained in England until the autumn, when, fearing his illness might prove fatal, he hastened back to Ireland, and died at Dublin on 1st November, 1665, at the early age of thirty-six. He was a capable and amiable man, given perhaps, like his family, and according to the ways of the times, to self-interest. His solicitude for the comfort and safety of his wife when travelling from

Cork to Dublin, and more particularly his anxiety with regard to Mrs. Dillon's little daughter, exhibit a tender and affectionate side of his character.

Sir John Perceval's heir, Sir Philip Perceval, was but a boy of nine years of age at the date of his father's death, and the management of the estates was put into the hands of Robert Southwell, Lady Perceval's father, and Valentine Savage, the family lawyer and agent. Lady Perceval and her daughters lived with her father at Kinsale, and the three sons, Philip, Robert, and John, were sent to school and the Universities in England. Questions arose with regard to the properties left by Sir John, titles were disputed, and some of the estates were consequently lost. Difficulties were likewise experienced about the offices, and some of them were also lost. Robert Southwell, notwithstanding the advantages of a time when Ireland enjoyed comparative quiet, had considerable trouble in managing the estates, which had not recovered from the disturbances of the time of the Commonwealth.

It had been the intention of Sir John Perceval to build a house at Burton, Co. Cork, and he employed William Kenn, an architect, in 1665 to design and make estimates of its cost. By Sir John's death, however, the project was delayed, but in 1669 Robert Southwell again opened negotiations with William Kenn, and a year or two later many details of the house which was then built are given. This was the house which was burnt to the ground during the Irish rebellion of 1690.

Robert Southwell died in 1677, just as his grandson, Sir Philip Perceval, had reached his majority. Sir Philip after leaving Oxford was entered a student at Lincoln's Inn. An interesting description of him is given by his grandfather when he was eighteen years of age in reply to a proposal of marriage from Sir John Champante for a lady whose name is not divulged. His estate was then said to be worth about 3,000*l.* a year, a very large fortune for that date, and as to a suggestion "if he might not be made an earl," the grandfather adds "that both his father and grandfather if they had lived "were resolved to have taken some titles of honour upon them more "than they had, and you know it is no difficult matter to enter into "that station when the person finds himself fitly qualified for it." Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, described Sir Philip as "a young "gentleman of a very vigorous spirit, and if ever there be business "to be done in the nation he will not fail to be in the head of it, "which renders it exceeding desirable that he should have all advantages of principles."

When Sir Philip was nineteen years of age it was thought desirable that he should travel. He at first made a tour through England into Ireland, and left London in June, 1676, travelling by slow stages to Windsor, Chichester, Salisbury, and eventually to Bristol, where he and his tutor crossed to Cork and then to Kinsale. They stayed in Ireland for two months, and returning to London for a few weeks, they crossed from Dover to Calais on 1st October, and then went to Angers. Some curious details are given of Sir Philip's residence in

France. He took lessons in geography, law and languages, and learnt dancing and fencing. His greatest inclination was, however, towards music, and he spent much time in practising on the flute, guitar, flageolet and virginals. He met with English society, and among those with whom he associated was the young Lord Kingston, who stayed at the same *pension* with him. It was with Lord Kingston that he apparently committed some excesses. His tutor, John Gailhard, a Frenchman, reproved him for these and his extravagances, which caused a difference between them, and necessitated the appointment of a new tutor, Monsieur De Rasigdae. Sir Philip was joined by his mother and sisters in the autumn of 1677, and having settled them at Saumur he travelled into Italy, and remained in Rome for some time. He rejoined his mother in Paris, and returned to England with her at the end of March, 1679. He went with her to Kinsale, where he remained till her death in August following, and then settled either at Kinsale or at his home at Burton till his death in September, 1680. His death is supposed to have been caused by poison, but there is little positive evidence on the point.

Sir Philip Perceval was succeeded by his youngest brother, John, his next brother Robert having been murdered. Robert seems always to have been wild. He was at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1674, and was entered a student at Lincoln's Inn in the same year. Two years later his conduct evidently gave his uncle, Sir Robert Southwell, some uneasiness, and he was put under the charge of the Bishop of Landaff, with whom he lived for some time at Mathern, in Monmouthshire. Here it was hoped he would be reclaimed by a course of study of *The Whole Duty of Man*, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and other like works, which did not probably appeal to a high-spirited and wayward youth. He apparently returned to London early in 1677, and in March he had chambers in Cursitors Alley, removing shortly after to Lincoln's Inn. On 6th June, 1677, he was found dead near the Maypole in the Strand, and it was discovered he had been killed by a rapier wound. Various persons were suspected of the murder, among them Beau Fielding, with whom it is said Perceval had a quarrel at a play, but the murderer was never found. As he was apparently a gambler, and it was reported he had been engaged in nineteen duels before his death, which occurred when he was only nineteen years of age, he probably had many enemies.

John Perceval, who succeeded his brother Philip at the age of twenty, led an exemplary life at school and college. He was his mother's favourite, and was the example held before the eyes of his unfortunate elder brother Robert. At Westminster school he was in the good graces of the famous Dr. Busby, then head master, and his letters from Christchurch, Oxford, at the age of sixteen, leave somewhat the impression of a youthful prig. They are full of moral expressions as to his own conduct and that of his elder brothers. He was of a cautious disposition, and seldom spent

anything “ unless it is on those things which are lasting, profitable, “ and show me a gentleman.”

He left Oxford in 1679 to study law at Lincoln's Inn. He went over to Ireland, and was with his mother at the time of her death in August of that year. After being with Sir Robert Southwell at Spring Gardens for a time he settled at Lincoln's Inn in December.

He and his brother Robert had obtained in May, 1677, jointly for their lives the reversion of the offices of Clerk of the Crown, Prothonotary and Chief Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, and of the office of Custos or Keeper of the Records of the same Court, which their father had held before them, and in August following, after the death of his brother Robert, the grant was made to John Perceval and William Blathwait.

The most important correspondence in this collection is that of Robert Southwell, and of his more famous son, Sir Robert, which reaches the period of its greatest interest at about this time. Robert Southwell, whose father, Anthony, had settled at Kinsale in the time of James I., was father-in-law of Sir John Perceval, the first baronet. Although Robert had helped to provision the fleet under Prince Rupert while it was blockaded by Blake, he obtained employment under the Commonwealth, and at the Restoration received in 1666 a grant of the forfeited estates of Philip Barry Oge in Kinsale. In the following year he was instrumental in strengthening the fortifications of Ringcurran, near Kinsale, in anticipation of an attack by the Dutch fleet. Of this fort he was made governor, and in 1670 he was appointed vice-admiral of Munster.

Robert Southwell, the father, died in 1677, aged seventy, leaving an only surviving son, Robert, a man of considerable ability and a staunch adherent of the Whig party. His kinsman, William Dobbys, in 1656, when Southwell was about twenty-one years of age, described him “ as well a fashioned and handsome young gentleman, and of a mild, good disposition and very modest and civil, as “ I have seen.” In his younger days he suffered from ill-health, but travel in France and Italy seems to have strengthened his constitution. At the time at which this volume opens he had just returned from Italy, and in September, 1664, was appointed clerk of the Privy Council in England. He kept his brother-in-law, Sir John Perceval, informed of events in England, and assisted in procuring him the office of Registrar to the Commissioners for Settling Ireland. He was appointed envoy to the Court of Portugal in November, 1665, and in December following was knighted. He carried out his mission satisfactorily, effecting the treaty of Lisbon of 13th February, 1668. His wife Elizabeth, who was daughter of Sir Edward Dering, joined him at Lisbon in 1666, as he found it necessary to entertain largely. He returned early in 1668, but he had been at home only two or three months when he was a second time appointed envoy to Portugal, and started out again to Lisbon in June of that year. The royal appreciation of these embassies is set out in the preamble to a warrant for Sir Robert, dated 27th February, 1679-80, for a discharge of 75*l.* quit rent from his lands

in Ireland. He came back to England in August, 1669, and visited his father in Ireland. In the autumn of 1671 he was appointed envoy to Brussels, but was only out of England till the spring of 1672. He settled at Spring Gardens about this time, and took a keen interest in his nephews, the young Percevals, of whom, by January, 1672-3, he had undertaken the entire tutelage. This was by no means a nominal task, for they poured out to him their troubles, ailments and successes at school and college, and he advised them in all as the best of fathers might have done, and with considerable kindness and tact. His public position as a politician and diplomatist on the Whig side caused him many enemies, against whom he was frequently obliged to defend himself. Reference to these attacks upon him will be found in the correspondence.

In April, 1677, he stated his intention of purchasing Kings Weston, near Bristol, and on 14th July, 1679, he wrote to his nephew that he did not purpose to seek re-election to the new Parliament, "that so I may be free to look after mine own occasions, which I have hitherto for many years neglected." With this object in view he surrendered his office of Clerk of the Council to Francis Gwyn for the consideration of 2,500*l.* on 5th December, 1679, purposing to settle with his family at Kings Weston in the following spring. His intention of retirement from public life was soon frustrated, for early in 1680 he was called upon by the king to go as envoy extraordinary to the Elector of Brandenburg. He describes his appointment as a "matter of great inconvenience to my own private concerns as you may well judge, but whenever death or the king do call they must be obeyed." The object of his mission was to sound the German courts about a defensive alliance against France. His instructions, dated 1st March, 1679-80, will be found in this collection, and they show how marvellously little the English ministry at that time knew about the condition of the courts of the German States, even as to the ages and families of their rulers, and even as to the character of the Prince of Orange. Sir Robert sailed for Holland on 3rd March. While at the Hague he transacted business with the Prince of Orange, when he probably laid the foundation for a future intimacy. The Elector, Southwell wrote on 25th May, 1680, "is resolved to stand neuter, and so will not enter into the alliance that I had proposed; but he hath refused also the same offer made to him from France."

Sir Robert remained at Berlin for some months longer without being able to effect the object of his mission. He was then ordered to go on to Dresden, but as the plague had broken out there and the Elector of Saxony was said to be dying, this service was dispensed with. He remained, however, until the end of the year, and in October he again met the Prince of Orange near Berlin.

On his return to England he retired for a time from public life to his house at Kings Weston. He visited Cork and Kinsale in August and September, 1681, and then settled down with his family to look after his private affairs. On 16th May, 1682, he wrote to his nephew, Sir John Perceval, a long and most important letter setting

out the condition of Ireland, where Sir John was about to take up his residence. Sir Robert took the liveliest interest in the happiness of his nephew and nieces, between whom there was a very strong affection, and wrote constantly giving them advice.

Upon the ascendancy of the Tory party under the Earl of Rochester in 1681 further attacks were made upon Sir Robert as to his unsuccessful embassy to Berlin. This evidently caused him considerable annoyance, and in the autumn of 1683 he proposed to obtain some fresh public employment to give him the opportunity of vindicating his character. He was for a time in London probably with this in view, but he again retired to Kings Weston till May, 1685, when he went to London, on the accession of James II., in order to serve in the first Parliament of that reign. During his attendances at Parliament Sir Robert frequently communicated the news of London to Sir John Perceval up to the time of Sir John's death in 1686. After this date the letters of Sir Robert Southwell on public matters cease in this collection.

When Lady Perceval, his sister-in-law, became a widow, she and her children went to live with him at Kings Weston, and Sir Robert acted as their guardian till the time of his death, on the 11th September, 1702. As a staunch Whig he was in favour with William III., who made him Commissioner for managing the Customs in 1689. He entertained William III. at Kings Weston on that monarch's return from Ireland in 1690. Sir Robert was appointed Principal Secretary of State for Ireland in that year, and about the same time he was elected President of the Royal Society. He was a man of great tact and prudence, upon whom his party could unswervingly rely, and to whom its leaders frequently appealed. His generosity and unselfishness are amply exemplified in this volume.

Sir Robert Southwell had a high opinion of his nephew, Sir John Perceval, the third baronet, which he expressed on many occasions, and when he went as envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1680 he left with John Perceval, then but a youth, a copy of his will, together with full instructions regarding his affairs and a request that he would look after his son Ned.

Shortly after he succeeded to the title on the death of his brother, in February, 1680-1, Sir John married privately Katherine, daughter of Sir Edward Dering, of Surrenden, Kent, and sister-in-law of Sir Robert Southwell, thus strengthening the alliance between the two families. The match, however, met with some opposition from Sir John's grandmother on account of disparity in age and fortune.

Sir John remained in London for a short time after his marriage, but in the summer of 1681 he paid a visit to Burton, the family seat in the county of Cork, returning to London in January, 1681-2, while alterations were being made in the house at Burton. He went, however, to take up his residence permanently in Ireland in May, 1682, visiting Sir Robert Southwell at Kings Weston on the way. While at Burton he was principally occupied with family affairs in proposals of marriage for his eldest sister, Katherine, who finally

selected, after various negotiations with others, William, son and heir of Sir Emmanuel Moor, and in restraining his sister Helena from an engagement to his brother-in-law, Colonel Daniel Dering, to whom, however, she was married immediately after her brother's death.

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When the troubles in Ireland began on the accession of James II., Perceval, who had a clear-headed view of the state of affairs, took a prominent position in suppressing the Tories and quieting the district adjoining his property. He was evidently trusted by the Lords Justices and Lord Lieutenant, and had he lived he might have played an important part in the suppression of the Irish rebellion. His death, however, occurred on the 29th April, 1686, at the age of twenty-six, just as the rebellion was beginning.

Sir John's eldest son and heir, Sir Edward Perceval, was four years old at his father's death, and only survived him some five years. He was succeeded by his brother, another Sir John Perceval, fifth baronet (afterwards first Earl of Egmont) of whose education at Westminster and Oxford some information is given in this calendar. Like other members of the family he was fond of music, and after travelling on the Continent and in Italy he patronised the Fine arts. His correspondence with Gouge and Laurence Magnolfi, the painters, and James Gibbs, the architect, will be found in this calendar.

The most interesting letters in the latter part of this collection, however, are those by Francis Parry and Peter Le Neve suggesting itineraries for Sir John and giving particulars of the places in the southern and eastern parts of England which he ought to visit, much of the detail in which is of considerable value for topographical purposes.

Although as it has been already mentioned, the collection for the period dealt with in this volume does not afford so much material of historical interest as that referred to in the earlier volume, yet the correspondence throws some light on the condition of Ireland. The people of that country generally welcomed the Restoration, which was followed by some twenty-five years of comparative peace and prosperity, mainly attributable to the tactful rule of the Duke of Ormond. Notwithstanding the difficulties arising out of the Act of Settlement and the Explanatory Act, beyond the Limerick Plot and other like abortive conspiracies there were few disturbances, and those that occurred were more in the nature of riots than rebellions. We have mention of the Mutiny at Carrickfergus in June, 1666, which the Duke of Ormond took immediate steps to suppress, hanging nine of the mutineers and sending the remainder to the Barbadoes. Again, in 1675, twenty-four tories and other prisoners broke the gaol at Armagh, killed the keeper and gagged his wife, then, with proverbial Irish humour, instead of making good their escape, they broke open the Sessions House, appointed a judge and other officers of the court, and commenced the mock trials of one another. Some troopers hearing of what had occurred surrounded the Sessions House and made all the tories prisoners again. Other

like disturbances, not probably of a political character, seem to have happened, and bands of tories are occasionally referred to, but they do not seem to have made themselves a serious nuisance to the country.

The proposals previous to the Act of Explanation of the Act of Settlement and the Act of Settlement itself are discussed, and important correspondence on the subject will be found. The report by Robert Southwell as to the Hon. Robert Boyle's charity gives interesting particulars regarding the condition of the Protestant clergy in 1672 in that part of the province of Munster where the Hon. Robert Boyle held the impropriations.

The desire by the English landowners in Ireland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to obtain English tenants is reiterated time after time in this correspondence. The complaints about the Irish were that they were improvident agriculturalists.

The increase of prosperity about 1665-1680 attracted a considerable number of English settlers, both farmers and tradesmen, to Ireland. Sir Philip Perceval, writing on 1st August, 1679, stated that people were "mad for land, and will rather give any rent for it than go without it. Some think the reason of this may be the great number of English which have come into Ireland within these ten or fourteen years. I have got eight or nine new English tenants, and we do not consider that a very considerable business." And again, about a month later, he wrote that he was going to Kilkenny to meet a party of English tradesmen who wished to settle at Kanturk, which he hoped to make into as pretty an English plantation as any on that side of the country. He had people flocking to him for farms from all parts, and four competitors for every farm on his estate.

When Sir John Perceval took up his residence in Ireland in 1682 Sir Robert Southwell wrote a highly interesting letter on the condition of the country from the point of view of an English Whig at the close of the reign of Charles II. Sir Robert gave copious reasons for showing that Ireland had increased in prosperity. The great danger lay from the dispossessed Irish landlords, for the labourers and farmers "never saw such days as under the English Protestant, for the one knows what he is to receive and the other what he has to pay, where the Irish landlord was a sort of tyrant, and by the style of the country commanded at pleasure the labour and the industry of all that were about him." The priests sympathised with the dispossessed lords, urging the people to contribute to their maintenance, and it was in the influence of the priesthood that Sir Robert considered the mischief lay.

The period of peace and limited prosperity in Ireland was broken shortly after the accession of James II. by the proclamation of the Lords Justices issued on 20th June, 1685, for securing the firearms of the militia. This proclamation immediately raised an alarm among the English Protestants and hopes among the Irish. Some twelve days later it was known in England that disturbances were probable. Lawrence Clayton, writing from London to his cousin,

Sir John Perceval, said that some would be glad to see the English stir in Ireland. He hoped, however, their expectations would be blasted, and "that no considerations whatever will induce the Protestants to swerve from their allegiance." The Irish gentry, it was stated openly, spread reports that the arms had been called in to be given to them, and charged all the English with complicity with Monmouth's Rebellion and with being unfit to be trusted by the King. There was much jealousy between the two parties, "inasmuch each say they are afraid the other will cut their throats." Some spoke of sermons being preached in many places by the friars upon the fifth, sixth, and seventh verses of the ninth chapter of Ezekiel. Perceval, however, could not find any evidence of this. Disturbing elements such as these so paralysed the country that trade was at an end, and as a consequence there was no money current, so that Perceval could not obtain a sixth part of his rent in coin, but was obliged to accept the rest in beef or corn, or go without it. His friends urged him for his security to go to England, or at all events to send some of his children there. The merchants were further dejected at the revival of the Act prohibiting them from trading directly with the Plantations and from carrying hides and tallow into England.

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In accordance with the proclamation of Sir John Perceval certified on 23rd July that all the carbines of his troops had been delivered into his hands, but the pistols having been paid for by the men themselves were left in the men's hands; "this part of the country being at this time so infested with Power, the proclaimed robber, and a great number of his associates, as that they are every day in danger from them as well on the road as in their houses." The militia were not, however, permitted to retain their pistols, and on the 16th October Sir John Perceval certified that in pursuance of a later order from the Lords Justices and the Council the pistols, amounting to twenty-three cases, had been delivered into his custody and handed over to the storekeeper of Cork.

The statement that the country was infested with robbers was no exaggeration as will be seen by the letters here noted. Bands of tories overran Munster, committing frequent robberies and occasionally murders. The troop under Captain Aungier sent to keep order was quite inadequate. The justices of the peace did what they could to put down the disorders, but being unsupported by the central authority their efforts proved fruitless.

Sir John Perceval showed much zeal in the suppression of the tories, and information with regard to this subject will be found in his correspondence up to the time of his death on 29th April, 1686.

Little more in this calendar relates to the condition of affairs in Ireland. William Taylor, the agent of the Percevals in Ireland, after the death of Sir John and the retirement of the family into England, invited some of the Irish militia to Burton House to defend it from rapparees, but the house was plundered and much damage done. After the battle of the Boyne, Burton House, being in the sphere of influence of the forces of James, was burnt, together with about fifty

substantial houses and smaller habitations and the villages of Kanturk and Churchtown. A little before this last event William Taylor gives a dismal picture of the state of the country. "There is not one Englishman in the County of Kerry," he writes on 24th April, 1689, "that has the value of sixpence left, neither do I believe twenty Englishmen are left in the county. Our stock in this county is also destroyed, and so it is all over the province, so that I fear there will be a famine for that there is such a destruction of all sorts of provisions." The condition of the country, he adds, was growing worse and worse every day.

Sir Robert Southwell, shortly before his death in September, 1702, wrote a letter of advice to his nephew, Sir John Perceval, the fifth baronet, upon his taking up his residence in Ireland. This letter, however, does not give that picture of Ireland which the letter sent on a similar occasion to the third baronet depicts. It is filled with good advice as to Perceval's conduct, and repeats the warning "that English tenants are best and safest for you even at ten in the hundred cheaper than the Irish."

The racial and religious difficulties had not much abated in the early part of the eighteenth century. A general scheme for education whereby "the Irish youth may soon have English habit, and in one or two generations be true sticklers for the Protestant Church and interest" was propounded by Mr. Rice in 1703, but history knows nothing of its success. There is also some correspondence relating to the Irish Money Bill of 1709, and here the political history of Ireland, so far as this calendar is concerned, ceases.

Among other important matters in this volume are the resolutions presented by the presbyters to the King in 1661 touching church ceremonies and government. These differ from what is given in *Baxter's Life and Times*. The rhyme which Robert Bowyer quotes in a letter to Robert Southwell, dated 9th July, 1667, as relating to the death of "Tom Hyde," son of the Earl of Clarendon, is identical with that which Thackeray in the *Four Georges* attributes to Frederick, Prince of Wales, who died in 1751.

Some interesting observations relating to the Flannel Acts of 1678 and full particulars as to the death of Charles II. from the medical point of view, will be found.

All of which we humbly submit for Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

COZENS HARDY, *Chairman*.

DARTMOUTH.

FITZMAURICE.

CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES.

ROSEBERY.

MORLEY OF B.

MOSTYN.

LINDLEY.

H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE.

EDW. FRY.

C. H. FIRTH.

R. A. ROBERTS.

FREDERIC G. KENYON.

ALFRED E. STAMP, *Secretary*.

8th October, 1916.

APPENDIX 1.

(I.)

LIST OF REPORTS ISSUED.

*(Size, F cap 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.
1870 (1874)	<p>FIRST REPORT, WITH APPENDIX</p> <p>ENGLAND. House of Lords ; Duke of Rutland ; Duke of Manchester ; Marquis of Lothian ; Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham ; Earl of Coventry ; Earl of Macclesfield ; Earl St. Germain's ; Earl of Zetland ; Viscount Middleton ; Lord Mostyn ; Lord Herries ; Lord de Tabley ; Earl of Shrewsbury ; Sir John Salusbury Trelawney, Bart. ; Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart. ; Richard Almack ; T. E. Lefroy ; G. F. Luttrell ; Col. Napier ; W. Phelps ; John Tollemache ; F. Whitgreave ; John Harvey ; Cambridge Colleges, viz., Christ's, Corpus Christi, King's, Pembroke, Queen's, St. John's, St. Peter's, Trinity ; Registry of the University of Cambridge ; Registry of the Bishop of Norwich ; Dean and Chapter of Norwich ; St. Mary's College, Oscott ; Salisbury Cathedral ; Ushaw College ; Registry of the Bishop of Wells ; Dean and Chapter of Wells ; Westminster Abbey ; Dean and Chapter of York ; Dean and Chapter of Bristol ; Hospital of Christ at Abingdon ; Corporations or towns of Abingdon, Bridgwater, Cambridge, Coventry, Glastonbury, Norwich, Nottingham, Wells, York ; Corporation of Merchant Adventurers of York ; Yorkshire Philosophical Society.</p> <p>SCOTLAND. Manuscript Materials for History in Scotland ; Duke of Hamilton ; Duke of Richmond ; Marquis of Lothian ; Earl of Dalhousie ; Buckie MSS. ; Library of Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh ; University of Edinburgh ; City of Edinburgh ; Advocates' Library, Edinburgh ; Burgh of Aberdeen ; Corporation of Glasgow.</p> <p>IRELAND. Earl of Charlemont ; Earl of Rosse ; Lord Talbot de Malahide and J. W. Bayly ; Thomas Hewitt and Richard Caulfield, LL.D. ; Corporations of Cork, Dublin, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford.</p> <p>HEIDELBERG. University Library.</p>	Cl. 55	<i>s. d.</i> 1 6

APPENDIX I—*continued.*

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
1871	<p>SECOND REPORT, WITH APPENDIX, AND INDEX TO THE FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS.</p> <p>ENGLAND AND WALES. Duke of Bedford; Countess Cowper and Baroness Lucas; Earl of Dartmouth; Earl Spencer; Earl of Mount Edgcumbe; Earl Cathcart; Earl of Bradford; Earl Cawdor; Viscount Dillon; Lord Camoys; Lord Arundell of Wardour; Lord Lyttelton; Lord Cal- thorpe; Lord Wrottesley; Lord Leigh; Hon. G. M. Fortescue; Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart.; Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.; Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart.; Sir George Osborn, Bart.; Sir R. Puleston, Bart.; Miss Ainslie; J. C. Antrobus; W. R. Baker; C. M. Berington; Colonel Myd- delton-Biddulph; Colonel Carew; Mrs. Collis; Richard Corbet; W. Bromley- Davenport; C. Cottrell Dormer; J. R. Ormsby Gore; John Harvey; H. B. Mackeson; F. Peake; Mrs. Prescott; J. J. Rogers; W. T. McCullagh Torrens; W. H. Turner; Mrs. Willes; W. W. E. Wynne; House of Lords — Specimen Calendar of Papers relating to first Parlia- ment of Charles I.; House of Lords— Specimen Calendar of Papers relating to Archbishop Laud's Visitation; St. Law- rence's College, Ampleforth; Cambridge Colleges, viz., Clare, Gonville and Caius, Jesus, Trinity Hall; Dean and Chapter of Carlisle; St. Mary's College, Oscott; Oxford Colleges, viz., Corpus Christi, Exeter, Jesus, Lincoln, New, Oriel, Queen's, Trinity, Worcester; Stoneyhurst College; Woodchester Monastery; Cor- poration of Abingdon; Inner Temple Library—(Petyt MSS.); Chetham Library, Manchester.</p> <p>SCOTLAND. Duke of Montrose; Duke of Sutherland; Marquis of Huntly; Earl of Crawford and Balcarres; Earl of Morton; Earl of Strathmore; Earl of Dalhousie; Earl of Airlie; Earl of Stair; Earl of Rosslyn; Earl Cawdor; Lord Forbes; Lord Torphichen; Sir J. H. Burnett, Bart.; J. Guthrie; A. F. Irvine; J. F. Leith; Aberdeen University; Blairs' Catholic College; Trinity College, Glenalmond; Royal Burgh of Montrose; St. Andrew's University.</p> <p>IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde; Earl of Granard; Earl of Rosse; The O'Conor Don; Major-General F. P. Dunne; Dr. R. D. Lyons (Abp. King's Collection); Rothe's Register of Kilkenny.</p>	C. 441	s. d. 3 10

APPENDIX I—*continued.*

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
1872 (1895)	<p>THIRD REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX ...</p> <p>ENGLAND AND WALES. House of Lords ; Duke of Devonshire (Bolton Abbey) ; Duke of Devonshire (Hardwicke Hall) ; Duke of Northumberland ; Marquis of Lansdowne ; Marquis of Salisbury ; Marquis of Bath ; Marquis of Bute ; Marquis of Northampton ; Marquis of Westminster ; Earl of Devon ; Earl of Shaftesbury ; Earl De la Warr ; Earl Fortescue ; Earl of Chichester ; Earl of Effingham ; Lord Gage ; Lord Wharnccliffe ; Lord De L'Isle and Dudley ; Bishop of Southwark (Roman Catholic) ; Sir H. Bedingfield, Bart. ; Sir C. Bunbury, Bart. ; Sir W. Cope, Bart. ; Sir P. de M. Grey-Egerton, Bart. ; Sir E. Filmer, Bart. ; Sir G. Fitzgerald, Bart. ; Sir Wm. H. N. Ffolkes, Bart. ; Sir H. Gunning, Bart. ; Sir T. Hare, Bart. ; Sir C. Isham, Bart. ; Sir R. Knightley, Bart. ; Sir John Lawson, Bart. ; Sir N. W. Throckmorton, Bart. ; W. Dod ; C. J. Eyston ; Rev. F. Hopkinson ; J. H. Lee ; W. J. Legh ; H. S. Le Strange ; T. C. Marsh ; R. Orlebar ; Miss Othen ; F. Peake ; Calendar of Phelps' MSS. ; Rev. W. Sneyd ; R. E. Egerton-Warburton ; G. F. Wilbraham ; M. Wilson ; Corporation of Axbridge ; Corporation of Berwick - upon - Tweed ; Corporation of Bridgwater ; Cambridge Colleges, viz., Downing, Sidney Sussex ; Parish of Cheddar ; Corporation of Kingston-on-Thames ; County of Somerset ; Stonyhurst College ; Corporation of Totnes ; City of Wells ; Dean and Chapter of Wells ; Vicars Choral of Wells ; Dr. Williams' Library.</p> <p>SCOTLAND. Duke of Montrose ; Marquis of Bute ; Earl of Seafield ; Earl of Glasgow ; Lord Rollo ; Sir A. Edmonstone, Bart. ; Sir P. K. Murray, Bart. ; James Dundas ; Robert Dundas ; Lieut.-Col. W. Ross King ; C. H. D. Moray ; John Webster ; R. G. E. Wemyss ; Glasgow University.</p> <p>IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde ; Earl of Granard ; Historical Memoirs of the Geraldine Earls of Desmond ; Parliamentary History of Ireland, by Hugh Howard ; Black Book of Limerick ; Chief Baron Willes' Memoranda on Ireland.</p>	C. 673	<i>s. d.</i> 6 0

