REPORT

Gt. Brit. Historical Manuscripts Commission.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

# SIXTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

# ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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# CONTENTS.

# COMMISSIONS.

*VICTORIA, R.*

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

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

WHEREAS We did by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and by subsequent Warrants, authorise and appoint certain noblemen and gentlemen therein 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 Warrants, 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; Chicester Samuel, Baron Carlingford; Sir Edward Fry; William Edward Hartpole Lecky; Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte; and Samuel Rawson Gardiner to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry as to the places in which such papers and manuscripts are deposited, and for any of the purposes set forth in the original Commission under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Her Majesty's command,

M. W. RIDLEY.

*VICTORIA, R.*

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

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

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

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

By Her Majesty's command,

M. W. RIDLEY.

*VICTORIA, R.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Her Majesty's command,

M. W. RIDLEY.

*EDWARD, R.*

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

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

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

The Historical Manuscripts Commission;

* * * *

the Commissioners appointed by Her late Majesty, or such of

them as were then acting as Commissioners, were, at the late demise of the Crown, still engaged upon the business entrusted to them:

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

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

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

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

By His Majesty's Command,

CHAS. T. RITCHIE.

*EDWARD, R.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*EDWARD, R.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*EDWARD, R.*

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, Emperor of India.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Richard Henn Collins, Knight, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records; Greeting.

WHEREAS the Office of Chairman of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts is now vacant by the death of Sir Archibald Levin Smith:

NOW KNOW YE that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, discretion, and ability, have authorized and appointed and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Sir Richard Henn Collins, to be Chairman of the said Commission in the room of the said Sir Archibald Levin Smith, deceased.

Given at our Court at Sandringham, the eighteenth day of November, 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 and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith.

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

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

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

By His Majesty's Command,

A. AKERS DOUGLAS.

# SIXTEENTH 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 submit this our Sixteenth Report to Your Majesty.

On the eighteenth day of March, 1901, Your Majesty was graciously pleased to issue a Commission ratifying and confirming the terms of Her late Majesty's Commission of the 18th December, 1897. Since the date of that Commission several changes have occurred in the chairmanship, which has been successively held by Lord Alverstone and Sir Archibald Levin Smith when filling the office of Master of the Rolls. Upon the death of the latter, Your Majesty appointed Sir Richard Henn Collins, the present Master of the Rolls, to be Chairman. Moreover, by two Commissions, dated respectively the 14th day of March, 1900, and the 29th day of July, 1901, Lord Stanmore, the Earl of Dartmouth and Lord Hawkesbury were appointed as additional Commissioners.

Since the date of our last Report, however, your Majesty's Commissioners have had to deplore the loss by death not only of Sir Archibald Levin Smith, but also of the late Marquess of Lothian, the late Marquess of Salisbury, the late Viscount Esher, Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, the late Lord Acton, Mr. W. H. Lecky, O. M., and Dr. S. R. Gardiner.

A further loss by death was that of Mr. J. J. Cartwright, M.A., who had been connected with the Commission, first as Assistant Secretary and then as Secretary, since the year 1875, and whose services in these capacities were greatly valued by your Majesty's Commissioners; his zeal and knowledge of manuscripts, especially of those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, having done much to forward the purposes for which the Commission exists. In his room Your Majesty was pleased

to appoint, on the recommendation of the Chairman, by warrant dated the 31st day of January, 1903, Mr. R. A. Roberts, of the Public Record Office, Barrister-at-Law.

The ordinary work of inspection, since the publication of our last Report, has been carried on in England by the Rev. W. D. Macray, Mr. Richard Ward, Mr. Walter FitzPatrick, Mr. J. Horace Round, Mr. William Page, Mr. Reginald L. Poole, Mr. R. E. G. Kirk, Mr. A. F. Leach, Mrs. S. C. Lomas, Mr. W. J. Hardy, Mr. F. H. Blackburne Daniell, Professor J. K. Laughton, Mr. D'Arcy Collyer, Mr. H. F. Brown, Mr. W. H. B. Bird, and Mr. J. M. Rigg. In Scotland, the Rev. William Scott and the Rev. Henry Paton have dealt with various collections, and in Ireland Mr. Litton Falkiner has been dealing in a systematic manner with the collection of manuscripts at Kilkenny Castle belonging to the Marquess of Ormonde. In that country, Mr. Burtchaell has also been engaged upon a Report on the Manuscripts of the Irish Franciscans in the Convent at Merchants Quay, Dublin, but, ill-health and other causes interfering with the progress of his work, the task of elaborating and completing the Report has now been entrusted to Mr. J. M. Rigg.

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

The principal collections examined since the presentation of your Majesty's Commissioners' Fifteenth Report in 1899, are the following:—

*In England.*—The Stuart papers belonging to Your Majesty; and the manuscripts of the Duke of Norfolk; the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry; the Duke of Rutland; the Duke of Portland; the Marquess of Lothian; the Marquess of Salisbury; the Marquess of Bath; the Earl of Egmont; Lord Montagu of Beaulieu; Lord Edmond Talbot; Sir George Wombwell; Miss Buxton; Mr. J. B. Fortescue; Mrs. Stopford-Sackville; Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley; Mr. J. M. Heathcote; Mr. F. W. Leyborne-Popham; Mr. Clarke-Thornhill; Sir T. Barrett-Lennard; Mr. F. H. T. Jervoise; the Bishops of Chichester and Salisbury; the Dean and Chapters of Chichester, Canterbury, Exeter and Salisbury; the Counties of Wilts and Worcester; the Corporations of Beverley, Berwick-on-Tweed, Burford and Lostwithiel.

*In Wales.*—The manuscripts in the Welsh language of Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth; Sir John Williams; Jesus College, Oxford; the Free Library, Cardiff; at Havod, Wrexham, Llanwrin Rectory, Merthyr, Aberdare, etc.

*In Scotland.*—The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry; the Earl of Mar and Kellie; Col. David Milne-Home; Mr. Hay, of Duns Castle; the Laing MSS., in the University of Edinburgh, etc.

*In Ireland.*—The Marquess of Ormonde, and the Convent of Franciscans at Merchants Quay, Dublin.

The reports upon a few of the collections of the above-named owners are not yet complete, although far advanced; but the following, an abstract of whose contents is appended, have been already presented to Parliament.

THE STUART PAPERS.

His Majesty the King: Stuart MSS.

The Stuart Papers are preserved in the Royal Library at Windor Castle. They were formerly the property of the titular King, James III., otherwise the old Pretender, and his sons, Prince Charles Edward, and Henry, Cardinal Duke of York.

These papers were acquired by the late King George IV., before his accession, on two different occasions. The first collection was procured from the Abbé James Waters, the Procureur General of the English Benedictines at Rome, through Sir John Coxe Hippisley, who was employed as an unofficial medium of communication between the British Government and the Papal Court. Charles Edward had bequeathed most of his property and all his papers to his daughter by Miss Walkingshaw, whom he had legitimated and created Duchess of Albany. She died in 1789, having by her will (which has lately been published by the Scottish Historical Society, *Miscellany, Vol. II.*) appointed the Abbé Waters her executor, whom she directed to deliver all the papers of the House of Stuart to her uncle, the Cardinal Duke. Waters disregarded her wishes, retained the papers in his own hands, and finally sold them to Sir J. C. Hippisley at the end of 1804 or the beginning of 1805.

In consequence of the war with Napoleon, it proved a matter of extreme difficulty to send these papers to England, and they did not arrive there till about 1810.

The second collection, consisting of the Cardinal Duke's own papers and the remainder of the Stuart papers, was discovered by Dr. Robert Watson in a garret at the Palazzo Mouseratto at Rome. At the end of 1816, he succeeded in purchasing them for 170 *scudi* from Monsignor Tassoni, who on the death of the Bishop of Milevi, the Cardinal Duke's executor, had been appointed executor of his estate, and removed them to his own lodgings. Watson imprudently boasted of the importance of his discovery, and the matter came to the ears of Cardinal Consalvi, the Papal Secretary of State, who caused the papers to be seized, and the sale to be declared null on the grounds that the vendor had not been aware of the value of the papers, and that the sale of manuscripts of historical importance was illegal without the consent of the Government. Tassoni then, at Consalvi's instigation, presented the papers to the Prince Regent, and they arrived in England in August, 1817. Watson received 3,600*l.* in all from the British Government in compensation for his being deprived of the papers and for his expenses in connexion with them, and in consideration of his services in discovering them.

In May, 1819, a commission of eight persons, among whom were Sir James Mackintosh and the Right Honourable J. W.

Croker, was appointed to examine and report on the collection. Summaries of their reports on the nature and value of the collection will be found in the Introduction to the first volume of the Calendar, which also contains an account of some other collections of Stuart Papers. His Majesty the King Stuart MSS.

The Commission was superseded in 1829. Its members recommended the publication of certain portions of the papers, but, with the exception of the publication of Bishop Atterbury's letters by Mr. Glover in 1847, no part of them has been officially published till the present Calendar. In the introduction will be found an account of certain documents which have been published in various works.

The papers are at present stored in presses in a room adjoining the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. The unbound papers are contained in over 400 bundles arranged in chronological order, and going down to the year 1791. There are besides some entry books, the manuscript of the Life of James II., and some other MS. books. There are probably over 100,000 letters and papers in the collection. The first volume of the Calendar deals with the contents of the first five bundles. It also includes the papers in bundles six and eleven to the end of February, 1716, when James had returned to France from Scotland, and the rising of 1715 was practically at an end.

It is impossible to give, within the compass of a short abstract, an adequate account of the interesting and important documents contained in the first volume. The Editor's introduction enters very fully into the subject of them, and it must suffice here to say that in the volume are set forth the substance of a few letters and papers emanating from King Charles I. and King Charles II., and a great number to and from King James II. and his Queen, Mary of Modena. Included among them are letters from the first Abbot of La Trappe; regulations for the privateers fitted out under the authority of the exiled King, and details about the Irish troops in his service; papers relative to the engraving of the Great Seal of England for his use, and preparations made for the issue of coins; regulations for the household of the Prince of Wales; an account of the steps taken by the Old Pretender to announce his succession on the death of his father; references to miracles said to have been wrought at the tomb of James II.; many letters about appointments to bishoprics in Ireland; particulars of the pecuniary difficulties of the Royal family in exile; the confidential correspondence of the King and the Duke of Berwick, extending from 23rd October, 1712, to the rupture between James and the Duke in October, 1715, caused by the refusal of the latter to go to Scotland to take the chief command there, as James had ordered—confidential letters that are the best authority for the views and projects of the Jacobite party during this important period, throwing an interesting light on the attitude towards James and his restoration of prominent English politicians, especially the Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbroke, and

His Majesty the King: Stuart MSS.

the Duke of Marlborough; details of the negotiations with Louis XIV. for assistance in Jacobite projects; and finally, the Scottish papers of 1715 and 1716, covering the event of the rising in that country.

It may be of interest to add that among the contents of the Entry-books are grants of titles, and that in the introduction, the editor has given particulars of the cyphers with which he has had to deal.

### THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Three volumes dealing with the manuscripts of the Duke of Portland have appeared since the last Report of your Majesty's Commissioners, viz.:—

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(1.) Vol. V. of the Harley papers, from 1711, shortly after Robert Harley was raised to the peerage as Earl of Oxford, to 1724, the year in which he died. It contains, first, the continuation of De Foe's correspondence with his patron, Lord Oxford, with a few short breaks, until a month or two after Queen Anne's death. The personal interest of this portion of the correspondence is by no means so great as was that of earlier date. The letters are mostly signed with a peculiar symbol; in the few to which De Foe has put his name, the signature has been wholly or partly torn off; they are nearly all endorsed by Lord Oxford from "Guilot," "Claude Guilot," or "Mr. Goldsmith." In the second letter from him, Lord Oxford is reminded that Lord Godolphin had offered the writer a very good post in Scotland, and afterwards a commissionership of customs there, which he would have accepted had it not been his Lordship's opinion that he might be more serviceable in a private capacity; he had chosen, therefore, rather to depend upon the Queen's goodness, than to secure for his family a more regular maintenance. From what follows it appears that after his return into Lord Oxford's service, a pension had been assigned or renewed to him, but, like other Government allowances at that period, not very regularly paid. Some of De Foe's letters are filled at this time, as he himself admits, with "long complaints of the "hardships I meet with from an angry party, upon their "notions of my being in the interest of the Ministry, and "entertained by your Lordship."

About the same date as that of the last quoted letter, namely, April, 1713, De Foe had to appear before the Lord Chief Justice for publishing a pamphlet, alleged to be treasonable, entitled, "Reasons against the Hanover Succession," an essay in political irony to which his enemies tried to attach a wrong meaning; and he begs Lord Oxford's protection, which was quietly brought to bear in his favour. "This is the third "time," writes De Foe to his benefactor, "I am rescued "from misery and jail by your generous and uncommon "goodness." The way in which the prosecution was shelved, without the Government being supposed to be at all concerned

in the matter, is rather amusingly told in the second of these letters. De Foe's indictment of Richard Steele, in March, 1714, for the seditious character of his writings in the "Guardian," the "Englishman," and "The Crisis," giving extracts from those works, is perhaps the most interesting of his later communications to the Lord Treasurer. Duke of Portland.

John Drummond's letters are also continued. They are mostly long, and often tedious, but must not be neglected by anyone wanting to understand the Dutch intrigues of this time.

The relations between St. John and Oxford receive some further new illustration. Two letters which the former wrote just before his elevation to the peerage, have most personal interest. In the first of them he expresses a hope that the earldom of Bolingbroke, lately extinct, may be revived in him, but the humble tone he adopts in giving vent to his aspirations is very striking. Lord Oxford, he writes, will best know whether such promotion may give disgust to the viscounts, of whom he has no list by him, and whose names he cannot recollect; but he ventures to add that his brother secretary, the Earl of Dartmouth, had recently passed over their heads, and setting his services apart, St. John was sure that neither Dartmouth's birth nor his fortune gave him "much better pretensions" than his own. But he immediately adds, "I withdraw the word pretensions, and confess I have "none. The post I fill is more than I deserve, and I must "depend on the Queen's goodness for this favour." A few days later, he writes that he would forfeit anything in his power to recall the above letter: since he had asked too much, let the Queen be so good as to give him nothing. It might disoblige some to do what he desired, it would certainly disoblige several to do what the Queen intended; to do nothing for him would disoblige nobody, and he would be perfectly satisfied to continue in the House of Commons.

In spite of these professions to the Queen and Lord Oxford, other correspondence shows Bolingbroke's real feeling in the matter, and from what Erasmus Lewis writes in October, 1712, it appears that the first prominent person to feel the weight of his displeasure was that amiable inoffensive nobleman, the "brother secretary" he refers to in the letter above quoted. Lord Dartmouth told Lewis that Bolingbroke had treated him on two or three occasions in one night, at Windsor, in so rough a manner that he believed it would be impossible for Oxford to find any expedient to keep them together in office; he was therefore willing to retire, as it was impossible for Bolingbroke's services to be dispensed with during the negotiations then on foot. At the same time Drummond was writing to Oxford that the emissaries of the opposition party in England were spreading reports through Holland of an "outcast" between his Lordship and Bolingbroke, the alleged reason for it being that the latter "had made several advances in France in favour

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For about a year after the matter of Bolingbroke's peerage this collection contains hardly more than one or two letters, and those of a purely official kind, written by him to the Lord Treasurer. Subsequent letters of Bolingbroke, written in 1713, show that the estrangement between the two statesmen was by no means so complete as their biographers usually assume. In August and September, he writes repeated congratulations to Oxford on the marriage of his son Lord Harley, and adds to his last reference to the event—"The fortune, the honourable "manner of obtaining it, and the consequences of this establish- "ment, are all considerations which affect me with as great "pleasure as I ever felt. This truth you may, my Lord, "safely entertain, since whatever faults I may have I am on "two sides free from blemish, and these are zeal for the "Queen's service and friendship to your Lordship." Nearly three months later another event in Lord Oxford's family, but this a sad one, the death of his daughter, Lady Carmarthen, calls forth a strong expression of Bolingbroke's sympathy. Early in December, Bolingbroke declared his readiness to contribute all he could to overcome the difficulties under which the Government was then struggling, and begged Lord Oxford not to "entertain a thought that I give myself airs or have the least "lukewarmness."

At the beginning of 1714, Bolingbroke finds himself in pecuniary straits, having to pay off a mortgage of 3,500*l* on an estate he had bought, and begs the "extreme favour" of the Lord Treasurer that the sums he had advanced to the Queen's messengers during his three years of office may be refunded to him, in addition to "half-a-year's secret service." What was the fate of this application does not appear. Even so late as March 27th, 1714, Bolingbroke writes expressing his attachment to Lord Oxford.