APPENDIX I—*continued.*

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
1873	<p>FOURTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... ENGLAND AND WALES. House of Lords (Archbishop Laud's Visitations); House of Lords (John Durye's Mission); House of Lords (Depositions, &c., relating to the "Incident"); Westminster Abbey; Marquis of Salisbury; Marquis of Bath; Marquis of Hertford; Earl of Denbigh; Earl De la Warr; Lord de Ros; Lord Bagot; Lord Colchester; Lord Mostyn; Lord Fitzhardinge; Sir John Lawson, Bart.; W. Beaumont; Lieut.-Col. Carew; J. R. Pine-Coffin; J. R. Ormsby Gore; Col. Macaulay; M. Ridgway; J. J. Rogers; Col. Towneley; G. F. Wilbraham; Cambridge Colleges, viz., Emmanuel, St. Catharine's; Cinque Ports; Parish of Hartland; Corporation of Hythe; Corporation of New Romney; Oxford Colleges, viz., Balliol, Queen's, Magdalen, St. John's; Parish of Parkham.</p> <p>SCOTLAND. Duke of Argyll; Countess of Rothes; Marquis of Breadalbane; Earl of Kinnoul; Earl of Fife; Earl of Selkirk; Lord Wharnccliffe; Lord Monboddo; Hon. Mrs. Erskine-Murray; Sir M. R. S. Stewart, Bart.; James Buchan; C. Dalrymple; Col. Farquharson; Col. McDouall; Col. Rattray; A. Wauchope; Burgh of Kirkcudbright.</p> <p>IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde; Viscount Gormanston; Sir R. O'Donnell, Bart.; Trinity College, Dublin; College of Irish Franciscans (Louvain) Dublin.</p>	C. 857	<i>s. d.</i> 6 8
1873	DITTO. PART II. INDEX	C. 857-i	2 6
1876	<p>FIFTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... ENGLAND AND WALES. House of Lords; House of Lords (Protestations); Duke of Sunderland; Marquis of Lansdowne; Marquis of Salisbury; Marquis of Ripon; Lord Hatherton; Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart.; Sir John Maryon Wilson, Bart.; Sir John Lawson, Bart.; Sir Henry Mildmay, Bart.; Sir Alexander Malet, Bart.; Sir Gerald Fitzgerald, Bart.; Lewis Majendie; Rev. H. T. Ellacombe; W. C. Strickland; Reginald Cholmondeley; Stanhope Grove; Evelyn P. Shirley; J. R. Pine-Coffin; Rev. Edmund Field; A. C. Ramyard; Miss Conway Griffith; R. W. Prideaux; Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; Roman Catholic Chapter of London; Cardinal Archbishop Manning; Oxford Colleges, viz., University, Wadham;</p>	C. 1432	7 0

APPENDIX I—*continued.*

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
	<p>FIFTH REPORT, &c.—<i>cont.</i></p> <p>ENGLAND AND WALES—<i>cont.</i></p> <p>Cambridge Colleges, viz., Magdalene, Pembroke; Corporation of Rye; Corporation of Lydd; Corporation of New Romney; Borough of High Wycombe; Corporation of St. Albans; Corporation of Sandwich; Parish of Hartland; Corporation of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis; Corporation of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis (Mr. Sherren's Collection); Corporation of Folkestone; Parish of Mendlesham; Parish of Alwington; Corporation of Dartmouth; Corporation of Fordwich.</p> <p>SCOTLAND. Marquis of Ailsa; Marquis of Bute; Earl of Aberdeen; Earl of Lauderdale; Earl Wharnccliffe; Lord Kinnaird; Sir John Bethune, Bart.; Sir William Forbes, Bart.; Mrs. Barclay-Allardice; A. D. R. Baillie Cochrane; A. J. W. H. K. Erskine; W. Cosmo Gordon; Miss M. E. Stirling; Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell Witham; Royal Burgh of Perth.</p>		s. d.
1876	FIFTH REPORT. PART II. INDEX	C. 1432-i	3 6
1877	<p>SIXTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ...</p> <p>ENGLAND. House of Lords; Duke of Northumberland; Marquis of Exeter; Marquis of Lansdowne; Marquis of Ripon; Marquis of Salisbury; Earl of Denbigh; Lord Leconfield; Sir Frederick Graham, Bart.; Sir Reginald Graham, Bart.; Sir A. Acland-Hood, Bart.; Sir Henry Ingilby, Bart.; Sir Edward Strachey, Bart.; Sir George W. Dasent; F. Brumell; P. B. Davies Cooke; Miss Ffarington; F. Bacon Frank; P. Wykeham-Martin; T. Stamford Raffles; Corporation of Bridport; Black Book of the Archdeacon of Canterbury; Carisbrooke Registers; Corporation of Faversham; St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Hythe; Lambeth Palace; Corporation of Launceston; Corporation of Morpeth; Court Books of the Corporation of New Romney; Oxford Colleges, viz., Merton, Pembroke, Queen's (God's House at Southampton Records); Corporation of Tenterden; Corporation of Wallingford; Corporation of Winchester.</p>	C. 1745	8 6

APPENDIX I—*continued.*

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
1881	EIGHTH REPORT. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX Duke of Manchester. (<i>Reissued, as a Stationery Office publication, 1910. 8vo.</i>).	C. 3040-i	<i>s. d.</i> <i>Out of print.</i> 3 6
1881	DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Earl of Ashburnham.	C. 3040-ii	<i>Out of print.</i>
1883 (1895)	NINTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX. PART I. Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's; Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; Corporation of Canterbury; Diocesan Registry of Carlisle; Corporation of Carlisle; Corporation of Barnstaple; Ewelme Almshouse; Corporation of Ipswich; Corporation of Plymouth; Wardens of Rochester Bridge; Corporation of Rochester; Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon; Corporation of Wisbech; Corporation of Great Yarmouth; West Riding of Yorkshire; North Riding of Yorkshire; Eton College; Hunstanton Vicarage.	C. 3773	5 2
1884 (1895)	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... House of Lords; Marquis of Ormonde; Lord Elphinstone; Sir R. A. O. Dalyell, Bart.; Sir Archibald Grant, Bart.; Hon. H. C. Maxwell Stuart; Duke of Leinster; Marquis of Drogheda; Lord Macartney; Rinuccini Memoirs; Earl of Leicester; Earl Manvers; Earl of Pembroke; Chandos Pole Gell; Earl of Devon; Alfred Morrison; Rev. W. Pyne and the Rev. A. J. Woodforde.	C. 3773-i	6 3
1884	DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Mrs. Stopford Sackville. [<i>Reissued, 1904, revised and extended, as Cd. 1892. 8vo.</i>]	C. 3773-ii	<i>Out of print.</i> 1 10
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
1910	PART XII. 1602	C. 5291	3 3
1915	PART XIII. Addenda Part I. (—Eliz.) ...	C. 7842	3 0

APPENDIX I—*continued.*

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
1885	TENTH REPORT (<i>Reissued as a Stationery Office publication, 1906.</i>) This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES :	C. 4548	<i>s. d.</i> <i>Out of print.</i> 0 6
1885 (1895)	(1.) Earl of Eglinton, ; Sir J. S. Maxwell, Bart. ; C. S. H. D. Moray ; C. F. Weston Underwood ; G. W. Digby.	C. 4575	3 7
1885	(2.) The Family of Gawdy	C. 4576-iii	1 4
1885	(3.) Wells Cathedral [<i>Reissued, as Vol. I., 1907, revised and extended, as Cd. 2810.</i>]	C. 5476-ii	<i>Out of print.</i>
1885	(4.) Earl of Westmorland ; Capt. Stewart, of Alltyrodin ; Nevil Story Maskelyne ; Lord Stafford ; Sir N. W. Throckmorton ; Sir P. T. Mainwaring ; Misses Boycott, of Hereford ; Lord Muncaster ; Capt. J. F. Bagot ; George Browne, of Troutbeck ; Earl of Kilmorey ; Stanley Leighton ; Earl of Powis ; R. Jaspar More ; W. F. Plowden ; Alfred Salwey ; J. L. Parkinson ; Rev. John Walcot ; E. Lloyd Gatacre ; S. Zachary Lloyd ; Rev. T. S. Hill, Rector of Thorington ; Rev C. R. Manning, Rector of Diss ; Rev. W. H. Sewell, Vicar of Yaxley ; Corporations of Bishop's Castle, Kendal, Wenlock, Bridgnorth, Eye, Plymouth ; County of Essex ; Stonyhurst College. (<i>Reissued as a Stationery Office publication, 1906.</i>)	C. 4576	<i>Out of print.</i> 6 0
1885 (1895)	(5.) Marquis of Ormonde ; Earl of Fingall ; Corporations of Galway and Waterford ; Sees of Dublin and Ossory ; the Jesuits in Ireland.	C. 4576-i	2 10
1887	(6.) Marquis of Abergavenny ; Lord Braye ; G. F. Luttrell ; P. P. Bouverie ; W. Bromley Davenport ; B. R. T. Balfour.	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 ; Salvetti Correspondence ...	C. 5060	1 1
1887	(2.) House of Lords, 1678-1688	C. 5060-i	2 0
1887	(3.) Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn.	C. 5060-ii	1 8
1887	(4.) Marquis 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 ; Francis Darwin of Creskeld ; Hamon Le Strange, of Hunstanton Hall ; A. W. Saville, of Rufford Abbey ; Bridgwater Trust Office ; Reading Corporation ; Inner Temple Library.	C. 5612	2 0

APPENDIX I—continued.

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
1890	TWELFTH REPORT This is introductory to the following	C. 5889	<i>s. d.</i> 0 3
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
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	<i>Out of print.</i>
1911	(<i>Reissued as a Stationery Office publication.</i>)		5 0
1891	(5.) Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. 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, of Rydal ...	C. 5889-iv	1 11
1891	(8.) Duke of Athole, K.T.; Earl of Home ...	C. 6338	1 0
1891	(9.) Duke of Beaufort; Earl of Donoughmore; J. H. Gurney; W. W. B. Hulton; R. W. Ketton; G. A. Aitken; P. V. Smith; Bishop of Ely; Cathedrals of Ely, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Peterborough; Corporations of Gloucester, Higham Ferrars, 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
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, of Dropmore, Vol. I. ...	C. 6660	2 7
1892	(4.) Corporations of Rye, Hastings, and Hereford; Captain F. C. Loder-Symonds; E. R. Wodehouse; J. Dovaston; Sir T. B. Lennard, Bart.; Rev. W. D. Macray; 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. (Harley MSS. i.).	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, of Dropmore. Vol. II. ...	C. 7572	2 8

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Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
	FOURTEENTH REPORT— <i>cont.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES— <i>cont.</i>		
1895	(6.) House of Lords, 1692-93 <i>Manuscripts of the House of Lords, 1693-1695</i> <i>Vol. I. (New Series). See H.L. No. (5) of</i> <i>1900. Price 2s. 2d.</i> <i>Ditto. 1695-1697. Vol. II. See H.L. No. (18)</i> <i>of 1903. Price 2s. 9d.</i> <i>Ditto. 1697-1699. Vol. III. See H.L.</i> <i>No. (175) of 1905. Price 2s.</i> <i>Ditto. 1699-1702. Vol. IV. See H.L.</i> <i>No. (7) of 1908. Price 2s. 9d.</i> <i>Ditto. 1702-1704. Vol. V. See H.L.</i> <i>No. (62) of 1910. Price 2s. 8d.</i> <i>Ditto. 1704-1706. Vol. VI. See H.L.</i> <i>No. (142) of 1912. Price 2s. 1d.</i>	C. 7573	1 11
1895	(7.) Marquis of Ormonde	C. 7678	1 10
1895	(8.) Corporations of Lincoln, Bury St. Edmunds, Hertford, and Great Grimsby; 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; J. Round.	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 APPENDICES AND INDEXES:	C. 9295	0 4
1896	(1.) Earl of Dartmouth. Vol. III.	C. 8156	1 5
1897	(2.) J. Eliot Hodgkin	C. 8327	1 8
1897	(3.) Royal Irish Academy of the gift of Charles Haliday, of Dublin (Acts of the Privy Council in Ireland, 1556-1571); Sir William Ussher's Table to the Council Book; Table to the Red Council Book.	C. 8364	1 4
1897	(4.) Duke of Portland. Vol. IV. (Harley MSS. ii.).	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
1897	(8.) Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, at Drumlanrig Castle. Vol. I.	C. 8553	1 4
1897	(9.) J. J. Hope Johnstone, of Annandale ...	C. 8554	1 0
1899	(10.) Corporations of Shrewsbury and Coventry; Sir W. O. Corbet, Bart.; Elar of Radnor; P. E. Tillard; J. R. Carr-Ellison; Andrew Kingsmill.	C. 9472	1 0

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Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			<i>s. d.</i>
	MANUSCRIPTS IN THE WELSH LANGUAGE :		
1898	Vol. I. Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn Hall ...	C. 8829	1 4
1899	Vol. I. Part II.—Peniarth	C. 9468	2 11
1905	Vol. I. Part III.—Ditto	C. 2443	0 8
1902	Vol. II. Part I. Jesus College, Oxford ; Free Library, Cardiff ; Havod ; Wrexham ; Llanwrin ; Merthyr ; Aberdâr.	C. 1100	1 9
1903	Vol. II. Part II. Plas Llan Stephan ; Free Library, Cardiff.	C. 1692	1 8
1905	Vol. II. Part III. Panton ; Cwrtmawr ...	C. 2444	0 8
1910	Vol. II. Part IV. British Museum ...	C. 5353	1 0
1899	Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, at Montagu House, Whitehall. Vol. I.	C. 9244	2 7
1903	" " Vol. II. (Part I.)... ..	C. 930	1 10
1903	" " Vol. II. (Part II.)	C. 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
1909	" " Index to Vols. I. and II. ...	C. 4774	0 11½
1902	" " New Series, Vol. I.	C. 929	1 7
1903	" " " Vol. II.	C. 1691	1 10
1904	" " " Vol. III.	C. 1963	2 0
1906	" " " Vol. IV.	C. 3008	3 0
1908	" " " Vol. V.	C. 4116	2 10
1911	" " " Vol. VI.	C. 5288	2 6
1912	" " " Vol. VII.	C. 6255	2 6
1904	Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, Vol. I.	C. 1892	1 10
1910	" " Vol. II.	C. 5038	1 6
1899	Duke of Portland. Vol. V. (Harley MSS. iii.)...	C. 9466	2 9
1901	" Vol. VI. (Harley MSS. iv., with Index to Harley MSS.).	C. 676	1 9
1901	" Vol. VII.	C. 783	2 3
1907	" Vol. VIII.	C. 3475	1 10
1899	J. M. Heathcote	C. 9469	1 3
1899	J. B. Fortescue, of Dropmore, Vol. III.	C. 9470	3 1
1905	" " Vol. IV.	C. 2233	2 6
1906	" " Vol. V.	C. 2211	2 4
1908	" " Vol. VI.	C. 3670	2 5
1910	" " Vol. VII.	C. 5290	1 11
1912	" " Vol. VIII.	C. 5732	2 7
1915	" " Vol. IX.	C. 7105	2 8
1899	F. W. Leyborne-Popham	C. 9471	1 6
1900	Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley	C. 282	2 0
1900	Lord Montagu of Beaulieu	C. 283	1 1
1900	Beverley Corporation	C. 284	1 0
1901	Report on Various Collections. Vol. I. ...	C. 784	2 0
	Corporations of Berwick-on-Tweed, Bur- ford and Lostwithiel ; Counties of Wilts and Worcester ; Bishop of Chichester ; Deans and Chapters of Chichester, Canter- bury and Salisbury.		
1903	Report on Various Collections. Vol. II. ...	C. 932	2 4
	Sir George Wombwell ; Duke of Norfolk ; Lord Edmund Talbot (the Shrewsbury Papers) ; Miss Buxton ; Mrs. Harford ; Mrs. Wentworth, of Woolley.		

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Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			<i>s. d.</i>
1904	Report on Various Collections. Vol. III. ... T. B. Clarke-Thornhill ; Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart. ; R. Pelham ; W. Papillon ; W. Cleverley Alexander.	C. 1964	1 6
1907	Report on Various Collections. Vol. IV. ... Bishop of Salisbury ; Bishop of Exeter ; Dean and Chapter of Exeter ; Earl of Leicester ; Sir W. Clayton, Bart. ; Major Money-Kyrle ; F. H. T. Jervoise ; Glemham Hall ; Corporations of Salisbury, Orford, and Aldeburgh.	C. 3218	1 9
1909	Report on Various Collections. Vol. V. ... Colonel Mordaunt Hay, of Duns Castle ; Sir Archibald Edmonstone, of Duntreath ; Sir John Graham, of Fintry, K.C.M.G.	C. 4600	1 4
1910	Report on Various Collections. Vol. VI. ... Miss M. Eyre Matcham ; Captain H. V. Knox ; C. Wykeham-Martin ; K. B. Tighe ; Lord Oranmore and Browne.	C. 4382	2 3
1914	Report on Various Collections. Vol. VII. ... Bishop of London ; St. George's Chapel, Windsor ; Corporations of Beccles, Dunwich, Southwold, and Thetford ; Duke of Norfolk ; Earl of Essex ; Sir Hervey Bruce ; Col. Frewen ; H. C. Staunton ; F. Merttens.	C. 6722	2 4
1913	Report on Various Collections. Vol. VIII. ... Hon. Frederick Lindley Wood ; M. L. S. Clements ; S. Philip Unwin.	C. 6639	2 9
1902	The Stuart Manuscripts at Windsor Castle, belonging to His Majesty the King. Vol. I. ...	C. 927	2 11
1904	" " Vol. II. ...	C. 2189	2 9
1907	" " Vol. III. ...	C. 3430	2 10
1910	" " Vol. IV. ...	C. 5046	2 9
1912	" " Vol. V. ...	C. 6163	3 1
1916	" " Vol. VI. ...	C. 7104	3 9
1902	Colonel David Milne-Home, of Wedderburn Castle, N.B.	C. 931	1 4
1904	Marquess of Bath, at Longleat, Vol. I. ...	C. 2048	1 9
1907	" " " Vol. II. ...	C. 3474	1 0
1908	" " " Vol. III. ... (Prior Papers.)	C. 3849	2 5
1904	American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Vol. I.	C. 2201	2 3
1906	" " Vol. II. ...	C. 2897	2 6
1907	" " Vol. III. ...	C. 3669	1 11
1909	" " Vol. IV. ...	C. 4773	2 3
1904	SIXTEENTH REPORT (containing a list of the owners of Manuscripts upon whose collections Reports have been made to July, 1904).	C. 2209	0 9
1904	Earl of Mar and Kellie, at Alloa House, N.B. ...	C. 2190	2 7
1905	Lady Du Cane... ..	C. 2367	2 6

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Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			<i>s. d.</i>
1905	Marquess of Lothian, at Blickling Hall	C. 2319	2 2
1905	Earl of Egmont. Vol. I. Part I.	C. 2318	1 8
1905	„ Vol. I. Part II.	C. 2570	1 9
1909	„ Vol. II.	C. 4599	1 3
1905	Duke of Rutland. Vol. IV.	C. 2606	2 9
1906	Earl of Verulam	C. 2973	1 4
1906	Franciscan MSS. at the Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.	C. 2867	1 4
1907	Dean and Chapter of Wells. Vol. I.	C. 2810	2 11
1914	„ „ Vol. II.	C. 7106	3 10
1907	Earl of „Ancaster, at Grimsthorpe	C. 3429	2 7
1907	SEVENTEENTH REPORT (containing a list of the owners of Manuscripts upon whose collections Reports have been made to June, 1907).	C. 3737	0 4
1911	Lord Polwarth. Vol. I.	C. 5289	2 11
1916	„ „ Vol. II.	C. 7593	2 10
1911	Earl of Denbigh. (Part V.)	C. 5565	1 7
1911	Lord Middleton	C. 5567	3 0
1911	Pepys' MSS. at Magdalene College, Cambridge ...	C. 5721	1 7
1913	Allan George Finch. Vol. I.	C. 6508	2 8
1914	Laing MSS. in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. I.	C. 6905	2 6
1916	City of Exeter	C. 7640	2 3
1914	Guide to the Reports on collections of Manuscripts issued by the Royal Commissioners for Historical Manuscripts. Part I.—Topographical.	C. 7594	1 0

(II.)

THE FOLLOWING LIST SHOWS THE NAMES OF THE OWNERS OF MANUSCRIPTS UPON WHOSE COLLECTIONS REPORTS HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT UP TO THE MONTH OF JULY, 1916. IT ALSO SHOWS 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-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.
- Alltyrolyn, 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 ; Vol. III., July 1782-March 1783 ; Vol. IV., April-Nov., 1783.

- Amherst, Lord. Correspondence. *See* American MSS. in the Royal Institution, Vols. I and II.
- Ampleforth, near Gilling, co. York, MSS. in the Library of St. Lawrence's College. Second Report, xiii.; and App., 109.
- Ancaster, Earl of [16th–18th cent.]. Thirteenth Report, 31; and App. VI., 203–261. Seventeenth Report, 41–54; and one Vol. (1907).
- Anglesey, Earl of. Correspondence [17th cent.]. *See* Leconfield, Lord.
- Diary [17th cent.]. *See* Lyttelton-Annesley, Lieut.-General.
- Anandale, William first Marquess of. Correspondence, 1690–1715. *See* Hope-Johnstone, Mr. J. J.
- Anne (Queen). Papers relating to. *See* Stuart Papers [Vol. I.].
- Anne's (Queen) Bounty, MSS. in the possession of the Governors of. Eighth Report, 632–635.
- Annesley. *See* Lyttelton-Annesley.
- Ansford, co. Somerset, MSS. at. *See* Woodforde, Rev. A. J.
- Antrobus, Mr. J. C. Second Report, xi.; and App., 69.
- Apethorpe, co. Northampton, MSS. at. *See* Westmorland, Earl of.
- Arbuthnott, John, Viscount. Eighth Report, xvii.; and App., 297–308.
- Ardoch, co. Perth, MSS. at. *See* Moray, Mr. C. Stirling-Home-Drummond.
- Areley Hall, near Stourport, co. Worcester, MSS. at. *See* Lloyd, Mr. S. Zachary.
- Argyle, John Campbell, Duke of. *See* Stuart Papers [Vols. I.–VI.].
- Argyll, Duke of [14th–18th cent.]. Fourth Report, xix.; and App., 470–492. Sixth Report, xvi.; and App., 606–634.
- Argyll family letters [17th cent.]. *See* Menzies, Sir Robert, Bart.
- Arley Hall, co. Chester, MSS. at. *See* Egerton-Warburton, Mr. R. E.
- Arlington Letters. *See* Buccleuch and Queensberry, Duke of (at Montagu House, Whitehall. Vol. I.).
- Arniston, Gorebridge, Midlothian, MSS. at. *See* Dundas, Mr. Robert.
- Arran, Richard Butler, Earl of. Correspondence. *See* Ormonde, Marquess of [N.S., Vol. IV.].
- Arundel College, co. Sussex, Revenue Account-Rolls of, 1383–1541 *See* Norfolk, Duke of.
- Arundell, Lord, of Wardour. Second Report, xii.; and App., 33–36.
- Ashburnham, Earl of. Eighth Report, App. III., 1–127.
- Ashfield Lodge, Cootehill, co. Cavan, MSS. at. *See* Clements, Mr. M. L. S.
- Astle, Thomas, MSS. of. *See* Ashburnham, Earl of.
- Astley. *See* Frankland-Russell-Astley.
- Athole, Duke of [15th–18th cent.]. Seventh Report, xv.; and App., 703–716. Twelfth Report, 48–51; and App. VIII., 1–75.
- Athole, Earl of. Correspondence [17th cent.]. *See* Ros, Lord de.
- Atterbury, Francis, Bishop of Rochester. Correspondence, &c. *See* Stuart Papers [Vols. V., VI.].
- Auchmacoy, co. Aberdeen, MSS. at. *See* Buchan, Mr. James.
- Audley End, Saffron Walden, co. Essex, MSS. at. *See* Braybrooke, Lord.
- Axbridge, co. Somerset, Corporation of. Third Report, xx.; and App., 300–308.

- Bacon family, Papers relating to the. *See* Wodehouse, Mr. E. R.
- Badminton, co. Gloucester, MSS. at. *See* Beaufort, Duke of.
- Baginton Hall, co. Warwick, MSS. at. *See* Davenport, Mr. W. Bromley.
- Bagot, Lord. Fourth Report, xiv. ; and App., 325–344.
- Bagot, Captain Josceline F. Tenth Report, 16 ; and App. IV., 318–347.
- Baillie family, The. *See* Cochrane, Mr. A. D. R. Baillie.
- Baillie, Robert. Correspondence [17th cent.]. *See* Ridgway, Mr. Matthew.
- Baker, Mr. W. R. [17th and 18th cent.]. Second Report, xi. ; and App., 69–72.
- Balcarres Papers. *See* Edinburgh.—Advocates' Library.
- Balfour, Mr. B. R. T. Tenth Report, 22 ; and App. VI., 252–258. Thirteenth Report, 56.
- Balfour, Sir James, Collection by. *See* Edinburgh.—Advocates' Library.
- Balfour, Lieut.-Col. Nisbet. Correspondence. *See* American MSS. in the Royal Institution. Vol. II.
- Balmerino Papers, The. *See* Moray, Earl of.
- Bankes, Mr. Ralph. Eighth Report, xiii. ; and App., 208–213.
- Barclay-Allardice, Mrs. Fifth Report, xx. ; and App., 629–632.
- Barker Correspondence [17th cent.]. *See* Field, Rev. Edmund.
- Barns and Cochno, co. Dumbarton, MSS. at. *See* Hamilton, Miss.
- Barnstaple, co. Devon, Corporation of. Ninth Report, x. ; and App. I., 203–216.
- Barrington, Lord, *Secretary at War*. Correspondence. *See* American MSS. in the Royal Institution. Vol. I.
- Barrington Hall, co. Essex, MSS. at. *See* Lowndes, Mr. G. A.
- Basset Down House, Swindon, co. Wilts, MSS. at. *See* Story-Maskelyne, Mr. Nevil.
- Bath, Marquess of [17th and 18th cent.]. Third Report, xiii., xiv. ; and App., 180–202. Fourth Report, xi. ; and App., 227–251. Sixteenth Report, 56–59. Vol. I. (1904). Seventeenth Report, 35–45 ; and Vol. II. (1907). Vol. III. (Prior Papers), 1908.
- Bayfordbury, co. Hertford, MSS. at. *See* Baker, Mr. W. R.
- Bayly, Mr. J. W. First Report, xii. ; and App., 128.
- Beale, Robert, Papers of. *See* Calthorpe, Lord.
- Beamont, Mr. William. Copies of papers in the museum at Warrington. Fourth Report, xv. ; and App., 368.
- Beaufort, Duke of [17th cent.]. Twelfth Report, 12 ; App. IX., 1–115.
- Beaulieu, co. Hants, MSS. at. *See* Montagu, Lord, of Beaulieu.
- Beeches, Suffolk, Corporation of. Various Collections, Vol. VII., 70–79.
- Bedford, Duke of. Second Report, ix. ; and App., 1–4.
- Bedingfeld, Sir Henry, Bart. [16th cent.]. Third Report, xvi. ; and App., 237–240.
- Belasyse family, Papers of the. *See* Wombwell, Sir George, Bart.
- Belasyse, John, Lord. A brief relation of his life and memoirs by his secretary, Joshua Moone. *See* Ormonde, Marquess of [New Series, Vol. II.].
- Belfast, MSS. at. *See* Macartney, George, Lord.
- Belhus, co. Essex, MSS. at. *See* Lennard, Sir Thomas Barrett, Bart.

- Belmont, co. Perth, MSS. at. *See* Wharnccliffe, Earl of.
- Belvoir Castle, co. Leicester, MSS. at. *See* Rutland, Duke of.
- Berington, Mr. C. M. Second Report, xii. ; and App., 72.
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Warburton, Mr. R. E. Egerton. *See* Egerton-Warburton.

Wardour Castle, Tisbury, co. Wilts, MSS. at. *See* Arundell, Lord.

Warrington Museum, MSS. in the. *See* Beamont, Mr. William.

Washington, General. Correspondence. *See* American MSS. in the Royal Institution [Vols. I. and II.].

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- Westquarter, co. Stirling, MSS. at. *See* Livingstone, Mr. T. Livingstone Fenton.
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- Whitehaugh, co. Aberdeen, MSS. at. *See* Leith, Mr. James Forbes.
- Whitehaven Castle, co. Cumberland, MSS. at. *See* Lonsdale, Earl of.
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- Wrest Park, co. Bedford, MSS. at. *See* Cowper, Countess.
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(III.)

COLLECTIONS REPORTED UPON, ARRANGED
TOPOGRAPHICALLY.

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ANGLESEY.

Miss Conway Griffith.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Duke of Bedford, K.G.

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.

Windsor, Dean and Chapter of.

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 Col-
lege.

———— Downing College.

———— Emmanuel College.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE—*continued.*Cambridge, Gonville and Caius
College.

———— Jesus College.

———— King's College.

———— Magdalene College.

———— ———— Pepys MSS

———— Pembroke College.

———— Queen's College.

———— St. Catherine's Col-
lege.

———— St. John's College.

———— St. Peter's College.

———— Sidney Sussex Col-
lege.

———— Trinity College.

———— Trinity Hall.

———— Registry of the Uni-
versity.

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. J. C. Antrobus.

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 Edgecumbe.
 Mr. J. J. Rogers.
 Earl of St. Germans.
 Sir John S. Trelawny, Bart.
 Launceston Corporation.
 Lostwithiel Corporation.

CUMBERLAND.

Sir F. U. Graham, Bart.
 Earl of Lonsdale.
 Lord Muncaster.
 Carlisle, Dean and Chapter of.
 ——— Diocesan Registry of.
 ——— Corporation of.

DENBIGHSHIRE.

Colonel Myddleton-Biddulph.

DERBYSHIRE.