Two letters dated in April conclude the correspondence between them, so far as it has been preserved in this collection. They are both of an official kind, but Lord Oxford's endorsement of the first shows the bitterness felt by him against the writer of it.

It is interesting to draw attention to the apparent friendliness of the intercourse between Lord Oxford and that eminent member of the "Junto," Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, during the greater part of Harley's second term of office. The position which Halifax continued to hold throughout the Queen's reign as joint Auditor of the Exchequer with Lord Oxford's brother Edward, may have helped to keep them on good terms. Towards the end of the year 1711, Halifax writes three letters to bring about meetings between Lord Somers and Oxford, but the ill health of the former at that time appears to have been the chief obstacle to any union between them, and the matter is not again referred to in the correspondence. Halifax's hearty

support of the Lord Treasurer's policy, as expressed in his letters written about the same time, is remarkable enough, though early in the year following, Drummond writes from Amsterdam that Halifax and Nottingham have a correspondence carried on there extremely to the prejudice of the public good and the Queen's honour, and he adds that Halifax's name is much made use of, but there is no evidence that he has had the weakness to write himself. Duke of Portland.

In April, 1712, Lord Halifax affords us a glimpse of his literary friendships by returning Lord Oxford his "particular "thanks for continuing Mr. Congreve in his little office," and flatters himself that his solicitation had some weight in influencing the Lord Treasurer's decision.

Later letters show yet more forcibly the mutual desire of these two statesmen to form some kind of alliance, notably that of December 26th, 1712, in which Halifax writes, "What-"ever accidents or whatever fatality have hitherto hindered our "clearly understanding each other, the loss, the misfortune, "has been wholly mine; it was always my inclination to have "it otherwise, 'tis my desire and 'tis my interest to obtain it "by all endeavours I can use, and all service I can pay your "Lordship." In October, 1713, Oxford is begged to desire the Queen's acceptance of a very fine lioness, sent to Halifax by the Governor of Fort St. George; and also to remind her Majesty of her promise to plant some forest trees in Bushey Park, his efforts to beautify which he thinks deserve so much countenance.

Very few of Lord Oxford's own letters will be found in this volume. The only one of political importance was written to Thomas Harley when on his mission to Hanover in April, 1714, about the ill-advised action of Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian agent in London, in demanding a writ of summons to the House of Lords for the Elector as Duke of Cambridge, and about the relations of Queen Anne to the Elector and to the Pretender generally. There is also a paper in Oxford's handwriting, dated June 6th-July 1st, 1714, and headed, "A very "brief account of her Majesty's affairs since August, 1710, "to this time," which is evidently the first draft of "A brief "account of Public Affairs," printed in the appendix to Vol. VI. of the "Parliamentary History"; and another statement made by him of certain payments made on the Queen's behalf, which were apparently never recovered by him nor his successor. Noticeable also is Lord Oxford's draft of a congratulatory letter to King George on his accession. There is little of personal interest to be gleaned from the papers of the later years of his life, except perhaps from his letters written when confined in the Tower, between October, 1715, and August, 1717. As an appendix to this volume, we have printed at length Auditor Harley's "Memoirs of the Harley Family, "especially of Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford," a compilation not unknown to historians and biographers, but it is

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believed to be now printed as a whole for the first time. As a statement of Harley's career, policy, and conduct, from the point of view of his family, it seems worthy of some study.

Of Dean Swift's famous political relations with Lord Oxford, not many tokens are noted in this collection. There are drafts of the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament in April, 1713, in Swift's handwriting, and his letter, written shortly after the Queen's death; but those of later date, written from Ireland, are almost entirely of a friendly and bantering kind, except the one dated in July, 1715, about Oxford's impeachment. Swift's letter to the second Earl on the death of his father (not, however, printed for the first time), and the Earl's reply to it, form a fitting conclusion to this part of the Harley correspondence.

The most important diplomatic document printed in this volume, and at the same time the most interesting one from a personal point of view, is the account drawn up by Matthew Prior of his secret mission to Paris in 1711. Prior's own account of his long interviews with Torcy, winding up with a graphic picture of the audience with the Grand Monarch to which he was admitted, and an attempt to reproduce the exact words in the conversation which passed between them, is, therefore, a welcome historical document. Prior became the intimate friend of Lord Harley in his later years, and we have a few pleasing glimpses of him in retirement in subsequent correspondence.

The letters from prominent Scottish noblemen and gentlemen relating to the affairs of their own country are numerous, and have the same interest and importance which is possessed by other correspondence in this volume, and other like collections of papers, in being contemporary accounts of and comments on historical events already well known to us. The lists of Scottish peers, representative or desiring to be elected as such, their "pretensions" with regard to office, pay, or pension, drawn up apparently by Lord Dupplin, are noteworthy. De Foe's letters on Scotland are also very important, especially one, in which he gives his views about the proposed appointment of a Secretary of State for Scotland, and another describing the three political parties influencing public affairs there.

After the death of the Queen, the Duke of Atholl writes to the Earl of Findlater an account of the steps taken in Scotland to secure the succession of a Protestant King. In March, 1719, a new Peerage Bill was brought in, having for one object the limitation of Scottish peers in the House of Lords to twenty-five, and making them hereditary instead of elective. The commotion among the northern nobility excited by this scheme, is well illustrated by the letters passing amongst them. There are two letters giving full details of the defeat of the Highlanders and Spaniards near the Glenshiel Pass by General Wightman, in June, 1719.

Concerning the American Colonies, there is a long letter dated from New York, June 21st, 1712, from Caleb Heathcote, who introduces himself as having been in correspondence for fifteen years with the Bishop of London on the settlement of the Church in North America. To Lord Oxford he discloses the "great abuses and mismanagements . . . constantly "practised in these parts of her Majesty's dominions," and proposes certain remedies. In a much shorter communication written a few weeks afterwards, Heathcote refers to the "many "little Charter Governments," mischievous and ruinous both to Church and State in America, "for they are so vain and "great in their little commonwealths, as to make laws without "having regard to their being repugnant to the laws of "England." Moreover, for every member of the Church there, he thought there were thirty or forty Dissenters, and "it very "much concerns the nation of Great Britain to take some "speedy care of us . . . lest in time the seed of rebellion "should spring up. . . Very credible persons, both in New "England and Connecticut, have heard some of the people "talk as if they were now in a condition to set up for themselves, and were not now to be governed by England, or "words to that effect." Of affairs in South Carolina in 1713, we get a brief view. Duke of Portland.

With regard to the part taken by some of the American Colonies in the expedition of 1711, for the reduction of Canada, some interesting details may be read in a letter from Gurdon Saltonstall.

Concerning the campaign in the Netherlands, there is little new information to be gathered from this correspondence, but attention may be directed to a letter of General Hans Hamilton, written from Lens in July, 1711, describing amongst other matters the capture of a little fort at Arleux; Henry Watkins's letter from the same camp; two letters from Lord Stair in October, 1711; and two from Lord Orkney. The few letters of the Duke of Ormond during the 1712 campaign, as commander-in-chief after Marlborough's disgrace, are also noticeable. Marshal Villars' letter to Lord Oxford, written about the time of the great general's successes against the allied army after the withdrawal of the troops in British pay from it, should not be overlooked. Like many of its predecessors, this report will be found rich in letters of, or references to, some of the minor celebrities, or notorious characters, of the period which it covers, *e.g.*, John Toland; the old Bishop of Worcester, notable as an anti-papist, Dr. William Lloyd; John Law; Dr. Robert South and Bishop Atterbury.

Miscellaneous topics touched upon in this correspondence, of literary, biographical, antiquarian or other interest, are:— Lord Stair's letters from the "Camp at Cotte," in July, 1711, on the death of the Duke of Queensberry; Lord Oxford's relations with the Duke of Argyll in Barcelona; the poet Granville's reference to Dennis, the critic; Alexander Cunning-

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ham's letters from Rome, Milan, etc.; Baron Price's notes of proceedings at Exeter assizes in August, 1711; the descriptions by John Urry, the editor of Chaucer, of Atterbury's installation as Dean of Christ Church, and of the antiquities discovered at Stonesfield, near Woodstock; Urry's work on Chaucer; Mrs. Dela Manley; the Court of Wards and Requests' records, and the memorials of Madox and Anstis thereon; Lord Derby and the Isle of Man; the petition from Birmingham about the lack of churches there; the "Characters" alleged to be written by Prince Eugene of the leading English statesmen in 1712; Col. Horace Walpole's references to his nephew Robert, and to political matters in Norfolk generally; Sir Robert Walpole's "vile" speech on his election for Lynn in 1713; Bishop Compton's letter written a few months before his death, which shows the pecuniary straits to which his great benevolence had reduced him; the letters of Dr. Hugh Todd of Carlisle; the imputation on Nicholas Rowe's official character; the domestic struggles of the learned Joseph Bingham; James Gibbs, the architect; Capt. Thomas Coram, while yet "unknown"; notes on Cumberland and its families, by A. Carleton; Robert Davis (De Foe's brother-in-law) and his diving engine; Dr. Richard Bentley; Sir Godfrey Kneller, whose letter refers incidentally to "a "stingy, penurious, griping Duchess"; the numerous newsletters, beginning early in 1714, and, with more or less regularity, extending down to 1721, which have been selected for publication as forming a useful continuation (with some gaps) to Luttrell's "Brief Relation to State Affairs"; many letters of young Edward Harley to his aunt at Eywood, which cover part of the same period, and are practically news letters also; John Gay on his mission to Hanover with Lord Clarendon; horse racing at Nottingham in August, 1714; Simon Ockley in prison at Cambridge for debt; the letter of Henry Carey, the musician, on his treatment by the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, which throws much light on a hitherto obscure career; Eustace Budgell; the South Sea and kindred speculationse, the building of Cavendish Square, etc.; Humfrey Wanley's account of the Harleian Library in 1715, and his letters on books and manuscripts (the last of them specially noticeable for its references to Coventry, and the long connexion of the writer's family with that city); Dr. John Covel and his collection of medals; Thomas Hearne, and Alexander Pope.

(2.) Vol. VI. is the completion of the Harley correspondence from 1725 to 1740, with accounts of the Journeys in England of Lord Harley, afterwards second Earl of Oxford. This volume also contains an index to the whole of the Harley correspondence calendared in this volume and its three predecessors.

The second Earl lived only until 1741, but there is nothing in the papers which throws any light on the last few years of a life known to have been spent in somewhat unhappy and straitened circumstances.

Of purely historical interest, this instalment of the papers contains very little, but is rich in matters illustrative of literary

history, topography, and antiquities. One document, however, found as an enclosure in a letter of Francis Peck, the well-known antiquary, and bearing the appearance of having lain undisturbed between the leaves of that letter since the day of its receipt by Lord Oxford, proves to be of unique value. It is the original proclamation, entirely in Charles I.'s own hand, "To all my People of whatsoever Nation, Quality, or "Condition," dated from Carisbrooke Castle, 18th January, 1647-8. Duke of Portland.

For political matters in 1725, the letters of J. Wainwright, a young counsellor-at-law, possess some value for the detailed descriptions they give of debates in Parliament, chiefly on Lord Macclesfield's impeachment and the bill for annulling Lord Bolingbroke's attainder. Almost the only other letters in this volume referring to political or electioneering matters are those of Thomas Bacon, Member of Parliament for Cambridge, and George Harbin, the non-juror.

In matters of literary interest the original letters of Dean Swift preserved at Welbeck, the large majority of which are here printed for the first time, take the first place. One of these, written when on a visit to Pope at Twickenham in 1726, has a postscript by his host. Other references to Pope will be found in this volume, but the poet's correspondence with Lord Oxford is now all at Longleat, and has been printed at length in Elwyn's edition of his works.

A letter to Dr. Conyers Middleton gives some curious and hitherto unknown facts about Matthew Prior and his family from enquiries made in his native county of Dorset, and confirms, in many respects, what has already been published about the poet's early life.

Among the minor authors and authoresses whose letters are met with in Lord Oxford's correspondence, and are illustrative, in many cases, of the distressed circumstances in which they worked, may be named—Allan Ramsay, the Scotch poet; Leonard Welsted and George Jeffreys, dramatists; Matthias Earbery; Lewis Theobald, on his introduction in 1727 of "an "original play of Shakespeare to the town," meaning "The "Double Falsehood," the authorship of which he professed to have discovered; Eliza Haywood, the authoress; Elizabeth Thomas, remembered as "Corinna," who writes from Fleet prison; William Oldisworth—see also regarding him "A. B.'s letter; Eustace Budgell; and Mary Barber, of Dublin, Swift's friend, and a poetess.

Another group of Lord Oxford's literary friends and correspondents is remembered at the present day chiefly for the more learned character of its pursuits, especially in the domain of early history and antiquities.

Details of the great fire at Ashburnham House, in Dean's Yard, in October, 1731, which destroyed a portion of the Cotton manuscripts, are given in letters from Benj. Aycrigg, Dr. Mead, and Dr. Freind.

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The accounts of the second Lord Oxford's travels about England and Scotland, which he made in company with his chaplain Thomas and other friends, will be found rich in matter of topographical and antiquarian interest.

(3.) Vol. VII. consists of letters of Dr. William Stratford, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, to Edward Harley, afterwards Lord Harley and second Earl of Oxford, from 1710 to 1729.

Dr. Stratford, who, previous to his appointment as Canon, in 1703, had been chaplain to Robert Harley, was son of Dr. Nicholas Stratford (successively Warden of Manchester College and Bishop of Chester) and godson of Thomas Harley, minister to the Court of Hanover.

The letters begin in the summer of 1710, and the first great political event noticed is the fall of the Whigs, and Robert Harley's advent to power; news so welcome at Oxford that Stratford feared excess of joy might make vacancies amongst the headships. At this time Christ Church was enjoying a peaceful calm under the gentle rule of Dr. Aldrich.

In December, 1710, Dean Aldrich died. The appointment of his successor was long delayed. "We are headless indeed," Dr. Stratford observed, "but not for that reason miserable; "only as we have lost our old head, not for want of a new one. ". . . The College is as full as it was, and as regular, with- "out a Dean, and Peckwater goes on without money, and in "both cases we subsist well enough yet upon the stock of our "old credit." Reports were circulated of riots in the House, but they were quite unfounded. In June, 1711, a rumour reached Oxford that Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle, was to be transferred to Christ Church. In August, positive news of the appointment arrived. Stratford received it calmly. But he thought the appointment a great mistake. The Doctor's prejudice against Atterbury was very strong. In fact, his prejudices on all subjects were very strong. He was a good lover and a good hater. He appears to have had an extravagant faith in Harley (even allowing for the fact that the letters are written to Harley's son), and very little faith in any other minister at all. His views are interesting, not because they are unbiassed, but because they seem to represent the opinion of the honest Hanoverian tory party at Oxford, whose hatred of "the enemy," *i.e.*, the Whigs, was counterbalanced by loyalty to the Anglican Church, and dread of a Roman Catholic successor to the Crown. With the intrigues with the Pretender, Stratford and his friends had nothing whatever to do, and he apparently had not the slightest suspicion that his patron had anything to do with them either.

Atterbury accepted the deanery, and re-adjusted his minor offices. Christ Church was anxious and not hopeful. "Do "what he will," wrote Stratford, "he will fall short of his "predecessor, and in other things as well as his speeches. He "may be without some of that poor man's infirmities, but he "will never have all his virtues, either intellectual or moral."

On September 27th Atterbury was installed, with a "very noble" entertainment, and the new reign began. Before long the College was in an uproar. "Whilst we hope "for peace abroad," Stratford declared, "we expect nothing "but war at home." The Dean claimed the sole disposal of the College "curacies," overhauled the muniments, took possession of the books, disputed the rights of the Canons, and tried, not very successfully, to ingratiate himself with the students by treating them with tea in an afternoon. The "brethren" were united entirely among themselves, his attempts to divide them having only cemented them more closely, and an open rupture appeared to be unavoidable. At the end of the year 1711, Stratford laid down his office of treasurer, and a new sub-dean was also appointed. Duke of Portland.

There are no letters of the year 1712 of earlier date than August, when Stratford and his friend Gastrell were travelling in the west of England. At this time, Charles Aldrich, nephew of the late Dean, brought an accusation against Stratford of having embezzled books, papers, and money from his uncle's study. Stratford, believing that the whole thing was got up by Atterbury with the hope of provoking him to "a great "passion," resolved to defeat this design by taking everything quietly and submitting to a strict inquisition. A Chapter was called to consider the matter, and some of the Canons began to take notes of the proceedings, upon which the Dean declared that if they were going to write down what was said he should leave. Then he rose from his seat, cried "Good-bye to "you," and so departed. A deputation was sent to beg him to return, but he received it very rudely, would not ask the Canons into his study, and called after them, "I despise you," as they left the house.

Atterbury was apparently uneasy at the presence in Oxford of Dr. Smalridge, who had succeeded him at Carlisle, and had brought strange accounts of his doings there. He was also very angry with Dr. Stratford, and accused him of writing letters against him to the Lord Treasurer, and of blasting him all over England. And truly, if Stratford said a tenth part to the Lord Treasurer of what he had said to his son, the accusation can hardly be said to have been without foundation. But that Stratford was not alone in his views is shown by a letter from Dr. Smalridge, written about this time, in which he praises the temper and patience shown by Dr. Stratford under the "ill, inhumane, and unchristian treatment" of the Dean.

Another accusation brought by the Dean against Stratford, as treasurer, was that of falsifying his accounts, in support of which, as the brethren had positive proof, the Dean had sent certain papers to the Lord Keeper, in order that they might be laid before Lord Treasurer Harley. On November 4th, Stratford made a formal protest against the charges concerning Dr. Aldrich's study. He reminded the Dean that in former times

Duke of Portland. he had given him (Atterbury) a key to his house in Westminster, where for two years he went in and out at pleasure. During that time, he continued, "several things were missing in it. "When I removed to Oxford, there were some books wanting in "my study. Should I desire you, at this distance of time, as "I do not, to declare upon oath what you did in my house "whilst you had a key to it for so long a time, and used that "key so often, and what books, papers, or other things you "removed, would you think such dealing like that of a gentle-"man, a friend, a Christian, a clergyman?" By this time the Dean had found out that it was useless to continue this particular struggle. Young Aldrich had himself given Stratford receipts which completely exonerated him, and the Dean's own friends urged him to abandon the matter.

At the end of this year, 1712, a new source of dissension arose from the Dean's determination to turn out the Chapter Clerk, an old and valued servant of the house. The Canons retaliated by refusing to sign a "great glut of fines" which were about to come in, and of which the Dean's own share would be some 400*l*.

Things were still at a deadlock when the news arrived that Atterbury was made Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster. Christ Church was astonished and angry. "Nothing," Dr. Stratford remarked to Lord Harley, "that has been done "since your father's ministry, has struck such a damp upon the "hearts of all that have honour or honesty, as this promotion. "All of any weight here . . . wondered that such a one "should be permitted to act as he did here, but they lift up "their hands to see him preferred for it."

Atterbury's appointment brought about complications at Oxford. He was on the point of being installed as Dean of Westminster, but he had not resigned his office as Dean of Christ Church, and had sent down a proxy to Dr. Smalridge to act on his behalf. There were grave doubts as to the legality of the proxy, and whether, when once admitted to his new dignity, he could continue to exercise the functions of his former one. Everything was at a standstill; no degrees were granted; the doctors could not proceed. At the end of June, Atterbury came to Oxford for a parting visit, and Stratford believed he had discovered the reason of his "scandalous practice of holding "two deaneries together" in his anxiety to secure his share of "the grass" which was only now being cut. He met the Chapter, and to his claims of money the Canons replied that he should have "every style of payment" which had been made to his predecessors; that they themselves had no interest in the matter, for that they would "only have the same share, who-"ever had the Dean's." The Canons stood firm, but Atterbury's "easy successor" gave way and urged them to agree to what was demanded. The easy successor was Dr. Smalridge, who succeeded Atterbury here as he had done at Carlisle; and is said to have observed that Atterbury went first and set every-

thing on fire, and he followed afterwards with a bucket of water. In the end, the Canons agreed to fall in with Dr. Smalridge's suggestion on condition that the retiring Dean should give up all the books, own Mr. Brooks as Chapter Clerk, renounce all further claims, and sign for the money with his own hand. Thus ended the stormy period of Atterbury's connexion with Christ Church. The picture is a curious one, but Dr. Stratford, as before said, was a man of strong prejudices. He did not do justice to Atterbury's abilities, gave him credit for no principles at all, and attributed to meaner motives the the actions which more probably arose from an overbearing disposition and love of power. Duke of Portland.

The seat of war was now changed, but warfare was not at an end. Only a fortnight after Atterbury's final departure from Oxford, the news arrived that he had begun a new campaign at Westminster, where the vestry of St. Margaret's were already up in arms against the new Dean. Stratford believed that the war would last as long as that between France and the Confederates, and did not hesitate to suggest that the Bishop's aim was "that the peace of Westminster may be an argument "for removing him to Lambeth" when there should be a vacancy there.

For several years after this there are only casual notices of Atterbury—"Ruffe" or "Ruffian," as Stratford usually calls him after his elevation to the see of Rochester—but in 1722, Stratford informed Lord Harley that strife had begun again at Westminster about the Receiver's place, and also that "Ruffe" was "making pretences to the good Duchess of Buckingham," and was caressing Pope with a view of making him useful. The Duchess had dined at Bromley Palace, taking with her the young Duke, the late Duke's natural daughter, Pope and Chamberlain, and to say the least of it, "this was an odd "condescension to one who had not then been a widower a full "month," if she designed no further. Following close upon this came the discovery of Atterbury's intrigues with the Pretender, made through the incident of the dog "Harlequin" sent to him from Rome, which revealed to Government "the "cant name by which Ruffe goes in the letters," a name well known as that of a Jacobite plotter, but not hitherto identified with the Bishop of Rochester.

Atterbury's committal to the Tower followed, and now, when his old enemy was in trouble, Stratford began to relent towards him. The sentence of banishment seemed to him worse than imprisonment to one of "Ruffe's" age, with his ignorance of foreign tongues. Soon after Atterbury went to France, there was a gossiping rumour that he had fallen out with his son-in-law Morice. "The poor man," Stratford observed, "must have "somebody to quarrel with." The last notices of him are at the Court of the Pretender, where he was reported to have quarrelled with all his intimates, and to have "roused amongst "those poor desperate wretches as great a bustle as ever he did

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"elsewhere." In this connexion may be mentioned some curious details given of the rupture between the Pretender and his wife, "Madam Sobieski."

The news from Oxford in Dr. Stratford's later letters is not so interesting as in those written during Atterbury's rule at Christ Church.

In his later years, Dr. Stratford spent much of his time at a "cottage" on the Berkshire Downs, probably built by himself, in the parish of Little Shefford, of which he was rector. Nothing is more curious in the clerical life of that day than the universal system of pluralities which prevailed. One Canon of Christ Church was Bishop of Chester, another was Bishop of Hereford. Yet Gastrell and Smalridge, the persons in question, were not ambitious politicians, but quiet students and earnest Christian men. Stratford himself, when asked one autumn when he had last seen his parsonage, replied vaguely, "this summer." He had the excuse apparently that there was no rectory house, as he added that he "designed to build," but there is no hint how the services of the Church were carried on there during his life at Oxford; no mention of any intercourse with the curate who presumably supplied his place.

This volume does not give us much fresh information concerning the Harley family, but there are two or three letters of Dr. Stratford which throw an interesting light on Edward Harley's college life, and show that as regards the love of books, the boy was father of the man. Young Harley went up to Oxford in 1707. Stratford, already a Canon, could not be his tutor (that office being shared by Mr. Terry and Mr. Keill), but he evidently had charge of him, as in July, 1708, he wrote to Robert Harley, "it will be the endeavour of my life to lay "hold on all opportunities to express to the utmost of my poor "power, the sense which I have of my obligations to you; but "the favour which you are pleased to allow me of Mr. Harley's "company is a very great addition to them." In December following, he sent up the half-year's account. Edward Harley does not seem to have kept his terms very regularly.

In August, 1710, Robert Harley was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and practically Prime Minister, and from that time his son paid only flying visits to Oxford.

There are allusions in the letters to Guiscard's attempt upon Lord Oxford; to Lady Betty's marriage to Lord Carmarthen, and to her early death; to the unhappy married life of the Earl's other daughter, Lady Dupplin, afterwards Countess of Kinnoul; and very warm letters of congratulation when the rather prolonged negotiations which preceded Lord Harley's marriage reached a satisfactory conclusion, and the heiress of the Duke of Newcastle, Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, became his wife. In February, 1715, the little daughter, Margaret, was born, who was destined one day to unite the House of Cavendish to that of Bentinck. It was remarkable, Dr. Stratford thought, that she should arrive on the very day when her mother came

of age. Many allusions in the letters show how greatly Lord Harley desired a son; but when at last (after the father had succeeded to the Earldom of Oxford) little "Lord Harley" made his appearance, he lived only a few days, and Lady Margaret remained her parents' only heir. Duke of Portland.

The letters of the early summer of 1714, are full of anxiety concerning the Lord Treasurer's position. On July 29th, the news of his fall had reached Oxford, but other than personal regrets were speedily much lessened by the fast following news of the downfall of his enemies' hopes in consequence of the Queen's death.

Lord Oxford was in much embarrassment after his fall from power, and his son also—in spite of his wife's wealth—appears to have been in difficulties. There was talk of the two households sharing an establishment, but although Lord and Lady Harley were very willing to have the Earl with them, they by no means wished to have the Earl's second wife, who evidently was not popular with her husband's family. Dr. Stratford declared that Lord Oxford's private debts were above double anything he had, without computing the encumbrances on the estate, for which interest must be paid; and he strongly urged Lord Harley to put a stop to all unnecessary expenses, and not to think "any frugality, be it ever so little, useless," in order to bring his expenditure within the compass of his income.

There are no letters in relation to Lord Oxford's committal to the Tower, and only a casual mention of his release. After this, there is nothing beyond slight allusions to his health and movements, until his death in May, 1724.

There are many references to other members or connexions of the Harley family.

Sir Simon, afterwards Lord Harcourt, Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor, is very frequently mentioned, at first with respect, but afterwards with a bitterness only second to that shown towards Atterbury. His son, "Sim" or "Simkin," appears chiefly in connexion with his attempts to get into Parliament. He died abroad, to his father's great sorrow, whilst still young.

Dr. Stratford seems to have been very intimate with Mrs. St. John, afterwards Lady Bolingbroke, and keenly resented her husband's neglect of her. "I was last week to pay a visit," he informed Harley in the summer of 1711, "to a poor discon-
"solate lady in Berkshire. I met nothing there but sorrow
"and disorder. That unfortunate gentleman is more irregular,
"if possible, in his private than [public] capacities. A sad
"instance to all young gentlemen of quality, how the greatest
"parts and expectations may be made useless and be dis-
"appointed by the folly of vice—the only way in which that
"unhappy gentleman will ever be of any use in the world."
In the midst of his plottings, in the summer of 1714, to turn Oxford out, Lord Bolingbroke wrote to his wife praying pardon for all his ill-usage, promising amendment, and expressing

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his intention of coming to her shortly at Bucklebury. Stratford professed himself at a loss to understand his reasons, but believed it was either that he thought he should lose the day and have occasion to retire, or that he had been advised by his new ally [? Atterbury] to treat his wife better for their common credit. Lady Bolingbroke clung to him in spite of his ill-treatment of her, and after the Queen's death was in great distress. "She burst into as great concern for one who has "deserved so little of her," Stratford told Lord Harley, "as "Lady Harriot could have done for you . . . . and would "part with all she has in the world to save him."

She died during her husband's exile, and when he returned to England, it was with a second wife, a French lady, whom he had married abroad.

There are several allusions throughout the letters to sayings of Dr. Radcliffe, the noted physician. Swift and his writings are occasionally mentioned. Dr. Stratford confessed to a great liking for "Gulliver," although he did not dare to own so much to his friend, "grave Thomas" (*i.e.* Lord Foley), who was full of wrath against the book.

When Pope's "Dunciad" appeared, Stratford at once guessed the author, being confirmed in his suspicions by a newspaper report that there had been "some insult lately "made on him."

There is a rather interesting criticism of Burnet's "History "of his own Time," and several letters about the wordy war which raged round the "Epistles of Phalaris," in which Dr. Stratford, like most other of the learned men of the day, believed Bentley to be in the wrong. Notices of books and the writers of books occur frequently throughout the letters.

There are a few notices of the new Palace of Blenheim and its mistress. The stoppage of the works there is mentioned, and the consecration of the chapel. The position of this show place, so near to Oxford, was not without its disadvantages. "I am almost foundered," Stratford wrote, "with showing "sights to people that take us in their way to Bath or Blen- "heim. That Blenheim is a curse upon this poor place; I "would at any time make one in a rising . . . to raze "it to the ground." Of the imperious temper of the great Duchess, one or two instances are given.

Sir Robert Walpole's financial schemes are often referred to and there is frequent mention of the South Sea Company. There are allusions to the danger which Law, of the Mississipi scheme, ran in France, and to his pluck in meeting it. When he afterwards came to England, he brought introductions to Dr. Stratford at Oxford, and spent an evening with him. He talked very readily of his affairs, and seemed to regard it as a great reflection upon himself that anyone should imagine the South Sea Scheme to have been formed on the plan of his Mississippi one, evidently deeming the projectors of the former to be great bunglers.

Many of the passages quoted showing Dr. Stratford as a good hater, perhaps we may fitly conclude the notice of his letters by showing that he could be a good lover too. Duke of Portland.

The most charming passages in the letters are those in which he writes of his friend Dr. "Robin" Morgan. Stratford greatly desired to get him to Christ Church. "There is one "you know well," he wrote on Dr. Woodroff's death, "beyond "Snowden Hill, who is of too great value to be buried in that "obscurity, but who yet is of so peculiar a temper that we can "never hope to see him here, unless he is forced to it by such "a call which . . . he would look upon to be God's "Providence." In 1711, the vicarage of Ross was offered to Dr. Morgan, but Stratford much questioned whether he would leave his Welsh retirement. "The difference of the profit "will have no manner of influence on him. That which he "has is scarce subsistence, but if it pays his journey to attend "Convocation, he looks no further. . . . He acts not by "any of those motives by which we other poor mortals are "influenced." And again, "If his own motives do not tell "him it is proper for him, you can no more persuade him to "take such a considerable preferment than you could our Dean "[Atterbury] to bate one shilling in a fine. If one could but "have an art of transfusing souls, I would not have my dear "friend's pure gold alloyed with any of our Governor's copper, "but the least tincture of Robin's would burnish strangely the "others' coarse ore. But it is a peculiar mercy in God not to "leave Himself without witness in the world, but to raise up "such pure bright souls to show others what human nature "even in its present state is capable of."

### DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY.

In November, 1895, permission was given for the examination of the various collections of historical papers and documents existing in the muniment room at Montagu House, Whitehall. Some few of these collections, as in the case of the Winwood Papers, had already been made public to a considerable extent, but not one of them has ever been completely exhausted. Two volumes of Reports on these manuscripts are now to be noticed, the second in two parts. The first volume comprises four of the collections, namely, the Winwood Papers, the Montagu Papers, the Montagu-Arlington Letters, and the Holles Manuscripts. These are of various dates between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Duke of Buccleuch.

*The Winwood Papers.*—The earlier portion of Sir Ralph Winwood's collection consists of papers which relate partly to his own private affairs, but chiefly to his negotiations as Agent and Ambassador in France and in Holland. The latter portion, consisting of his correspondence whilst Secretary of State, may be regarded almost entirely as state papers pure and simple. Like other holders of the office, he kept many important official papers at his own private residence, including some of

Duke of Buccleuch: Winwood Papers.

dates anterior to his tenure of office, and it was not then the custom to surrender them on vacating office, whether the Secretary resigned or died in harness. Much of his correspondence has already been made familiar to historians in Sawyer's "Memorials," but a great deal of it is here printed for the first time.

In 1599, Winwood attended Sir Henry Nevill, Ambassador to France, as his secretary. Nevill was dismissed from his post in 1601, but he had been in England for some time previously, and Winwood had been acting as her Majesty's Resident in France.

From 1601 to 1603, Savile corresponded with Winwood about the arrangements he was making for printing his famous edition of the "Commentaries of St. John Chrysostom," and about sundry manuscript and printed versions then existing in England and in foreign libraries. In August, 1602, he refers to the appointment of a regular Ambassador to supersede Winwood in France; and on 2nd February, 1603, he announces that Secretary Cecil had informed him of the Queen's determination to employ Winwood as Agent in "the Low Country." Winwood's formal appointment to the latter embassy was not, however, made till after the accession of King James.

Besides acting first as Agent and afterwards as Ambassador in the United Provinces, Winwood was sworn as a Councillor of State in the States General, and the form of his oath of loyalty to the States is preserved.

Bodley describes himself as "father" to Winwood, and his wife as "mother" to Winwood's wife. The former had married a rich widow named Anne Ball, daughter of a Mr. Carew, of Bristol, in 1857; and Winwood had married as his second wife, in 1603, Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Ball, of Totnes, Anne's former husband.

There are several letters from Bodley to Winwood, but the correspondence soon ceased. The former is, however, frequently mentioned by John More, Winwood's steward or agent in London, whose many letters on events of the day and matters of business are highly entertaining. On Winwood's behalf, More carried on communications with Secretary Cecil, successively Lord Cranborne and Earl of Salisbury, through Mr. Levinus Munck, his secretary, in whose handwriting many of Cecil's letters are written.