Mr. H. Chandos-Pole-Gell.
 Earl Cowper, K.G. (Coke MSS. at
 Melbourne).
 Sir William Fitzherbert, Bart.
 Duke of Devonshire.

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.
 ——— City of.
 Hartland Parish.
 Parkham Parish.
 Plymouth Corporation.
 Totnes Corporation.

DORSETSHIRE.

Mr. R. Banks.
 Mr. G. W. Digby.
 Earl of Shaftesbury.
 Bridport Corporation.
 Weymouth and Melcombe Regis
 Corporation.

DURHAM.

Ushaw College.

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 Mr. T. Chisenhale-Marsh.
 Sir T. Barrett Lennard, Bart.
 Essex, Earl of.
 Mr. G. A. Lowndes.
 Mr. Lewis Majendie.
 Mr. James Round.
 County Records.

FLINTSHIRE.

Mr. P. Davies Cooke.
 Mr. Whitehall Dod.
 Lord Kenyon.
 Lord Mostyn.
 Sir Richard Puleston, Bart.
 The Rev. Sir T. G. Puleston,
 Bart.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

Cardiff Free Library.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

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 Captain S. Grove.
 Duke of Beaufort, K.G.
 Bristol Dean and Chapter.
 Gloucester Corporation.
 ——— Dean and Chapter.
 ——— Diocese.
 Woodchester Monastery.

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OF WIGHT.

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 Mr. Theodore J. Hare.
 Mr. F. H. T. Jervoise.
 Mr. A. Kingsmill.
 Sir H. Mildmay, Bart.
 Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.
 Earl of Portsmouth.
 Mr. Edmund R. Wodehouse.
 Carisbrook Parish.
 Petersfield Corporation.
 Southampton Corporation.
 ——— God's House at.
 Winchester Corporation.

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The Misses Boycott.
 Rev. T. W. Webb.
 Money-Kyrle, Major.
 Hereford Corporation.

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Essex, Earl of.
Mr. John Harvey.
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Hertford Corporation.
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Lord Sackville.
Sir J. Maryon Wilson, Bart.
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Canterbury, Black Book of the
Archdeacon of.
———— Dean and Chapter of.
———— Corporation of.
Faversham Corporation.
Folkestone Corporation.
Fordwich Corporation.
Hythe Corporation.
———— Hospital of St. Bartholomew.
Lydd Corporation.
Rochester, Corporation of the
City of.
———— Bridge, Wardens of.
Romney, New, Corporation of.
Sandwich Corporation.
Tenterden Corporation.

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Earl of Ellesmere (Bridgewater
Trust).
Miss ffarington.
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Lord Kenyon.
Mr. T. Stamford Raffles.
Colonel Towneley.

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brary.
Stonyhurst College.

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Leicester Corporation.

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Great Grimsby Corporation.
Lincoln, Dean and Chapter of.
———— Bishop's Registry.
———— Probate Registry.
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Welsh MSS., Vol. I., part ii.

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Marquess of Bute, K.T.
Earl of Bradford.
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 London, Bishop of.
 ——— Roman Catholic Chap-
 ter of.
 ——— House of Lords.
 ——— Westminster Abbey.
 ——— Roman Catholic Arch-
 bishopric of Westminster.
 ——— College of Physicians.
 ——— Dean and Chapter of
 St. Paul's.
 ——— Queen Anne's Bounty
 Office.
 ——— Inner Temple.
 ——— Trinity House.
 ——— Rev. Dr. William's
 Library.
 ——— Royal Institution.

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 Welsh MSS., Vol. II., part i.

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 Norfolk, Duke of.
 Mr. Walter Rye (Gawdy
 Papers).
 Lord Stafford.
 Marquess Townshend.
 Hunstanton Parish.
 King's Lynn Corporation.
 Norwich, Bishop's Registry.
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 Higham Ferrers Corporation.
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 The Delaval Family.
 Duke of Northumberland, K.G.
 Louisa Marchioness of Water-
 ford (Ford Castle).
 Berwick - upon - Tweed Corpora-
 tion.
 ——— Treasurer of.
 Morpeth Corporation.

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 Duke of Portland.
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 Rev. W. D. Macray.
 Duke of Marlborough.
 Mr. W. H. Turner.
 Ewelme Hospital.
 Oxford, Baliol College.
 ——— Corpus Christi College.
 ——— Exeter College.
 ——— Jesus College.
 ——— Lincoln College.
 ——— Magdalen College.
 ——— Merton College.

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 ——— Pembroke College.
 ——— Queen's College.
 ———, ——— God's House
 at Southampton, Records.
 ——— St. John's College.
 ——— Trinity College.
 ——— University College.
 ——— Wadham College.
 ——— Worcester College.
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 Captain H. G. St. John Mildmay.
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 Mr. H. D. Skrine.
 Sir E. Strachey, Bart.
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 Bridgwater Corporation.
 Cheddar Parish.
 County Records.
 Glastonbury Corporation.
 Wells Almshouses.
 ——— Bishop's Registry of.
 ——— Corporation of.
 ——— Dean and Chapter of.
 ——— Vicars Choral of.

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 Earl of Dartmouth.
 Lord Hatherton.
 Earl of Shrewsbury.
 Rev. W. Sneyd.
 Duke of Sutherland, K.G.
 Mr. Francis Whitgreave.
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 Duke of Norfolk.
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 Mr. John Tollemache.
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 Beccles Corporation.
 Bury St. Edmunds Corporation.
 Dunwich Corporation.
 Eye Corporation.
 Ipswich Corporation.
 Mendlesham Parish.
 Orford Corporation.
 Southwold Corporation.

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 Lambeth Palace.
 Southwark, Catholic Bishopric of.

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 Earl of Ashburnham.

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 Lord Colchester.
 Earl De la Warr.
 Earl of Egmont.
 Rev. E. Field.
 Colonel Frewen.
 Lord Gage.
 Lord Leconfield.
 Miss Othen.
 Mr. J. W. C. Vidler.
 Chichester, Bishop of.
 ———— Dean and Chapter of.
 Hastings Corporation.
 Rye Corporation.

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 Earl of Denbigh.
 Marquess of Hertford.
 Lord Leigh.
 Mr. E. P. Shirley.
 Sir N. W. Throckmorton, Bart.
 Coventry Corporation.
 Oscott, St. Mary's College.
 Stratford-on-Avon Corporation.

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 Mr. G. Browne.
 Mr. S. H. le Fleming.
 Earl of Lonsdale.
 Mr. Walter C. Strickland.
 Kendal Corporation.

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 Lord Arundell of Wardour.
 Marquess of Bath.
 Miss M. Eyre-Matcham.
 Mr. F. W. Leyborne-Popham.
 Mr. Alfred Morrison.
 Earl of Pembroke.
 Earl of Radnor.
 Duke of Somerset.
 Mr. N. Story-Maskelyne.
 Mr. Cornwallis Wykeham -
 Martin.
 Salisbury, Dean and Chapter of.
 ———— Corporation.
 Quarter Sessions Records.

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 Mr. Charles M. Berington.
 Rev. F. Hopkinson.
 Sir E. A. H. Lechmere, Bart.
 Mr. S. Zachary Lloyd.
 Lord Lyttelton.
 Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart.
 Worcester, St. Andrew's.
 ———— Dean and Chapter of.
 ———— Bishop's Registry.
 County Records.

YORKSHIRE.

Earl of Carlisle.
 Earl of Cathcart.
 Mr. P. B. Davies Cooke.
 Duke of Devonshire, K.G.
 Mr. Francis Darwin.
 Earl of Effingham.
 Mr. A. Fawkes.
 Mr. F. Bacon Frank.
 Sir Reginald Graham, Bart.
 Mr. Edward Halistone.
 Mrs. Harford.
 Lord Herries.
 Sir H. Ingilby, Bart.
 Sir John Lawson, Bart.
 Duke of Leeds.
 Mr. C. Meadley.
 Mr. M. Ridgway.
 Marquess of Ripon, K.G.
 Mrs. Wentworth.
 Sir Matthew Wilson, Bart.
 Earl of Wharnccliffe.
 Sir George Wombwell.
 Hon. Frederick Lindley Wood.
 Earl of Zetland.
 York, Company of Merchant
 Adventurers of.
 ———— Corporation of the City
 of.
 ———— Dean and Chapter of.
 Yorkshire, Philosophical Society.
 ———— North Riding MSS.
 ———— West Riding MSS.
 Ampleforth, St. Lawrence's
 College.
 Beverley Corporation.
 Guisborough Hospital.
 Pontefract Corporation.

SCOTLAND.

- Earl of Aberdeen.
 Marquess of Ailsa.
 Earl of Airlie.
 Viscount Arbuthnot.
 Duke of Argyll, K.G.
 Duke of Athole, K.T.
 Aberdeen Burgh.
 ———— University.
 Mrs. Barclay-Allardice.
 Sir John Bethune, Bart.
 Marquess of Breadalbane.
 Duke of Buccleuch and Queens-
 berry, K.G.
 Mr. James Buchan.
 Sir James H. Burnett, Bart.
 Marquess of Bute, K.T.
 Catholic College of Blairs.
 Catholic MSS. at Buckie.
 Sir H. H. Campbell, Bart.
 Carruthers of Holmains, the
 Family of.
 Earl Cawdor.
 Mr. A. D. R. Baillie Cochrane.
 Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.
 Sir William G. Gordon Cum-
 ming, Bart.
 Earl of Dalhousie.
 Mr. C. Dalrymple.
 Sir R. A. O. Dalryell, Bart.
 Mr. James Douglas.
 Mr. James Dundas.
 Mr. Robert Dundas.
 Sir Archibald Edmonstone,
 Bart.
 Earl of Eglinton and Winton.
 Lord Elphinstone.
 Mr. A. J. W. H. K. Erskine.
 Hon. Mrs. Erskine-Murray.
 Edinburgh Advocates Library.
 ———— City.
 ———— Catholic Bishop of,
 Library.
 ———— University.
 ———— ———— Laing MSS.
 Colonel James Farquharson.
 Duke of Fife, K.T.
 Lord Forbes.
 Sir William Forbes, Bart.
 Earl of Glasgow.
 Mr. H. Mackay Gordon.
 Mr. W. Cosmo Gordon.
 Sir John James Graham of
 Fintry.
 Sir Archibald Grant, Bart.
 Mr. John Guthrie.
 Glasgow Corporation.
 ———— University.
 Glenalmond, Trinity College.
 Duke of Hamilton, K.T.
 Miss Hamilton of Barns.
 Earl of Home.
 Col. David Milne Home.
 Marquess of Huntly.
 Mr. Alexander Forbes Irvine.
 Mr. J. J. Hope Johnstone.
 Lieut.-Colonel W. Ross King.
 Lord Kinnaird.
 Earl of Kinnoull.
 Kirkcudbright Burgh.
 Earl of Lauderdale.
 Mr. J. Forbes Leith.
 Mr. T. L. Fenton Livingstone.
 Marquess of Lothian, K.T.
 Earl of Mar and Kellie.
 Sir J. M. Stirling Maxwell,
 Bart.
 Colonel James McDouall.
 Sir Robert Menzies, Bart.
 Lord Monboddo.
 Duke of Montrose, K.T.
 Earl of Moray.
 Mr. C. S. H. Drummond Moray.
 Colonel Mordaunt-Hay.
 Earl of Morton.
 Sir Patrick Keith Murray, Bart.
 Montrose Burgh.
 Perth Burgh.
 ———— King James's Hospital.
 Colonel James Rattray.
 Duke of Richmond, K.G.
 Lord Rollo.
 Mr. George Ross.
 Earl of Rosslyn.
 Countess of Rothes.
 Mr. W. Oliver Rutherford.
 Duke of Roxburghe.
 Countess Dowager of Seafield.
 Earl of Seafield.
 Earl of Selkirk.
 Earl of Southesk, K.T.
 Earl of Stair, K.T.
 Sir M. R. Shaw Stewart, Bart.

SCOTLAND—*continued.*

Miss M. E. Stirling.
 Earl of Strathmore.
 Mr. Alexander C. Stuart.
 Hon. H. C. Maxwell Stuart.
 Duke of Sutherland.
 St. Andrew's University.

Lord Torphichen.
 Mr. Andrew Wauchope.
 Mr. John Webster.
 Mr. R. G. E. Wemyss.
 Earl of Wharncliffe.
 Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell Witham.

IRELAND.

Mr. B. R. T. Balfour.
 Mr. J. W. Bayly.
 Mr. Richard Caulfield, LL.D.
 Earl of Charlemont.
 Mr. M. L. S. Clements.
 Corporation of Cork.
 Diocesan Library of Derry.
 Desmond, Geraldine, Earls of.
 Earl of Donoughmore.
 Marquess of Drogheda.
 Major-General F. P. Dunne.
 Dublin, Corporation of the City
 of.
 ——— College of Irish Fran-
 ciscan (Louvain).
 ——— Jesuits' Archives.
 ——— Convent, Merchants'
 Quay.
 ——— See of.
 ——— Trinity College.
 Lord Emly.
 Earl of Fingall.
 Sir Gerald FitzGerald, Bart.
 Viscount Gormanston.
 Earl of Granard.

Galway Corporation.
 Mr. Charles Haliday.
 Mr. Thomas Hewitt.
 Kilkenny Corporation.
 ———— Rothes, Register of.
 Captain H. V. Knox.
 Duke of Leinster.
 Mr. R. D. Lyons, M.D. (Archbishop
 King's Collection).
 Limerick Corporation.
 Limerick Black Book.
 Lord Macartney.
 Rev. Michael Molony.
 The O'Connor Don.
 Sir Richard O'Donnell, Bart.
 Lord Oranmore and Brown.
 Marquess of Ormonde, K.P.
 See of Ossory.
 Lord de Ros.
 Earl of Rosse.
 Lord Talbot de Malahide.
 Mr. K. B. Tighe.
 Mr. W. T. McCullagh Torrens
 Mr. Willes.
 Waterford Corporation.

JERSEY.

Dr. Hoskins

Heidelberg University Library.

APPENDIX II.

MATERIALS FOR ENGLISH DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1509-1783,

CALENDARED IN THE REPORTS OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS
COMMISSION, WITH REFERENCES TO SIMILAR MATERIALS IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.

The following list is intended to include references to all the important bodies of material for the diplomatic history of England, from 1509 down to 1783, referred to in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and in the Catalogue of the Manuscripts at the British Museum. Many individual documents of varying degrees of importance, such as treaties, instructions, and single letters from ambassadors, are also included, but the list must not be regarded as in any sense complete, no attempt having been made to compile an absolutely exhaustive list, as such an undertaking would have required an examination of many of the manuscripts themselves.

References to similar materials for American colonial history will be found in:—*A Guide to the Items relating to American History in the Reports of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission, and the Appendices* printed in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1898, pp. 611-708, by J. F. Jameson; and *A Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783*, by C. M. Andrews and F. G. Davenport. For English diplomatic relations the following are most useful:—*Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France, 1603-1688*, by C. H. Firth and S. C. Lomas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1906), a similar volume for 1689-1783 by G. L. Wickham Legg (1909), and *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and Germany, 1689-1727* (1907); and *of England and the North of Europe, 1689-1762* (1913), by J. F. Chance. Attention should also be called to the valuable series of foreign Transcripts in the Public Record Office.

In using the list it is to be borne in mind that many of the entries refer to large groups of documents, some of which cover long periods of years. Thus the Salisbury collection, which as printed in part in thirteen volumes of the Reports extends from 1509-1603, is noticed below in only one brief entry. Large numbers of royal letters and news letters are omitted.

In referring to the first nine Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the number of the report is given in Roman numerals. In the case of the first six reports, this is followed by the page number, and this, in turn, by the name of the collection in which the listed material is preserved. In the case of reports seven to fifteen, inclusive, the number of the part intervenes between the volume and the page numbers. The appendices of Reports ten to fifteen, inclusive (1885-1899), form six separately numbered series of volumes. The usual shelf arrangement of these is not by numbers, but according to the alphabetical order of the names of the collection, or of the first collection described in each volume, which are printed on the backs of the volumes, as titles. These title names are given in the following list, where they are distinguished by quotation marks. If the material referred to is in a collection which does not give the title to the volume, the name of this collection is also noted, but not within quotation marks. Thus, X, 1, "Eglinton, &c., MSS.," 241, Underwood MSS., refers to a document preserved in the Underwood collection, and described on p. 241 of a volume known from the name of the collection calendaried on its first pages as "Eglinton, &c., MSS.," and constituting the first appendix to the tenth report. From 1899, the volumes ceased to be issued as appendices to reports, and are distinguished by their title and date of publication.

F. G. DAVENPORT.

GENERAL AND UNDATED.

- Index to negotiations and treaties between England and other countries. II, 40. Calthorpe MSS.
- List of treaties between the different states of Europe from 1495, but chiefly in the seventeenth century. VIII, 3, 9. Ashburnham MSS.
- Large parcel of cyphers and keys for diplomatic purposes. IV, 234. Bath MSS.
- The commentaries of Sir Francis Vere (d. 1609), relating to the Low Countries. Printed in 1657. X, 4 ("Westmorland, &c., MSS."), 58.
- 1733. Many papers on state ceremonies and forms, and letters about ambassadors' audiences. II, 83. Dormer MSS.
- 1646. Folio containing copies of treaties between the Kings of England and France, Spain, Portugal, the States, the Princes of Germany, the King of Denmark, the Hanse Towns, and Scotland; the latest is with Denmark, 1646. II, 45-46. Calthorpe MSS.
- Negotiations and treaties between the different states of Italy and England, &c. VIII, 3, 13. Ashburnham MSS.
- Treaties and papers concerning Turkey and Spain. II, 41. Calthorpe MSS.
- Complete collection of the papers relating to the razing of the fortifications and the destruction of the harbour of Dunkirk. III, 132. Lansdowne MSS.
- Letters relating to treaties with Sweden, Denmark and the Low Countries; some by Lord Weymouth, envoy to Sweden, 1666. III, 185. Bath MSS.
- Papers relating to Brussels and the Low Countries, including the correspondence of Sir R. Bulstrode at Brussels, 1673, 1676-1688, and others. IV, 236. Bath MSS.
- Papers about Tangier and Tripoli. IV, 236. Bath MSS.
- Miscellaneous papers touching the relations between the papacy and England; extracts from the correspondence of Panzani and Conn with Cardinal Barberini, &c. III, 234 ff. Bishop of Southwark's MSS.

DATED ITEMS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

- 16th century. Copies of treaties between England and foreign powers. II, 39. Calthorpe MSS.
- 16th century. Copies of treaties and other documents about trade matters between England and the Low Countries and England's military assistance to the States. II, 40, 41. Calthorpe MSS.
- 16th century. Copies of documents regarding mercantile relations between England and Denmark. II, 44. Calthorpe MSS.
- 16th century. "Collection of severall instructions and directions given to divers ambassadors, &c., to treat with foraigne Powers, &c." Sloane MSS. 2442.
- 16th and 17th centuries. Copies of relations of ambassadors, letters, &c., relating to the affairs of France. Add. MSS. 28471, 28472.
- 16th and 17th centuries. *Relazioni* by Venetian ambassadors to various European courts. IX, 2, 362-363. Leicester MSS.
- Henry VIII.—Eliz. Transcripts of instructions to ambassadors, &c. Eg. MSS. 2790.
- Henry VIII.—James I. Transcripts of instructions to ambassadors, &c. Add. MSS. 5935.
- Temp. Henry VIII. Instructions to ambassadors and other state papers. Add. MSS. 5498, 5860.
- Temp. Henry VIII. Secret instructions containing certain points wherein the English ambassadors shall inquire for the King and the Emperor. V, 308. Malet MSS. (Now, Add. MSS. 32091-32096).
- Temp. Henry VIII. Two letters from Francis I. to his ambassador in England. VIII, 3, 7. Ashburnham MSS.

- Temp. Henry VIII. Correspondence between the King, Cardinal Wolsey and ambassadors, &c. III, 213. Westminster MSS.
- Temp. Henry VIII. Copies of Henry VIII.'s and Wolsey's letters and instructions to the ambassadors at Venice, of Cardinal Wolsey's letters and negotiations, and of Henry VIII.'s letter to his ambassadors at Rome, &c. VIII, 3, 13. Ashburnham MSS.
- Temp. Henry VIII. Letters from Edmund Bonner, ambassador to France and to the Emperor. II, 152, 153, 155. Inner Temple MSS.
- Temp. Henry VIII. Copy of instructions to Sir Thomas Cheney, ambassador to France. Lansdowne MSS., 115, 121.
- 1509-1545. "Traitez et autres actes entre les Roys de France d'une part, et les Roys d'Angleterre d'autre ensemble quelques traitez entre le Roy^{me} d'Angleterre et les Princes estrangers." Harl. MSS. 4592.
- [1509]-1555. Collection of treaties relating to England and other countries. Eg. 990.
- [1509]-1559. Abrégé de Traités de Paix. Small folio. VIII, 3, 76. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1509-1564. Extracts and minutes of treaties of commerce between England and the Low Countries. Cotton MSS. Galba B 11.
- 1509-1588. Collection of treaties between England and Flanders. Lansdowne MSS. 154.
- 1509-1602. The Salisbury MSS., which "represent a detached portion of the State correspondence" during the administration of Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley (d. 1598), and of his son, the first Earl of Salisbury (d. 1612), constitute a body of material indispensable to the student of foreign affairs during the period from Edward VI. to James I. inclusive. They also embrace many documents of the reign of Henry VIII. and some later than James I. The manuscripts are listed, without description, in the appendices of the third to the seventh *Reports* inclusive. Up to the year 1603, they are printed in full or in abstract in thirteen volumes, published from 1883 to 1915.
- [1509]-1607. Collection of treaties of peace and other tracts relative to the history of Europe. Eg. MSS. 543.
- [1509]-1611. Copies of treaties between England and Denmark, temp. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; copies of letters to and by the sovereigns of both countries; the negotiations of T. Bodley and Dr. Daniel Rogers, and a somewhat similar volume to 1611, with copies of letters. III, 184-185. Bath MSS.
- [1509]-1632. "Traitez entre les Roys de France et les Roys d'Angleterre." Add. MSS. 30659-30661.
- 1509-1636. Instructions to ambassadors, negotiations, treaties, &c., between the Swiss and other states of Europe. VIII, 3, 13. Ashburnham MSS.
- [1509]-c.1640. A copy of the large collection of transcripts of state papers relating to the history of France and other countries of Europe, formed by Antoine de Loménie, Seigneur de la Ville-aux-Clères, Secretary of State under Henri IV and Louis XIII. Add. MSS. 30525-30766.
- [1509]-1654. Treaties between France, England and Scotland, including Bassompierre's negotiations in England, with Du Moulin's, and De la Barre's, and Sir Isaac Wake's in France, down to 1634. VIII, 3, 14. Ashburnham MSS.
- [1509]-1660. Original letters illustrative of the history of England and Spain. Eg. MSS. 616.
- [1509]-1725. Transcripts of state papers intended to be incorporated in a second edition of the 2nd Earl of Hardwicke's *State Papers*, and to form a third volume. Add. MSS. 35837 (Hardwicke papers).
- [1509]-1768. Account of discoveries, copies of reports, despatches, treaties, &c., relative to the West Indies, South Seas and South America. V, 244. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1510-1514. Copies of letters to the King by Sir Thomas Boleyn and Sir Thomas Spinelly, agents at Brussels. V, 308. Malet MSS.
1512. Copies of letters from Ponynys, &c., reporting negotiations with the Emperor towards treaty of 1513. Cotton MSS. Galba B 3.

- 1512-1513. Despatches of Dr. W^m. Knight and Sir John Stile, ambassador in Spain. Cotton MSS. *Vespasian C 1*.
- 1512-1514. Letters from ambassadors in the Low Countries to Henry VIII. Add. MSS. 32091 (cp. Cotton MSS. *Galba B III* passim).
- [1512]-1529. Copies of treaties, in Latin, between England and Austria, 1512, 1515, 1520, 1522, 1529. *III, 184. Bath MSS.*
- 1513-1516. Letters from Sir Robert Wingfield, envoy to the Emperor. Cotton MSS. *Vitellius B 18-19*.
- 1514-1515. Letters reporting the negotiations of Suffolk, Dorset, West, and Wingfield in France. Cotton MSS. *Caligula D 4*.
- 1515, Nov. 5. Copy of letter of Bernardo de Mesa, Spanish ambassador in England to Ferdinand of Aragon. Add. MSS. 20848.
- 1515, Nov. 6. Copy of letter to Regent of France from Bapaumes, French ambassador in England. Add. MSS. 11718.
- 1515-1516. Instructions to and letters of Richard Pace, envoy to the Swiss. Cotton MSS. *Vitellius B 18-19*.
- 1515-1529. Minutes of divers treaties between England, the Emperor and France. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 9*.
1516. *Tractatus pacis et amicitiae inter Henricum VIII et Maximilianum Imp. elect.* Cotton MSS. *Galba B 4*.
- 1516, April 19. Treaty of peace and alliance between Henry VIII and Charles I of Spain, with the commissions of the ambassadors on either part. Add. Ch. 1519.
- 1516-1517. Letters of W^m. Knight to Henry VIII. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 5-6*.
- 1516-1517. Letters of Spynelly to Wolsey and Henry VIII. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 5-6*.
- 1516-1517. Letters of Ponynys and Tunstal to Henry VIII. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 4-6*.
1517. Letters of Sir Robert Wingfield to Henry VIII. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 5*.
1518. Certificate of the promise by Francis I of marriage of the Dauphin Francis with Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. Add. Ch. 13298.
1518. Despatches of English ambassadors in Spain. Cotton MSS. *Vespasian C 1*.
- 1518, Oct. 2. Treaty of Peace between England and France. Cotton MSS. *Vitellius B 3*.
1519. Sir Thomas Boleyn's letters from France. Cotton MSS. *Caligula D 7*.
- 1519-1601. Transcripts of State Papers relating to England in the public archives of Brussels. Add. MSS. 28173.
1520. Convention between Henry VIII and Charles V at their interview. Cotton MSS. *Vespasian C 1*.
1520. Confirmation of the Treaty of London. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 6*.
- c.1520-1549. Transcripts by G. Bergenroth of state papers in the public archives at Simancas, and private collections in Spain and in the public archives of Paris and Brussels, containing much relating to the affairs of England. Add. MSS. 28572-28597.
1521. Letters of Sir William Fitzwilliam, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. *Caligula D 8*.
1521. Instructions to ambassadors at Worms. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 7*.
1521. Treaty of Calais between Henry VIII and Charles V against Francis I. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 7*.
- 1521-1522. Letters of Wingfield and Spynelly from Brussels. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 7*.
- 1521-1525. Letters of Richard Pace and J. Clerk, envoys to Rome. Cotton MSS. *Vitellius B 4-7*.
1522. Instructions of Charles V to his ambassadors in England. Cotton MSS. *Vespasian C 2*.
1522. Instructions to Rich. Pace sent to Venice. Cotton MSS. *Nero B 7*.
1522. Articles preliminary to the Treaty of Windsor. Cotton MSS. *Galba B 7*.

- 1522-1523. Despatches of Sir Tho. Boleyn and Dr. Sampson, ambassadors to the Emperor. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 2.
- 1522-1535. Letters, 1522-1525, to and from Richard Pace, ambassador to Venice; despatch, 1524, from Wolsey to William Knight, ambassador to the Archduchess Margaret; letter to Wolsey, 1527; from Cranmer, 1531, about the Emperor; Thomas Crumwell, 1535, to Sir John Wallop, ambassador to France. Bath MSS., vol. II (1907), pp. 1-7; and compare III, 194-195, Bath MSS. All the above are printed in full or in part in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, or *Memorials of Cranmer*.
1523. Secret instructions to the English ambassadors in Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 2.
1523. Commission to J. Clerk to treat with Pope, Emperor and D. of Milan. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 5.
1523. Commission to John Russell to treat with Emperor and D. of Bourbon. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 5.
- 1523, June 30. Renewal and confirmation by Henry VIII of the treaty between Henry VII and John, King of Denmark. Add. Ch. 25959.
- 1523, Jan. 17. Treaty between Henry VIII and Charles V. Cotton MSS. Galba B 7.
- 1523-1524. Transcripts of letters of Cardinal Wolsey to Richard Pace, ambassador to Venice. Stowe MSS. 149.
- 1523-1525. Letters of Tho. Hannibal, envoy to Italy. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 5-7.
- 1523-1525. Letters of John Russell. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 5-7.
- 1523-1528. Despatches of Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassador to the Emperor. Cotton MSS. Galba B 8-9.
- 1524-5. Correspondence of Cardinal Wolsey. Add. MSS. 5860.
1525. Relation of negotiations touching the marriage of the daughter of Henry VIII with Francis I, drawn up by Claude Dodien. Add. MSS. 12192.
- 1525, Aug. 14. Treaty of peace and friendship between Henry VIII and the Lady Regent of France. Cotton MSS. Caligula D 9.
- 1525, Aug. 30. Tractatus depraedationum, à propos of a treaty of peace between France and England. II, 42. Calthorpe MSS.
- 1525-1526. Commission to and despatches of Tunstal, Wingfield and Sampson sent to treat with the Pope and the Emperor, &c. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 3, 7.
- 1525-1654. Anglo Gallica: or negotiations and treaties between England and France. Stowe MSS. 132.
1526. Instructions to Sir Tho. Cheyne, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. Caligula D 9.
1526. Letters from Bishop of Worcester, envoy to Rome, &c. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 8.
- 1526-1527. Treaties of peace in Latin between England and France. II, 42. Calthorpe MSS.
1527. Relation de ce qui fut négocié en l'an 1525 [1527] avec Henri VIII touchant une alliance contre l'Empereur, &c. Add. MSS. 30663.
1527. Letters of Sir J. Russell and Sir G. Casalis from Italy. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 9.
1527. Aug. 5. Original ratification of a Treaty of Commerce between England, France, and the Emperor. Cotton MSS. Galba B 9, f. 63.
- 1527-1529. Despatches of the Bishop of Worcester and Dr. Lee, ambassadors in Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 4.
- 1527-1529. Despatches of John Hackett, ambassador to the Emperor. Cotton MSS. Galba B 9.
- 1527-1545. Original letters and state papers relating chiefly to the embassies of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to the courts of Francis I and Charles V. Add. MSS. 25114.
- 1527-1671. Relationi d'Ambasciatori Venetiani fatte in Senato al ritorno delle loro ambascerie. Add. MSS. 16517-16520.
1528. Instructions to Sir Fr. Bryan and Mr. Pet Vannes sent orators to the Court of Rome. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 10.