The articles of the treaty with Spain in 1604 are preserved in this collection.

In 1605, Lord Salisbury writes to Winwood about the disputes between Enno, Count of East Friesland, and his rebellious subjects, the townsmen of Emden, in which King James undertook to mediate, but without much success. Winwood was ordered to attend the negotiations at Groingen, and was commended by Salisbury for the part he took in "the treaty

"of Emden," but the disputes continued for many years, and there are numerous letters from the Count and others on the subject. Duke of Buccleuch: Winwood Papers.

There is nothing about "the Powder Treason" under its date, but there is an important confession by Thomas Fenwick long after, in 1616, relating to the transactions of Thomas Percy with Francis Radcliffe and Roger Widdrington at Dilston, in Northumberland, and the conveyance thence to London of a large sum of money by Percy's "man" Tailboies. It was brought to a house near Temple Bar, where Percy called on the morning when the treason was discovered, and told Tailboies to shift for himself. The money was then taken all the way back to Radcliffe's house.

Between 1607 and 1609, there are numerous papers relating to the recognition of the independence of the United Provinces, and the treaty, or "long truce," which was negotiated between the States General, the King of Spain and the "Archdukes" Albert and Isabella, with the aid of the British Commissioners, Sir Richard Spencer and Sir Ralph Winwood, and of the French Commissioners, after, as Count Enno puts it, "an internecine "war of forty years." The most important part of the correspondence is printed by Sawyer. Other papers will be found in President Jeannin's *Négociations*.

On the conclusion of this treaty, it was anticipated that Winwood would be recalled, and his agent More took a house near Westminster School for his reception. It appears that Winwood also wished to obtain a country residence near Sir Henry Nevill. The niceties to be observed in selecting such a residence in those days are well exemplified in a letter of More's. But the troubles arising in Germany necessitated the King's intervention, and Winwood was ordered to leave the Hague for Dusseldorf at the beginning of the next year, 1610. He did not arrive there till August, and stayed only a short time. Returning to the Hague, he remained to negotiate the engagement of 4,000 of the States' troops for the King's service in Cleves, but in conducting this affair he seems to have given some offence to Salisbury. The permanent English agent at Dusseldorf, acting as subordinate to Winwood, was John Dickenson, from whom there are many letters, beginning in April, 1610, and ending in February, 1614. As they relate mostly to German affairs, they have not been fully abstracted. Only a few of Dickenson's letters are printed by Sawyer.

Salisbury died in June, 1612, and in July, Winwood was in England, and in communication with Nevill and Overbury, but next month he was again at the Hague, having been sent back by the King to be Ambassador resident, not only in the United Provinces, but in Cleves, if necessary. A letter from Nevill, in September, proves that Winwood had returned with the understanding that Overbury should procure his recall as soon as possible, but that it depended entirely on the King's "humour." There was much "kicking" against both Nevill

Duke of Buccleuch: Winwood Pap rs.

and Winwood, but "all men" considered Sir Thomas Lake and Sir Henry Wotton to have no chance of becoming Secretary.

Both the King and Rochester were, however, favourable to Winwood's speedy recall, and proposed that he should return in company with the Elector Palatine; but Naunton suspected that some of "our great lords" would find excuses to detain him in Holland, or even to send him further afield, for his bluntness seems to have given general offence. Fresh complications in Cleves furnished an additional reason for the postponement of his recall.

After a time there was some talk of Winwood's being succeeded at the Hague by Sir Edward Cecil or Sir Dudley Carleton, yet his recall was still delayed. Rochester himself writes that he was at a loss to account for the delay, but says plainly to Winwood—"Your enemies have objected enough "against you, and lastly that you are too violent, which signifies "in Court language, not malleable to their use."

At the beginning of the next year, Winwood was informed by More of the serious illness of his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Bodley, who, after having even borrowed money to complete his famous library, was in his latter days afflicted with such "miserable avarice" that his servants abandoned him, and his friends found reason to "mince the good opinion they have "had of his virtues." He died on 28th January, 1613. In his will he is alleged to have shown little regard to those "whose "father [Mr. Ball] did provide the materials wherewith his "wealth and honour were erected"; the persons alluded to being elsewhere described as "his wife's friends and children." More had some dispute with one of the executors, who refused to give up possession of Winwood's house in Little St. Bartholomew's, in which Sir Thomas had been residing; but the furniture in the house, including tapestry, valued at sixty pounds, belonged to Sir Thomas. The purchase of tapestry of an equal value for the hall at Eton is mentioned a little later.

The marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine is but briefly alluded to in these additional papers. Letters from Lord Lisle and others refer to her reception at Heidelberg, and give particulars of her domestic life for some time after her arrival there. Winwood accompanied her thither, but soon after his return to the Hague, he received permission to return to England for a while, owing to the death of Sir Thomas Bodley.

Although Winwood was now in England, he continued to be addressed as Ambassador until March, 1614. On 7th April, he was at length appointed "Secretary of State," with an annuity of 100*l*, according to the Patent Rolls. He was, in fact, the sole "Principal Secretary" for nearly two years, and is so called in patents of 1614 and 1615, and in other documents. Some undated drafts in his own hand show that he had paid assiduous and exclusive court to Rochester, who promised to do

all he could in his behalf. Sir John Ogle desired to succeed him in the embassy, and offered to make a present of 400*l* to Lady Winwood if he obtained it by her husband's "help and "counsel." Sir Dudley Carleton was, however, Winwood's successor at the Hague. Duke of Buccleuch: Winwood Papers.

Sawyer's "Memorials" close before Winwood's appointment to the Secretaryship, and all the subsequent papers are noticed for the first time in this volume. Very few occur between March, 1614, and September, 1615, when we come upon the original letter of Sir Gervase Helwys to the King "concerning the death of Sir Thomas Overbury," a copy of which, bearing a different date, and with some variations, is preserved among the State Papers. He does not profess to tell "the whole truth." In an original letter on the same subject, the King expresses his desire "that the guilty being "known, the guiltless may go free, and the arising of rumours "prejudicial to the fame of the innocent may be prevented." There is also a copy of a letter from the King to Coke, authorising him to release Mrs. Turner on bail, according to her petition, if it were the custom to do so when there was "no "ground of guiltiness apparent."

At the beginning of 1616, Sir Thomas Lake was created joint Secretary of State with Winwood, according to the State Papers. The Patent Rolls show that Winwood had a grant of the office of "one of the Principal Secretaries of State" on 8th January, and that Lake had a similar grant on 9th January.

A letter from Coke to the King, in February of that year, relates to the "royal power to punish murders and homicides "committed by one of your Majesty's subjects upon another "in a foreign kingdom." Coke had previously decided that there was no such power, but, on considering a previous case, was now prepared "to resolve the case for the Crown."

There are many other letters to Winwood from persons residing at home and abroad during the years 1616 and 1617, intermixed with official papers.

There are valuable original letters and documents relating to the history of English commerce, the Merchants Adventurers, Virginia and the Company of Virginia, the East Indies and the East India Company, Ireland, Scotland, the Netherlands, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Venice, and Russia, most, if not all, of which have never been published before. Many references will be found to the publication of books, to Blackwell, Parsons, Garnet, Baldwin, Gerrard, and other Catholics, and to eminent English soldiers of fortune in the Low Countries, including "the Lord of Buckcleughe," from whom and about whom there are several letters. A Council letter in 1604, is of great value as illustrating the history of municipal elections.

Winwood died at Mordant House, in St. Bartholomews the Less, on the 28th October, 1617, after a fever of nine days, during which he was "much visited by the nobles." He is

Duke of Buccleuch: acknowledged to have been "in the highest favour with the "King, Queen, Prince, and principal favourite," and was "much lamented," but "had some ill willers." The following assertion is, however, made by Sawyer:—"He bravely and "generously opposed the Spanish faction, then too powerful in "England, and at last, I speak it on good grounds, died a "martyr to their resentments."

Montagu Papers. *The Montagu Papers.*—The nine volumes of the Montagu Papers extend from 1483 to 1758, and comprise the correspondence of the Montagu family of Broughton, in the county of Northampton.

There is not much before the year 1524, when "Edward "Montagu, learned man," had a special licence from Henry VIII. to "use and wear his bonnet on his head" in the King's presence and at all other times and places, owing to certain "infirmities" in his head. In later papers he is described as Master Edward Montagu, of the Middle Temple, Serjeant-at-law. He was knighted in 1537, and afterwards became Lord Chief Justice, first of the King's Bench, and then of the Common Pleas, reversing the usual order. He died in 1556.

Edward Montagu, of Boughton, was knighted in 1568, and was Sheriff of Northamptonshire several times, a Justice of the Peace, and one of the Deputy Lieutenants for the same county. In these capacities many letters were addressed to him on county business by Queen Elizabeth, the Privy Council, Lord Burghley, and others. Many of the letters refer to musters and to the levying of soldiers for the wars in the Low Countries, France, and Ireland.

Sir Edward left six sons, namely, Edward, Walter, Henry, Charles, James, and Sidney, who all became more or less famous.

The eldest son, Edward, was appointed by Sir Thomas Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley and Earl of Exeter, to be his "deputy "lieutenant of the Forest of Rockingham," in or before 1593. In connexion with certain offices in that Forest, an interesting account is given of a visit by Sidney Montagu to Lord Burghley at his house at Wimbledon in 1599.

The third Edward Montagu was knighted in 1603, and succeeded to the offices previously held by his father. His correspondence relates in a great measure to the business of the county, but there are also many letters to him from his brothers in the Temple and at Court, furnishing current news and gossip during an eventful period.

In 1605, Sir Edward appears to have entered into some controversy with King James in a matter of religious opinion, but through his brother James, Dean of the Chapel Royal, he assured the King of his desire "to give his Majesty full "satisfaction." The King, however, professed to find his explanations oracular and obscure. Later letters prove that,

although he was a Royalist, he had adopted many Puritan ideas. He and his brother, Sir Henry, were authors of the Act for a perpetual thanksgiving "after our great deliverance "from the Powder Treason."

The "Sergeant," Sir Henry Montagu, was made Lord Chief Justice in the year 1616, and Sir Sidney, another brother, became Master of Requests in 1618. Bishop James was translated from Bath and Wells to Winchester in 1617, and, on 1st February, 1618, writes from Court to his eldest brother, Sir Edward: "If you have 10,000*l* in your purse, I think, if "you know not how to bestow it better, you may have a "barony for it; but you speak so of another world as I think "you look for no more honour in this." The Bishop died in the same year.

At the end of 1620, Sir Charles reports to Sir Edward the bad news from Bohemia, and at the same time announces the appointment of Sir Henry as Lord High Treasurer, and his creation as Baron Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville, "with "many protestations of love and favour" on the part of the King. His Majesty "said he did not confer this great trust "upon him only for love to himself, but of all our family, who "he thought loved him and were faithful to him; and though "you [Sir Edward] smelt a little of Puritanism, yet he knew "you to be honest and faithful to him, and said he heard you "were a Parliament man."

Sir Edward was shortly afterwards, in 1621, created Baron Montagu of Boughton.

Several letters in 1624 and 1626, throw light on the manner of selecting candidates and conducting Parliamentary elections in counties and boroughs at that period.

At the beginning of King Charles's reign, Viscount Mandeville, who was in attendance on his Majesty as President of the Privy Council, frequently wrote to his brother, Lord Montagu.

In 1626, Mandeville was raised to the dignity of Earl of Manchester. The few letters of that year relate chiefly to the King's demands, made by "privy seals," for a "free gift" and for a "loan." One paper shows that Montagu first took some trouble to persuade himself that "this desire of the "King's" was reasonable, and would not be "made a "precedent for future times," and that he then endeavoured to incite all his "neighbours and countrymen to perform the "same." Montagu further contributed to the King's needs by paying 500*l* for the dissafforestation of part of Rockingham Forest.

In 1627, Manchester was made Lord Privy Seal. In 1628, he resigned the Presidency of the Council. Montagu again wished to be spared from attending Parliament, but the King would not hear of it; his support was evidently expected. At this time he resided during part of the year at his other seat, Barnwell Castle.

Duke of Buccleuch: Montagu Papers.

In 1635, Montagu writes complaining of the unequal assessment of "the ship money," but not objecting to its payment.

Early in 1639, Montagu was summoned to attend King Charles's "royal person and standard" at York by the 1st of April, with a competent number of "horses," *i.e.* armed horsemen. He thereupon sent his eldest son, Edward, to London, and proposed writing to the Secretary, Sir John Coke, to excuse his attendance in person, on account of his great age and infirmities; but he was advised by his brother Manchester to offer the King 300*l* instead of the horses, as had been done by the Judges, the Inns of Court, and the Clergy, "so that," his son writes, "the King will have no need of a Parliament."

A long series of letters from William Montagu, son of Lord Montagu, begins at this date, 1639, and extends to 1682, being addressed to his father and brother, the first and second Lords Montagu. His letters are mostly dated from the Temple, and contain instructive comments on the stirring events of the period, and also throw much light on the inner life of a great family in those difficult times. He was Serjeant-at-Law and Chief Baron of the Exchequer (1676-86).

From one of William's letters it is clear that Lord Montagu's letter to the Secretary was not delivered, by Manchester's advice. The King now "altered his mind," and required horses rather than money. On the question of attending his Majesty, Manchester writes: "I hope this war will not be "unto blood; however, if a King commands it, wherever his "person goes, our allegiance ties us to follow him." But his son, Viscount Mandeville, at first entertained an opposite view, and when the King spoke of this, Manchester replied that "then he would neither acknowledge him his son nor heir." Montagu was more lukewarm, and positively refused either to send any of his sons or to compound. He found much difficulty in providing the requisite liveries, armour, and weapons for his six horsemen, owing to the great demand which had been thus suddenly created, and to the exclusive engagement of all armourers by the King.

In March, the King changed his mind once more, and was willing to accept money of the Lords to excuse their personal attendance. "Had they all gone," William writes, "then I "know there would have been no battle, for when was it known "that the nobility were ever ventured in the first battle?" Manchester compounded, but Montagu sent his horse.

At this interesting juncture there is a gap in the correspondence, but in November, 1641, William Montagu commences to give City and Parliamentary news in his letters to his father, who also received several letters from his daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Lindsey, and his nephew George Montagu, a younger son of Lord Manchester. The details given in their letters of the struggle between the King and the Parliament are of great importance as proceeding from eye-witnesses and participators.

Edward Montagu, eldest son of Lord Montagu, like his cousin George, was then a member of Parliament, but there is only one letter from him to his father at this period. There are several letters of Lord Montagu himself, in one of which he rebukes the Parliament for countenancing "the sin of "usury." Duke of Buccleuch Montagu Papers.

Under 24th March, 1642, there is a curious reference to a duel between Francis Bertie—fourth son of the Earl of Lindsey, and grandson of Lord Montagu—and Sir Henry Skipwith's son, "about the great widow." Only a slight notice of this is to be found in the House of Lord's Journals.

In one of the last letters from Manchester to his brother, we learn why their correspondence is so meagre at this time: "The "intercourse of letters betwixt us is rare nowadays; you give "the true reason—there is no safety in writing anything." He no longer writes as an extreme partisan of the King. In fact, all the Montagus, while anxious to show the utmost loyalty, did not conceal their sympathy with the grievances of the Parliament, and their dislike of the King's proceedings, though Montagu condemned the Parliament for carrying matters "with an over-high hand."

Manchester died soon afterwards, and Lindsey was killed in the first battle. Montagu had been appointed by the King to be one of the Commissioners of Array for his own county, but was brought up to London as a prisoner, by order of Parliament; and there is a letter from Charles on "the affront and "injury" thus done him. From a letter written in the Savoy, in June, 1643, it appears that Montagu intended to communicate to some of the Puritan divines among whom he was living, the ideas of the "sin" of usury which he had long entertained. He died in the following year. It is well known that his son Edward, second Lord Montagu, was subsequently commissioned by Parliament to bring Charles from Scotland; while Edward Montagu, second Earl of Manchester, became Speaker of the House of Lords and one of the Keepers of the Great Seal during the Commonwealth.

Few letters have been found between 1643 and 1660.

A letter and a warrant of Charles I. in 1648, and a declaration relating thereto, illustrate the shifts to which the captive King was reduced when he wished to issue a patent in favour of a supporter. The three documents taken together show that in consideration of a loan of 1,000*l* actually supplied to him while he was in the Isle of Wight, the King signed a warrant for the creation of Thomas Lord Brudenell as Earl of Cardigan. This and other services are specified in a statement drawn up by his Lordship on the Restoration, and in 1661, he at length obtained his patent of creation.