1529. Titles of some treaties and ratifications of year 1529.—Treaty of Cambray. Cotton MSS. Galba B 9.
1529. Instructions and despatches of Gardiner, Bryan, Casalis and Vannes, ambassadors at Rome. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 11.
1529. Instructions and despatches to English ambassadors at Rome. Arundel MSS. 151.
1529. Commissions to Tunstal, Knight, More and Hackett to treat with Imperial ambassadors. Cotton MSS. Galba B 9.
- 1529-1590. Instructions to Scottish ambassadors to England and other countries. Add. MSS. 23108.
1530. Treaty, with confirmation between England and France for commuting the yearly tribute of salt into an annual payment of money. Add. Ch. 13942-13943.
- c.1530-1532. Correspondence between Henry VIII and his ambassadors in France and Rome; instructions to two cardinals for peace between England and France and to Sir Henry Knyvett about matters to be opened to the Queen of Navarre. II., 42. Calthorpe MSS.
1532. Instructions to English ambassadors in the Low Countries. Cotton MSS. Galba B 10.
1532. Credentials to Dr. Hawkins sent to Charles V and to the King of Hungary. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 21.
- 1532-1545. Official correspondence relating to transactions between England and Scotland, especially to embassy of Sir Ralph Sadler 1543. Add. MSS. 32646-32656. Transcripts of the above (1543-1545). Add. MSS. 33253-33255.
- 1533 (?). Original duplicate of treaty between Henry VIII and Francis I for defence against the Turks. II, 104. Hengwrt and Peniarth MSS.
- 1534, May 11. Treaty between Henry VIII and James V of Scotland. Cotton MSS. Titus F 13.
- c.1535-1536. Papers relative to the visit of Bonner and Cavendish to the Duke of Helst at Wirberg. II, 42. Calthorpe MSS.
- 1537-1538. Original papers and letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt, ambassador to the Emperor. Harl. MSS. 282.
- 1537-1539. Original letters from the French ambassadors in England to Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, on the projected marriages of Henry VIII and his daughter, the Princess Mary, &c. Add. MSS. 33514.
1538. Instructions of Stephen Gardiner to Dr. Edmund Bonner on the latter succeeding him as ambassador to France. Add. MSS. 21564.
1538. Sir Tho. Wyatt, ambassador to France—account of his expenses. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 14.
1538. Instructions to Sir T. Wyatt and P. Hoby to be declared to the Emperor Charles V. Add. MSS. 5498.
- 1538, October 16. Instructions to Sir Thomas Wyatt, ambassador to Spain. Add. MSS. 5498, f. 3.
- 1538-1540. Letters of Castillon (1538) and of Marillac (1538-1540), French ambassadors in England. Add. MSS. 33514.
- 1538, 1551, 1553. Instructions and other papers of Sir Philip Hoby, relating to his missions to Milan, Spain, France and Hungary. Add. MSS. 5498.
1539. Nic. Wotton's and Rich. Berde's report of negotiations with D. of Cleves. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 21.
- 1539-1543. Transcripts of the instructions and correspondence of Sir Ralph Sadler, ambassador to Scotland. Add. MSS. 31991, 33252; Eg. MSS. 2430; (cp. Add. MSS. 32646-32656)
- 1540, October 3. Henry VIII to Sir John Wallopp, ambassador in France. XIII, 2 (Portland MSS.), II, 5-6.
1542. Commissions of Charles V and Henry VIII for concluding a treaty, also ratification of the treaty. Cotton MSS. Galba B 10.
- 1542-1546. Instructions to Mr. Wm. Paget, ambassador in France. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 4.
1543. Original treaty between Henry VIII and Charles V. Cotton MSS. Galba B 10.

1545. Letters to and from the commissioners for the diet at Calais. Cotton MSS. Galba B 10.
1545. Treaty between England and the Emperor. Cotton MSS. Galba B 10.
1546. Conference between French and English deputies touching the pretensions of the King of England and restitution of Boulogne. Add. MSS. 12192.
- Temp. Ed. VI. Instructions to Dr. Wotton sent to reside with the Emperor. Cotton MSS. Galba B 12.
- 1547-1619. Correspondence of Sir Julius Caesar, with papers. Add: MSS. 36767.
1549. Reports of English ambassadors at the Imperial Court. Cotton MSS. Galba B 12.
1550. Instructions for Sir Thomas Chamberlain, ambassador to the Regent of Flanders. Add. MSS. 5935.
- 1550-1552. Despatches of Tho. Chamberlaine, envoy to the Queen of Hungary. Cotton MSS. Galba B 12.
1551. Treaty between Edward VI and Mary, Queen of Scots. Cotton MSS. Titus F 13.
1551. Instructions to Sir Philip Hoby sent to the Lady Regent in the Low Countries. Cotton MSS. Galba B 12.
1551. Papers relative to the King's intended marriage to Elizabeth of France, and instructions to ambassadors. Add. MSS. 5485, 5498, 5935.
- 1551-1552. Letters of Christopher Mundt (Mont), envoy to Germany. Cotton MSS. Galba B 11.
- 1551-1552. Instructions to Sir William Pickering, ambassador to France. Add. MSS. 5498, 5935.
1552. Instructions to Sir Rd. Moryfin, ambassador with the Emperor. Cotton MSS. Galba B 12.
1552. Instructions to Sir Henry Sidney, as ambassador to France. Add. MSS. 5935, f. 108.
1552. Relazione d'Inghilterra. Add. MSS. 10169.
- 1552, 1557. Relazione d'Inghilterra. II, 44, 45. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. Queen Mary. Questions propounded by Queen Mary, and answered by her Council, touching the continuance of a treaty made by Henry VIII with the Emperor and the King of France. II, 43, Calthorpe MSS.; also XI, 7 ("Leeds, &c., MSS."), 287. Inner Temple MSS.
1553. Instructions to Rich. Shelley sent to King of Hungary. Cotton MSS. Vitellius B 21.
- 1553, 1557. Instructions to Lord Fitzwalters relative to Queen Mary's marriage. II, 96. Neville of Holt MSS.
1554. Instructions to the Cardinal de Bellay and other ambassadors to England, and other papers regarding peace with England. III, 184. Bath MSS.
- 1554, January. Effect of the articles of treaty lately concluded for marriage between the Queen's highness and the Prince's Grace of Spain at Westminster. III, 113. Northumberland MSS.
- 1554-1558. Letter book of Roger Ascham, Latin secretary to Queen Mary. Add. MSS. 35840.
- 1556-1557. Relazione d'Inghilterra, by G. Michieli. Add. MSS. 10170, 14098, 16517, 16519, 28492.
1557. Instructions to R. Shelley, ambassador to the King of the Romans. II, 96. Neville of Holt MSS.; Add. MSS. 5935, f. 144.
- 1558, July 2, and August. Letters from Queen Mary to the King of Poland, and the King of Denmark. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 10-11.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Copybook of transactions between England and Germany. Cotton MSS. Titus F 12.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Copies of commissions and other documents regarding maritime matters between England and France. II, 44. Calthorpe MSS.

- Temp. Elizabeth. Sir Francis Walsingham's Table Book, or index of state papers, containing " An Index of all the written books in the chests, or abroad " relating to treaties with France and Flanders, Scotland and Ireland, during the reign of Elizabeth. Also a repertory of Walsingham's papers at home and abroad, relating to all his transactions with the above and other countries. VIII, 3, 17. Ashburnham MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Account of a mission to Paris (Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's ?). I, 42. Port Eliot MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Smith for restitution of Calais. II, 44. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. The colloquy at Bruges; negotiations at Brussels by Dr. Dale, sent to the Archduchess of Parma by Queen Elizabeth; letter from the Archduchess to the Queen, February 2, 1563. II, 39-40. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Copy of treaty of marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou and Alençon. I, 42. Port Eliot MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Letters from princes and states to Elizabeth, including some from Frederick, King of Denmark. Copies of orations from foreign emissaries to Elizabeth, and of letters by Beale to the princes of Germany. II, 45. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Notes by Robert Beale. Treaties between kings of England and other princes. Add. MSS. 14029, f. 23; and cf. II, 44. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Papers about the Merchant Adventurers in 1576, and Beale's mission to Flanders. II, 45. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Instructions to Robert Beale about an intended assembly at Magdeburg. A great number of letters and papers on religious matters from various German states. II, 44. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Papers about Spanish attempts. IV, 372. Carew MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Considerations or overtures of peace made to Queen Elizabeth by Philip II. VIII, 3, 13. Ashburnham MSS.
- matters from various German states. II, 44. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. Elizabeth and James I. State papers and correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, resident in France and the Netherlands. VIII, 3, 10. Ashburnham MSS.
1558. Commission to Ld. Effingham and Dr. Nic. Wotton to treat with plenipotentiaries of Philip II. Cotton MSS. Galba C 1.
1558. Instructions to Sir Tho. Challoner sent to the Emperor, and to Ld. Cobham sent to the King of Spain. Cotton MSS. Galba C 1.
- 1558-1603. Transcripts of correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with foreign sovereigns, princes, and a few ministers of state. Add. MSS. 35834-35836 (Hardwicke papers).
1559. Treaty of Câteau Cambresis. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 5.
1559. Instructions of Queen Elizabeth to her ambassador in France. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 12.
1559. Instructions to Sir Tho. Challoner, ambassador with the Catholic King to his Low Countries. Cotton MSS. Galba C 1.
- 1559, April 2. Copy of treaty of peace between England and Scotland (Latin). Add. MSS. 12192.
- 1559, April 15. Instructions to A. Waad, sent to the Duke of Holstein. Add. MSS. 5935.
- 1559, January 20. Letters of credence from Queen Elizabeth to Philip of Spain commending the writer's ambassadors. IX, 416. Morrison MSS.
- 1559-1560. Instructions and letters of Visct. Montague and Sir Tho. Chamberlain, ambassadors to Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 7.
- 1559-1564. Original letters to and copies of letters from Throckmorton, ambassador in France. Add. MSS. 35830-35831.
- 1559-1585. Correspondence of Sir Ralph Sadleir, agent in Scotland. Add. MSS. 33591-33594.
- 1559-1589. Transcripts of state papers, &c., relating to England in the archives at Simancas. Add. MSS. 26056 A.-C.

- 1559-1599. Official correspondence of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, ambassador to France (1559-1564), and miscellaneous state papers. Add. MSS. 35830, 35831.
- 1560, May. Contract between Q. Elizabeth and the nobility of Scotland against an invasion of the French. Cotton MSS. Caligula D 1.
- 1560-1606. Letters from various envoys to Sir William and Robert Cecil. Add. MSS. 35837.
- 1560-1639. Abstract of negotiations at Venice, giving the names of the English residents and ambassadors. VIII, 2, 103. Manchester MSS.
- 1560-1722. Official and private correspondence and papers of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I and Charles II, together with those of his family. Eg. 2535-2562.
- 1561-1563. Despatches of Sir Tho. Chaloner, ambassador to Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 7.
1562. Christopher Mundt's (Mont) report on negotiations in Germany. Cotton MSS. Galba B 11.
1562. Proposal of Sir Thomas Smith, ambassador in France, for the restitution of Calais to England. Add. MSS. 10012.
1562. Letters of Sir Wm. Cecil to Sir Tho. Smith, ambassador in France. Lansdowne MSS. 102.
- 1562-1581. Notes concerning treaties with France 1562-1572, and of the legations sent into France and from thence 1571-1581. Cotton MSS. Titus B 6.
- 1562-1655. Instructions baillées par le Roy à plusieurs ambassadeurs envoyés en différentes Cours. Add. MSS. 5455-5459.
- 1563-1575. Letters from Queen Elizabeth to Dr. Dale, ambassador in France. IX, 2, 407-409. Morrison MSS.
- 1563-1625. Instructions to French ambassadors in England. Add. MSS. 30622.
- 1564, April 1/11. Copy of treaty of peace between England and France. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House. I (1899), 22. Cf. Rymer's *Foedera*, XV, 640.
1564. Credentials of Dr. Knopper, agent of the King of Denmark. Cotton MSS. Galba E 1.
1564. Articles of a commercial treaty between England and Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 13.
- 1564, April 11. Treaty between England and France. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 5 (cp. E 12).
- 1564, December. Report of French envoy in England on proposed match between Queen Elizabeth and Charles IX of France. III, 262-263. Hopkinson MSS.
- 1564-1570. Letters from English ambassadors in Spain, France, &c., to the Earl of Leicester. Pepys MSS. 13-177.
- 1564-1577. Copies of instructions to various English ambassadors and envoys. Lansdowne MSS. 155.
1565. Memorial of matters to be intreated at the colloquy at Bruges between the commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, the Viscount Montague, Dr. Wotten, and Mr. Haddon, and the commissioners of Spain. II, 97. Neville of Holt MSS.
1565. Heads of articles relating to the negotiations at Bruges. Cotton MSS. Galba C 2.
1565. Instructions to John Sheeres, sent to the Duchess of Parma. Cotton MSS. Galba C 1.
1566. Instructions to John Man, ambassador to Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 7.
1566. Articles of treaty between England and the Low Countries with marginal observations. Cotton MSS. Galba C 2.
- 1566 and undated. Instructions about the proposed restoration of Calais. I, 42. Port Eliot MSS. IV, 372. Carew MSS.
- 1566-1567. Transcript of instructions, &c., to Sir Tho. Smith, ambassador to France. Birch MSS. 4109.

- 1568-1577. Instructions for Sir Henry Killigrew, sent to Frederick, Count Palatine, 1568; for the same, sent into France, 1571; for Walsingham, sent to France, 1570; to Daniel Rogers, sent to Holland, 1575; to Sir H. Gilbert and the English in the Low Countries; to Daniel Silvester, sent to Russia, 1575; to Sir H. Cobham sent to Spain, 1575; to R. Corbett, sent to the Low Countries, 1575; to John Hastings, sent to Holland, 1575; to W. Davison, sent to the Low Countries, 1576; to T. Randolph, sent to France, 1576; to R. Beale, sent to the Prince of Orange, 1576; to R. Hoddeson and E. Eastlin, appointed to take up money lent to the Queen in Germany, 1576; to Sir Amyas Poulet, ambassador to France; to Dr. Wilson, sent to the Low Countries, 1576; to Sir John Smith, sent to Spain, 1576; to E. Horsey, sent to Don John of Austria; to P. Sidney, sent to the Emperor, 1576; to E. Huggines, sent to the King of Morocco and Fez, 1577; to W. Davison, sent to the Low Countries, 1577; to D. Rogers and Mr. Jenkinson, sent to treat with the King of Denmark's commissioners. II, 96, 97. Neville of Holt MSS.
1569. Instructions of Philip II to his ambassador in England. Cotton MSS. Galba C 3.
1569. Instructions to Sir Hen. Norris, ambassador in France. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 6.
- 1569, August 7. Letter from Count Palatine to Queen Elizabeth. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 13.
- 1569-1593. Letters to Robert Beale, clerk of the Privy Council, and ambassador in Holland, partly relating to Mary, Queen of Scots. Egerton MSS. 1693, 1694.
1570. Documents relating to mission of Cecil and Mildmay to treat with Mary, Queen of Scots. Add. MSS. 34216.
1570. Instructions to Hen. Cobham, sent to the King of Spain. Cotton MSS. Galba C 4.
- 1570, Sept. 16. Letter of Thomas Randolphe, ambassador in Scotland, to Sir William Cecil. IX, 2, 419. Morrison MSS.
- 1570-1573. Documents relating to Sir Francis Walsingham's embassy to France. II, 2, Bedford MSS.; II, 43, Calthorpe MSS.; III, 185, Bath MSS.; 230, De l'Isle and Dudley MSS.; III, 367, Dr. Williams's Library; VIII, I, 583, Trinity College MSS.; VIII, 2, 27, Manchester MSS.; XI, 7, "Leeds, &c., MSS.," 271, Inner Temple MSS.; XII, 9, "Beaufort, &c., MSS.," 157, Gurney MSS.; Add. MSS. 11056. Mostly printed in Digges's *Compleat Ambassador*.
- 1570-1573. Copies of instructions and despatches of Sir Francis Walsingham, ambassador in France. Lansdowne MSS. 117; Add. MSS. 30156; Harl. MSS. 260; Birch MSS. 4103; Cotton MSS. Vespasian F 6.
1571. Various drafts of treaties between England and other Powers. Cotton MSS. Nero B 1.
1571. Heads of a treaty between Queen Elizabeth and Sebastian K. of Portugal. Cotton MSS. Titus B 6.
- 1572, April 19. Original treaty of alliance between England and France signed at Blois. Add. MSS. 24671.
- 1572, April 19. Copy of treaty of Blois, between Charles IX and Elizabeth I, 42. Port Eliot MSS. The same, with commissions, letters from the King to the Queen, forms of oaths, &c., 1572-1575. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House, I (1899), 23, 24; Add. MSS. 12192. Printed in the *Recueil des Traictées*.
- 1572, February. Treaty of commerce between England and Portugal, with papers relating to same. Add. MSS. 34329, vol. I., ff. 3, 6 b.
- 1572-1573. Despatches from Killigrew dealing with his negotiation in Scotland. Cotton MSS. Caligula C 3-4.
- c.1572 and later. Papers relative to the war with Spain and foreign affairs generally at the close of Elizabeth's and beginning of James I's reigns. II, 152-153, Inner Temple MSS.; and XI, 7 ("Leeds, &c., MSS."), 271, 272, 286, ff., Inner Temple MSS.
- 1572-1644. Copies of treaties between France and England, and of instructions. III, 185. Bath MSS.

- 1572-1720. State papers relating to negotiations with Portugal and Spain. Add. MSS. 34329-34335.
1573. "Ratificatio articulorum conclusum inter D. de Burghley et ducem de Alva." Cotton MSS. Galba C 4.
1575. Instructions to Sir Hen. Cobham, ambassador to Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 7.
1575. Instructions for Dan. Rogers sent to the Pr. of Orange. Cotton MSS. Galba C 5.
1576. Instructions to Robt. Beale, despatched to the Pr. of Orange, and to Dr. Wilson, sent to the states of the Low Countries. Cotton MSS. Galba C 5.
1576. Papers relating to the negotiations by Sir W. Winter and Robert Beale for redress of grievances between merchants of England and state of Zealand. Add. MSS. 14028, f. 1.
- 1576, September 6. Instructions of what M. Bartley is to say to the Queen of England from the Prince of Orange. V, 310. Malet MSS.
- 1576-1583. Correspondence of Robert Beale. Add. MSS. 5935.
- 1576-1589. Memoranda concerning negotiations with the Low Countries. Cotton MSS. Titus B 6.
- 1576-1702. Copies of correspondence and state papers transcribed from the archives at the Hague. Add. MSS. 17677. A-DDDD.
1577. Sommaire du rapport de M. de Sweveghem touchant son ambassade d'Angleterre. Cotton MSS. Galba C 6, Part I.
1577. Instructions to Sir John Smith, ambassador to Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 7.
1577. Instructions to Dan. Rogers, envoy in Saxony. Cotton MSS. Galba C 6, Part I.
- 1577, April 16, June 12. Letters from the Prince of Condé to Lord Burghley. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 13-15.
- 1577, November 1. Lord Burleigh to Robert Beale, ambassador in Germany. IX, 2, 420. Morrison MSS.
- 1577-1648. Negotiations between England and the United Provinces and Netherlands, with documents relating to the massacre of Amboyna, &c. VIII, 3, 13. Ashburnham MSS.
1578. Letters of English ambassadors to the Low Countries. Cotton MSS. Galba C 6, Part II.
- 1578, July 2. Substance of her Majesty's ambassadors' negotiations with the Prince of Orange and others, deputed by the States of the Low Countries. Add. MSS. 12520.
- 1578, July 28. Substance of the conference between the Lords and the Emperor's ambassadors. Add. MSS. 12520.
- 1579-1604. Original official and state correspondence from Spanish archives relating to England, Scotland and Ireland. Add. MSS. 28420, 28451.
- 1580-1581. Instructions and letters to Sir Hen. Cobham, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. Galba E 6.
- c.1580-1624. Letters to and papers of Sir Julius Caesar, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, including some letters from ambassadors. Add. MSS. 12506-12507. Cf. also 12496-12498, 15208.
1581. Instructions and despatches of Sir Francis Walsingham, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. Galba E 6; Birch MSS. 4103.
- 1581, June-September. Negotiations of Sir F. Walsingham in France, including his correspondence with Lord Burghley. III, 367. Dr. Williams's Library; XII, 9 ("Beaufort, &c., MSS."), 157. Gurney MSS., printed in whole or in part in Digges's *Compleat Ambassador*.
- 1581, August 7. Letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to le Vicomte Derrain, giving the particulars of his negotiations with the Queen. IX, 2, 420. Morrison MSS.
- 1581-1582. Copybook of despatches of Sir Henry Cobham, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. Otho E 4.
- 1582, July 12. Letter from Peregrine, [Lord] Willoughby, ambassador to Denmark, to Sir Francis Walsingham. Ancaster MSS. (1907), 15.

- 1582, February 16. Letter from the Prince of Orange to Lord Burghley. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 15.
1583. Instructions from King James VI to his ambassador in England. Harl. MSS. 7395.
1583. W. Harborne, ambassador in Turkey, to Richard Forster, consul at Tripoli. Instructions. IV, 372. Carew MSS.
1583. Negotiations of Sir Robert Cecil, secretary to Sir John Herbert, in France. II, 45. Calthorpe MSS.
1583. Mr. Herbert's convention with the King of Denmark. II, 44. Calthorpe MSS.
- 1583-1585. Letters of Sir Ed. Stafford, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. Galba E 6.
- 1583-1600. Instructions for various ambassadors sent to Russia. Cotton MSS. Nero B 8.
- 1583-1743. Drafts and copies of correspondence, instructions to ambassadors, treaties, &c. Add. MSS. 28937-28949.
1585. Correspondence of Walsingham with Edward Wotton, ambassador in Scotland. Add. MSS. 32657.
1585. Copy of treaty of alliance of England and France with the United Provinces. Add. MSS. 19875.
1585. Instructions and letters to Sir Lewis Bellenden, ambassador to England. I, 40-54. Laing MSS.
1585. Instructions for Thomas Bodley sent to the King of Denmark. Cotton MSS. Nero B 3.
1585. Articles offered by the States General of the United Provinces to Queen Elizabeth. Cotton MSS. Galba C 8.
1585. *Additio ad Conventiones inscriptas "Project ou Formulaire de Traicté sur l'ayde durant la guerre,"* an addition to the treaty between England and the United Provinces. Sloane MSS. 3245.
- 1585, April 27. Instructions for Thomas Bodley, on a mission to Denmark. Ancaster MSS. (1907), 16.
- 1585, September 4. Copy of agreement by commissioners of Elizabeth with those of Holland and the other United Provinces. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House, I (1899), 24.
- 1585, 1588, 1591, 1596. Letters from the King of Navarre, later King of France, to Lord Burghley. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 16-17, 20.
- 1585-1589. Official correspondence of Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, in the Low Countries. XIII, 6 ("Fitzherbert, &c., MSS."), 208-241. Ancaster MSS.
- 1585-1589. Papers relating to Lord Willoughby's missions to Denmark, 1585-January, 1586, and to the Low Countries, 1586-1589. Ancaster MSS. (1907), 17-302.
- 1585-1659. *Anglo Belgica*: State papers relating to affairs between England and the Netherlands. Stowe MSS. 133.
1586. Instructions to Mr. Edward Wotton, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. Galba E 6.
1586. Instructions for Tho. Wylkes, going into the Low Countries. Add. MSS. 14028, f. 66. Cotton MSS. Galba C 10.
- c.1586-1590. A great number of papers, chiefly from about 1586-1590, touching relations between England and the Low Countries, and including 34 letters by Lord Buckhurst, 1586-1587, and letters from the States General. II, 44, 45. Calthorpe MSS.
- 1586-1591. Russian affairs. IV, 372. Carew MSS.
1587. Letters from Archibald Douglas, ambassador to the English court from James VI. Laing MSS. I, 62-68.
1587. Instructions to Lord Zouch sent into Germany. Cotton MSS. Nero B 9.
1587. Despatches from King of France to Courcelles, his ambassador in England. Cotton MSS. Caligula D 1.
1587. Letter of Thomas Wilkes, ambassador at The Hague, to Queen Elizabeth. Add. MSS. 21506.

1587. Instructions to Sir James Croft, sent to treat with Spain. XII, 9 ("Beaufort, &c., MSS."), 146. Gurney MSS.
- 1587, April 12. Letter of Bartholomew Clerk to Sir F. Walsingham, concerning negotiations with States General. Add. MSS. 5935.
- 1587-1589. Letters, &c., from ambassadors and others in France, Spain and Holland. Add. MSS. 35841 (Hardwicke papers).
- 1587-1592. Papers relating to the Low Countries:—substance of the memorials of the States of Zetland; letters to Thomas Bodley; propositions to the States General; answers from States General. III, 283-284. Phelips MSS.
- 1587-1622. News letters. Ancaster MSS. (1907), *passim*.
- 1587, 1627-1630. Memoires, Actes et Traittés concernans les affaires entre les Roys de France et d'Angleterre. Add. MSS. 30665.
1588. Letters about Spain and the Armada. III, 185. Bath MSS.
1588. Instructions and despatches of the Earl of Derby, &c., commissioners for negotiating a peace with Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 8. Commission to the above. C 7.
1588. Instructions for the commissions sent to Ostend. Cotton MSS. Galba D 2.
1588. Papers relative to the proceedings between the commissioners of England and Spain in the treaty of peace in Flanders. Add. MSS. 14027, f. 201.
- 1588? Council of State's instructions to Mr. Ortell, sent to England. Cotton MSS. Galba C 11.
- 1588, Sept. 19. Letter of van Schoonewal, ambassador to England, to "Monsieur Hugens, Secretaire du Conseil d'Estate des provinces unies du pays bas." Add. MSS. 22548.
- 1588, March. Letters to the Earl of Leicester written from Flushing, The Hague and Utrecht. Montagu MSS. (1900), 13-17.
- 1588-1589. Letters from Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador to France, to Queen Elizabeth and others. Add. MSS. 35841 (Hardwicke papers).
- 1588-1590 (Jan.). Correspondence of William Asheby, ambassador to Scotland. Eg. MSS. 2598.
- 1588-1590. Letters to Sir Francis Walsingham. II, 50. Fortescue MSS.
- 1588-1596. Despatches of Tho. Bodley, ambassador to the United Provinces. Cotton MSS. Galba D 3-12.
1589. Copies of state papers and letters by Bodley, Walsingham and others on Low Country affairs. III, 185, 196. Bath MSS. Three letters by Bodley are in Bath MSS., II (1907), 32-35.
- 1589, September 7. Regulations to be observed by merchant ships proceeding to Spain and Portugal, signed by W. Burghley, C. Howard, and Fr. Walsingham, and entitled "Un projet a monstrier aux deputés d'Estats." III, 263. Hopkinson MSS.
- 1589-1590. Letters from the Count Palatine to Walsingham and Burghley. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 17.
- 1589-1591. Collection of state papers chiefly from ambassadors of France. Eg. MSS., 6-8.
- 1589-c.1616, and undated. Papers relating to the Low Countries, including letters to Sir Robert Sidney, governor of Flushing, from Sir William Brown, Nicolas de Bloeq, J. Throckmorton and others. III, 228-229. De L'Isle and Dudley MSS.
1590. Account of negotiations of the Earl of Leicester with the States General. Birch MSS. 4105.
1590. Dispatch to Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, going into England, the Low Countries and Germany, to treat for the raising of an army. Add. MSS. 5455.
- 1590-1609. Instructions to French ambassadors to England, with papers. Add. MSS. 5455-5457.
- 1590-1600. Correspondence between courts of England and Denmark and their ambassadors, principally in relation to acts of spoliation committed at sea. III, 192. Bath MSS.
1591. Copies of letters from Queen Elizabeth to divers German and other potentates about religion and trade. IV, 371. Carew MSS.