In 1661, we come upon the first letter of Ralph Montagu, younger son of Edward, second Lord Montagu, who succeeded his father in the title in 1683, and who was afterwards created Earl (1689) and Duke (1705) of Montagu; but there are very few letters of his in this collection.

Duke of Buccleuch: Montagu Papers.

In 1672, the Duke of Albemarle writes to the second Lord touching the marriage of his cousin Betty. Later on will be found many letters to the first and second Dukes of Albemarle. In 1673 and subsequent years, there are several references to the marriage of Ralph Montagu with the Countess Dowager of Northumberland. He married, secondly, the widow of the second Duke of Albemarle. Thus the presence here of the Albemarle letters is accounted for.

Besides the family letters, and others which will be more particularly noticed, in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., there are letters from Charles II., the Bishop of Peterborough, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Clarges, the Earl of Danby, the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, Lord Chancellor Finch, W. Bentinck, Lord Hunsdon, Sir William Dugdale, Lord Godolphin, the Earl of Sunderland, Rachel Lady Russell, and the Duchess of Albemarle.

The King and Danby were so pleased with the Money Bill passed in 1677, that they "made it to be opened, and it reached "from the throne to the lower end of the Lords' House. The "King parted with his own stick, which he said was a yard, "and made one of the Lords measure our [the Commons'] "Bill, his Majesty taking the White Staff himself, stopping "at every yard, and reckoning the number."

Edward Pyckering writes on a very different subject: "The "Duchess of Cleveland is lately come over, and will shortly "to Windsor, if not there already. His Majesty gave the "Commissioners of the Treasury fair warning to look to them-"selves, for that she would have a bout with them for money, "having lately lost 20,000*l* in money and jewels in one night "at play." He adds: "Nell Guin's mother was found drowned "in a ditch near Westminster, on Tuesday night." There is a letter from the Duchess of Cleveland herself two years later.

In 1680, Lord Montagu absented himself from Parliament, and received a summons from the Chancellor taking notice of the fact. Next year we have a circumstantial account of the elopement of Lady Ogle, daughter of the late Earl of Northumberland, and step-daughter of Ralph Montagu, who had been secretly married to Mr. Thomas Thynne. In 1682, occur letters from and to Count Königsmark, relating to the charge against him of hiring the three assassins who shot Mr. Thynne in Pall Mall. The Duke of Albemarle congratulates him on his acquittal.

The second Lord Montagu died in 1683, and was succeeded by his son Ralph, who, having taken an active part in the Exclusion Bills, found it necessary to retire to France on the accession of James II. During his absence his "noble house" in Bloomsbury was burnt down. The second Montagu House was even more magnificent than the first, and ultimately became the original home of the British Museum.

In 1685, Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys informs Richard Winwood of the new King James II.'s desire for the election of

certain members of Parliament for the County of Buckingham. Only one of the royal nominees was, however, returned. Other letters relate to the double return of Samuel Pepys for Harwich and Sandwich, Pepys himself writing on the subject.

The Duke of Albemarle was sent to repress the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, but his wife's letters show that he resented the appointment over him of Lords Faversham and Churchill, whom he had "so long commanded." Albemarle evidently found himself out of favour with James II., and, probably for this reason applied for and obtained the office of Governor of Jamaica, where he remained till his death in 1688. Several letters relate to the Queen Dowager Catherine and the Queen Consort Mary.

There is very little correspondence here during the reign of William and Mary.

At the beginning of the next reign, we meet with several letters from the Duke of Marlborough to his daughter, Lady Mary Churchill, who became the wife of John, second Duke of Montagu, and many from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, to Ralph, Earl and Duke of Montagu, and to John, Duke of Montagu. There are also letters from the Electress Sophia, Lord Godolphin, Charles Montagu, Lord Halifax, a descendant of the first Earl of Manchester, and others. In 1713, Dean Swift writes three letters to Duke John, whom he styles "Reverend Doctor." With Duchess Sarah's letters there is a statement of moneys laid out by her for Queen Anne, partly for large quantities of lace.

In the reign of George I. there are several letters from the Earl and Countess of Sunderland, the Duke and Duchess of Montagu, and others; many relating to the Opera House, and the new Theatre in the Haymarket, and to disputes between the English and French players.

Between 1732 and 1735 there is a series of amusing letters from Lord Tyrawley, British Ambassador at Lisbon, to the Duke of Montagu, as Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, in which he relates many personal anecdotes, and describes and criticises the manners and customs of the Portuguese.

The letters of Samuel Speed, in 1740 and 1741, from Barbadoes, Jamaica, Carthagena, and Cuba, give minute particulars of the operations of the British fleet and troops against the Spaniards in the West Indies.

The letters from General Sir Philip Honywood, Samuel Speed, and Thomas Jones, in 1743, relate to military operations in Germany against the French, and to the battle of Dettingen, in which George II. and the Duke of Cumberland took active part.

Many other interesting letters will be found in this collection. There are references to English commerce; sayings of Burghley and Bacon, and dicta of Sir Thomas Clarges; the examination of Sir Robert Cotton in 1629; remarks by the Bishop of Peter-

Duke of Buccleuch: Montagu Papers.

borough on parsons in 1636; William Eyre's rebuke to Protector Cromwell; an election by the freemen of Sandwich; and to a duel between the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Shrewsbury's brother.

Montagu-Arlington Letters.

*The Montagu-Arlington Letters.*—In this collection we have an important contribution to the history of the negotiations between England and France between 1668 and 1678. In the former year, Ralph Montagu was chosen by "the Cabal" to be Ambassador to France, probably on account of his intimate acquaintance with that country. In his letters, here printed, he gives many evidences of his having been a born diplomatist and an accomplished man.

As usual, the great want of Charles II. was money. Montagu, during the whole time of his embassy, had the greatest difficulty in obtaining his allowances, though "in equipage and living" he spent a great deal more than any of his predecessors. He did not, however, hesitate to suggest through his sister, Lady Harvey, that the King should make Madame a present of five thousand pounds, and the money was actually promised and probably paid by Charles. Truly, it was not much of a gift, if, as Montagu alleges, the King had never paid her the ten thousand pounds granted to her by Parliament when she first came into England; in fact, he had "made bold with it," as Madame mildly put it. Of course the money was not to come from the English Treasury, which was always empty; it was to be paid out of "the remainder of the Queen [Cather-"ine's] portion," which had unexpectedly been obtained from Portugal, after having been regarded as a hopeless debt. The gift was to be kept secret from the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, who resided in France, and whose dues from her son were likewise in arrear.

In one letter, Montagu says that "the part of an ambassador "is to be a spy and a tell-tale," and he relates some unflattering anecdotes of the French King, who once alluded to Charles as an adventurer who had been chased from his kingdom.

In April, 1671, Montagu obtained leave to return to England, and remained at home till September.

In 1672, Montagu asked for a "letter of revocation," and promised to prepare the way for his intended successor, Lord Sunderland. Louis, as a parting favour, recommended Montagu for a vacant Garter; but Charles would not grant it. The very request seems to have given offence, either owing to its extravagance or to the "ill offices" of Buckingham. Montagu declares: "The King has shown me little favour or good will; ". . . upon my own account I can never expect his Majesty "will think I deserve anything."

He was again in Paris in December, 1672, but not in an official capacity; and in January, 1673, he was at Marseilles, intending, he says, "for a little while to ramble in Italy, but "I will not go to Rome lest people should think I go about

"business." In April, he was back in Paris, writing earnestly about the creation of his father as Earl, as promised by Charles to Madame at their last interview; but Charles would not fulfil the promise. "All my enemies give out that I am disgraced," Montagu complains. Duke of Buccleuch: Montagu-Arlington Letters.

An undated letter refers to his committal to the Tower "for "challenging the Duke of Buckingham in the King's presence." He admits having used the words "Follow me," but protests that he merely intended to avoid quarrelling with the Duke before the King.

In 1677, he was once more Ambassador in Paris, but there are only two short letters from him in that year, and two letters, to him apparently, from Lord Danby in 1677 and 1678.

There is nothing to show how the two volumes of letters to Lord Arlington came into the possession of the Montagu family. It is also remarkable that there are no letters from Arlington to Montagu. Possibly they mutually returned one another's letters, for fear of accidents.

*The Holles Manuscripts.*—Among the numerous commissions to members of the Holles family in the seventeenth century, there are several by Charles I. between 1642 and 1644, and two by Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, in 1642. If these royal commissions were ever enrolled on the Patent Rolls they are not now to be found, as Charles's Patent Rolls of that period were all burnt before the surrender at Oxford; consequently these careful copies are of great value. There are also several commissions and grants by Charles II. during his exile, which, of course, are not enrolled in the public archives, and are both valuable and interesting. Holles MSS.

*The Shrewsbury Papers.*—Volume II. of the Report on the Manuscripts at Montagu House, deals with the Shrewsbury Papers. Several of the more important series of letters in this collection were edited by Archdeacon Coxe in 1821, and portions of one series, the Vernon letters, by G. R. P. James in 1841; but the editors left entirely untouched many other interesting letters and papers. Shrewsbury Papers.

Much has been written of the political life and character of Charles Talbot, Earl and Duke of Shrewsbury, but little seems to have been known about his early days when he was a minor under the guardianship of the Earl of Cardigan, his grandfather, and others. Here we have a series of his letters to Sir John Talbot, his uncle, beginning in 1673, when he was thirteen years old.

In 1674, with James Morgan, apparently his tutor or "governor," the young Earl embarked somewhere in the Thames, and sailed round Margate to Dieppe, whence he travelled by way of Rouen to Paris. He was sent there for the purpose of studying in "Navarre College," but as he was "not inclined to shut himself up in the walls of it," a lodging was found for him outside.

Duke of Buccleuch: Shrewsbury Papers.

Although so young, the Earl evinced great solicitude on his mother's behalf, which was natural under the circumstances, but his early letters also show that he was not at all likely to be influenced in later life by his mother in favour of James II., as has been suggested.

In 1678, he received "commands" from James, Duke of York, to attend him in the expected war in Flanders. There is only one letter from him while he was in Flanders.

These early letters show the Earl to have been a young man of great independence of character, and quite capable of managing his own affairs, in which he resented too much interference on the part of his guardians. He had decided opinions on all subjects from matrimony to periwigs. After 1678, we learn little more about him from these papers till the Revolution.

Nor have many fresh particulars been found as to Shrewsbury's leading part in bringing about that great event, but there are several important papers illustrating the events preceding and following it.

A letter from William of Orange is dated 2nd November, 1688, but November is clearly a mistake for December, as he did not land at Torbay till 5th November. If, as is probable, it was addressed to Shrewsbury, it shows that the Earl had been negotiating with the Corporation of Bristol for a supply of money, of which the Prince stood in great need.

James II.'s final letter of instructions to the Earl of Middleton from Rochester, just before his flight, came into this collection accidentally. Many other allusions to the late King and his partisans occur.

During Shrewsbury's first Secretaryship, he seems to have destroyed most of his correspondence; at any rate we have here little besides the letters and drafts of letters between King William and certain Scottish noblemen in 1689, and letters from one, M. de Fontenay, relating to some design of a "party" in Brittany and Poitou, apparently for seizing Quimperlé and Port Louis, which Shrewsbury describes as "la "grande affaire."

Between 1690 and 1693, Shrewsbury preserved not a single letter. From March, 1694, when he became Secretary of State for the second time, his correspondence has been preserved, perhaps entirely, down to the time when he left England in 1700.

The letters of Mrs. Pilliers and Mrs. Lundee, written by King William's desire, after his own personal persuasions had failed, to induce Shrewsbury again to accept the office of Secretary, have been mostly printed by Coxe, but not all; the rest are now published.

During the first three years of his second Secretaryship, the Duke, as he was now created, appears to have assiduously attended to his duties. All the letters and papers he received

are endorsed with the names of the writers and the dates of their writing and reception, either, as is most usual, in his own hand, or in that of a secretary, and he kept drafts or copies of his own letters. Thus we have a large quantity of his own handwriting, much of it very hurriedly and carelessly written, and difficult to read, especially the minutes which he took as Secretary at meetings of the Council, similar to those formerly taken by Secretary Cecil in the reign of Elizabeth, now among the State Papers. There are also notes of the examinations of many Jacobite prisoners. Duke of Buccleuch: Shrewsbury Papers.

In 1694 and 1695, Shrewsbury occasionally complained of lameness owing to gout, and of bad eyesight, and in October, 1696, he fell from his horse while hunting and burst a blood vessel. After that date, he was constantly lamenting his ill-health and blood spitting, and frequently absented himself from London, the air of which he found injurious to his lungs. These absences were, however, ascribed by his enemies to political reasons.

Shrewsbury at last came to London in March, 1697, but was back again at Eyford at the beginning of May, having had a relapse of his "old distemper." He returned to town in July, and remained there, busily attending to the duties of his office, till the middle of August, when he had another relapse, and returned to the country.

He was in London once more before long, and met the King at his coming home after signing the Treaty of Ryswick.

At this time, Vernon, who had been Under-Secretary to Shrewsbury, and was by a Jacobite termed his "dog," was appointed to succeed Trumbull as one of the two Principal Secretaries of State. The King had expressed a wish that Shrewsbury would not dream, or at least not talk, of returning the seals to him just then, at the beginning of the Session; but promised to allow him soon after to act as he should think best, and take some other less exacting office. Shrewsbury evidently remained only on these conditions.

Comparatively few letters from Shrewsbury after this have been preserved, though many were addressed to him. In December, he retired once more into the country. While still Secretary in name, he appears to have considered himself practically exempt from official duties, and was unwilling to re-enter public life; yet he was constantly receiving from "Mr. Secretary" (Vernon) "a very exact account" of what was passing. At the end of the year, on the resignation of Lord Sunderland, the office of Lord Chamberlain was offered to him by the King, but he excused himself from accepting it.

The Duke's retirement was now recognised as an accomplished fact, and at length, in June, 1699, he formally resigned the Secretaryship of State, but in September, the King insisted on his accepting the Lord Chamberlainship or the White Staff, though, to remove his objections, arrangements were to be made by which he would be allowed to act by deputy, without any personal responsibility.

Duke of Buccleuch: Shrewsbury Papers.

The duties of the office were in fact performed by Sir John Stanley, his secretary, from whom there are many letters in 1699 and 1700, giving minute details of the numerous matters which fell within the province of the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and asking Shrewsbury's decision as to the appointment of chaplains, musicians, surgeons, apothecaries, gardeners, and officers of the Household, and as to arrangements in the King's palaces and parks.

In May, 1700, the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to which no one had been appointed for some years, was offered by the King to Shrewsbury; but once more he declined the King's favour. In June, he obtained leave to resign the chamberlainship, on the ground that it was absolutely necessary for him to live in a warmer climate.

On 1st November, 1700, Shrewsbury set out on his travels, and was absent from England for more than five years. In his Journal he gives accounts of all the numerous people, Englishmen and foreigners, he met with, and of all the places he visited; with many curious anecdotes, and with observations on many diverse topics, including books, manuscripts, music, singing, architecture, sculpture, paintings, medicine, politics, inventions, gardens, games of chance, witchcraft, battles, and battlefields. He spent several months in France, and "saluted" Louis XIV. at Versailles.

From France he went to Switzerland, and thence into Italy. He arived at Rome on 20th November, 1701, and took up his abode there for nearly three years and a half. Only two days after his arrival he was introduced to the Countess Adelaide Paleotti, who is, from that date, mentioned almost daily in the Journal. Affairs and events in Rome during the same period are recorded at great length.

While in Rome, Shrewsbury was suspected by the Pope of plotting "against his State," and spies were sent to the receptions held by the Countess Adelaide. The Countess Adelaide was a widow, who had a daughter, who became a nun.

Shrewsbury first proposed marriage to the Countess Adelaide on 24th April, 1705. Whether he was then accepted is not stated, but he left Rome three days later. He went first to Venice, whither Lord Cardigan had preceded him. While there he had an attack of gout, and on recovering went to Padua, and visited the tomb of his aunt, Catherine Whetnal, in a church there. From Venice, on 27th June, he seems to have sent a further proposal to the Countess, but here, as before, the entry is in cipher. He had already made his will. On 5th July, he "set out from Venice," and arrived on the 16th at Augsburg, where he was taken ill, and in consequence suffered from lameness. On 28th August, he sent by post to the Countess asking her to come to him. Meanwhile, he interviewed the Lutheran minister at Augsburg and Senator Van Stetin on the subject of his proposed marriage, informing them of the Countess's change of religion, and the minister

referred the question to "his superior." The Countess joined the Duke on the 18th September, and they were married on the 20th. Her friends at Rome had petitioned the Inquisition to give her leave to marry Shrewsbury, but had been refused. On 10th October, the Duke and his wife left Augsburg on their way to England. At Frankfort they signed a deed resigning the new Duchess's "portion at Bologna" to her mother, who is said to have been a descendant of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Duke of Buccleuch Shrewsbury Papers.