- 1591, October-November. News letters in Italian, dated from Rome or Venice. VIII, 1, 282. Braybrooke MSS.
- 1591-1592. Register of letters from Queen Elizabeth to foreign princes and others. Add. MSS. 36774.
- 1591-1592. Instructions to Sir H. Unton for his negotiations in France. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 8.
Letter book of Sir Henry Unton, ambassador to France. Add. MSS. 38137.
- 1592, March 20. Letter accrediting Sir Francis Vere to the States General. Add. MSS. 5716.
- 1592-1597. Letters of Mr. Edward Barton, ambassador at Constantinople. Cotton MSS. Nero B 11-12.
- 1592-1599. Correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, agent at Paris. Stowe MSS. 166-167.
1593. Instructions to Sir Robt. Sidney, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 9.
- 1593, August 14. Part of letter from Cardinal W. Allen to Richard Hopkins at Antwerp, concerning the reported treaty between England and Spain. Bath MSS. II (1907), 42. Printed in Strype's *Annals*.
1595. Instructions of M. de Lomenie, envoy to England from the King of Navarre, with the King's letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated October 5. III, 184. Bath MSS.
1595. "Instructions baillée à M. de Lomenye par le Roi, l'envoyant en Angleterre." Add. MSS. 34501.
1595. Negotiation de Monsieur de Loménie envoyé vers la Reyne d'Angleterre. Add. MSS. 30664.
- 1595, December 30. Letter from the Emperor Rudolph to Queen Elizabeth. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 20.
1596. Instructions to Sir Arthur Mildmay, ambassador to France. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 9.
1596. Notes for a treaty between England and France. II, 42. Calthorpe MSS.
1596. Copy of treaty of alliance of France and England with the United Provinces. Add. MSS. 19875, 19876.
- 1596, May. Copy of the league between France and England. XII, 9 ("Beaufort, &c., MSS."), 143. Gurney MSS.
1597. Treaty between England and Scotland on border matters. Cotton MSS. Caligula D 2.
- 1597, July 25. Answers given to the Polish ambassador on behalf of the Queen. III, 185. Bath MSS.
- 1597-1598. Sir Robert Cecil's negotiations in France. II, 2, Bedford MSS.; III, 211, Westminster MSS.; VI, 306, Leconfield MSS.; Add. MSS. 18654, 25416.
1598. Instructions to Sir Francis Vere sent to the States General.
Treaty between Elizabeth and the States General. Cotton MSS. Galba D 12.
1598. Instructions to Lord Zouch and Dr. Parkins to be sent to the King of Denmark. Cotton MSS. Nero B 4.
- 1598, May 8. Letter from Thomas Bodley to Lord Burghley, relative to the States General. Bath MSS. II (1907), 48-50.
- 1598, August 16. Memorandum of points proposed on the part of Queen Elizabeth to the deputies of the United Provinces. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House, I (1899), 27.
- 1598-1599. Acta legationis Angliae, by Nicolaus Cragius, Danish ambassador. Add. MSS. 9851.
- 1598-1600. Relation of the negotiations for peace between England, Spain, and the Archduke Albert. Stowe MSS. 179.
- 1598-1600. Relation of negotiations between England and Spain in 1598, 1599 and 1600, &c. VIII, 3, 9. Ashburnham MSS.
1599. English negotiations with Denmark. II, 45. Calthorpe MSS.
- 1599-1600. Copies of letters of Sir Hen. Nevill, ambassador in France, to Sir Rob. Cecil. Harl. MSS. 4715.

- 1599-1600. Correspondence and papers of Sir Henry Neville, ambassador to France. VIII, 1, 282-283. Braybrooke MSS. The correspondence of Sir Ralph Winwood with Sir Henry Neville was published in Edmund Sawyer's *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First*. (1725.)
- 1599-1617. Letters and papers of Mr., later Sir, Ralph Winwood, agent in France from 1599-1603; resident councillor and ambassador in Holland, 1603-1613, and secretary of state, 1614-1617. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., I, Montagu House (1899), 1-209. Many were, with others, published in 1725, by Edmund Sawyer under the title *Memorials of Affairs of State*, &c. Even within the period [1600-1614] comprised in his work, Sawyer omits many letters of considerable interest.
- 17th century. Instructions for ambassadors and diplomatic agents, with an account of their offices, duties, privileges, &c. Sloane MSS. 1019.
- 17th century. Copies of relations of ambassadors, letters, &c., relating to the affairs of France. Add. MSS. 28471, 28472.
- 17th century. Affaires etrangeres d'Angleterre, Escosse, &c. Harl. MSS. 4432-4434.
- 17th-19th centuries. Drafts, ciphers and deciphers, and cipher-keys, of diplomatic papers, English and foreign. Add. MSS. 32253-32309.
1600. The instructions, with the most important passages that passed between the commissioners of the King of Spain, the Archduke of Burgundy and the Queen of England in their negotiations about the treaty of peace, 1600. VI, 350. Hood MSS.
1600. Despatches of commissioners at Boulogne. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 8.
1600. Copy of enquiries made by the commissioners at Boulogne concerning treaties, &c., June 20, and of letters to the commissioners from the Lords of the Council and Sir Robert Cecil, July 25. XI, 7 ("Leeds, &c., MSS."), 287. Inner Temple MSS.
1600. Negotiations at Boulogne for a treaty of peace between England and Spain. Stowe MSS. 145.
1600. Copies of various papers regarding the truce between England and Spain; and one original letter from R. Sidney to R. Beale, dated Ostend, June 18, 1600. II, 42. Calthorpe MSS.
1600. Queen Elizabeth's inspeimus of treaties between England and Denmark, 1490 and 1523. Cotton MSS. Nero B 5.
1601. Instructions to Mr. Geo. Buck, sent to join Sir Fr. Vere as ambassador to the United Provinces. Cotton MSS. Galba D 12.
1601. Copy of articles between the Lord Deputy and Don Juan d'Aguilar. X, 4 ("Westmorland, &c., MSS."), 19.
1601. Papers relating to a negotiation with France concerning traffic with England. Add. MSS. 5664.
1602. Letter of the States General of the United Provinces. Salisbury MSS. XII, 475.
1602. Thomas Edmondes memorandum on the Treaty of Boulogne. Salisbury MSS. XII, 86.
- 1602-1603. Letters of Lord Eure and other English commissioners at Bremen. Salisbury MSS. XII, passim's Cotton MSS. Galba D 13—E 1.
- 1602-1603. Register of correspondence between Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador to France, and Sir Robert Cecil. Add. MSS. 38138.
- 1602-1603. Letters of George Nicolson, agent in Scotland. Salisbury MSS. XII, passim.
- 1602-1605. "Dépesches de Messire Christophle de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont, escrites pendant son ambassade d'Angleterre." Add. MSS. 30638-30641.
- 1602-1727. Diplomatic papers relating to negotiations with foreign countries. Add. MSS. 33005.
- Temp. James I. Address to the King by George Carew, ambassador to France, about relations between England and Venice, &c. II, 43. Calthorpe MSS.

- Temp. James I. Articles concerning a marriage between the King of England and the daughter of France. X, 4 ("Westmorland, &c., MSS."), 24.
- Temp. James I. Papers about the league between Spain and England. IV, 372. Carew MSS.
- Temp. James I. Relazioni d'Inghilterra. II, 45. Calthorpe MSS.
- Temp. James I. Letter of James I, with papers on affairs of Holland, by John Atkinson. X, 4 ("Westmorland, &c., MSS."), 59.
- [Temp. James I.] Account of the reception of ambassadors from Holland. X, 1 ("Eglinton, &c., MSS."), 99, 120. Moray MSS.
- Temp. James I. Copies of treaties and papers relating to trade with the East Indies and the States. II, 45. Calthorpe MSS.
- 1603, June. Instructions to Maximilien de Béthune going to England. Add. MSS. 5457.
- 1603, November 6. Letter from Sir Robert Cecil to the French ambassador. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 21.
- 1603, February-March. Papers relating to the conference between English and Imperial commissioners at Bremen, concerning commercial privileges. III, 51, 52, 119. Northumberland MSS.
- 1603-1605. Journal of the English ambassador at Paris. Cotton MSS. Vespasian F 10.
- 1603-1614. Letters and papers of Ralph Winwood, resident councillor and ambassador in Holland. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House. I (1899), 47-159.
- 1603-1625. Transcripts of state papers made by S. R. Gardiner at Simancas and Venice. Add. MSS. 31111-31112.
1604. Copies of despatches of Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador in France. Harl. MSS. 4232.
1604. Copy of treaty with Spain. I, 43. Port Eliot MSS.; VIII, 1, 27. Marlborough MSS.; Add. MSS. 35839 (Hardwicke papers).
1604. Ratification of treaty with Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 13.
1604. "A short diarie of the conferences and proceedings in the Treatie at London 1604 betweene the high and mightie Kings and Princes, James by the grace of God Kinge of Great Brittain, Fraunce and Ireland, Philipp the third Kinge of Spaine, Albertus and Isabella, Archdukes of Austria, &c." Sloane MSS. 1851.
1604. Original draft of the treaty between James I, Philip III of Spain and the Archduke Albert. Harl. MSS. 137.
1604. Commission to the Earl of Dorset, Lord Buckhurst, &c., to negotiate with the deputies of the Hanse Towns. Cotton MSS. Galba E 1.
- 1604, April 14. Copy of letter from Viscount Cranborne to Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador to France. XI, 7 ("Leeds, &c., MSS."), 287. Inner Temple MSS.
- 1604, May-August. Diaries of proceedings in the treaty of peace between the English, Spanish and Austrian commissioners. I, 42. Port Eliot MSS.; VIII, 1, 95-98. Jersey MSS.; Add. MSS. 14033, 35847.
- 1605-1606. "Sir Charles Cornwallis his Negotiations in Spain." Harl. MSS. 1875.
- 1605-1608. Instructions and despatches of Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador to Spain. Cotton MSS. Vespasian C 9-11.
- 1605-1608. Papers touching relations of Spain and England. I, 43. Port Eliot MSS.
- 1605-1609. Correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, ambassador at Brussels. Stowe MSS. 168-171.
- 1605-1610. Sir George Carew's Relation of the Estate of France, together with his negotiation there. I, 53, Stanford Court MSS.; VI, 307, Leconfield MSS.; VI, 350, Hood MSS.; X, 4, "Westmorland, &c., MSS.," 398, Powis MSS.; XI, 7, "Leeds, &c., MSS.," 286. MSS. of the Inner Temple; Add. MSS. 921; 35846. Printed in Birch's *Historical View*.
1606. Account of new year's gifts of the King, and of his other gifts to foreign ambassadors and others. Add. MSS. 8126.

- 1606-1610. Lettres de M. de la Broderie, ambassadeur en Angleterre. Add. MSS. 30642-30644.
1607. A discourse of the state of Spain by Sir Charles Cornwallis. III, 119, 120. Northumberland MSS.; Cf. III, 212, Westminster MSS.
- 1607-1608. Journal of all the negotiations in the treaty of peace between England and Spain. II, 46. Calthorpe MSS.
- 1607-1624. Letters from James I, secretaries of state, and ambassadors to and from foreign courts. II, 51-63. Fortescue MSS. Some of these letters have been printed by the Camden Society.
1608. Letters from Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador in Spain, to Philip II. VI, 351. Hood MSS.
- 1608, July 6. Letter from Sir Robert Cecil to Andres de Prada, concerning the treaty with the States General. Add. MSS. 6178.
1609. "Sir George Carey's Relacion to his Maiestie of the state of France," written on the conclusion of his embassy. Add. MSS. 35846.
- 1609, July. Copy of letter written by Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador in Spain. XI, 7 ("Leeds, &c., MSS."), 271. Inner Temple MSS.
- 1609, July. Certain remembrances to Prince Charles, written by Sir Charles Cornwallis, during his committment in the Tower, with a copy of a letter written by him when he was ambassador in Spain, expostulating to the King of Spain the oppressions and injuries done to the King of England's subjects. XI, 7 ("Leeds, &c., MSS."), 271. Inner Temple MSS.
- 1609, March 14. Summary of proceedings between the ambassadors of England and France, and of Spain, and the Archdukes of Antwerp, respecting a truce between Spain and Holland. Add. MSS. 21913.
- 1609-19. Extracts from letters of Sir Francis Cottington at Madrid. Add. MSS. 35847.
1610. Treaty of alliance between James I and Louis XIII. Cotton MSS. Caligula E 11.
- 1610-1617. Correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, ambassador to France. Stowe MSS. 171-176.
- c.1610-1628. Copies of several papers connected with Sir Isaac Wake's embassy to Venice in 1627, and to Switzerland and elsewhere; and with Sir Dudley Carleton's embassies. II, 44. Calthorpe MSS.
- 1610-1652. Italica: treaties and negotiations with Italy. Stowe MSS. 135.
- 1611, &c. Breviate of leagues between England and foreign princes in 1611, &c. VIII, 3, 9. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1611-1612. Letter-book of Sir John Digby, ambassador at Madrid. X, 1 ("Eglinton, &c., MSS."), 520-617. Digby MSS.
- 1611-1613. Transcripts of despatches of the Piedmontese envoys to England. Add. MSS. 32023 A.B.
- c.1611-1624. Documents relating to the Spanish match and to Palatinate affairs. I, 15, Hatton MSS.; 42, 43, Port Eliot MSS.; 125, Advocates' Library; II, 42, 46, Calthorpe MSS.; 52-61, Fortescue MSS.; 104, Hengwrt and Peniarth MSS.; III, 28, House of Lords MSS.; 66, 116, Northumberland MSS.; 282, 284, 285, Phelps MSS.; IV, 285-287, 302, 303, 305, 306, 310, 314, 316, De La Warr MSS.; 372-374, Carew MSS.; V, 312, Malet MSS.; VI, 306-307, Leconfield MSS.; VIII, 1, 2, Marlborough MSS.; 1, 213-217, Digby MSS.; 1, 581, Trinity College MSS.; 3, 9, 13, Ashburnham MSS.; X, 1, "Eglinton, &c., MSS.," 90, 104, 106, 112, 115, 121, Moray MSS.; X, 4, "Westmorland, &c., MSS.," 17, 20-23, Westmorland MSS.; X, 6, "Abergavenny, &c., MSS.," 119-121, Braye MSS.; XI, 7, "Leeds, &c., MSS.," 246, 271, Inner Temple MSS.; XII, 9, "Beaufort, &c., MSS.," 142, Gurney MSS.; Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House, I (1899), 209; Add. MSS. 1048, 14003, 18201, 18651, 19271, 35832, 35835; Stowe MSS. 181.
1612. Instructions to the Vicomte de Turenne, going into England. Add. MSS. 5458.
1612. Traicté de Mariage de Madame Elisabeth, fille du Roy d'Angleterre et de l'Electeur Palatin. Add. MSS. 30662 f., 332b.
- 1612, July 29. Letter from Prince Henry to James I relating to matrimonial negotiations with France and Spain. Bath MSS. II (1907), 60-61.

1614. Negotiations at The Hague for a treaty concerning Trade and Whale-fishing. (Treaty never concluded.) Harl. MSS. 147.
1614. Treaty at The Hague concerning East India trade and the fisheries in Nova Scotia. I, 13. Manchester MSS.
- 1614, July 27. Letter from Sir Ralph Winwood on a matter relating to the King of Denmark. Eg. 2603, f. 60.
- 1614-1617. Letters and papers of Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House, I (1899), 159-208.
- 1614-1623. Four volumes containing the commission to and letters by Sir Isaac Wake, ambassador to Savoy. III, 190. Bath MSS.
1615. Letter-book of Dudley Carleton, ambassador to Venice. Eg. MSS. 2813.
- 1615, &c. Papers relating to Sweden in Whitelocke's collection. III, 190. Bath MSS.
1615. Journal by Sir Thomas Roe of his voyage to the East Indies as ambassador to the Great Mogul. Add. MSS. 19277.
- 1615-1616. Journal and copies of despatches of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the Great Mogul. Add. MSS. 6115.
- 1615-1630. Register of despatches of Sir Isaac Wake, secretary of Legation and subsequently ambassador extraordinary at the court of Savoy. Add. MSS. 18639-18642, 34301-34311.
- 1616, August 12/22. Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton at the Spa. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 22-23.
- 1616-1636. Correspondence of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle on his various embassies (Germany, France and Spain). Eg. MSS. 2592-2597.
- 1616-1679. Transcripts from the archives at Florence of the correspondence of the Florentine ambassadors to England. Add. MSS. 27962 A-W.
- c.1617. Letters, mostly from and to Secretary Winwood, referring to continental politics. X, 1 ("Eglinton, &c., MSS."), 99-104, 116, 117. Moray MSS.
- 1617-1620. Volume of original letters from Venice from Sir Henry Wotton (1617-1620), and from Gregorio di Monti (1619-1620). IX, 1, 358. Eton College MSS. Printed by the Roxburghe Club.
- 1617-1634. Register-book of the letters written in French to foreign princes and personages by James I and Charles I. Add. MSS. 12485.
1618. Letters from Sir Henry Wotton are among the Bath MSS. (II, 1907) but all have been printed in the *Reliquiae* excepting one dated from Venice in 1618 (pp. 66-67).
1618. Propositions made by the French ambassador to the States General, December 12. XI, 7 ("Leeds, &c., MSS."), 287. Inner Temple MSS.
1618. Papers relating to treaty between England and States General. Add. MSS. 12498.
- 1618, December 21. Copy of letter by Sir R. Naunton about the States, claiming the right of fishing on the coast of England. III, 190. Bath MSS.
- 1618, June 23. News letter. Bath MSS. II (1907), 67-68.
- 1618-1619. Letters to the Marquis of Buckingham from the States General, Marquis de Tresnel, M. la Tombe, and Count de Tillieres. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 23-24.
- 1618-1620. Copies of letters and papers in the matter of Sir Dudley Carleton's embassy to Holland. III, 185. Bath MSS.
1619. Copy of treaty between James I and the States General, about trade and East Indies. IV, 236. Bath MSS.
1619. Copies of articles relating to trade between the Low Countries and the companies trading to the East Indies. IV, 237. Bath MSS.
1619. Noticias de las cosas de Flandes, Olanda, y Inglaterra, que el Cardenal de Borja dió al Duque de Alburquerque. Add. MSS. 14007, f. 350.
- 1619-1620. Original letter-book of Sir Edward Herbert's despatches whilst ambassador at Paris. Add. MSS. 7082.
- 1619-1624. Letters and papers of Sir Edward Herbert, 1615-1639, containing part of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's diplomatic correspondence. X, 4 ("Westmorland, &c., MSS."), 379. Powis MSS.

- 1619-1638. Correspondence of Sir Walter Aston, ambassador to Spain. Add. MSS. 36444-36451.
- 1619-1641. Lettres de plusieurs ambassadeurs et envoyez en différentes cours, écrites à Monsieur le Mareschal d'Estrées, ambassadeur à Rome. Eg. MSS. 624, 625.
- 1620, September. Letter from a gentleman in Vienna attending Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador to the Emperor. Montagu MSS. (1900), 97-104.
- 1620-1625. Foreign state papers, &c., relative *inter alia*, to negotiations of Sir Robert Anstruther, ambassador to Denmark, and to the remonstrance made by James I, in February, 1625, against the new demands of the French king. Add. MSS. 35832.
1621. Letters from Sir Dudley Carleton at The Hague. IV, 285, 287. De La Warr MSS. Add. MSS. 6394.
- 1621, &c. Papers about Sweden and Denmark in Whitelocke's collection. III, 190. Bath MSS.
- 1621, 1623. Letters from Sir W. Trumbull, at Brussels. IV, 285, 314. De La Warr MSS.
- 1621-1623. Journal van de Ambassade naer Engelant gehouden van den Heere van Sommelsdyck [Francoys van Aerssens]. Add. MSS. 22864-22865. Transcripts of these Add. MSS. 22866.
- 1621-1624. Papers relating to payments to ambassadors and similar charges. IV, 277, 281, 282, 300, 301, 305, 314. De La Warr MSS.
- 1621-1625. Correspondence of Sir Walter Aston, ambassador to Spain. Add. MSS. 36445-36447, 36449, 36451. Harl. MSS. 1580.
- 1621-1626. Letters from Francis Wrenham, apparently in the service of Sir Horace Vere in the Low Countries. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 110-117.
1622. Sir Richard Weston's negotiation with the Archduchess at Brussels. III, 212, Westminster MSS.; XI, 7, "Leeds, &c., MSS.," 286. Inner Temple MSS. Cf. VIII, 1, 584-585. Trinity College MSS.
1622. "A Relacion of all the important passages of ye Treaty held at Bruxelles betweene the Ministers of the Arch-Dutches and Sir Richard Weston, Kt." Add. MSS. 35845, f. 157.
- 1622, August 27/17. M. d'Aersen to Lord Cromwell. VIII, 2, 29. Manchester MSS.
- 1622-1624. "Letters from the Earle of Bristoll (when he was ambassador in Spaine) to Kinge James." Add. MSS. 18201.
- 1622-1624. "Lettres du Seigneur Louis Vallassero, ambassadeur de la Republique de Venise près Jacques, Roy de la grande Bretagne." Add. MSS. 30645.
- 1622-1625. Drafts of official letters of Secretary Conway to various ambassadors abroad. Add. MSS. 35832.
- 1622, January—1628, June. Sir Sackville Crowe's Book of Accompts, containing receipts and disbursements on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham during his various embassies. Add. MSS. 12528.
- 1623, July 21. News letter. Bath MSS. II (1907), 71/72.
- 1623-1649. Copies of Treaties (Nicholas Papers). Eg. MSS. 2554.
1624. Relation du voyage de Monsieur de la Villeaux-Clercs [ambassador extraordinary] en Angleterre. Sloane MSS. 1156.
- 1624, June 20. Letter from John Reynolds to Lord Denbigh. VII, 1, 221. Denbigh MSS.
- 1624, November 22. Letter from Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland, to Sir Edward Conway, touching the marriage contract of Henrietta Maria with Charles, Prince of Wales. IX, 2, 427. Morrison MSS.
- [1624.] Articles proposed by the King of France relating to the marriage of Henrietta Maria to Prince Charles, and other papers relative to the same. XII, 9 ("Beaufort, &c., MSS."), 128. Gurney MSS.; Add. MSS. 32092.
- 1624-1625. Transcripts of despatches of the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Kensington, ambassadors to France. Add. MSS. 31999.
- 1624-1625. "Les lettres, memoires, actes, instructions et contracts faicts au traité de Mariage d'entre Madame Henriette Marie et Charles I." Harl. MSS. 4593-4596; Add. MSS. 30646-30649.

- 1624-1625. Original papers and drafts of letters in handwriting of F. van Aerssens, ambassador extraordinary from the States General. Add. MSS. 22867.
- 1624-1625. Letters of Sir Robert Anstruther, ambassador to Denmark. Add. MSS. 35832.
- 1624-1630. Letter-book of Sir Isaac Wake, ambassador to Savoy and Venice. Add. MSS. 34310-34311.
- Temp. Charles I. Instructions to Dudley Carleton on his going as ambassador extraordinary to the States; and letters by the same to Secretary Coke and Viscount Killultagh. IV, 372. Carew MSS.
- Temp. Charles I. Letters and papers of Sir William Boswell at The Hague. Add. MSS. 6394, 6395.
- Temp. Charles I. Narrative of the Venetians' tender of assistance to Charles I in his civil wars, by Sir G. Talbot. III, 184. Bath MSS.
- Temp. Charles I and Charles II. Copies of various diplomatic instruments, credentials, instructions, treaties, &c. Add. MSS. 15856.
- 1625, April 1/11, May 8, and June 21. Treaties relating to marriage between Charles, of England, and Henriette Marie. III, 67. Northumberland MSS.
- 1625, September. Copy of treaty between England and the United Provinces. In French. VI, 307. Leconfield MSS.
- 1625, January 7/17. Sir Isaac Wake, ambassador in Venice, to Secretary Conway. VIII, 2, 29. Manchester MSS.
- 1625-1626. Negociation de M. de Blainville, ambassadeur extraordinaire en Angleterre. Add. MSS. 30651.
- 1625-1626. Instructions to French ambassadors going to England. Add. MSS. 5459.
- 1625-1628. Correspondence of Amerigo Salvetti (Alessandro Antelminelli), representative of Tuscany in England. XI, 1 ("Skrine MSS.").
- 1625-1639. Correspondence of Sir John Coke, secretary of state. XII, 1, 2 ("Cowper MSS."), I, II.
- 1625-1660. Letters from Queen Henrietta Maria to French ministers and others. IX, 2, 408-409. Morrison MSS.
1626. Papers respecting infringement of article on religion in marriage contract of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. Add. MSS. 36530, f. 59.
1626. Declaration and letter of Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, and Sir Dudley Carleton, concerning the demolition of the Fort of La Rochelle. Add. MSS. 36530, f. 63.
1626. "Negociation de M. le Mareschal de Bassompierre, ambassadeur extraordinaire en Angleterre." Add. MSS. 30650.
1626. Negotiations of M. de Bassompierre, ambassador to England. III, 189. Bath MSS.
- 1626, November 18. Letter from Marie de Medicis to M. de Bassompierre, respecting the establishment of Henrietta Maria. IX, 2, 428. Morrison MSS.
1627. Drafts of instructions for various ambassadors. Harl. MSS. 1584.
1627. Letter-book of Lord Carleton, ambassador at The Hague. Add. MSS. 36778.
- 1627-1630. Memoires Actes et Traittés concernans les affaires entre les Roys de France et d'Angleterre. Add. MSS. 30665.
1629. Instructions to Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the King of Poland and to other Eastern sovereigns. III, 190. Bath MSS.
1629. Proclamation of the peace between France and England. Add. MSS. 36530, f. 79.
- 1629, April 14/24. Treaty of peace and commerce between France and Great Britain. III, 70. Northumberland MSS. Printed at Rouen.
- 1629, April 24. "Articles de la Paix entre les deux couronnes de France et de la Grande Bretagne." Add. MSS. 36530.
- 1629, December 31. Answer of the States General to the report of their commissioners, deputed to confer with Sir Henry Vane about the Amboyna business. III, 190. Bath MSS.

- 1630-1637. Correspondence of the third Marquis, afterwards first Duke, of Hamilton, relative to Swedish affairs. Draft of proposed conditions of confederation between Sweden and Great Britain [1631]; articles to be concluded between the same crowns [1632]. XI, 6 ("Hamilton MSS."), 74-93.
- 1630-1639. Negotiations and treaties with the various electors and states of Germany, particularly with respect to Gustavus Adolphus's war against the Emperor Ferdinand and the Catholic League. VIII, 3, 14. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1630-1656. Germanica: negotiations and treaties between Germany and various powers. Stowe MSS. 134.
- 1631-1632. Negotiations between Spain and England. Add. MSS. 14001, f. 227.
- 1631-1632. Register book of letters from Sir Isaac Wake, at Paris, to the secretary of state, and others. III, 120. Northumberland MSS.
- 1631-1636. Register of correspondence of Arthur Hopton, agent at Madrid. Eg. MSS. 1820.
- 1631-1640. Letters and despatches of Joseph Avery, envoy to Denmark, Sweden and Saxony. Contemporary transcript. VIII, 1, 584. Trinity College MSS.
1632. Articles of commerce between England and France. Add. MSS. 5461.
1632. Copy of memorial sent by Sir Henry Vane, ambassador to Sweden, to Charles I, concerning words spoken by Gustavus Adolphus. III, 196. Bath MSS.
- 1632, September 7. Letter of credence by Gustavus Adolphus for the Marquis of Hamilton, leaving the King for England. III, 191. Bath MSS.
- 1632-1640. Some correspondence and papers of Robert, Earl of Leicester, in Denmark, 1632, at Paris, 1636-1641. III, 229, 231. De L'Isle and Dudley MSS.
- 1632-1642. Letters and papers of Sir William Boswell, resident at The Hague. Add. MSS. 6394-6395.
- 1634, September 23 and 29. Axel Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden, to Sir Robert Anstruther, English ambassador in Germany, and answer by Anstruther. III, 191. Bath MSS.
1634. Letters from Secretary Windebank to Arthur Hopton, "agent resident" in Spain. Add. MSS. 32093, ff. 57-91.
1635. Remonstrances of the King of Great Britain on the rigour of the ordonnances of the Marine of France. Pepys MSS. 194.
- 1635, April 14. Proposition of Baron John Skytte, ambassador of Sweden, for a league between England and Sweden, and for assistance in case of war with Poland, and answer. III, 191. Bath MSS.
- 1635-1638. Correspondence of Sir Walter Aston, ambassador to Spain. Add. MSS. 36448, 36450. .
- 1635-1639. Letter-book of John Scudamor, ambassador to France. Add. MSS. 35097.
- 1635-1639. Some letters by and to Robert, Earl of Leicester, at Paris. III, 229. De L'Isle and Dudley MSS.
- 1635-1643. Correspondence, &c., of Lord Feilding, during his embassy in Italy. IV, 254, 256 ff.; V, 9-76; VI, 277-287; VIII, 1, 552-554. Denbigh MSS.
1636. Copy of Instructions to Lord Feilding as ambassador to Venice. VIII, 2, 54. Manchester MSS.
- 1636, January 30. Letter from the Earl of Dorset to the Earl of Middlesex, concerning the Earl of Arundel's embassy, the State of Germany and other powers. IV, 278. De La Warr MSS.
- 1636, February 14. Letter from John Burlamachi to the Earl of Middlesex. Foreign news. IV, 278. De La Warr MSS.
- 1636, March 1-1638. Letters to Lord Feilding from John Taylor at Vienna, Sir William Boswell at The Hague, and Lord Scudamore at Paris. VII, 1, 221-223. Denbigh MSS.
- 1636-1640. Correspondence of the Earl of Northumberland on matters of foreign policy. III, 72 ff. Northumberland MSS.