These facts, apparently now published for the first time, disprove the usual story that Shrewsbury was compelled by Lady Adelaide's relatives to marry her at Rome. Clearly there could have been no compulsion under the circumstances. None of her relatives were even present at her wedding ceremony.

The Duke and Duchess stayed at Frankfort from 17th October till 10th November, and in the interval Marlborough arrived there, and remained a few days. Shrewsbury had several interviews with him. The Duchess soon after made her "recantation" before a Reformed French Minister. At Cologne she was visited by her brother, Ferdinando Paleotti, who from there accompanied them on their journey, but whether he came to England is uncertain.

At the Hague, Shrewsbury was constantly in the society of Marlborough, who informed him of "all the plans for peace "now proposed to these people."

Shrewsbury's travels were now at an end. He left the Brill in one of the Queen's yachts on 7th January, 1706, and arrived at Deptford on Sunday following, the 13th.

During his absence abroad the Duke appears to have maintained little correspondence, but it is quite probable that he may have destroyed most of it. Coxe prints a few letters from Marlborough, Somers, Godolphin, and Halifax, and there are a few more in this Report, supplemented by many other letters from George Stepney at Vienna, Sir Lambert Blackwell at Florence, Sir Cloudesley Shovell in Leghorn Road, and others. There are two letters from Shrewsbury to Sir John Talbot announcing his marriage. After his return, he had some correspondence with the Duke of Buckingham, Burnet, and Harley, and with Benjamin Furley, whom he had met at the Hague. The undated letters and papers at the end probably belong to the period of his second Secretaryship.

Much of the fresh information here collected touching the principal facts in Shrewsbury's life has now been indicated. It will be seen that these additional papers, like those printed by Coxe, do not in any way support the common belief that he was a Jacobite at heart, and kept up communications with the Stuarts. On the other hand, they do help us in some measure to comprehend "the charm of manner" for which he was so greatly admired by his contemporaries.

Duke of Buccleuch: Shrewsbury Papers.

We may now turn to the illustrations they afford of the events of the period. There are sundry references to Queen Mary, but she did not apparently take an active part in public affairs, and seldom presided, in the King's absence, at meetings of the Committee of the Privy Council, or the Cabinet Council, as Shrewsbury terms it.

The allusions to King William are naturally very numerous, and illustrate most of the events of his reign, and his actions at home and abroad.

Many of the letters and official papers relate to the alleged designs of Jacobites to assassinate William, while returning to Kensington after hunting, or to seize him and convey him over to France.

Particulars of the unsuccessful naval attempts on Brest and Dunkirk in 1694-6, will be found in the correspondence of that period, among much information relating to the navy and naval commanders.

A letter of Lord Keeper Somers throws light on the intrigues incident to Parliamentary elections in those times.

Matthew Prior, English Secretary at the Hague, writes in an entertaining style to Shrewsbury. He gives an account of the journey to Cleves undertaken by the King for the express purpose of seeing the Princess of the House, and of the King's warm reception by the Elector.

From December, 1697, to March, 1698, the Earl of Manchester was at Venice as Ambassador extraordinary, and wrote frequently to Shrewsbury.

There is very little in this collection for the last two years of William III.

In 1703, the letters from Blackwell, Ambassador at Florence, to Shrewsbury, recommence.

Between May, 1703, and April, 1705, George Stepney, Ambassador at Vienna, addressed many letters to Shrewsbury, then in Rome, giving him notice of all occurrences in connexion with the war which had been declared by Queen Anne, Holland, and the Emperor against France. Stepney's letters give many details of affairs in Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary, and Turkey, with some allusions to the military operations of the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene and other commanders. These are also referred to in Shrewsbury's Journal.

The long letter of Benjamin Furley in 1706, is a valuable contribution to the history of commerce between England and the Low Countries.

In regard to Scotland, there is some correspondence which, though intermittent, is of much value.

In 1695, the Chancellor, Tweeddale, obtained orders from the King to Admiral Russell to remind the Government of Algiers that under the treaty with Algiers, all Scots trading in the

Mediterranean Sea were entitled to the same freedom as English, provided they carried passports from the Admiralty in Scotland. The treaty with Tripoli was in different terms, but the Scots were presumed to be comprised in it as the King's subjects. Duke of Buccleuch: Shrewsbury Papers.

Letters from Secretary Johnston, in July, 1695, relate to the indictment of Lord Breadalbane for high treason, committed in treating with the Highlanders in favour of James.

At the close of his letter of 26th December, 1706, Benjamin Furley, in writing about the proposed union between the two countries, makes some shrewd remarks on the folly of those who opposed the repeal of the Test Act, by which Presbyterians were disqualified from bearing offices, and foretelling that, unless the repeal were enacted, Scotland would "seek another "King than that of England" on Queen Anne's death. To this Shrewsbury replies that he had been informed that "the "aversion to the Union is not such as it appears," and remarks that "it is easy to procure addresses for or against anything," and that the inclination of the people, and not that of the Parliament should be studied.

There is a copy of the speech made by William Talbot, Bishop of Oxford, in defence of the English Bishops for voting in favour of the Act of Union, and of the recognition of Presbyterianism as the religion of Scotland.

A large proportion of these volumes consists of correspondence relating to Ireland. A letter of Colonel George Philips, a member of the previous Irish Parliament, gives some account of its debates, and recommends the abolition of the statute for burning heretics, and the enactment of various "coercive laws."

Several letters relate to the estate in Ireland granted by the King to Mrs. Villiers, afterwards Lady Orkney, which he wished to be confirmed by an Act of the Irish Parliament.

In June, 1695, Capel, now Lord Deputy, was preparing bills for the Session of Parliament, which began on 27th August. Differences at once arose as to the election of the Speaker, but the measures proposd did not excite much opposition.

Articles against Sir Charles Porter were next "exhibited" in the Commons, charging him with divers "high crimes and "misdemeanours." But Porter, according to Brodrick (5th October), had a large number of supporters in the Commons, consisting of "attorneys, six clerks, and officers depending on "the Courts," besides relatives and dependants, and friendly members chosen "wherever the Irish could influence elections "with persons having causes in Chancery," the whole making one fourth of the House. These supporters managed to negative the question put, that the articles contained matter of impeachment.

These volumes further comprise many valuable documents relating to the East and West Indies, the North American Colonies, and Canada.

Marquess of Salisbury.

Four volumes, parts VII, VIII, IX, and X of the Calendar of Manuscripts at Hatfield House, have been presented since the date of our last Report, containing abstracts of papers belonging to a period of four years, viz. A.D. 1597-1600. In the first of these years, the chief points as regards English history to be noted in this connexion are—(1) The foreign policy of the country; (2) The effort to strike a fresh blow, in some vulnerable quarter, at the power of Spain, which found its opportunity in a hostile expedition under the Earl of Essex, an effort only just saved from a fruitless result by the capture of three valuable Indian prizes, and, even at the best, disappointing; (3) The progress of hostilities between France and Spain, in which an English force under Sir Thomas Baskerville took part, and in the course of which Spain had considerable successes, including the clever surprise and capture of the city of Amiens; (4) The negotiations for peace between these two countries; (5) The war between Spain and the United Provinces, in which, also, English soldiers were engaged—during which Count Maurice of Nassau added to his military reputation, and obtained a notable success against the enemy at the engagement at Herenthals, near Turnhout, when Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sydney greatly distinguished themselves; and (6), late in the year, the alarm in England of another Spanish Armada. It is with these subjects that the greater number of the papers deal. Other subjects, however, of a more domestic character also have their place, as, for example, the settlement of the Borders of Scotland (and, in some small degree, the interior affairs of that country), the condition of the people of England, and the meeting of Parliament towards the close of the year. There is also considerable information about individuals who in various ranks and employments were then living and active, including the Sovereign herself, her ministers, her soldiers and sailors, her ambassadors and agents abroad, and others of more private or of humbler station. The summoning of Parliament in this year occasions interesting accounts of the manner in which the elections were conducted, both of knights of the shire and of burgesses.

Cecil MSS. Part VIII.

The next year, 1598, the period covered by Part VIII. of the Calendar, was one differing somewhat in character from the years of the preceding decade, being in the main given to the making of peace rather than the waging of war. During its course, no hostile expedition set out either from the Spanish coasts directed against England, or, on the other hand, from the English coasts directed against Spain. As regards English concerns abroad and at home, three events or series of events conspicuously mark the year, namely, the special mission of Sir Robert Cecil, and others joined with him, to the King of France in connexion with the negotiations for peace proceeding between France and Spain; the death of the Queen's aged great Minister of State, Sir William Cecil, first Lord Burghley; and the temporarily successful rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone

in Ireland. The letters and papers bearing upon the last mentioned of these topics, do not appear in the volume until the latter part of the year, several weeks subsequent to the defeat of Sir Henry Bagenall at Armagh, but for the last three months they are fairly numerous. They are to be read and used in conjunction with the more voluminous documents deposited in the Public Record Office, fully dealt with in the published *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, for the year 1598.

In connexion with the Embassy of Sir Robert Cecil, the volume contains several lengthy despatches, not, however, printed for the first time, as they are given in Birch's *Historical View of the Negotiations between England, France and Brussels*; and also a certain amount of correspondence detailing the incidents of the journey and of the death at Rouen of Sir Thomas Wilkes, one of those associated with Sir Robert Cecil in his mission. There are also voluminous papers arising out of the close relations between England and the Estates of the Low countries, "our only constant and able friends." George Gilpin, the English Resident at the Hague, and Sir Francis Vere are the principal authors of the correspondence, but there are also letters and papers from Sir Edward Norreys, Governor of Ostend, Captain William Constable, John Chamberlain, and Sir Henry Docwra. A few more emanate from the States Generals themselves, from the Deputies sent by them to England, and from Count Maurice of Nassau.

Papers illustrative of affairs proceeding on the Borders of Scotland, and of the condition of the North country—in "desperate state," having "dangerous, malicious, and active "opposers, and weak, disagreeing, and unactive defenders" —form a useful addition to the Border Papers in the Public Record Office, of which a calendar has been published.

For the biographies of individual Englishmen, Part VIII. yields, perhaps, a more than ordinary amount of information, and with regard to the last days of that great Englishman, who in respect of real influence in the kingdom was second only to the Queen—Lord Burghley—whose death, indeed, may be designated as the chief event in the domestic history of the year, there are some not uninteresting particulars.

The Cecil family history is, moreover, illustrated, and there are references to many family pedigrees compiled by Lord Burghley himself.

Among numerous others, with regard to whom this part of the Calendar may be consulted, are Thomas Arundell. Count of the Holy Roman Empire, who fell into dire disgrace with the Queen for attempting to bare the foreign title, but who, in the reign of her successor, was created Baron Arundell of Wardour; the third Lord Sheffield (of Butterwike), afterwards the first Lord Mulgrave, who in April, 1598, was appointed Governor of the Cautionary town of the Brill in Holland, but who, a few months afterwards, under the influence of religious melancholy, resigned his patent for the place, resolved "to

Marquess of Salisbury: Cecil MSS. Part VIII.

"give over the world and all the vanities thereof, and betake "himself wholly to God's service"; and the outlawed Scottish Presbyterian Divine, John Colville, the historian Camden's "impious, ungrateful Scot."

Part IX.

Part IX. deals with the third year mentioned, A.D. 1599. With respect to the events which marked its course, it is safe to say that had there then existed any agency keeping the English nation informed of the progress of such events as were of greatest general interest, the topic which would have held the first place throughout the twelve months—except, perhaps, for one short interval in the month of August—would have been the military expedition under the Earl of Essex against the Earl of Tyrone. Special interest would have been taken in the story of the fortunes of its commander, both during the campaign in Ireland, and afterwards, when his sudden return to England proved to be the first step of his descent to an ignominious end.

The Irish expedition was, however, a matter affecting all classes, and in no small degree the humblest. From the counties of England and Wales, North and South, East and West, from town and village, considerable bodies of men were suddenly withdrawn from their ordinary labour, in most cases hastily trained, in some cases not trained at all, and forthwith shipped to Ireland, there to meet an alert enemy and to undergo great hardships; there also, numbers of them, to lay down their lives. And although, among individuals—chiefly the young "gallants" and officers professionally trained to arms—there was plenty of eagerness to serve under the Earl of Essex, who received numerous applications for posts in his army, yet it is also evident that the ordinary countryman or villager, suddenly and compulsorily turned into a soldier in order to be sent across the Irish Sea, did not always enter upon the service with alacrity or enthusiasm.

The papers in the volume do not set forth a complete history of Essex's proceedings in Ireland during the five months of his presence there, but they give a great deal of information of one kind and another bearing upon it, and there are many intimations of the views and opinions of people on the spot.

There is but one allusion to be found in these papers, and that the slightest, late in the year, to the Earl of Essex's sudden return to England, and none whatever to any of the sensational circumstances connected with it. So far as this volume goes, there is a blank in the history of events which concern him during a period comprised within the latter half of August and the whole of September. When next he appears, it is as a prisoner of his friend, Sir Thomas Egerton, Master of the Rolls and Keeper of the Great Seal, at York House, a broken man in body, mind, and fortune.

There was one short space during the summer of 1599, when the attention of the nation was sharply arrested by an alarm of danger, supposed to be near at hand, though there was

complete uncertainty where the blow should be looked for. The idea had long been prevalent that "the enemy"—the name had no meaning in England at this epoch save as applied to Spain—would seize the opportunity of the pre-occupation in Ireland to take her old foe at a disadvantage, and strike to some purpose. And, at length, at the end of July, there was real and universal alarm in consequence of the rumour of the assembling of a Spanish force at Brest and Conquet, with the result that the Lord Treasurer stopped all payments, the trainbands were called out, and soldiers summoned from Flushing for the defence of the country. In London, three thousand men were levied; the city also furnishing twelve ships. The Archbishop of Canterbury suggested the use of a special form of prayers on the model of those used in 1588. The Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, was put in supreme command of the forces of defence. Marquess of Salisbury: Cecil MSS. Part IX.

"Strange and fearful rumours" were current in London, "as much amazing the people as if the invasion were made." Ultimately, however, reports of an eye-witness from Brest itself, proved the absence of any Spanish army there, and by the 20th of August, the real facts were sufficiently well known to make it possible for Lord Nottingham to "dismiss the "Queen's loving subjects" who had been gathered for defence of the realm. The Spaniards had, it subsequently transpired, been at the Groyne in force, and their objective had been some point of the English coast, but the diversion caused by the attack on the Canary Islands by the Dutch fleet and the rashness of the Adelantado of Castile had frustrated their design.

Other subjects illustrated in the volume are the history of the Low Countries, and in this connexion the concerns of Sir Francis Vere; the proceedings of the President and Council of the North at York, and the Scottish pledges at this time imprisoned there; the circumstances attending the situation of the Catholics and Recusants, in the Northern Counties of England chiefly; and biographical information concerning individuals, among whom may be named, Sir Robert Cecil, Cecil's maternal aunt, the widow of John Lord Russell, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Rutland, Lord Sheffield, Thomas Arundell, John Colville, and many others.

Part X. of the Calendar is concerned with the closing year of the sixteenth century, again, as regards England, a time of comparative quiet. Cecil MSS Part X.

At home the fortunes of the Earl of Essex were still a subject of prime and general interest. For several months of the year, he was a prisoner in the custody of Sir Richard Berkeley, at Essex House, broken in health, subject to recurring fits of ague, and deeply depressed in mind; grieving at the Queen's displeasure, and feverishly anxious for a renewal of her favour.

With respect to his appearance before the special tribunal at York House on June 5th of this year, there are somewhat varying accounts.

Marquess of Salisbury: Cecil MSS. Part X.

His "delivery from his keeper," so confidently and joyously expected by his friends immediately after his appearance before this Council, did not come to pass forthwith. For one reason or another, it was not until the end of August that he was allowed to leave Essex House. Later letters show the efforts made subsequently on his behalf at Court, for the renewal of his lease of the sweet wines and for restoration to the Queen's favour.

The position and authority of Essex's rival—Sir Robert Cecil, was now thoroughly established and, for the Queen's life-time at any rate, practically unassailable. At the same moment when the so called "favourite" was, with restricted liberty, under a burden of misfortune, fretting his heart out, Cecil had leisure, as it were, even amid the cares of ministerial life, to stock his parks with deer, to think about setting up "a race of horses" or buying land and houses, and to engage in maritime enterprises.

In addition to his Secretaryship, Sir Robert Cecil now filled the office of Master of the Court of Wards. Consequently many of the papers are concerned with the business of that office, and there are numerous applications for the grant of wardships.