- c.1636-1645. Documents relating to the missions of papal nuncios in England and Ireland. IX, 2, 340-356. Rinuccini MSS.
- 1637-1662. Copy of the diplomatic correspondence of Godefroy, Comte d'Estrades, including his missions to England in 1637, to Holland in 1638-1648, and to England 1661-1662. Eg. MSS. 2071; Stowe MSS. 85.
- 1637-1672. Volume of transcripts of instructions sent by Richelieu to d'Estrades on his embassies to London, &c. VIII, 3, 9. Ashburnham MSS.
1638. Charles I to the Duchess of Savoy continuing Lord Feilding as his ambassador at Turin. Denbigh MSS. V, 58.
- 1638-1643. News letters. Montagu MSS. (1900), *passim*.
- 1639-1641. "Rapport van den Heere van Sommelsdyck over syne Legatie aen Coninclyke Majesteit van Groot Britannien in de Jaren 1639 en 1640." Transcript. Add. MSS. 22870, 22871.
- 1640, April 17. Copy of treaty between England and Denmark. IV, 236. Bath MSS.
1641. Depredations committed by Dunkirkers and others. IV, 47, 60, 79, 94, *et passim*. H. of Lords MSS.
- 1641-1644. Register of Acts, negotiations and letters relating to Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to Germany for restoration of Palatinate family. Harl. MSS. 1901.
- 1641-1651. Drafts of despatches of Sir Richard Browne, at Paris. Add. MSS. 12184-12186.
- 1641-1660. Correspondence of Sir Richard Browne, ambassador to France. Add. MSS. 15857, 15858, 15865, 15948.
1642. Carta de privilegio e foral dos Inglesos confirmado por el Rey Dom João o quarto no anno de 1642. Add. MSS. 34329. Vol. 1, f. 11.
- 1642, October 18-December 2 (N.S.). Memorials presented to the States General by Walter Strickland, envoy from the English Parliament, and letters from the same to John Pym. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 87-94. Bouverie MSS.
- 1642, December 31. A discourse by Thomas Roe of the war of Germany and of the ends and interests of the House of Austria, the King of Denmark, and of other princes in the destruction or restitution of the House Palatine and in the treaties of peace. VI, 307. Leconfield MSS.
1643. Instructions to George, Lord Goring, ambassador extraordinary to France. Add. MSS. 15856.
1643. Official and private correspondence and papers of John Ellis, under-Secretary of State, &c. Add. MSS. 28875.
- 1643-1653. Many foreign papers, especially for the years 1650-1652, being part of the collection formed by the Rev. John Nalson, and including letters from Mr. Walter Strickland in the United Provinces, papers touching the affairs of the Elector Palatine and the negotiations at Münster, and passing between the Portuguese and the Spanish ambassadors and the Council of State, and between the English ambassadors and the States General; letters from the Grand Duke of Tuscany and from the Prince of Condé and his agent. Portland MSS. I (1891), *passim*.
- 1643-1657. Letters from French ambassadors in England. Harl. MSS. 4551.
1644. Letter and memoir to Parliament from the Dutch ambassadors. Add. MSS. 5460.
1644. Memoirs to Parliament from the French ambassador, relating to commerce. Add. MSS. 5460.
- 1644, July 3. Treaty of Ruel between England and France. Add. MSS. 15856.
- 1644-1645. Negotiations de M. de Sabran en Angleterre. Add. MSS. 5460-5461.
- 1644-1645. Letters and papers from ambassadors of States General to Parliament offering to mediate between the King and Parliament, and respecting the restitution of ships. VI, 17, 18, 21, 34, 36-38, 43, 54, 55. H. of Lords MSS.

- 1644-1682. Diplomatic papers of Sir George Downing, ambassador at The Hague. Add. MSS. 22919-22920.
1645. Swedish commissioners' memorial; proposed treaty with Sweden. VI, 52, 55. H. of Lords MSS.
- 1645, March 31. Propositions of the Commissioner of the Queen of Sweden to the English Parliament. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 122. Braye MSS.
- 1645, May 26; 1647, April 26. Copies of letters from D. Alonso de Cardenas, Spanish ambassador in England. Eg. MSS. 1176.
- 1645, March 4. Letter of Sabran, French ambassador, to the House of Commons. Portland MSS. I (1891), 213.
- 1645, March 23. Letter of ambassador of the States General to the King. Portland MSS. I (1891), 216.
- 1645-1646. Letters of Robert Wright, agent in France of the Committee of Both Kingdoms. Portland MSS. I (1891), 323-335.
- 1645-1646. Negotiations between Charles I and Jean de Montereul, French resident in England. Eg. MSS. 2545.
- 1646-1662. Correspondence of George, Earl of Bristol. VIII, 1, 27-30. Marlborough MSS.
- 1647, October 9. Richard Fanshaw's credentials to Spain. Heathcote MSS. (1899), pp. 1-3.
- Temp. Commonwealth. Letter from the Spanish ambassador Cardenas to Cromwell. VIII, 3, 12. Ashburnham MSS.
- Temp. Commonwealth. Representation of the English ambassador, Sir G. Downing, for procuring a peace between the States and Portugal. Add. MSS. 14004, f. 152.
- 1648, February 5. Draft letter of credence for Walter Strickland, agent to the States General. VII, 1, 7. H. of Lords MSS.
- 1649-1651. Original letters from Croullé, secretary to the French agent in London (after his departure), with copies of his despatches. Eg. MSS. 1968.
- 1650-1659. Letters from Richard Bradshaw, in Hamburgh, Denmark, and Russia, and from Waynwright, Bradshaw's agent in England. VI, 426-444. ffarington MSS.
- 1651, June 24. Draft of a treaty between the United Provinces and England proposed by the commissioners of the States General. Portland MSS. I, 605-607.
- 1651, Jan. 5. Speech of Cardenas, Spanish ambassador, to the Parliament. Portland MSS. I (1891), 547-568.
- 1651, Feb. Commission and instructions to Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland, ambassadors extraordinary to the United Provinces, and speech delivered at their audience. Portland MSS. I (1891), 557-568.
- 1651-1652, 1656-1658. Copies of letters existing in the office of the Secretary of State, some of which relate to England. Add. MSS. 15170, f. 138 b.
- 1651-1701. Letter-book of Dr. John Wallis, decipherer of political correspondence for the government, containing originals and copies of ciphered political letters, with decipherings. Add. MSS. 32499.
1652. Letter of governor of Dunkirk to Cromwell. Add. MSS. 32093.
1652. Dutch state papers transcribed from the archives at The Hague. Add. MSS. 38491.
1652. Letters of M. de Barrière, agent of the Prince of Condé, to the Council of State. Portland MSS. I (1891), 639-647.
1652. Letters of Peruguão, Portuguese ambassador in London, to Parliament. Portland MSS. I (1891), 663-665.
- 1652-1655. Letters and papers of Earl of Rochester, ambassador in Germany. Add. MSS. 32093, ff. 296, 297, 310, 336.
- 1652-1656. "Documents relatifs à la mission de Henri de Taillefer, Sieur de Barrière, agent du Prince de Condé à Londres." Add. MSS. 35252.
1653. Copies of several letters from Bourdeaux, French ambassador in England. Birch MSS. 4200.

- 1653-1654. Many papers relating to Sir B. Whitelocke's embassy to Sweden, including correspondence, instructions, memoirs, narrative, &c. III, 190, 192. Bath MSS.; V, 313, 314. Malet MSS. (Now, Add. MSS. 32093.)
- 1653-1783. Deciphers of despatches between foreign governments and their ministers in England, with cipher keys: France. Add. MSS. 32258-32265.
1654. Memorials to Cromwell from a Jewish merchant of Spain, requesting his intervention with the Portuguese government for the recovery of debts; lost by the confiscation of the property of the citizens of Pernambuco. Eg. 1049, ff. 6, 7.
1654. Original secret article of treaty between Louis XIV and Cromwell for expulsion from France of Charles II, the Duke of York, and eighteen royalists. VIII, 3, 6. Ashburnham MSS.
1654. Treaty with Portugal, with English translation. VIII, 3, 9. Ashburnham MSS. Stowe MSS. 192 (2 copies).
1654. Copy of award made by the arbitrators between England and the Dutch East India Companies. IV, 236. Bath MSS.
- 1654, 1674-1696, and undated. Copy of treaty of peace with Portugal, July 10, 1654, and of various projects of treaty; letters and papers touching relations between England and Portugal. IV, 248-249. Bath MSS.
- 1654-1699. Papers of Sir Robert Southwell and Francis Parry, successive envoys to Portugal. Add. MSS. 35099.
1655. Secret article between Louis XIV and Oliver Cromwell for the expulsion of Charles II and other royalists from France. Stowe MSS. 193.
- 1655, Sept. 1. Translation of the King of Spain's declaration laying an embargo on all English vessels and goods found in Spanish ports or territory in consequence of Penn's attack on San Domingo. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 177. Braye MSS.
- 1655-1656. Transcripts of despatches from Swedish ambassadors and agents in England. Add. MSS. 38100.
- 1655-1656. "Relazione dell Ambasciata Straordinaria d'Inghilterra di Giovanni Sagredo Cavalier." Add. MSS. 36679.
- 1656, May 29. Original ratification of the 28 articles of peace (Latin) between John, King of Portugal, and Oliver the Protector, concluded on July 10/20, 1654, with full powers; also copy of the same. VI, 309. Leconfield MSS.
1657. Secret treaty between the King of France and Cromwell. V, 314. Malet MSS. (Now, Add. MSS. 32093.)
- 1657-1658. Original despatches of Bourdeaux, French ambassador in England. Harl. MSS. 4549. Transcript of these Add. MSS. 31953.
- 1657-1674. Correspondence of Sir Bernard Gascoigne or Guasconi, envoy to Vienna in 1672-1673 to negotiate a marriage for James, Duke of York. Add. MSS. 34077.
- 1658, January 2-October 7. Journal kept by George Downing of his embassy to Holland. XII, 9 ("Beaufort, &c., MSS."), 163. Gurney MSS.
- 1658-1659. A deduction of things relating to the Sound, with some reflections thereon, by Sir Philip Meadows, ambassador to Sweden. V, 314. Malet MSS.
1659. Copy of treaty between England, France and Holland, concerning the war between Sweden and Denmark. IV, 236. Bath MSS.
1659. Treaty between Sweden and England. III, 185. Bath MSS.
1659. Lettres et Memoires de le Cardinal Mazarin à Messrs. le Tellier et de Lionne contenant le Secret de la Negociation de la Paix des Pyrenees." Harl. MSS. 3628; Lansdowne MSS. 187.
1659. Copies of letters of Cardinal Mazarin when negotiating the Treaty of the Pyrenees. Add. MSS. 28845.
1660. Copy of treaty with Denmark. IV, 237. Bath MSS.
- Temp. Charles II. Instructions to ambassadors sent to different continental courts after the Restoration. VIII, 3, 12. Ashburnham MSS.
- Temp. Charles II. Accounts of ambassadors sent to his Majesty since 1660. II, 83. Dormer MSS.

- Temp. Charles II. Large collection of letters from various English residents in The Hague, Ostend and Flushing. IV, 247. Bath MSS.
- Temp. Charles II. Papers about Algiers, Tangier and Tripoli. IV, 236. Bath MSS.
- Temp. Charles II. Large number of papers relating to sea fights with the Dutch. IV, 229-320. Bath MSS.
- Temp. Charles II. Eight keys to ciphers used in political correspondence. Add. MSS. 23898.
- 1660 and later. Letters from foreign sovereigns recommending ambassadors, &c. Eg. 2618.
- 1660-1668. Despatches of the Earl of Winchelsea, ambassador to the Porte of the Grand Signor. I, 81, *passim*. Finch MSS.
- 1660-1699. Sir William Coventry's state papers from the Restoration to 1699. VIII, 3, 10. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1660-1700. Many news-letters of various dates. XII, 7 ("Le Fleming MSS."), *passim*.
- 1660-1780. Treaties of peace. Add. MSS. 9270.
1661. Relation of Portuguese ambassador at London. Add. MSS. 15202.
1661. Letters from Prince Rupert at Vienna. XI, 5 ("Dartmouth MSS."), I, 3-9.
- 1661, June 23. Copy of treaty between England and Portugal. III, 132. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1661-1662. Copy of correspondence of Comte d'Estrades during his embassy to England. Eg. MSS. 2071.
- 1661-1666. Correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshaw, ambassador to Portugal and Spain. Heathcote MSS. (1899), 16-255. A companion series to the Spanish, Portuguese and Tangier correspondence at the Record Office, and to Harl. MSS. 7010. The letters from January, 1664, to February, 1665, are printed in the volume of *Original Letters of his Excellency Sir Richard Fanshaw*.
- 1661-1678. "Copie des Lettres ecrites par le Roi Louis XIV." Eg. MSS. 1640-1642.
- 1661-1701. State papers and official correspondence written or collected by Sir Robert Southwell, touching diplomatic relations of various European countries. Add. MSS. 34329-34346.
- 1662-1666. Original despatches from Alfonso VI of Portugal and his ministers to de Mello, ambassador extraordinary to England. Add. MSS. 38038.
- 1662-1678, and undated. Project of treaty between England and Holland (1662); letters and papers touching the same and concerning relations between England and Holland. IV, 235, 247. Bath MSS.
- 1663-1665. Register of state correspondence of Charles II with foreign princes, &c. Eg. MSS. 2416.
- 1664-1665. Letters and papers touching Lord Fitzharding's embassy to Paris. IV, 279, 280. De La Warr MSS.
- 1664-1666. Many letters from Sir G. Talbot and others to H. Coventry, in Denmark. IV, 237. Bath MSS.
- 1664-1666. Copies of official letters by Henry Coventry, ambassador in Sweden. III, 190. Bath MSS.
- 1664-1666. Memorials, news-letters, &c., relative to difficulties with the Dutch, and with Tangier. V, 315. Malet MSS.
- c.1664-1679. Papers connected with various embassies and treaties touching relations between England and Sweden. IV, 251. Bath MSS.
1665. Letters to Sir Richard Fanshaw, ambassador at Madrid. Bath MSS. II (1907), 149-150.
1665. Negociation de M. le duc de Verneuil et MM. Comenge et Courtin, ambassadeurs extraordinaire vers le Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Eg. MSS. 812.
1665. Relation d'Angleterre, written about the year 1665, during the embassy of the Duke de Verneuil, the Comte de Cominges and M. Antoine Courtin. Eg. MSS. 627.

- 1665, August 15/25. Letter from Sir Richard Fanshawe, at Madrid. I, 54. Stanford Court MSS.
- 1665, August 29. Appointment of H. Coventry and Sir Thomas Clifford as ambassadors extraordinary to Swelen. IV, 233. Bath MSS.
1665. Directions to the English ambassador at Breda. III, 197. Bath MSS.
- 1665, December 26. Recit de ce que se passa à l'audience de congé. Lord Holles. IV, 246. Bath MSS.
- 1665, Dec.-1666, Feb. Letter book of Sir Walter Vane, envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg. Add. MSS. 16272.
- 1665-1666. Copies of despatches of Sir Richard Fanshaw, ambassador to Spain. Harl. MSS. 7010.
- 1665-1669. Letter-books of Sir Robert Southwell during his negotiations in Portugal. Add. MSS. 34336-34338, 35099-35101.
- 1665-1680. Letters from German princes and from envoys in Germany to Charles II and Henry Coventry. IV, 246. Bath MSS.
- 1665-1680. Letters, papers and memoirs of Sir William Temple. Add. MSS. 9796-9804.
- 1665-1684. Various papers relating to Tangier, including treaties between England and Tangier. XI, 5 ("Dartmouth MSS."), I, 11-119; III, *passim*.
1666. Relation d'Angleterre de M. de Commenge, ambassadeur vers le Roy d'Angleterre. Eg. MSS. 1680; Sloane MSS. 2410.
- 1666-1667. Credentials of Sir Wm. Temple as envoy to the Bishop of Munster 1666, and as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle 1667. Add. MSS. 9803.
- 1666.—James II. Draft letters of Sir Bernard Gascoigne, mostly undated, from Portugal and Spain. XV, 2 ("Hodgkin MSS."), 126 *et seq.*
1667. Correspondence and papers relating to the negotiations at Breda. V, 315, 316. Malet MSS. Now Add. MSS. 32095.
- c.1667. Many letters and papers relating to the treaty of Breda, including copy of instructions to Henry Coventry going there. IV, 253. Bath MSS.
1667. Copy of secret article between England and Spain. IV, 236. Bath MSS.
1667. Copies of official letters by Henry Coventry, while ambassador at Breda. III, 190. Bath MSS.
- 1667, March 20. Treaty on navigation between Louis XIV and Charles II, with passports, powers, &c. IV, 233. Bath MSS.
- [1667.] Appointment by Charles II of Lord Holles and Henry Coventry as ambassadors to the United Provinces for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace. VII, 1, 407. Graham MSS.
- 1667, May 10-1667, September 11. Letters by Henry Coventry while ambassador at Breda. III, 122. Northumberland MSS.; IV, 247, n. Bath MSS.
- 1667-1668. Copies of letters by Sir John Thynne, Viscount Weymouth, while ambassador in Sweden. III, 190. Bath MSS.
- 1667-1669. Notes of interviews, political news, &c., by an English minister to Sweden (Thomas Thynne?). III, 122. Northumberland MSS.
- 1667-1688. Letters to and from Sir Thomas Osborne, later Earl of Danby, Charles Bertie, his brother-in-law, and Mr. Brisbane. Many of these letters are from the Continent and relate to foreign affairs. XIV, 9 ("Buckinghamshire, &c., MSS."), 367-456. Lindsey MSS.
1668. Letters to the Earl of Winchilsea, ambassador to the Grand Signor. V, 316. Malet MSS.
1668. Copy of Sir W. Temple's appointment to go to Holland, and of the King's letter of credence. IV, 231. Bath MSS.
1668. Copies of letter and relations from the Swedish ambassador in London. Sloane MSS. 1974.
1668. Memorial of M. de Brandt, envoy extraordinary of the Elector of Brandenburg, relative to the alliance proposed to the Elector. Sloane MSS. 1001.

- 1668, March 25. Original general instructions to Sir J. Trevor, ambassador extraordinary to France. IV, 231. Bath MSS.
- 1668 [May 2 (?)]. Copy of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. IV, 235. Bath MSS.
- 1668, 16th and 17th centuries. List of Treaties between ye severall Princes and States of the world—preceded by the Report of the Committee “appointed to consider of the manner of signing Public Treaties by Ambassadors, &c., 1668.” Stowe MSS. 139.
- 1668-1675. Thirty-four letters from Sir William Temple, ambassador at Brussels and The Hague. Add. MSS. 35852.
- 1668-1676. Thirty-four original letters of Sir William Temple, British ambassador at Brussels and afterwards at The Hague. April 13/23, 1668—Feb. 1/11, 1675/6. Add. MSS. 35852 (Hardwicke papers). Five letters to Arlington and the one to the King are printed in Temple's *Works* (ed. 1814), vols. I and IV.
- 1668-1677 and undated. Letters touching relations between Russia, Poland and Turkey, and England; additional articles to the treaty between England and Turkey, September 8/18, 1675. IV, 249. Bath MSS.
- 1668-1678. Letters from Ralph Montagu, twice ambassador to France within this decade. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House, I (1899), 418-525.
- 1668-1680. Letter-books of Francis Parry, resident in Portugal. Add. MSS. 35100-35101.
- 1668-1701. Transcripts of correspondence relating to transactions between England and the Netherlands. Add. MSS. 34339-34340.
1669. Copies of diplomatic letters written by Secretary Trevor to Temple, ambassador at The Hague, Wyche, envoy in Poland, and the Earl of Essex, ambassador at Copenhagen. Sloane MSS. 1003.
1669. Sir Wm. Temple's deduction about the Marine Treaty with Holland. Add. MSS. 28093.
1669. Treaty between Sweden and England. III, 185. Bath MSS.
- 1669, February 22. Instructions for Ralph Montagu, ambassador to France. V, 316. Malet MSS. Now Add. MSS. 32094, f. 216.
- 1669-1672. Copies of letters from R. Montagu, at Paris, to Lord Arlington, and a few to Charles II. IV, 245. Bath MSS. Add. MSS. 23894.
- 1669-1671. Letters of Jean Donnelly, secretary to Sir William Temple, ambassador at The Hague. Add. MSS. 37988.
- 1669-1713. Papers concerning Florentine embassies in England. Eg. MSS. 1703.
1670. Copies of instructions to Lord Fauconberg, ambassador extraordinary at Venice, and to Mr Weston, ambassador extraordinary. VII, 2, 66. Manchester MSS.
1670. Letters, &c., from and to Lord Fauconberg, ambassador to divers princes of Italy. VIII, 2, 102-103. “Various Collections,” II (1903), 130-162.
- 1670-1692. Letters from Thomas Coxe, envoy in Switzerland. Add. MSS. 9740.
1671. Translation of letters from Johan Boreel, Dutch ambassador in London, to the Greffier Gasper Fagel. Add. MSS. 35852.
1671. Relazione d'Inghilterra di Pietro Mocenigo, Cavaliere. Add. MSS. 10171; 16520.
- 1671-1674. Letters and papers relating to treaties with the Dutch in those years. IV, 235. Bath MSS.
- 1671-1674. Letters relating to Denmark by T. Henshaw, Charles Bertie, and Sir John Paul. IV, 237. Bath MSS.
- c.1671-1678. Correspondence and papers of Sir W. Godolphin, Sir H. Goodrich and Sir Martin Westcombe; copies of treaties, &c., touching relations of England and Spain. IV, 251. Bath MSS.
- 1671-1684. Correspondence of Robert, second Earl of Sunderland, including letters by Mr. Southwell at Brussels, 1671; by Lord Preston at Paris, 1684, and copies of letters to foreign ministers. VIII, 1, 30, 60, and cf. 31. Marlborough MSS.

1672. Letter of Charles II to George Downing, minister at The Hague. Stowe MSS. 142, f. 84.
1672. Copies of letters of Monmouth, Buckingham and Arlington, ambassadors in Holland. Add. MSS. 22878.
- 1672, May 10/20. Copy of despatch from Sir William Godolphin at Madrid. X, 1 ("Eglinton, &c., MSS."), 200-201. Underwood MSS.
- 1672, January 16. Letter of Charles II to Sir George Downing. VIII, 3, 6-7. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1672 (?). *Abrégé de l'État présent de l'Empire Ottomane; privilegi e capitulazioni della nazione Inglese confermate dal Gran Sultano Mechmed, 1672.* VIII, 3, 12. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1672-1674. Relations of England to the States. Add. MSS. 14005, ff. 254, 379, 412.
- 1672-1674. Letters from English agents in the Low Countries. Add. MSS. 34341-34344.
- 1672-1678. Letters from the Earl of Sunderland, at Paris. IV, 245. Bath MSS.
- 1672-1680. Official letters of Henry Coventry while secretary of state, relating to Denmark, Sweden, France and Spain, Italy and Turkey, Holland, Flanders and Portugal, and to the treaty of Nimeguen. III, 190. Bath MSS.
- 1672-1680. Copies of official correspondence of Henry Coventry, secretary of state (largely with ambassadors at various courts). Add. MSS. 25117-25125.
- c.1672-1682. Letters from Henry Savile, envoy at Paris, to Secretary Coventry. IV, 237. Bath MSS.
- 1672-1720. Miscellaneous official correspondence of John Ellis, under secretary of state, &c., with copies of letters, treaties, &c. Add. MSS. 28875-28894; 28896-28916; 28928; 28937-28949.
1673. Copy of instructions to Sir Thomas Higgons, envoy to Venice. VIII, 2, 103. Manchester MSS.
1673. Earl of Castlehaven to Duke of Ormonde. V, 333, Cholmondeley MSS.
1673. Several letters by George Carew, at The Hague. IV, 235. Bath MSS.
1673. Heads of the articles between the King of Great Britain and the states of Holland. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 123. Braye MSS.
1673. Project of treaty with Spain for the defence of Spain, the Netherlands, and lessening the growing power of France; and other papers on the subject. IV, 235. Bath MSS.
- 1673, October. Letters from Charles Fanshawe, at Paris, to Secretary Coventry. IV, 246. Bath MSS.
- 1673, January 25. Paper brought into the House of Lords from the French ambassador. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 122. Braye MSS.
- 1673-1688. Copies of and extracts from political letters, written chiefly from Brussels and Paris, some to Secretary Blathwayt, some to Sir R. Southwell. Add. MSS. 9748, 9749.
- 1673-1711. Original correspondence of Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, Duke of Leeds, with English ministers abroad and others. Add. MSS. 28054.
1674. Letters from Lord Arlington at The Hague. V, 316. Malet MSS. Now Add. MSS. 32094.
- 1674, May 26 and August 17. Two letters to Sir Richard Temple respecting a treaty of trade and commerce with the Dutch. VIII, 3, 7. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1674, December. Project of treaty between England and Holland, as given by Pensionary Fagel. IV, 235. Bath MSS.
- 1674, January 25. Copy of paper from French ambassador remonstrating against the king's making a separate peace with the Dutch. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 183. Braye MSS.

- c.1674. Journal or narrative of proceedings between the commissioners appointed by His Majesty, and the commissioners deputed by the States General, pursuant to the treaty of peace, made at Westminster, February 9/19, 1674. III, 214. Westminster MSS.
- 1674-1675. Letters from Sir W. Lockhart, ambassador at Paris, to Secretary Coventry and Lord Arlington. IV, 237-242. Bath MSS.
- 1674-1676. Various letters about English-Dutch affairs, including letters by Sir William Temple from The Hague. IV, 231, 235. Bath MSS.
- 1674-1676. Letters from Sir Thomas Higgons, envoy at Venice. V, 316-317. Malet MSS. Now Add. MSS. 32094, 32095.
- 1674-1677. Several letters from and to Sir William Temple at The Hague. IX, 2, 449-451. Morrison MSS.
- 1674-1678. Original secret correspondence between French and English courts, and other letters from Paris. XIII, 6 ("Fitzherbert, &c., MSS."), 49-99.
- 1674, 1676-1679. Several letters to and from Sir R. Bulstrode at Brussels. IX, 2, 449, 451, 458, 459. Morrison MSS.
- 1674-1680. Papers relating to Tangier. Add. MSS. 17021.
1675. Letters from the Prince of Orange to Secretary Coventry. III, 197. Bath MSS.
- 1675-1679. Letters from Sir David English, consul at Bordeaux, to H. Coventry. IV, 242. Bath MSS.
- 1675-1679. Original letters, documents, and papers relating to the treaty of Nimeguen. IV, 235, 244-245. Bath MSS.
- 1675-1679. Transcripts of state papers dealing with the negotiations at Nimeguen. Harl. MSS. 1514-1523.
- 1675-1679, and undated. Papers and letters touching relations between Italy and England. IV, 248. Bath MSS.
- 1675-1680. State documents relating to negotiations with foreign powers. Stowe MSS. 195.
- 1675-1691. Transcripts from the correspondence of Francesco Terriesi, Florentine minister in London. Add. MSS. 25358-25381.
- 1676, December. Directions by Charles II to Sir William Temple as to the pending treaty of peace. III, 420. Webster MSS.
- 1676, January 18. Letter from Sir William Temple, ambassador at The Hague, to Lord Danby. III, 420. Webster MSS.
- 1676, October 20-1677. Letters from Robert Lang, consul at Marseilles, to Secretary Coventry. IV, 242. Bath MSS.
- 1676-1677. Copies of letters of Sir Wm. Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins, ambassadors at Nimeguen. Add. MSS. 9801-9802.
- 1676-1677. Accounts of the court of Sweden. VIII, 1, 24. Marlborough MSS.
- 1676-1677. Letters on his negotiations from Sir Thomas Higgons to Secretary Coventry. Add. MSS. 32095.
- 1676-1677. Copies of the correspondence between the French court and its ambassadors, at the treaty of Nimeguen. Add. MSS. 11441, 11442.
- 1676, 1677, and undated. Several memorials by Courtin, ambassador extraordinary, and other papers, all regarding ships, and captains who did not strike flag; also, undated copies of orders by Louis XIV about fishing and ships. IV, 246. Bath MSS.
- 1676-1678. Copies and extracts of some letters written to and from the Earl of Danby (now Duke of Leeds) in the years 1676, 1677, and 1678, with particular remarks upon some of them. Published by his Grace's direction. London, 1710. Of this volume, pp. 1-93 are occupied by Montagu's letters, and pp. 94-122 by remarks on them and on him. IV, 227. Bath MSS.
- 1676-1678. Letters from William, Prince of Orange, to the Earl of Danby and others; letter (1678) from the Earl of Danby to the Prince of Orange; from Laurence Hyde to the Earl of Danby; from the Earl of Sunderland to the same. IX, 2, 451-456. Morrison MSS.
- 1676, October-1679. Letters from J. Brisbane, at Paris, to Secretary Coventry and H. Thynne. IV, 242-244. Bath MSS.

- 1676-1681. Correspondence and official papers of Lawrence Hyde, first earl of Rochester, ambassador to Poland, 1676; to the congress of Nimeguen, 1677-1678; negotiator of secret subsidy treaty with France, 1681. Add. MSS. 15892, 15898, 17016-17019, 15901, 15902, 15943. Many of these documents are printed in the Hyde Correspondence, edited by S. W. Singer, 2 vols., 1828; also in the Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, 2 vols., 1724.
1677. A collection of papers relative to the projected war with France, formed by Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of state, and including drafts of some of his despatches, &c. Add. MSS. 10115.
1677. Speech of Laurence Hyde, later first Earl of Rochester, to the King of Poland. XII, 9 ("Beaufort, &c., MSS."), 163. Gurney MSS.
1677. Memorial from the English ambassador to the King of Poland, and remarks on the same. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 41-43.
- 1677, April 23. Letter of Louis XIV desiring mediation of Charles II for a truce between France and Spain. IV, 246. Bath MSS.
- 1677, February 8. Appointment of Danby, H. Coventry, and J. Williams as commissioners to conclude a treaty with Spain, and of Le Sieur de Pomponne to discuss with Lord Montagu a treaty of navigation. IV, 233. Bath MSS.
- 1677-1678. Letters from the Hon. Ralph Montagu, ambassador to France, mostly to Charles II, and to the Lord High Treasurer Danby touching the price for the neutrality of England. IX, 2, 451-457. Morrison MSS.
- 1677-1678. Additional instructions for Laurence Hyde, ambassador for treaty at Nimeguen; instructions to Ralph Montagu, ambassador to the French king, and draft; instructions for Sidney Godolphin, envoy to the governor of Flanders, and draft; instructions to John Brisbane sent to Flanders; instructions to Lord Howard of Escrick sent to Ostend; instructions to the Earl of Feversham to go to Flanders. IV, 232. Bath MSS.
- 1677-1678. Correspondence of Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, with Sir Leoline Jenkins, ambassador at the Nimeguen Conference, with a letter from Danby to the Duke of Lauderdale. Add. MSS. 34274, L.
- 1677, October 14-1678, July 11. Letters from R. Montagu, ambassador at Paris, to H. Coventry and H. F. Thynne. IV, 245. Bath MSS.
- 1677, November-1679. Letters from the Earl of Feversham. IV, 245. Bath MSS.
- 1677-1680. Letters by Barillon, ambassador extraordinary. IV, 246. Bath MSS.
- 1677-1684. Letters of the diplomatist, Sir Robert Southwell, to the Duke of Ormonde. Ormonde MSS., N. S. IV (1906), 374-597.
- 1677-1707. Diplomatic papers of George Stepney, envoy at Berlin in 1698, and at Vienna 1702-1706. Add. MSS. 37155-37156.
1678. Narrative by Henry Coventry of negotiations between England and the States General. Add. MSS. 32095, f. 83.
1678. Correspondence between the Earl of Danby and the English ambassador in France. XV, 2 ("Hodgkin MSS."), 185-198.
1678. Letters from Queen of Sweden and from Cardinal of Norfolk to Charles II, asking him to look after her pretensions in the treaty of Nimeguen. III, 197. Bath MSS.
- 1678, January 11-August 12. Correspondence regarding treaty negotiations between Danby and Mr. Montagu and the Earl of Sutherland at Paris, and the Prince of Orange. III, 420. Webster MSS.
- 1678, March 3. Copy of the "Defensive Treaty with the States General." Add. MSS. 28093.
- 1678, May 3 and 4. Copy of paper delivered by the King's commissioners to the ambassadors of the States General and answer of the same with translations. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 185. Braye MSS.
1678. Series of duplicate letters from Sir Leoline Jenkins, ambassador for the General Peace at Nimeguen, to Laurence Hyde, one of the mediators at the Treaty of Nimeguen. Originals addressed to Williamson in P.R.O. Add. MSS. 15901-15902.

- 1678, December 5/November 25. Translation of letter from the Dutch ambassador to the King regarding the inclusion of the allies within the Peace of Nimeguen. Annexed papers. XI, 2 ("H. of Lords MSS."), 66.
- 1678-1679. Letters from Henry Savile, envoy in Paris. III, 197. Bath MSS., and Bath MSS. II (1907), 166-169.
1679. Letters Plenipotentiary of Charles II addressed to the E. of Shaftesbury and others to treat with Louis XIV for peace and neutrality between the tropics. Add. Ch. 39942.
- 1679, January 1. Letter from Laurence Hyde at The Hague about the treaty of peace and the wording of it. V, 318. Malet MSS. Now Add. MSS, 32095, f. 148.
1680. Copies of appointment of, and letters by, Sir R. Southwell, envoy to the Duke of Brandenburg. Other letters and papers of Southwell are also referred to. VII, 1, 245. Egmont MSS.
1680. Official correspondence of James, Lord Chandos, ambassador in Constantinople. VIII, 3, 13. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1680, November 25. Treaty of England with the Emperor of Morocco. Add. MSS. 5105.
- [1680 ?] The case of the ships *Bonne Esperance* and *Henry Bonadventure*, seized by the Dutch before 1649. Portland MSS., VIII (1907)-19-20.
- 1680-1682. Diplomatic papers relating to the conference at Frankfort, and to negotiations with the Diet at Ratisbon. Add. MSS. 37989.
- 1680-1683. Letters of Philip Warwick, envoy to Sweden. Add. MSS. 37985.
- 1680-1710. Letters from foreign princes, English ambassadors, and others to Sidney Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer. Add. MSS. 28056, 28057.
- 1680, 1732. Original credentials of Girolamo Vignola and Domenico Imberti, Venetian residents at the English court. Add. MSS. 11311.
1681. Project of a marine treaty between Charles II and Muley Ishmael, Emperor of Morocco; report in favor of it by Commissioners of Navy, and comments on some of the articles. III, 190. Bath MSS.
- 1681-1682. Letters of Thomas Plott, agent at The Hague, to Secretaries Conway and Blathwayt. Add. MSS. 37979.
- 1681-1682. Correspondence of Sir Peter Wyche, resident at Hamburg. Add. MSS. 37982.
- 1681-1682. Original treaties of peace between Charles II and the Emperor of Morocco. VIII, 1, 26. Marlborough MSS.
- 1681-1683. Letters of Edmund Poley, envoy at Berlin, Frankfort, Ratisbon, &c., to Secretary Conway. Add. MSS. 37986-37987.
- 1681-1685. Correspondence of Bevil Skelton, envoy to the Hanse Towns. Add. MSS. 37983-37984.
- 1681-1688. Letter-book of James, Baron Chandos, ambassador at Constantinople. Stowe MSS. 219-220.
- 1682-1683. Despatches of Thomas Chudleigh, envoy at The Hague. Add. MSS. 37980.
- 1682-1688. Official papers of Sir Richard Graham, Viscount Preston, envoy at Paris and, in 1688, secretary of state. VII, 1, 261-428. Graham MSS.
- 1683-1709. State papers and correspondence of the Earl of Nottingham, including correspondence and papers of John and Paul Methuen relative to Portugal, letters from John Earle, consul in Portugal, Lord Treasurer Godolphin, Secretary Hedges, Joseph Hill at Rotterdam, Sir Cloudesley Shovell, &c. I, 15-30. Hatton MSS.
- 1684, May. Memoir of King for instruction of Comte d'Avaux on propositions offered by the United Provinces. Laing MSS. I, 435-439.
- 1685-1688. Mackintosh Collections: despatches of Dutch ambassadors in England. Add. MSS. 34507-34512.
- 1685-1688. Letter-book of Sir George Etherege, minister at Ratisbon. Add. MSS. 11513.
- 1685-1739. Letters to Dykevelt at The Hague. VIII, 1, 554-561. Denbigh MSS. V, 82-100.

- 1685-1739. Official and private correspondence and papers of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby and Earl of Strafford, ambassador to Prussia and Holland, and plenipotentiary at Utrecht. Add. MSS. 31128-31152.
- 1686, December 26. Letter to Col. Dongan to publish the treaty of neutrality. V, 216. Lansdowne MSS.
- c.1686. Correspondence of the Commissioners, the Sieur Barillon and the Sieur de Bonrepaux, appointed to treat as to the execution of the treaty of neutrality in America. V, 216. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1686-1693. News letters to Dykevelt at The Hague. VII, 1, 196-221; VIII, 1, 561-566. Denbigh MSS.
1687. Transactions between England and France relating to Hudson's Bay. I, 41. Port Eliot MSS.
- 1687-1688. "Memorials of my Embassy in Constantinople," by Sir William Trumbull. Add. MSS. 34799.
1688. Consideration of alliance of Portugal with France and Spain, in relation to the affairs of England. Add. MSS. 15193, f. 192.
- 1688-1689. Copies or translations of diplomatic papers. Add. MSS. 38496.
- c.1688-1765. Letters and papers of William, Count Bentinck of Holland, including many papers relating to the first Earl of Portland and his family. Especially important for the relations of England and Holland and for the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. Egerton MSS. 1704-1756.
1689. Instructions to Robert Sutton, envoy extraordinary to Brandenburg. Lansdowne MSS. 1152, ii, f. 151.
- 1689, April 29. Copy of treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces. Add. MSS. 35838.
- 1689, August 15. Copy of the treaty between England and Holland signed at Copenhagen. Add. MSS. 17769.
- 1689-1692. Correspondence of Thomas Coxe, special envoy to the Swiss cantons. Add. MSS. 38013.
- 1689-1699. Original credentials and instructions of Sir Paul Rycaut, resident at the Hanse Towns, with copies of treaties, &c., and letter-book of Sir Paul Rycaut. Add. MSS. 19514, 19515.
Original letter to Secretary Blathwayt. Add. MSS. 21490.
- 1689-1700. Despatches and letters of William Paget, ambassador to Vienna and the Porte. Add. MSS. 8880.
- 1689-1702. Copies of treaties negotiated by England with Holland, Denmark, Savoy and various states of Germany, relative to supplies of troops. Add. MSS. 19518.
- 1689-1702. Treaties of peace and conventions with foreign powers. Add. MSS. 9737-9739.
- 1689-1714. Papers chiefly relating to allowances for extraordinary expenses incurred by English ambassadors and envoys. Add. MSS. 31150.
- c.1689-1715. Correspondence and papers of the first Duke of Marlborough, including many miscellaneous diplomatic papers, original treaties, &c., mostly dating from 1701-1712. VIII, 1, 12-60. Marlborough MSS. "Copies of the Duke of Marlborough's letters, 1702-1712," see VIII, 1, 12, were printed by Sir George Murray in 1845.
- 1689-1717. Mackintosh Collection: "Extraits de la Correspondance Diplomatique au Bureau des Affaires Etrangères à Paris." Add. MSS. 34488-34499, 34500.
- 1689-1728. A deduction from treaties, &c., between England and Denmark, relating to engagements to lend troops. X, 1 ("Eglinton, &c., MSS."), 202. Underwood MSS.
- 1690, June-1693, May. Letters addressed to Sir William Dutton Colt, envoy to Hanover and Zell, by British representatives at other courts and by under-secretaries of state, 1690-1693; with news-letters to the same from London, the camps in Flanders, &c. Add. MSS. 34095, 34096.
- 1690-1709. Papers and correspondence relative to various courts. Add. MSS. 9744-9746.
1691. Letters to John Johnston, envoy at Berlin. Add. MSS. 7060, 7076, 7077.

- 1691-1692. Correspondence of Sir W. Colt, envoy to Hanover and Zell. Add. MSS. 36662, 37513.
- 1691-1694. Letters from Robert Wolseley, envoy at Brussels to Secretary Blathwayt. Add. MSS. 34352.
- 1691-1707. Correspondence and papers of John Robinson, ambassador to Sweden. Add. MSS. 5131, 7064, 7075.
1692. Instructions to Lord Paget, appointed ambassador to the Grand Seignior. Eg. MSS. 918.
- 1692-1693. Original letters from Hugh Greg, minister at the Court of Denmark, to Secretary Blathwait. Add. MSS. 15572.
- 1692-1693. Original letters from English ministers abroad to Secretary Blathwayt. Add. MSS. 21486.
- 1692-1693. Letters from Matthew Prior at The Hague to the Earl of Dorset. IV, 280-281. De La Warr MSS.
- 1692-1693. Original letters of Stanhope, envoy at Madrid, to Secretary Blathwayt. Add. MSS. 21489.
- 1692-1694. Correspondence and papers of English ambassadors to the Grand Seignior. Eg. MSS. 918.
- 1692-1694. Letter-book of Sir Paul Rycaut, resident at Hamburg. Add. MSS. 37663.
- 1692-1699. Instructions to the Lords Justices of England, as also to the plenipotentiaries, ambassadors, envoys, &c. III, 212. Westminster MSS.
- 1692-1701. Letters from M. d'Hervart, envoy in Switzerland, to Secretary Blathwait. Add. MSS. 9741-9742.
- 1692-1701. Correspondence of the Rev. John Robinson, agent in Sweden, with Secretary Blathwait. Add. MSS. 35105-35106.
- 1692-1703. Correspondence and papers of Secretary Blathwayt relative to Berlin, Vienna, Switzerland, Italy, &c. Add. MSS. 9719-9722, 9730-9736, 9741-9743, 21551.
- 1692-1719. Twelve volumes of Hanoverian state papers, chiefly originals. They include letters from William III and from English ministers abroad. VIII, 3, 15. Ashburnham MSS.
1693. Account of money laid out by Matthew Prior, secretary to the embassy at The Hague. Add. MSS. 15947.
1693. Official letters of Sir William Colt, envoy to Germany. Add. MSS. 9807-9809.
- 1693-1694. News-letters from Paris. III, 102-107. Northumberland MSS.
- 1693-1694. Papers of Lord Lexington, envoy to Denmark. XII, 5 ("Rutland MSS."), II, 140-154; IV, 229-230.
- 1693-1699. Correspondence and papers of Matthew Prior, at The Hague, 1693-1697, and at Paris, 1698-1699, including a journal relating to the treaty of Ryswick. III, 193-194. Bath MSS.; and Bath MSS., III (1908), 2-378; 508-548.
- 1693, May-1701, August. Official correspondence between James Vernon, secretary of state, and William Blathwayt, secretary at war. Add. MSS. 34348.
- 1693-1702. Correspondence of the Rev. John Robinson, agent (from 1696 envoy extraordinary) in Sweden with William Blathwayt, secretary of state. Add. MSS. 35105, 35106.
- 1693-1703. Correspondence of Secretary Blathwait and George Stepney, minister at Berlin and Vienna. Add. MSS. 9719-9721, 34354.
- 1693-1703. Correspondence of James Cressett, employed at several German courts. I, 40. Macclesfield MSS.
- 1694, September 22/12. Letter from Matthew Prior, when secretary to the embassy at The Hague to William Blathwayt, on the state of France. Add. MSS. 12112.
- 1694, March-1699, June. Correspondence and papers of Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, secretary of state, including correspondence with ambassadors and envoys. Buccleuch and Queensberry Montague House MSS., II (1903), 60-653.

- 1694, September-1705, April. Correspondence of William Blathwayt, secretary at war, with the envoy at Dresden and Vienna. Add. MSS. 34354.
- 1694-1707. Copies of official correspondence of George Stepney, employed in Saxony, Düsseldorf, Frankfort; with the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves; at Loo and The Hague in negotiations preliminary to the treaty of Ryswick in 1697; and later in Berlin and Vienna. I, 34-39. Macclesfield MSS.
- 1695-1696. Original letters of Alex. Stanhope, envoy extraordinary at Madrid, to Secretary Blathwayt. Eg. MSS. 919.
- 1695-1701. Correspondence of James Cressett, resident at Hanover, with Secretary Blathwayt. Add. MSS. 23616-23617.
1696. Hugh Broughton to the Duke of Shrewsbury, on the circumstances of his reception as English consul at Venice. VIII, 2, 103. Manchester MSS.
- 1696-1701. Transcripts of the despatches of Frederic Bonet or Bonnet, resident in London for Frederic III, Elector of Brandenburg, first King of Prussia. Add. MSS. 30000 A-E.
- 1696-1711. News-letter from The Hague and elsewhere. VI, 1, 314-315. Leconfield MSS.
1697. Copies of despatches of the Earl of Jersey during his embassy at The Hague. Add. MSS. 18606.
1697. Letters touching the peace of Ryswick. XV, 2 ("Hodgkin MSS."), 205.
- 1697-1698. Correspondence and other papers connected with the first embassy of Charles, Earl of Manchester, to Venice. VIII, 2, 67-69. Manchester MSS. Many of these documents are printed in Cole's *Historical and Political Memoirs*.
- 1697-1698. Letters from Matthew Prior to Secretary Blathwayt. IX, 2, 463. Morrison MSS.
1698. Journal de l'Ambassade Extraordinaire de S. E. Mylord Comte de Portland en France. Add. MSS. 20806.
1698. Correspondence between William III and the Earl of Portland, and between the latter and Secretary Vernon. I, 55. Stanford Court MSS.
1698. Papers relating to the negotiations preceding the treaty of The Hague. Add. MSS. 29592.
- 1698-1699. Correspondence of Pontchartrain, French secretary of state, with Tallard and Herbault, ambassadors in England. Add. MSS. 33440.
- 1698-1699. Transactions between England and France relating to Hudson's Bay. VIII, 3, 14. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1698, February 12-1701, April 7. Copies of letters by the French ambassador to Spain to Louis XIV. VIII, 1, 12. Marlborough MSS.
- 1698-1702. Register of papers and correspondence relating to the embassy of Sir William Norris to the Great Mogul. Add. MSS. 31302.
- 1698, 1704-1706. Letters from Robert Sutton at Vienna; and George Stepney at Berlin. Eg. MSS. 929.
- 1698-1707. Correspondence of G. Stepney, envoy to Berlin and Vienna, with papers. Add. MSS. 37155, 37156.
- 1698-1755. Private and official papers of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby and Earl of Strafford, ambassador to Prussia in 1703, and ambassador to Holland and plenipotentiary for negotiating the Peace of Utrecht in 1711-1714. Add. MSS. 22193-22267.
1699. Journal of embassy of the Earl of Jersey to France. Add. MSS. 18449.
- 1699-1700. Letters of the Earl of Manchester, at Paris. Bath MSS. III (1908), 379-429.
- 1699-1701. Papers connected with the embassy of Charles, Earl of Manchester, to Paris. VIII, 2, 67, 69-84, 103-108. Manchester MSS. Mostly printed in Cole's *Historical and Political Memoirs*, and in many cases reprinted in Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin's History of England*.

- 18th century. Deciphers of despatches passing between foreign governments and their ministers in England, with cipher keys :—
- France (1653-1783 and later). Add. MSS. 32258-32265.
 - Austria and German States (1717-1783 and later). Add. MSS. 32266-32270.
 - Prussia (1724-1783 and later). Add. MSS. 32271-32277.
 - Saxony and Poland (1726-1775). Add. MSS. 32278.
 - Holland (1723, 1760-1783 and later). Add. MSS. 32279-32280.
 - Denmark (1737-1783 and later). Add. MSS. 32281-32284.
 - Sweden (1716-1783 and later). Add. MSS. 32285-32287.
 - Russia (1719-1783 and later). Add. MSS. 32288-32292.
 - Italy (1730-1783 *seq.*). Add. MSS. 32293-32297.
 - Spain and Portugal (1719-1783 *seq.*). Add. MSS. 32298-32301.
 - Turkey (1774-1783 *seq.*). Add. MSS. 32302.
 - America (1780-1783 *seq.*). Add. MSS. 32303.
- 1700, March 4. Particulars of treaties, presented by Secretary Vernon. IV, 374. Carew MSS.
- 1700, May-1703, December. Letters from Sir Lambert Blackwell, envoy to Florence and Genoa, to William Blathwayt, secretary at war. Add. MSS. 34356.
- 1700-1704. Letter-books of Alex. Stanhope, envoy to the States General. Stowe MSS. 243-245.
- 1700-1704. Political despatches and correspondence of Mr. Stanhope, during his residence at The Hague. VIII, 3, 15. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1700-1713. Register of despatches of the Cavaliere Jacopo Giral di, envoy extraordinary from Tuscany to the British Court. Eg. MSS. 1696-1700. Instructions, &c. Eg. MSS. 1703.
1701. Correspondence of Montagu, ambassador extraordinary to France. Add. MSS. 34348.
1701. Original letters of Stanhope, resident at The Hague, to Secretary Blathwayt. Add. MSS. 21489.
1701. Original letters from Paul Methuen, envoy in Portugal, to Under-Secretary Vernon and Secretary Blathwayt. Add. MSS. 21491.
- 1701, June 15. Translation of treaty between England, Denmark and the States General. I, 54. Stanford Court MSS.
- 1701, July-December. Letters from William Aldersey, agent at Hamburg, and others, to William Blathwayt, secretary at war. Add. MSS. 34357.
- 1701, September 7. Copy of treaty between the Emperor, England and the States. I, 29. Hatton MSS.
- 1701, September 26. Copy of treaty between England, Sweden, and Holland. I, 29. Hatton MSS.
- 1701, February 26. Paul Methuen at Lisbon to the Earl of Montagu. I (1899), 351. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House.
- 1701-1702. Letters from Plantamour, agent in Prussia, to Secretary Blathwayt. Eg. MSS. 2428.
- 1701-1702. Two letters from the Duke of Marlborough at The Hague. IX, 2, 464-465. Morrison MSS.
- 1701-1713. Copies of official papers relating to negotiations of various treaties with foreign Powers, especially to the treaty of Utrecht. Add. MSS. 22204.
- 1701-1725. Diplomatic correspondence of Charles Whitworth, at Ratisbon, 1701-1703; at Vienna, 1704; at St. Petersburg, 1704-1710; at the Diets of Augsburg and Ratisbon, 1714; at Berlin, 1716; at The Hague, 1717; at Berlin, 1719-1722; at Cambray, 1722. III, 217-220. De La Warr MSS.
- Temp. Queen Anne. Copies of credentials to ambassadors to different states. II, 79. Davenport MSS.
1702. Letters to the Earl of Manchester, secretary of state, and Secretary Vernon, from M. Schonenberg, representative of England and the Netherlands at the Court of Madrid; from Stepney at Vienna; from Broughton at Venice; from Sir Lambert Blackwell at Florence; also, correspondence with "political agents" abroad. VIII, 2, 84-88, 108-109. Manchester MSS.

- 1702, April 6. Instructions to Mr. Methuen, plenipotentiary to Portugal. VIII, 2, 88. Manchester MSS.
- 1702-1703. Journal of the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland. Harl. MSS. 4959.
- 1702-1704. Correspondence of William Greg, minister to Denmark. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS."), II, 58-63.
- 1702-1704. Original letters from John and Paul Methuen, envoys at Lisbon, to the Secretaries of State. Add. MSS. 29590.
- 1702-1704. Correspondence and papers of John and Paul Methuen, relative to Portugal. See 1683-1709. Papers of Earl of Nottingham.
- 1702-1704. Correspondence of Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, secretary of state. Add. MSS. 29548-29596.
- 1702-1706. Correspondence and papers of George Stepney, at Vienna and other courts. Add. MSS. 7058-7060, 7063, 7066, 7071-7077, 9387.
- 1702-1706. Correspondence of Charles Whitworth, resident at Ratisbon. Add. MSS. 7059, 7064, 7065, 7067, 7072-7075, 7077, 37348-37352, 37353.
- 1702-1708. Correspondence and papers of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Add. MSS. 5130-5134, 7058-7059, 7061, 7063, 7064, 7075, 7077, 9092-9113.
- 1702-1712. Letter-book containing copies of correspondence of French ministers in London and elsewhere. Add. MSS. 32306.
- 1702-1714. Letters and papers of Portuguese ambassadors in London. Add. MSS. 15178, 15179, 15182.
- 1702-1742. Various state papers, despatches, &c., including those touching Viscount Townshend's embassy to The Hague, 1709-1711; letters from and to Horace Walpole, at Paris, &c. XI, 4 ("Townshend MSS.").
1703. Papers relating to negotiations conducted by Lord Cutts with France for the exchange of prisoners. Frankland—Russell—Astley MSS. (1900), pp. 133 ff.
- 1703-1704. Letters from Sir L. Blackwell and others relative to Tuscany and Genoa. VI, 1, 315. Leconfield MSS.; Buccleuch and Queensberry Montagu House MSS., II (1903), 661, 667, 671, 674-683, 688-699, 707.
- 1703, May-1705, April. Letters from George Stepney, ambassador at Vienna, mostly to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Buccleuch and Queensberry Montagu House MSS., II (1903), 655-710.
- 1703-1706. Letter-books of Richard Hill, envoy to the Duke of Savoy, containing his correspondence with the Secretaries of State and others. Add. MSS. 37529, 37530.
- 1703-1707. Letters from Henry Davenant, British resident at Frankfort. Add. MSS. 7064, 7066, 7075.
- 1703-1708. Letters from Seafeld, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, to Godolphin concerning the negotiations for the Union. Add. MSS. 34180, 28055.
- 1703-1713. Series of news-letters by Guillaume de Lamberty, at The Hague. Frankland—Russell—Astley MSS. (1900), *passim*.
- 1703-1714. Official and private correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, E. of Strafford, ambassador to Prussia 1703, and plenipotentiary at Utrecht 1711-1714. Add. MSS. 31128-31149.
- 1704-1706. Letters from John and Sir Paul Methuen to Sir J. Leake. Add. MSS. 5440, 5441.
- 1704-1708. Correspondence of Robert Harley, secretary of state. III, 197-198, Bath MSS., and Bath MSS. I (1904), 57-194. Add. MSS. 7059, 7065, 7077. Papers of the same, including memorials, &c., relative to foreign affairs. Portland MSS., VIII (1907).
- 1704-1711. Letters from Francis Hare, chaplain general to the army in Flanders. XIV, 9 ("Buckinghamshire, &c., MSS."), 200-234. Hare MSS.
- 1704-1712. Correspondence of C. Whitworth as envoy extraordinary to Russia with successive secretaries of state. Add. MSS. 37354-37360.
1705. Negotiations for a general peace, discussed in Shrewsbury's journal. Buccleuch and Queensberry Montagu House MSS., II (1903), 769-799.

- 1705-1711. Correspondence of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal, with Robert Harley and others, containing references to foreign affairs. XIII, 2 ("Portland MSS., II"), 189-233.
- 1705-1722. Correspondence and papers of Charles, third Earl of Sunderland, envoy to Vienna, 1705, secretary of state, 1706-1710, first lord of treasury, 1718-1721, including letters to foreign ministers. VIII, 1, 1-60, *passim*. Marlborough MSS.
1706. Heads of treaty with States General for securing the succession. Add. MSS. 5131.
1706. Three letters from Charles Montague, later Earl of Halifax, relative to his mission at Hanover. IX, 2, 468-469. Morrison MSS.
- 1706-1707. Letters from Sir Paul Methuen, ambassador to Portugal. Eg. MSS. 891.
- 1706, 1707. Various treaties and conventions. Add. MSS. 5131.
- 1706-1708. Correspondence of James Stanhope, afterwards Earl Stanhope, in Spain, and Treasurer Godolphin. V, 364. Shirley MSS.
- 1706-1716. Petkum correspondence, chiefly relating to the secret negotiations for peace, 1707-1711. XIV, 9 "Buckinghamshire, &c., MSS.," 317-366. Round MSS.
1707. Extracts from despatches of Secretary Harley to Meadows, ambassador at Vienna. Stowe MSS. 248.
- 1707, March 7. Renewal of convention of May 20, 1706, with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Add. MSS. 5131.
- 1707-1708. Correspondence of Marius van Vrybergen, Dutch envoy at London. Add. MSS. 5130, 5132.
- 1707-1708. Correspondence of the period when the Earl of Manchester was on his second embassy to Venice. VIII, 2, 88-102. Manchester MSS. Printed in great part in Cole's *Historical and Political Memoirs*, or in the Duke of Manchester's *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne*.
- 1707-1714. Miscellaneous papers and memoranda relating chiefly to the conferences for the treaty of Utrecht. Add. MSS. 22217.
- 1707-1772. Copies of papers relating to Sweden, partly Sir John Goodriche's despatches. Add. MSS. 35885.
1708. Correspondence between Queen Anne and States General. Add. MSS. 5130.
- 1708, May 16. Memorial presented by the ministers of Great Britain and the States to the council of Hamburg. Add. MSS. 5132.
1709. Register of letters of Marlborough and Townshend, plenipotentiaries at The Hague for the Barrier Treaty, to Secretary Boyle. Add. MSS. 38498-38499.
1709. Letter from John Churchill. IX, 2, 470. Morrison MSS.
1709. Register of letters of Henry Boyle, secretary of state, to Charles Townshend, ambassador to The Hague, concerning the ratification of the preliminary treaty with France and the evacuation of Spain. Add. MSS. 37635.
- 1709, May-1710, September. Despatches from Charles, Viscount Townshend, at The Hague. Eg. MSS. 892-894.
- 1709-1711. Correspondence of Horatio Walpole, secretary to Townshend, plenipotentiary at The Hague. Add. MSS. 38500-38501.
- 1709-1713. Recueil de pièces originales du Traité d'Utrecht : formé par Jean Arnold de Solemacher, envoyé extraordinaire auprès des États Généraux et plenipotentiaire au Traité de Paix. Add. MSS. 22637-22638.
- 1709-1714. Private minutes and memoirs of Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Torcy, relating more particularly to diplomatic negotiations. IX, 2, 410. Morrison MSS.
- 1709-1746. Correspondence and papers of the Earl of Stair, in Saxony, at Paris, and at The Hague. II, 188-191. Stair MSS. Some additional letters and papers are in II, 27-28. Cathcart MSS.

- 1710-1714. Extracts from the Registers of the States General to the United Provinces. Add. MSS. 22215.
- 1710-1721. Letters and papers of Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, including letters from John Drummond in Amsterdam, 1710-1716; Matthew Prior's account of his secret mission to Paris, July, 1711; letters from Lord Lexington at Madrid, 1712-1714; and from several other persons employed at foreign courts during this period; and news letters, 1713-1721. XV, 4 ("Portland MSS."), IV, Portland MSS., V (1899).
1711. Letters from A. Stanyan, at Berne. VI, 315. Leconfield MSS.
- 1711-12. Correspondence of Lord Strafford, plenipotentiary at Utrecht, with the Secretaries of State. Add. MSS. 31136-7.
- 1711-1713. Letters to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, relative to peace negotiations. Bath MSS., I (1904), pp. 200-238; 360.
- 1711-1714. Original despatches from Bolingbroke and other Secretaries of State to John Robinson and the Earl of Strafford, plenipotentiaries for the Peace of Utrecht. Add. MSS. 37272, 37273.
- 1711-1714. Copies of correspondence between the lords plenipotentiaries for negotiating the Peace of Utrecht and the English Secretaries of State. Add. MSS. 22205-22207.
- 1711-1714. Correspondence of Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, envoy to Flanders, &c. Add. MSS. 37209.
- 1711-1714. Letters to John Drummond relative to peace negotiations. X, 1 ("Eglinton, &c., MSS."), 141-147. Moray MSS.
- 1711-1719. Letters and papers addressed to Secretary Craggs, including letters from Lord Stair during his embassy to Paris, and from the Duke of Marlborough. VIII, 3, 11. Ashburnham MSS.
1712. Two letters from Robert Harley, one about the peace. IX, 2, 465. Morrison MSS.
1712. Correspondence of the Duke of Ormonde and the secretary of state relative to the negotiations prior to the Treaty of Utrecht. XV, 1 ("Dartmouth MSS."), III, 72-96.
- 1712-1713. Letters and papers connected with the Duke of Ormonde's command in Flanders. XV, 2 ("Hodgkin MSS."), 205-216.
- 1712-1714. Accounts of Matthew Prior, ambassador at Paris. Add. MSS. 15947.
1713. Letter-book kept by the Duke of Shrewsbury during his embassy to France. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House, II (1903), 799.
1713. Papers relating to the negotiations for the Treaty of Utrecht. Add. MSS. 20983-20985.
- 1713, November 27. Letter from Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, on the diplomatic situation. IX, 2, 472. Morrison MSS.
- 1713-1714. Register of newsletters from the envoys to the States General of the United Provinces at London, Paris, &c. Add. MSS. 22213-22214.
- 1713-1714. Copies of letters by William Bromley while secretary of state. II, 79. Davenport MSS.
1714. Original letters and papers relative to the Earl of Clarendon's negotiations at Hanover. VIII, 3, 16. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1714-1716. Correspondence of Lord Strafford, ambassador at The Hague, with Secretary Bromley. Add. MSS. 31139.
- 1714-1716. Correspondence of C. Whitworth as minister at the Diet at Augsburg and Ratisbon. Add. MSS. 37361, 37362.
- 1714-1718. Despatches of George Bubb, envoy extraordinary to Spain. Eg. MSS. 2170-2175.
- 1714-1722. Official despatches to Henry Worsley, ambassador to Portugal. Add. MSS. 15936.
- 1715, June 10. Report of committee of secrecy appointed by House of Commons to examine into the Peace of Utrecht. Add. MSS. 35868. Printed in Parliamentary History, vol. vii, app. 1.