Of those who claim kinship with Sir Robert Cecil, there are several from whom communications will be found. The lady, his "most loving Aunt," who occasionally has other epithets for herself—as, for instance, "Elizabeth Russell, desolate Dowager" —does not make so frequent an appearance as in some former parts of the Calendar, but sufficiently nevertheless, to display her business capacity, sturdy earnestness of purpose and quaint humour.

Members of the second Lord Burghley's family, Lucy, Marchioness of Winchester, the eldest son William and his wife Elizabeth, and the third son Edward, are frequent correspondents of their uncle. The last-named, who became in after times Vicount Wimbledon, writes from the Low Countries where this year he began "to follow the wars." Succeeding letters describe his fortunes and the incidents of the campaign, including the battle of Nieuport. His correspondence, however, has been printed in Dalton's *Life and Times of Sir Edward Cecil, Vicount Wimbledon.*

The latter's eldest brother William, who later succeeded his father as the 2nd Earl of Exeter, was also abroad in 1600, travelling in Italy. There he had the misfortune to fall under suspicion with the Queen of coquetting with Rome. His wife is the first to deprecate its truth, and writes to enlist the uncle's help in allaying it. Her husband's letter from Venice enclosing the "ceremony" of the Jubilee at Rome also refers indignantly to the "leprous tongues" which in his absence had slandered him "with coming hither for remission of sins and to become a Catholic."

There is evidence of considerable effort made in England during this year to oppose the *propaganda* of Papal doctrine, and to bring over those professing that faith to the established religion

of the country. The adherents of Catholicism were most numerous in the North, but no one was more zealous in his efforts to counteract the labours of "those popish pioneers" than the prelate who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the North West, Dr. Richard Vaughan, Bishop of Chester, afterwards Bishop of London. The Bishop writes in bitter terms of the Catholics around him. His pictures of the state of the country as regards religion are painted in gloomy colours, and he was surrounded, so he said, by persons of standing and influence, who were opposed to him. Marquess of Salisbury: Cecil MSS Part X.

As the year drew on, the situation, from his point of view, did not improve: he confesses himself "almost tired with the practices of that violent and virulent faction." Ere it closed, however, he had the satisfaction of sending up to London one Thurstane Hunt, "a desperate seminary priest," the "treacherous practiser and barbarous butcher" who was the plotter and ring-leader of all the outrages in the neighbourhood, upon whom he vehemently urged that speedy and sharp justice should be done.

There is much other information concerning Catholics in England or English Catholics abroad; indications of their views, aims and operations; little histories extorted or given in the examinations of individuals showing the methods by which the body of English students at St. Omers and elsewhere was recruited; the names and descriptions of a number of these students and others, and so forth.

As regards a diocese in the South-West of England, that of Exeter, its bishop draws up a catalogue of "Common Disorders" of which "the dangerous increase of Papists" was only one item. In addition there were "Atheists," instances of whose profane humour he relates; an "abuse of ministers" which did not stop at mere vituperation; schismatics who indulged in "conventicles in gardens and fields, and sermons preached at midnight"; and persons given to bigamous and even worse practices. The remedy the bishop asked for was an "Ecclesiastical Commission," already afforded to many other bishops nearer to London by a hundred and twenty miles than himself.

A point at issue in one of the Colleges of the University of Cambridge, dragged on undecided throughout the year, producing much correspondence from various quarters. This was the "headless" state of Clare Hall arising from the circumstance that, to fill the vacant office, a Master was wanted whose qualifications should correspond with the requirements of the College Statutes, but whom it seemed to be hard to find. In September, an appeal was made to Cecil to persuade the Queen to interfere and to give some order to their disordered state, thus inducing contentment not only in the College itself "but to "the whole University, much amazed and discouraged with this "dangerous delay." The "whole University" was however "amazed" to a greater degree this year by a controversy of wider interest, the "offensive doctrine" propounded by Dr. Overall in the Schools in his Divinity Lectures, and the

Marquess of Salisbury: Cecil MSS. Part X.

consequent public Disputation. While divisions thus existed within the University, there was also animosity without—the attitude of the townsmen having "grown intolerable," without hope of reformation until they should be made to understand "by some discipline" the consequence of incurring *indignationem principis*.

Concerning ecclesiastical matters proper, apart from the Overall controversy referred to above, there is not very much of interest.

The letters connected with the Scottish Borders are few. At the end of the winter one of the Wardens describes the country "as quiet as it was of a long time." A "day of march" for the reciprocal delivery of offenders was agreed upon by the English and Scottish Wardens. The place appointed for the purpose was that which was "most usual," and was noted in later times for another kind of "matching ceremonies," though not in the same building, "Gretnoe" church. There are some items of information concerning Berwick, the "costly postern of the Queen's Kingdom," once "the nursery of England for martial "men and their good discipline," but now fallen, so it was said, by reason of ill government, into "a receptacle and sink of all "the dissolute and cunning cosening livers" in the kingdom.

Papers connected with Scottish men and Scottish affairs are also not very numerous, but the majority of them yield lengthy abstracts.

Occurrences in Scotland, the proceedings of the King, the quarrels between his nobles, are chronicled by all the writers dating their letters from that country. We have also a portion of the long continued correspondence between Sir Robert Cecil and George Nicolson.

Concerning Wales, Welshmen and Welsh matters, Part X contains little. The Earl of Pembroke defends his conduct as President of the Council of the Marches and makes grave complaint of the conduct of one of the justices, Mr. Henry Townshend. The Welsh Dean of Westminster, Dr. Goodman, pleads the cause of the "poor inhabitants of the town of Ruthin," where he was born, and, on another occasion, denounces one Lloyd, a former Welsh servant of Cecil, as a common enemy of his country and a malicious persecutor of the Dean's nearest kinsman. Another Lloyd, smarting under a sense of having been hurt in pocket by certain of his countrymen, draws a somewhat uncomplimentary picture of them.

Dr. Morgan, Bishop of Llandaff, the translator of the Welsh Bible, is among those who offered Sir Robert Cecil a New Year's gift, its nature not mentioned, but graced by a modest comparison as being "cousin german to the widow's two mites."

With respect to the Kingdom of Ireland, "that land of 'ire'" —as Cecil punningly named it—the one great work of the closing year of the 16th century was to educe out of the confusion there order and peaceable government, and to enable "her Majesty's

kitchenmaid, alias the Lord Deputy," Lord Mountjoy, to do this, it was necessary first to reinforce him with fighting men, and having sent the men, then to feed them. With the arrangements made for these two purposes many of the letters to be grouped under the head of "Ireland" are chiefly concerned. Marquess of Salisbury: Cecil MSS. Part X.

Not all of them, however, have to do merely with transport. Some suggest schemes of overcoming the rebellion and outwitting the arch rebel Tyrone; others relate to the aid which he might count upon or which actually did come from Spain. Correspondents of Sir R. Cecil expatiate upon their personal services in Ireland and the scanty nature of their reward. Sir William Windsor describes in a long despatch "the prosperous success of our Northern enterprise," the expedition, that is, under his command to Lough Foyle in the months of May and June. Among epistles of a more personal character are two or three from Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel.

The year 1600 will ever be remarkable for a commencement of English mercantile enterprise in the far East, enterprise which laid the foundation of the Indian Empire. In this connexion we have the "petition of the merchants intending trade to the East Indies" to the Privy Council, and a letter from them to the Earl of Essex, when Royal encouragement was assured, begging Essex's consent to the employment of "his servant," Captain Davies, as a "principal director" of the voyage. Several of the promoters, viz. Alderman Bayninge, Richard Staper, William Garraway, John Eldred and Paul Pindar, were already concerned in the trade to the Levant. As regards the Levant trade, probably the earliest list in existence of persons connected therewith is furnished on pp. 214-217. It gives a remarkable census of the men engaged in furthering their own and their country's wealth in distant climes.

Among the strange visitors to the English shores and to London in 1600, one, or rather two, would arrest more than ordinary attention, namely, the members of an embassy to the Queen from Morocco, consisting of the King's secretary and a companion. They reached Gravesend about the middle of August. Not many particulars of the events of their stay in England are to be gathered. It lasted until the end of October, the Ambassadors residing in the house of Mr. Ratcliffe. The expenses connected with their entertainment were considerable, and there is a reference to the "spoil made by them" in the house which they had occupied.

The principal military event of this year in Flanders was the victory obtained at Nieuport by Count Maurice over the Archduke of Austria, a victory due in no small degree to the skill and valour of Sir Francis Vere and other Englishmen in the Dutch service. There are at least six different accounts of this engagement, including a copy of the despatch of the defeated Archduke himself, and a recital of the occurrences by Lord Grey, of Wilton, who went through this year's campaign, and took part and was slightly wounded in this fiercely fought battle. The

Marquess of Salisbury: Cecil MSS. Part X.

last named is the writer of several letters. Sir Robert Cecil's nephew Edward, one of the "poor men" that went over to "labour for a fortune" was also present and made a profitable capture of prisoners. After the news was received in England, the number of the English nobility in the Dutch camp whose presence was considered "to give a deal of grace" to their less distinguished countrymen, was reinforced by the arrival of the Earl of Rutland, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Cobham, all of whom, while absent from England, communicated by letter with the Queen's principal Secretary.

In the spring of the year, Monsieur de Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, came to England on a special mission. He brought in his train some eighty gentlemen of whom we have the names of a considerable number. His stay in London did not last much beyond the week. He was anxious to return home, possibly on account of "the many mouths that did feed upon his charge." His own expenses were no doubt considerable; the expensss of entertaining him certainly were, amounting to the sum of nearly 1,000*l*, a heavy drain upon the Queen's coffers, oftentimes "very empty."

Missions to France from this side were most unwelcome duties. Dr. Robert Beale deprecated such an undertaking. And later in the year, when the Earl of Rutland, at the Hague, heard that the Queen was thinking of taking advantage of his disposition to visit France to send him there as her Ambassador, he hastened to confess that such an employment was greater honour than he deserved, and that his unfitness for the service was manifest to all who knew him, "being unready "in the language, unacquainted with the 'entregent' of courtiers "and ceremonies that belong to princes, and above all, if I "should play the King now (my estate standing as it does) I "fear I should be constrained ever after to play the beggar,"

Among the few other papers connected with France, there are two or three letters of advertisement relating to Paris news, &c.

English Commissioners were sent in 1600 to Emden to meet other Commissioners from Denmark for the settlement of disputes between the two Kingdoms. With regard to the objects and results of this mission, this volume is virtually silent, but there are a few letters from one of the Commissioners, Dr. Bancroft, Bishop of London, which have an interest of their own. Starting in April, he returned at the end of July, bringing with him a vat of Rhenish wine, which he presented to Sir Robert Cecil, in a humorous letter.

The mission to the Emperor of Russia with which Sir Richard Lee was entrusted is illustrated by a few preliminary letters and one from himself written from Archangel in August, a fortnight after his arrival.

### THE MARQUESS OF BATH.

The papers from which the first volume of the report upon the manuscripts of the Marquess of Bath is compiled, consist of

a fragment of the Portland collection which was transferred to Longleat in consequence of the marriage in 1759 of Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth (created in 1789 Marquess of Bath), with Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Bentinck, second Duke of Portland, by Lady Margaret Cavendish, only daughter of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford. Partly inherited, partly the result of correspondence by the second Duchess of Portland, they are of miscellaneous character and very unequal value. The more important are described, with more particularity than is here necessary, in the Third Report of Your Majesty's Commissioners, Appendix, pp. 193-194. Marquess of Bath.

Papers relating to the sieges of Brampton Bryan and Hopton Castles serve to supplement the *Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley*, edited for the Camden Society by T. T. Lewis in 1854, and afford a clear and connected account of her gallant defence of Brampton Castle from its investment, 26th July, 1643, until its relief by Essex; her death early in the following September, and the second siege of the Castle during the winter and spring; the surprise by a party from Brampton (February, 1644) of Hopton Castle; the reduction of the latter place and the cold-blooded massacre of its garrison (March), and the subsequent reduction of Brampton Castle. These papers will doubtless prove a welcome addition to the particular history of a struggle, the interest in which is apparently inexhaustible.

The papers relating to the latter half of the seventeenth century are disappointing, even the letters of Burnet shedding very little light upon public affairs.

On the other hand, the papers of Queen Anne's reign are of capital importance in regard of the inner political history of the time. They enable us to trace the course of Harley's estrangement from the Whigs from its very beginning to the final rupture. For rather more than a year after his appointment to the Secretary's office all goes smoothly enough, but from the tone of his draft letter to Godolphin of 21st July 1705, it is evident that he had already incurred the Treasurer's suspicion, and was hard put to it to find language equal to allaying it.

The appointment of Cowper, one of the staunchest of Whigs, to the Lord Keeper's place, did not deter Harley from pressing his project of a broad bottom administration upon Godolphin with more urgency and at greater length in the following year.

The appointment (3rd December) of Sunderland as Secretary in succession to Sir Charles Hedges further strengthened the Whig interest; and thenceforth, Harley's letters, though written in much the same sense, are more circumspect in tone, and betray a certain uneasiness as of a man conscious that he was regarded with suspicion. Then followed the discovery of the treasonable correspondence that had passed through his office, and though the examination of his clerk, William Greg, failed to establish Harley's complicity, Godolphin evidently deemed it morally certain, for at the close of

Marquess of Bath.

the examination he sent Harley word by Attorney-General Harcourt that he was disgraced, a step which in such circumstances admits of no other interpretation; and to Harley's letter protesting his innocence (30th January 1707-8) he returned only the curt answer:—"I have received your letter, "and am very sorry for what has happened to lose the good "opinion I had so much inclination to have of you, but I cannot "help seeing and hearing, nor believing my senses. I am "very far from having deserved it from you. God forgive you"

On what passed between this date and Harley's resignation (9th February) the papers shed no light; nor do they add much to our knowledge of the means by which the subsequent victory was organised, while they are entirely silent as to the events which led to his second fall. Swift's attempt to vindicate him from the imputation of cunning is only interesting by its perversity.

In regard to matters external, the most voluminous correspondence is that which relates to the expedition, to the command of which, by Marlborough's advice, Lord Rivers was appointed.

The Countess of Marlborough, whose piteous letter is printed, was the widow of William Ley, the fourth and last earl. The very interesting correspondence between Oxford and Marlborough, during the summer and autumn of 1711, shows that the completion of Blenheim was the price of the apparent withdrawal of the Duke's opposition to the peace. Nevertheless, it is clear from a letter of the Queen to Oxford, which is probably of later date, that she was by that time convinced that Marlborough was playing a double game, though it was not until the close of the year that he was dismissed. The course of the peace negotiations is illustrated, though none too fully, by other letters, chiefly from the Queen and Shrewsbury to Oxford.

Shrewsbury's letters from Dublin, October 1713-March 1714, are diverting by the lively picture which they afford of the strife of factions in the city. The Duchess of Newcastle, two of whose letters are printed, was Margaret, third daughter and co-heir of Henry Cavendish, the second duke. She was widow of John Holles, Earl of Clare, created in 1694 Duke of Newcastle. The "wicked marriage" mentioned in the first letter was that of her only daughter, Lady Henrietta, to Edward Lord Harley, afterwards second Earl of Oxford. The Lady Margaret Harley, to whom the first Earl of Oxford wrote the pretty letter of 21st October, 1723, was Prior's "noble lovely little Peggy," the future (second) Duchess of Portland.

The letters of Arbuthnot on the publication of *Gulliver*, and of Voltaire referring to the *Henriade*, and the connexion of the Harley family with France, are of considerable interest. But the diligence of biographers has left so few remains of the wits of this period unprinted that they are here but meagrely represented, and abrupt indeed is the transition from the last letter of the author of *Gulliver* to the first of the author of *Night Thoughts*. It will be observed that Young's

letters begin at a critical epoch in his life. He had married in 1731 Lady Elizabeth Lee, daughter of Sir Edward Henry Lee, created in 1674 Earl of Lichfield. Marquess of Bath.

The letters on the whole evince a degree of optimism which is striking in a man of Young's melancholy cast of genius, and who deemed himself, not altogether without cause, to have not come by his deserts. It is interesting to find such a man ranking the pleasures of benevolence highest in the scale as being alone neither 'short' nor 'precarious' nor 'mixed,' and finding no objection to marriage but that "which "the wise world amongst its ten thousand objections never "makes—that the husband and wife seldom die in one day, "and then the survivor must necessarily be miserable."

As to public events, little is to be gathered from these letters, even the Jacobite insurrection of 1745 passing almost unnoticed. Much the same is to be said of the letters of Mrs. Montagu; their interest is mainly in the light they shed on the social life of the period. In this connexion attention may be drawn to the inventory of the Duchess of Portland's trousseau printed in the Appendix.