- 1715-1717. Diplomatic correspondence of James Dayrolle, resident at Geneva. Add. MSS. 15866-15867, 15877.
1716. Letter from Walpole at The Hague. Add. MSS. 15946, f. 20.
- 1716-1717. Correspondence of C. Whitworth, envoy extraordinary at Berlin. Add. MSS. 37363.
- 1716-1720. Correspondence of Lord Polwarth, ambassador to Denmark. Polwarth MSS. I, 29-673, and II, *passim*.
- 1716-1725. Letter-books containing copies of correspondence of foreign ministers in London and elsewhere. Add. MSS. 32307, 32308.
- 1717-1719. Correspondence of C. Whitworth as envoy extraordinary at The Hague. Add. MSS. 37364-37372.
- 1717-1725. Correspondence of Sir Luke Schaub, employed on various embassies to Vienna, Copenhagen, Madrid, Hanover and Paris. Add. MSS. 35837.
- 1717-1738 Diplomatic correspondence of James Dayrolle, resident at The Hague. Add. MSS. 15867-15869; 15877-15879.
- 1718-1732. Abstracts of Treaties. Add. MSS. 35882 (Hardwicke papers).
- 1718-1748. Assiento papers. V, 215. Lansdowne MSS.
1719. Letters to Sir John Norris from Secretary Craggs, and from Lord Carteret, envoy to Sweden, chiefly on Russia and Sweden. I, 41. Port Eliot MSS.
- 1719-1720. Official copies of despatches of Lord Carteret during his special embassy to Sweden. Add. MSS. 22511-22514.
- 1719-1722. Correspondence of C. Whitworth during his negotiations at the Prussian Court. Add. MSS. 37373-37389.
- 1719-1727. Entry book of despatches of Thomas Burnet, consul at Lisbon. Add. MSS. 11569-11570.
- 1719-1744. The official correspondence and papers of John, 2nd Lord Carteret and 1st Earl of Granville, ambassador to Sweden in 1719, 1720, and Secretary of State in 1721-1724 and 1742-1744. Add. MSS. 22511-22545.
1720. Letters of George I appointing William, Earl Cadogan and James Dayrolle resident with the States General to be plenipotentiaries on accession of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance. Add. Ch. 6300.
- Powers to James Dayrolle, resident at The Hague, to conclude a treaty on the accession of the States General to the Quadruple Alliance. Add. Ch. 6301.
- 1720-1724. Correspondence of Charles Townshend, Secretary of State, with Horatio Walpole as ambassador at Paris. Add. MSS. 37634.
- 1720-1729. Letters from the secretary of state to Lord Glenurchy, ambassador at Copenhagen, 1723-1728, with Lord Glenurchy's deciphered letters. IV, 513. Breadalbane MSS.
- 1721-1722. Original despatches of Sir Robert Sutton, ambassador at Paris. Add. MSS. 22521-22522.
- 1721-1724. Official copies of despatches of Lord Carteret as Secretary of State to English ministers at Paris, Madrid and other Courts. Add. MSS. 22515-22519, 22523-22524.
- 1721-1725. Correspondence of John Molesworth, envoy extraordinary to Turin. VIII ("MSS. in various Collections"), 302, *passim*. Clements MSS.
- 1721-1757. Diplomatic papers relating to Spain, being copies of treaties, despatches, &c. Add. MSS. 35883, 35884.
- 1722-1725. Correspondence of Lord Whitworth as plenipotentiary at the Congress of Cambray. Add. MSS. 37390-37397.
- 1723-1748. Transcripts of Lord Townshend's letters to Sir Robert Walpole, written during Townshend's residence at Hanover, together with letters from other statesmen of this period. VIII, 3, 15. Ashburnham MSS.
1724. Key to the cipher used by the English Government to their ministers at foreign Courts. Add. MSS. 22728.
- 1724-1754. Diplomatic Correspondence of Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle. Add. MSS. 32738-32851.

- 1724-1768. Official and private correspondence and papers of Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle. Together with papers of earlier and later date of various members of the family of Pelham and of other families allied thereto. A great mass of material. III, 221-223. Chichester MSS. Now Add. MSS. 32679-33201.
- 1724-1783. Correspondence and papers of the first, second, third and fourth earls of Hardwicke and other members of the Yorke family, a great mass of diplomatic material. Of special importance is the correspondence of Joseph Yorke, at Paris, 1749, at The Hague, 1751-[1780]; of Robert Keith at Vienna, 1748-1757, and at St. Petersburg, 1757-1762; of James Porter at Constantinople, 1748-1757; of David Murray, Viscount Stormont, at Vienna, 1763-1772; of Robert Gunning in Russia, 1772-1775; of Robert Murray Keith at Dresden, 1769-1771, Copenhagen, 1771-1772, Vienna, 1772-1792, the Congress of Sistova, 1790-1791. Add. MSS. 35406-35445, 35452-35458, 35461-35546 (Hardwicke papers).
- 1725-1726. Letters of Horatio Walpole, plenipotentiary at Paris. Add. MSS. 38502-38504.
- 1725-1757. Papers relating to Spanish affairs. VIII, 3, 15. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1726-1729. Letters written by the French Ambassador at Copenhagen to Residents at various courts. Add. MSS. 15092, 15093.
- c.1727-1741. Copies of papers relating to Portugal, and memoranda of the envoyship of Lord Tyrawley to that country; treaties, &c., between England and Portugal, and letters from the English ministers to some of the envoys, his predecessors. III, 124. Northumberland MSS.
1728. Draft of the credentials of Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, to the States General. Add. MSS. 15916, f. 39.
- 1728, June 16. Copy of letter from Cardinal de Fleury to King George II. X, 1 ("Eglington, &c., MSS."), 202-203. Underwood MSS.
- 1728-1731. Copies and extracts of correspondence of the Duke of Newcastle and others relating to Dunkirk. Add. MSS. 35882 (Hardwicke papers).
- 1728-1741. Correspondence and papers of Lord Tyrawley when Ambassador to Portugal. Add. MSS. 23627-23629.
- 1728-1756. Diplomatic correspondence of Walter Titley, envoy to Denmark. III, 248-249. Gunning MSS.
- 1728-1757. Correspondence of Field-Marshal James O'Hara, 2nd Lord Tyrawley, Ambassador to Portugal in 1728-1741, to Russia in 1742-1745, and to Portugal again in 1752-1757. Add. MSS. 23627-23642.
- 1728-1765. Official correspondence and papers of Walter Titley, envoy at Copenhagen. Eg. 2680-2695.
- 1728-1767. Diplomatic papers relating to negotiations with foreign countries or to foreign affairs, chiefly during the Duke of Newcastle's administration. 20 vols. Add. MSS. 33006-33025. (See also 1602-1727 in same series. Add. MSS. 33005.)
- 1729, November 23. Secret articles to treaty of 1729 between Spain and England whereby the King of England gives up Gibraltar. V, 355. Cholmondeley MSS.
- 1729-1759. Papers and letters of Edward Weston, under-secretary of state for foreign affairs from 1729 to 1746. X, 1 ("Eglington, &c., MSS."), 202-221, 243-319, 432-448. Underwood MSS.
- 1730-1750. Official despatches to and official copies of those from Thomas Robinson, subsequently Baron Grantham, as ambassador to Vienna and plenipotentiary at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. Add. MSS. 23780-23878.
1731. Letters of Earl of Chesterfield, ambassador at The Hague, to Secretary Harrington. Add. MSS. 35424.
- 1732-1735. Letters from Lord Tyrawley, ambassador at Lisbon, to the Duke of Montagu, as Keeper of the Great Wardrobe. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., Montagu House, I (1899), 381-387.
- 1732-1736. Correspondence of William Capel, Earl of Essex, ambassador at Turin. Add. MSS. 27730-27738.

- 1733-1734. Correspondence and papers, including diary, of Lord Forbes, envoy to negotiate a treaty with Russia. II, 211-217. Granard MSS.
- 1736-1746. Correspondence of Robert Trevor, secretary of legation at The Hague, envoy, and minister plenipotentiary. XIV, 9 ("Buckinghamshire, &c., MSS."), 1-154.
- 1736-1772. Papers relating to Sweden. Add. MSS. 35885.
- 1737, Jan. 12-1749, March 17. Letters from Portuguese ambassador in London. Add. MSS. 15180.
- 1738-1748. Despatches to and from Carvalho e Mello, Portuguese ambassador in London. Add. MSS. 20795-20801.
- 1739, Aug. 19. Letter from Sir Thomas Robinson at Vienna to Horatio Walpole. Add. MSS. 15946, f. 30.
- 1739-1741. Correspondence of Sebastião Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, afterwards Marquis of Pombal, Portuguese ambassador to England in 1739-1741. Add. MSS. 20795-21005.
- 1740-1749. Collection of state papers relative to the affairs in which the Earl of Hyndford was engaged at the courts of Prussia and Russia. Add. MSS. 11365-11387.
1741. Copies of letters of Secretary Stanhope to Thomas Robinson, minister at Vienna. Add. MSS. 28746.
- 1741-1745. "Advices communicated; Memorials, Rescripts, &c.": copies of diplomatic documents, &c. Add. MSS. 22542-22544.
- 1741-1746. Treaties with the Empress of Germany. Add. MSS. 6815.
- 1742-1744. "Intelligence (Most Secret)"; copies of correspondence between Foreign Courts and their ambassadors and other agents. Add. MSS. 22539-22541.
- 1742-1744. Projects and copies of Treaties. Add. MSS. 22545.
- 1742-1744. Official copies of correspondence of Lord Cartaret with "the King's Ministers in Russia." Add. MSS. 22528.
- 1742-1744. Official copies of correspondence of Lord Cartaret with Sir T. Robinson, envoy extraordinary to Vienna. Add. MSS. 22529.
- 1742-1744. Official copies of correspondence of Lord Cartaret with Villiers, minister at Dresden. Add. MSS. 22530.
- 1742-1744. Official copies of correspondence of Lord Cartaret with Lord Hyndford, minister at Berlin. Add. MSS. 22531.
- 1742-1744. Official copies of despatches of Lord Cartaret to Lord Stair and Mr. Trevor, ambassador and envoy extraordinary at The Hague. Add. MSS. 22532-22533.
- 1742-1744. Official copies of despatches of Lord Cartaret to Titley, resident at Copenhagen. Add. MSS. 22534.
- 1742-1744. Official copies of despatches of Lord Cartaret to Dickens, minister at Stockholm. Add. MSS. 22535.
- 1742-1745. Correspondence and papers of Lord Tyrawley, ambassador to Russia. Add. MSS. 23630-23633.
- 1743-1760. Letters from J. B. Gastaldi, Genoese ambassador in London. III, 278, 279. Peake MSS.
- 1745-1746. Narrative of a secret negotiation between the maritime powers and France. Add. MSS. 5795.
- 1746-1747. Letters and papers from Turin and Vienna, and to and from Sir Thomas Robinson at Turin. IV, 533. Dalrymple MSS.
1747. Letter from John Carmichael, Earl of Hyndford, ambassador to Russia. Add. MSS. 15946, f. 41.
- c.1747. Five volumes entitled "Italian Negotiations." The title of one volume is *Memoire instructif pour le Comte de Richecourt du 30 Janvier, 1747*, "in Sir Thomas Robinson's secret letter of the 4th February, 1746-1747." IV, 533. Dalrymple MSS.
- 1747-1757. Correspondence and papers of Solomon Dayrolle, resident at The Hague and Brussels. Add. MSS. 15869-15875, 15880-15882, 15883-15884; 15885, 15886, 15887, 15888, 15946; add. ch. 6302.
- 1747-1757. Copies of diplomatic correspondence. Eg. MSS. 1755.

1748. Letters of the Greffier Fagel to Count Bentinck, plenipotentiary at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. Eg. MSS. 1736-1738. Copies of letters of Bentinck to the Prince of Orange. Eg. MSS. 1861.
1748. Papers dealing with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Eg. MSS. 1756.
- 1748-1757. Correspondence, chiefly diplomatic, of Robert Keith, minister plenipotentiary at Vienna. Add. MSS. 35461-35481, 35486-35492.
- 1748-1757. Letter-books of James Porter, ambassador to Constantinople. Add. MSS. 35496-35499.
- 1749-1754. Letter-books of despatches of the Earl of Albemarle during his embassy to Paris. Add. MSS. 33026-33027.
- 1749, 1754, 1758. Full-powers to Robert Keith, minister at Vienna, later ambassador to Russia. Add. MSS. 36271. H-J (Hardwicke papers).
- 1749-1761. Correspondence of the Earl of Holderness, minister at The Hague and secretary of state; correspondence of various ambassadors and statesmen, including the Duke of Newcastle; many foreign news letters. XI, 7 ("Leeds, &c., MSS."), 43-53.
- 1749-1766. Copies of treaties, conventions, &c. II, 3. Bedford MSS.
1750. Papers relating to the negotiation with Spain and the treaty of Madrid. VIII, 1, 284. Braybrooke MSS.
1750. Various original diplomatic documents, in Turkish. Add. MSS. 12086.
- c.1750-1765. Copies of state papers, &c., relating to Portugal. II, 135-136. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1751, April 8. Translation of letter in cypher from Mr. Wall, Spanish ambassador in London, to M. de Carvajal. VIII, 1, 284-285. Braybrooke MSS.
- 1752-1753. Letter-books of Sir James Porter, ambassador at Constantinople. XII, 9 ("Beaufort, &c., MSS."), 334-336. Aitken MSS.
- 1752-1757. Correspondence of Lord Tyrawley, ambassador in Portugal. Add. MSS. 23634.
- 1752-[1783]. Papers of Sir Joseph Yorke, plenipotentiary at The Hague. Add. MSS. 35432-35444.
- 1753-1771. Correspondence of Sir Andrew Mitchell, ambassador at the court of Frederick the Great. V, 627. Forbes MSS.
1754. Correspondence between the Earl of Albemarle, at Paris, the secretaries of legation, and Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state; despatches from Sir C. H. Williams, at Warsaw. III, 141. Lansdowne MSS.
1755. Copies of the Russian and Hessian treaties with notes by the Duke of Bedford. II, 2. Bedford MSS.
- 1755, July 30. Minute of the cabinet on subsidiary treaties. Add. MSS. 35870, 27 (Hardwicke papers).
- 1755-6. Papers relating to difficulties between France and England. Add. MSS. 15915.
- 1755-1756. Copies of secret correspondence between the Earl of Holderness and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, sent to St. Petersburg to negotiate a treaty of subsidy and alliance between England and Russia. III, 126-127. Lansdowne MSS.
- [1755-1757.] Letters from Lord Digby to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams in 1755, and transcripts from letters written by Sir Charles Hanbury Williams from St. Petersburg to Lord Holderness and others. VIII, 3, 14. Ashburnham MSS.
1756. Papers relating to negotiations between England, France, and Prussia. Add. MSS. 6811.
1756. Treaty projected with the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. Add. MSS. 6866.
1756. Copies of despatches relating to German foreign affairs. III, 129. Lansdowne MSS.
1756. Notices relating to the memorial of M. Hop, Dutch minister in England. Add. MSS. 6813.
- 1756, January 16. Copy of the treaty of Westminster, and of the secret article thereto attached. III, 132. Lansdowne MSS.

- 1756, April 11. Declaration from the English plenipotentiaries to the Prussian ministers. Add. MSS. 6865.
- 1756, May 1. Copy of treaty of Versailles. III, 132. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1756, May 1. Copy of convention of neutrality between the Empress Queen and France as regards the differences between England and France in America. III, 132. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1756, May 14-1757, December 15. Copies of part of the correspondence of Sir Andrew Mitchell, envoy to Prussia. III, 127-129. Lansdowne MSS. Printed in part in Mr. Bisset's *Life of Sir A. Mitchell*.
- 1756-1757. Correspondence and papers of Sir Charles Williams at Berlin. Dresden and St. Petersburg. Add. MSS. 6804, 6806, 6811, 6812, 6813, 6824, 6827, 6841, 6844, 6864, 6871.
- 1756-1757. Letters from Sir Benjamin Keene, ambassador in Spain. Add. MSS. 6811-6814, 6862.
- 1756-1760. Correspondence of Sir James Porter, ambassador at Constantinople. Add. MSS. 6806-6808, 6812-6818, 6830, 6861.
- 1756-1761. Correspondence of the Earl of Bristol, at Turin and Madrid. VI., 315-316. Leconfield MSS.
- 1756-1762. Correspondence of Sir Robert Keith, at Vienna and Petersburg. Add. MSS. 6806-6809, 6811, 6812, 6817, 6820, 6825, 6827, 6829, 6844.
- 1756-1762. Correspondence of the Earl of Holderness with R. Keith, A. Mitchell, and others. Add. MSS. 6804-6806, 6808, 6811-6819, 6824, 6825, 6831, 6832, 6871.
- 1756-1763. Letters and papers of Dodo Heinrich Knyphausen, Prussian minister in England. Add. MSS. 6804, 6807, 6816, 6817, 6821, 6847, 6851.
- 1756-1770. Correspondence and papers of Joseph Yorke, minister at The Hague. Add. MSS. 6806-6818, 6820, 6831, 6832, 6836.
- 1756-1770. Correspondence of David Murray, Lord Stormont, ambassador at Dresden and Vienna. Add. MSS. 6804, 6806-6810, 6812, 6813, 6817, 6818, 6826-6829.
- 1756-1770. Correspondence, memorials, &c., of Sir Andrew Mitchell, ambassador to Prussia, &c. Add. MSS. 6804-6872, 11260-11262.
- 1756 and later. Copies of state papers relating to the negotiations at the chief European courts which preceded the outbreak of the Seven Years War, a few relating to the war itself, the despatch of the Conde de Fuentes to Lord Egremont, December 25, 1761, and an unimportant Spanish correspondence after the conclusion of the peace. III, 134-135. Lansdowne MSS.
1757. Conditions imposed by Count Colloredo, Austrian ambassador in England, for a neutrality for Hanover, and correspondence of the same ambassador with the Earl of Holderness. Add. MSS. 6814, 6844.
- 1757-1762. Diplomatic correspondence of Robert Keith, envoy extraordinary at St. Petersburg. Add. MSS. 35482-35485, 35493-35495.
- 1758-1759. Letters from Sir Harry Frankland, consul-general at Lisbon, to the Earl of Bute. Add. MSS. 5726.
- 1758-1782 and later. A great mass of political correspondence, alphabetically arranged and listed. VI, 236-242. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1759-1766. Political correspondence of Richard Phelps, under-secretary of state, including many letters to and from ministers abroad, and instructions to them. VIII, 3, 15. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1759-1778. Correspondence of William Pitt. Add. MSS. 6807-6808, 6810, 6816-6819, 6821, 6830, 6831, 6833.
- 1760-[1783]. Drafts, to be written into cipher, of despatches from the English Foreign Office to British ministers at foreign courts and others, with cipher keys. Add. MSS. 32253-32257.
1761. Copy of correspondence of Hans Stanley during his special mission to France to negotiate a treaty of peace. Add. MSS. 36798.
1761. Papers of Count Fuentes, Spanish ambassador in England. Add. MSS. 6819, 6820.
- 1761, August 15. Copy of the Family Compact. III, 132. Lansdowne MSS.

- 1761, Aug. 14-Sept. 18. Notes, by the 1st Lord Hardwicke, of cabinet meetings relating to the negotiations with France. Add. MSS. 35870-35887 (Hardwicke papers).
- 1761-1762. Letters from Prince Galitzin, Russian ambassador to England. Add. MSS. 6819, 6851.
- 1761-1762. Papers relating to negotiations for peace. Add. MSS. 6819, 6820.
- 1761-1763. Correspondence and papers relating to peace; large correspondence with Pitt, and between Lord Egremont and the French and Sardinian ministers; and with the Duke of Bedford as plenipotentiary. VI, 316. Leconfield MSS.
- 1761-1763. Copies of correspondence and other papers relating to the peace of Paris. III, 130-132. Lansdowne MSS. Part of the correspondence relating to the negotiations of 1761 is printed by Mr. Thackeray, vol. I, 510-579, vol. II, 507-602.
- 1761-1764. Papers and letters of Edward Weston, under-secretary of state for foreign affairs. X, 1 "Eglinton, &c., MSS.," 221-224, 227-239, 320-380, 449-451. Underwood MSS.
- 1761-1767. Correspondence of George III and Prussian sovereigns. Add. MSS. 6818-6821, 6864.
- 1761, October 16-1768. Volume containing copies of memoranda by Lord Grenville, giving political information, home and foreign. II, 8. Cowper MSS.
1762. Correspondence of Count Bothmar, Danish minister in England. Add. MSS. 5726, 6820.
- 1762-1763. Letters and papers touching the negotiations for the treaty of 1763, including letters from the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Egremont, and correspondence and papers of Richard Neville Neville. VIII, 1, 285-287. Braybrooke MSS.
- 1762-1765. Papers relating to trade with Russia, collected by the Earl of Buckinghamshire during his embassy to St. Petersburg. Private letters from the same. Lothian MSS. (1905), 170-192, 222-237. An instalment of a large collection of diplomatic papers collected by Lord Buckinghamshire and preserved among the Lothian MSS., together with his official despatches from St. Petersburg, were published by the Royal Historical Society in 1900 and 1902. (Camden, 3rd series, vols. 2 and 3.)
- 1762-1765. Papers relating to Poland and Courland, with letters from Mr. Wroughton, minister at Warsaw. Lothian MSS. (1905), 192-221.
1763. Letters and papers relating to the peace. II, 2. Bedford MSS.
- 1763, August 1-November 1. Copies of correspondence of Richard N. A. Neville, secretary to the embassy at Paris, and Col. Desmaretz. Add. MSS. 35882 (Hardwicke papers).
- 1763-1765. Letter-book of Sir James Porter, minister at Brussels. XII, 9 ("Beaufort, &c., MSS."), 336-342. Aitken MSS.
- 1763-1768. Correspondence of Henry Conway, secretary of state. Add. MSS. 6810, 6821, 6826, 6829, 6833, 6857.
- c.1763-1768. Copies of correspondence between the Secretaries of State, Lord Hertford, at Paris, and the Duke of Bedford; between the Duc de Guerchy, in London, and the Duc de Choiseul; and between Lord Shelburne and the Earl of Rochfort and Mr. Walpole at Paris. III, 142-143. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1763-1772. Extracts from the correspondence of David Murray, Viscount Stormont, ambassador to Vienna. Add. MSS. 35500, 35501.
1764. Copies of letters and affidavits concerning the Chevalier d'Eon, and his transactions with the French ambassador. VIII, 3, 11. Ashburnham MSS.
- 1764-1767. Reports, mostly by Dr. Marriott, on questions of international law arising out of the treaty of Paris, including reports on earlier treaties. III, 139. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1764-1800. Correspondence of Sir William Hamilton, British envoy at Naples. Eg. MSS. 2634-2641.

- 1765, January 5. Abstract of grievances of British subjects in Portugal from 1760-1763, with their applications for redress. X, 1 ("Eglinton, &c., MSS."), 227. Underwood MSS.
- 1765-1766. Notes and abstracts of despatches relating to foreign affairs. III, 129-130. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1765-1767. Copies of the Earl of Shelburne's despatches, original despatches of Lord Rochford from Paris, and printed pamphlets, all relating to the Falkland Island and the Manilla ransom. III, 135. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1765-1774. Diplomatic correspondence of Mr., later Sir Robert, Gunning, envoy to Denmark, 1765-1771; to Prussia, 1771; to Russia, 1772. III, 249-250. Gunning MSS.
1766. Drafts of despatches from Secretary Conway to Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador at The Hague. Add. MSS. 17497.
1766. Drafts of despatches from Secretary Conway to Langlois and Stormont, ambassadors at Vienna, to Greville, envoy at Munich, and to Gordon, resident at Brussels. Add. MSS. 17498.
1766. Drafts of despatches of Secretary Conway with Sir John Goodricke, envoy extraordinary at Stockholm. Add. MSS. 21501.
1766. Drafts of despatches of Secretary Conway with George Cressener, minister at Cologne. Add. MSS. 21502.
1766. Drafts of despatches of Secretary Conway with the residents at Hamburg and Brussels. Add. MSS. 21503.
- 1766-1767. Abstracts of letters and despatches addressed to the Earl of Shelburne or Gen. Conway by ministers and consuls abroad; and of draft despatches from the former to the latter. III, 136-139. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1766-1767. Papers from the English minister and others relative to troubles at Geneva. III, 132-133. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1766-1768. Volume labelled "Minutes of cabinet, Falkland Island. Instructions for Lord Bristol, Sir J. Gray and Mr. Lyttleton. Foreign miscellany." V, 256. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1766-1772. Letter-book containing copies of correspondence of foreign ministers in London and elsewhere. Add. MSS. 32309.
- 1766-1773. Correspondence of the Earl of Rochford, ambassador to France and secretary of state. Add. MSS. 6810, 6822, 6830, 9242.
- 1766-1776. Correspondence and papers of Robert Gunning, envoy to Denmark and Russia. Eg. 2696-2706.
- 1767-1768. Letter-book of H. Shirley, chargé d'affaires in Russia. Add. MSS. 37054.
- 1767-1768. Intercepted despatches from French ministers abroad to French ministers at home; correspondence with English representatives at various foreign courts. III, 140, 143-144. Lansdowne MSS.
- c.1768-1792. Letters from Sir John Hort, at Lisbon, to Lord Shelburne; and other papers relating to Portugal and the Brazils. III, 144. Lansdowne MSS.
- 1768-1772. Correspondence and papers of Lord Cathcart, ambassador at St. Petersburg. II, 26. Cathcart MSS.
1769. Historical description of Dunkirk; containing account of negotiations between Great Britain and France relative to that place. Add. MSS. 16593.
- 1769-1771. Correspondence of Sir Robert Keith, ambassador at Dresden. Add. MSS. 35503, 35547.
- 1769-1776. Letters of Sir William Lynch, envoy extraordinary to Sardinia. Add. MSS. 36799-36800.
- 1770-1799. The political correspondence of John Robinson, secretary of treasury, 1770-1782; includes some references to payments to ambassadors or envoys. Many letters from and to Lord North are in this collection, and some touch upon the relations of France and Spain to England, and upon the peace negotiations, 1781-1783. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 3-72.

- 1771, August 14. Letter from Earl Harcourt, ambassador at Paris, to the Earl of Rochford. X, 6 ("Abergavenny, &c., MSS."), 4.
- 1771-1772. Correspondence of Sir Robert Keith, ambassador at Copenhagen. Add. MSS. 35503, 35547.
- 1771-1779. Correspondence of Thomas Robinson, 2nd Lord Grantham, ambassador in Spain. Add. MSS. 24157-24179.
- 1772-1775. Extracts from the correspondence of Robert Gunning, envoy extraordinary to Russia. Add. MSS. 35502.
- 1772-1792. Correspondence of Sir Robert Keith, ambassador at Vienna. Add. MSS. 35504-35546, 35547-35583.
- c.1772-1793. The Auckland papers: correspondence and papers, political and private, of William Eden, first Lord Auckland, under-secretary of state, 1772-1778, member of Board of Trade, 1776-1782, ambassador at Paris, 1785-1787, Madrid, 1788-1789, and The Hague, 1789-1793, &c. Add. MSS. 34412-34471.
- 1773-[1783]. Original correspondence of John Strange, resident at Venice. Eg. MSS. 1969-1970.
- 1778-1781. Letters from Richard Cumberland and Mr. Hussey, employed on a mission to the Spanish Court. Stopford-Sackville MSS. I (1904), 323-342.
- 1778-1798. Correspondence, diplomatic papers and memoranda of Francis Godolphin Osborne, Duke of Leeds, secretary of state. Add. MSS. 28059-28068.
- 1779-1781. Letters from Richard Cumberland and Thomas Hussey relative to their mission at Madrid. IX, 3, 120-125. Stopford Sackville MSS.
- 1779-1796. Correspondence of John Stuart, Marquis of Bute, ambassador to Turin and Madrid. Add. MSS. 36801-36813, 37080-37085.
- 1780-1781. Diplomatic papers of Richard Cumberland dealing with his negotiation in Spain. Add. MSS. 28851.
1782. Sir Henry Strachey's papers relating to the negotiations for the treaty of Paris. VI, 403-404. Strachey MSS.
- 1782-1783. Correspondence and other papers connected with the peace negotiations and other foreign affairs. III, 125; V, 293-243, 250-251, 253-256; and cf. VI, 243. Lansdowne MSS. VIII, 2, 121-139. Manchester MSS.
- 1782-[1783]. Copies of official letters, diplomatic papers, &c., enclosed in dispatches of English ambassadors. Add. MSS. 28068.
- 1782-1792. Correspondence of Lord Torrington, ambassador at Brussels. II, 30. Bradford MSS.
1783. Two volumes containing an exposition of the difficulties, &c., concerning the execution of the treaty of September 3. II, 28. Cathcart MSS.