### LORD MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU.

The manuscripts of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu originally formed part of the great collection now at Montagu House, and this Report may therefore be considered as an appendix to that on the Buccleuch Manuscripts, noticed pp. 29-47 *supra*. The volumes at Beaulieu, however, form a small but complete collection in themselves, being numbered consecutively, and their contents having evidently been selected with care, as specimens of "Papers and letters on public "events," "Letters and autographs," and "Papers on Scotch "affairs." There is also one volume, not uniform with the rest, of "Orders, passes and commissions," mostly of the reigns of Charles II. and James II., which volume furthermore contains many miscellaneous documents, including a series of letters to Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Leicester. Many of the documents relating to public events, and notably those of Scotch affairs, are copies of speeches and other papers already in print or preserved amongst the State Papers, and these it has not been thought necessary to notice, but there are two documents of considerable importance which it may be well to mention before speaking of the correspondence forming the bulk of the collection. Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.

The first is a copy of the instructions to the Puritan clergy deputed to represent their party at the Hampton Court Conference. It gives a list of those present, showing that many attended in addition to the four learned doctors who were the actual disputants, and this is followed by a synopsis of the arguments.

Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.

The second paper above alluded to is an important list, which must have been made in 1607 or 1608, of the King's officers and fees in the great Courts, the royal household, the castles and forts, and his Majesty's houses, parks and forests throughout the realm, together with a list of the nobility, a table of musters, the names of fugitives beyond the seas, and the number of churches in the shires of England and Wales. This document follows the lines of the great list of Queen Elizabeth's reign, but differs from it and supplements it in various respects.

The main part of the collection consists of the correspondence of the Montagu family during the latter half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, and the value of these letters (as of many other collections) lies, it will be seen, not in startling discoveries, not even in any material fresh information, but in the view which they give us of how things struck a contemporary; how these high-minded gentlemen and true-hearted Englishmen looked upon the events passing around them, and how they played their parts in those troublous times.

Letters on county business and family affairs are numerous.

Other letters about this time deal with the disputes concerning Brigstock and the variances with the Judges as to the rights of the Montagues in Serjeants' Inn.

There are several letters here, as in the Buccleuch papers, in relation to the differences between the three brothers, Sir Edward, Sir Sidney, and Sir Charles; and here, as there, is one letter from Francis Bacon—now Lord Verulam—who seems to have interested himself in the endeavour to get matters amicably settled.

The next matter of public interest noticed is the return of Prince Charles from Spain, without the Infanta. Bonfires, bells, and the Tower ordnance announced the joyful news, the streets being so "stuffed with fires" that three hundred were counted between Whitehall and Temple Bar.

In 1630, there is a letter of gossip from Lord Manchester's steward to his fellow at Boughton, about a quarrel between Sir Lucius Cary (the Lord Falkland of the Civil War) and Sir Francis Willoughby. It also gives an account of a reported bloody bickering in Dublin between the Protestants and Papists, and of the great doings of the young Lord Craven in coming into his inheritance, and concludes with the curiously modern statement that the writer sends his friend three ounces "of the best smoke."

When the long Parliament met, three members of the house of Montagu took their seats in the Commons House; Sir Sidney, Lord Montagu's youngest brother, Edward, his eldest son, and George, the second son of the Earl of Manchester. Both Edward and George sent news to Boughton, but Lord Montagu's chief informants were his lawyer son William, writer of the above quoted letter (who afterwards rose to be

Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and was turned out by King James II., his only crime, as Sir John Reresby says, being that he would not give his opinion for the King's dispensing power) and one John Dillingham. Most of William Montagu's letters are amongst the Buccleuch papers, but Dillingham's very lively accounts of current events are in the Beaulieu collection. He seems to have combined the parts of family friend and family tailor, and turns suddenly from quoting a remark that nothing will bring back King Charles, even "though a committee was made and Jack Dillingham had "the chair," to mention that he is about to carry the young gentlemen their suits, and if Mr. Edward is desirous of another coat, he will make him one trimmed with silver lace for Sundays. He was probably a son of Thomas Dillingham, a former rector of Barnwell, in which case he was brother to Doctor William Dillingham, Master, a few years later, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Besides these letters, there are several news-letters, some of them in his handwriting, written at the time when the storm was gathering. Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.

Lord Strafford's trial, the business of the Bishops, affairs in Ireland, the efforts to remove the King's "evil counsellors," all in turn come under notice. A letter from Dillingham, written on December 21st, 1641, shows the intense distrust felt of the Queen, and her determination that if no Papists might be about the royal family, no Puritans should be there either.

Both here and in the Buccleuch collection there is a most regrettable absence of letters of the time of the Civil War.

A number of good foreign news-letters are included, and, notably, a long epistle from a gentleman attending on Sir Henry Wotton in his embassy to the Emperor in 1620, giving a very interesting account of the state of affairs just at the time when the brief rule of the unhappy Frederic in Bohemia was drawing to its close.

The other news-letters, mostly written in 1638 and 1639, contain, amongst other matter, notices of the siege of Brisach by Duke Bernard of Weimar, the birth of the Dauphin, the capture and imprisonment of Prince Rupert, the detention of his elder brother, the Prince Elector, in France, and a description of the terrible state of the Mark of Brandenbourg towards the end of the Thirty Years' War, where misery and famine had "turned Christians into cannibals." There are two later ones, in the last of which a correspondent at Amsterdam writes, in March, 1643, "Why doth the Parliament of England delay "so long to clear the justice of their cause and proceeding in "some manifest or other towards foreigners? The King hath "a great advantage against them in this particular, who hath "laid very heavy crimes upon them at Francfort and other "assemblies and Courts of Princes, by large and plausible "informations."

Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.

Amongst other miscellaneous papers in the earlier part of the volume, may be mentioned a curious set of "Rules concerning perilous days," in very archaic writing, two letters to Lord Justice Montagu, a letter written by Sir Henry Percy during the Duke of Norfolk's expedition to Scotland in 1560; an angry epistle from the Countess of Sussex, founder of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; and a series of letters to the Earl of Leicester, written in the spring of 1588, mostly from the Isle of Walcheren, which form a useful supplement to the Holland State Papers of that date.

The post-Restoration papers in this collection are almost entirely military, and have probably formed part of the Albemarle collection, which, as mentioned in the preface to the Buccleuch Report, was brought into the Montagu family by Ralph Montagu's second wife, the widow of Christopher, Duke of Albemarle. They contain many royal notes and orders, signed by Charles II. and James II., and give a good deal of information concerning the newly formed army.

The last notice of James II. is in a news-letter written in June, 1689, after his landing in Ireland.

### J. M. HEATHCOTE, ESQ., OF CONINGTON CASTLE.

J. M. Heathcote, Esq.

This collection consists almost entirely of the correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshaw, Bart., Ambassador from Charles II. to the courts of Portugal and Spain. The papers mostly belong to the years of his embassies, 1661-1666, and throw much light upon the relations of England with the Peninsula, and especially upon the history of the little English army there, sent out under the Earl of Inchiquin, and afterwards commanded by Count Schonberg (this is his own spelling of his name). They are rendered additionally valuable by the fact that they form a complementary series to the Spanish, Portuguese, and Tangier correspondence at the Public Record Office, and to Vol. 7,010 of the Harley MSS. at the British Museum. Fanshaw usually kept the drafts of his letters, and there is also an excellent letter-book for the period of the Portugal embassy, so that the collection is much richer in "out" letters than is often the case. This is particularly fortunate, as the letters actually sent are in very many cases missing from the Foreign Office papers. The later part of the collection, relating to the embassy to Spain, is by no means so complete, there being very little purely diplomatic correspondence found in it, but although separated from the other papers, this correspondence is not lost. The letters from January, 1664, to February, 1665, are printed in the volume of "Original Letters of his Excellency "Sir Richard Fanshaw," published in 1702, whilst those of a later date are to be found in the Harley volume at the British Museum, mentioned above, having been apparently selected with the idea of forming a second series.

The Calendar opens with the instructions given by Charles I. to Fanshaw as his Ambassador to Spain, signed by the King

on October 9th, 1647, just after he had been allowed to gather his council round him for the last time. No funds were forthcoming for the entertainment of the Ambassador from his Majesty of England, and the means proposed for his maintenance were only the proceeds of some fish sent over to Bilbao from Ireland in Lord Strafford's time. A month later, the King removed to Carisbrooke, and although Fanshaw went abroad, and his wife mentions in her "Memoirs" his credentials to Spain, he did not go further than France. J. M. Heathcote, Esq.: Fanshaw Papers.

Two years later, Fanshaw again received "instructions" to repair to Spain—this time at the bidding of the young King, now at St. Germains—to meet Hyde and Cottington, "Ambassadors Extraordinary" there. He went accordingly, but in July the Ambassadors Extraordinary wrote that he had pressing occasions to return to England, and they saw no use in keeping him any longer.

The King was now in Scotland, and Hyde and Cottington were anxiously waiting for news of his reception there. A little later, his sister Mary, Princess of Orange, writes to him about her portion money, and the Duke of York asks for his directions, and is, as his godmother, the Queen of Bohemia, assures the King "most truly obedient and affectionate" to his brother. The Queen also sends her nephew scraps of news from foreign parts. She tells him that the German Princes and deputies assembled at Frankfurt have "congratulated his crowning"; that the Duke of Würtemberg had burned the book in which Dr. Seifrid of Tübingen declared the late King's murder lawful, and has gone near to burning the Professor also; and that her son "Ned" has been calling the "pretended ambassadors" from England to the Hague by their true names. All these letters are holograph.

One more trace of Charles in Scotland is here—a recommendation of one Edward Whitney to the Governor of Virginia, signed by the King—and then there is a break of eight years in the papers.

Belonging to the year 1659, there is a little group of interesting autograph letters from Sir Edward Hyde.

For some years before, Fanshaw had been a prisoner upon parole in England, and unable to communicate with his friends abroad, but the Protector's death having set him free, he went to Paris with the young Lord Herbert.

Hyde, who was without doubt (in spite of Lady Fanshaw's strong belief to the contrary) a steadfast friend to Fanshaw, was desirous to find some fitting employment for him in the parcelling out of places caused by the rising hopes of the Royalist party. He had already been named as Latin Secretary, but Hyde considered this post, if "not dignified by the person" who held it, as of but little importance. Probably neither Hyde nor Fanshaw gave a thought to the present holder of the office in England, or could have realised (if they did) that by its connexion with the name of Milton it would be "dignified" for all time.

J. M. Heathcote, Esq.: Fanshaw Papers.

The post which Hyde chose for his friend—to be held with the other—was that of Master of Requests, whose position he declares to be second only to that of Secretary of State. These two offices were accordingly conferred upon Fanshaw, and held by him until his death.

The long letter conferring the offices is partly in cipher. There are many pages of decipher amongst his papers, evidently sent to him from England in answer to a confession to Arlington (in a letter in the Spanish correspondence at the Public Record Office) that he thought he must have taken out the wrong key, as he could not make out above five words in the despatches, and those five did not cohere. It seems doubtful whether he ever read the letter here printed at all, for an attempt (in his own handwriting) to unravel the first sentence, in which the words "for the wrong he has done you," take the remarkable form of "from they wara onga ha here divide gaine," cannot have helped him much to grasp the contents, although it has proved a very useful clue in discovering the key of the cipher.

Hyde asks very affectionately about Fanshaw's studies and pursuits, longs to see his translation of *Querer por solo querer* (a play by the Spanish dramatist, Hurtado de Mendoza), and urges him, if he must needs confine himself to translations, to make a collection of Spanish letters of the best writers. These letters from Brussels contain, of course, many allusions to affairs in England.

At the beginning of November, the little Court at Brussels was hungry for news, having heard nothing since the dissolution of Parliament. When the letters did come, Hyde was more perplexed than ever. The turns in England, he says, quite turn his head, and he knows not what to think of them. This is the end of the group of letters, which form a very pleasant addition to Hyde's correspondence at this time.

Other letters of his are scattered throughout the volume. There are courtly little notes to the Queen Regent of Portugal and to Queen Catherine, upon whose arrival in England he writes to apologise for not being at the port to welcome her. These letters were apparently done into Spanish by Fanshaw, as what are here are drafts in his hand. In August, 1662, he writes in evident dismay to the Queen Regent of Portugal on hearing that the young King is taking the reins into his own hands, and urges her not to free herself entirely from her burden, as by so doing she will deprive her son "of the most faithful, "the most experienced, and the most devoted counsellor that "his Majesty can ever have or hope for." In April, 1663, he assures Fanshaw that in spite of ill-health he has been as solicitous for the cause of Portugal as he possibly could be, but "could endeavour nothing effectually but by secret and "underhand treating with France," for which he has had a good opportunity, and which he hopes will have good effects. As regards home news, he hopes the Parliament mean to give give the King supplies, which will prevent inconveniences in

the three kingdoms, "in which there remain yet many restless "spirits." A month later, he writes indignantly of the refusal of the vice-king of Goa to deliver Bombay into Marlborough's hands. If this is not given, there will be an end to the alliance with Portugal. J. M. Heathcote, Esq.: Fanshaw Papers.

Next in order is a series of royal letters, including the "love "letters" of Charles II. and the Infanta Catherine, which are somewhat less formal and perfunctory than Royal letters were wont to be. It is evident that Charles wrote his letters in English, while the two Queens and the young King of Portugal wrote theirs in Portuguese. They passed through Fanshaw's hands, and he translated them. His master's letters, with his own Spanish translations of them, were no doubt duly presented by him at the Court of Lisbon, but of those given him in return, he often did not trouble to send the originals to England at all, as they are here amongst his papers.

When Fanshaw reached Portugal in the summer of 1661, that kingdom was in the midst of its struggle with Spain. King John had died in 1656, and his wife, Luisa de Guzman, ruled on behalf of her son Alfonso. Clarendon, Fanshaw, and Inchiquin all bear their testimony in her favour. By arranging a marriage with Charles II. for her daughter, she enlisted the sympathy of England, but seems not to have pleased the Portuguese. It had been intended that Fanshaw should either accompany the Infanta to England or remain behind her, but her journey was postponed, and he returned before her.

In April, 1662, the young Queen started for England, and after this there are only casual notices of the Queen. Hardly had she landed in England before a change took place in Portugal, which seriously affected the relations of the two countries. In a letter dated July 1st, 1662 (N.S.), Alfonso announced that, in consideration of the state of the kingdom, and to relieve his mother of the burdens resting upon her, he had taken upon himself the government. The news was received with dismay in England. He dismissed his mother's counsellors and placed the government in the hands of a young favourite of his own, the Conde de Castelmelhor. And yet from that moment fortune turned.

Castelmelhor found the country on the verge of ruin. So soon as he took the reins, victory declared itself on the side of Portugal, the soldiers were better paid, the people less hardly taxed. He was very popular for the reasons, Fanshaw writes, that he was of noble birth, which was more than could be said of many of Alfonso's associates, and that he was poor and remained poor; a fact which in itself spoke volumes.

The other minister who is prominent in these pages is Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, Secretary of State, who had formerly been in England on behalf of his Government.

The Earl of Inchiquin had by this time arrived with the English troops, and also some ships. The English soldiers

J. M. Heathcote, Esq.: Fanshaw Papers.

were but coldly received, and very soon it was reported that they could get no money, were every day in an uproar, and that the officers were already demanding passes and hurrying back to England.

In September, 1662, Sir Richard Fanshaw returned to Lisbon as permanent Ambassador from the Court of England. His wife and little ones were with him.

Meanwhile the English troops were becoming more and more dissatisfied. These papers are full of their complaints, but they struggled on month after month.

In April, 1663, Count Schonberg, who had by the influence of Turenne brought some French troops to Portugal, was appointed commander of the English "strangers" also, and was received with acclamation by the soldiers. The treaty with Spain was in its death pangs, the Spanish armies were advancing, and England could do little to help.

In May, 1663, the campaign with Spain had begun, and there are some very interesting and lively letters from Schonberg.

On June 8th the great battle of Ameixial or Canal was fought, and we have some interesting accounts of the victory; one written under Schonberg's supervision, and another by Col. James Apsley, younger son of Sir Alan and brother of Lucy Hutchinson, who, having been under a cloud in England, was now redeeming his character by his valour, much to the satisfaction of his family. Schonberg was warm in his praise of the conduct both of the French and the English troops; but the victory over, he was again confronted by the same difficulties. "The commanders," he writes, "after having "done so well, think of nothing but of resting themselves," instead of making use of their victory. The official account gave the number of English slain as fifty, but Apsley says about fifty were killed in each regiment of foot, with about forty or fifty wounded; and that the loss of the horse was far greater. Six English commissioned officers were among the slain.

The Portuguese army now invested Evora, and Schonberg was eager for an immediate attack, but again he had to tell the old tale. However, after the storming of Fort St. Antonio, Evora capitulated on June 25th, and the Spaniards were permitted to depart with much better terms than Schonberg thought necessary.

The English forces in Portugal continued to add to their reputation, and especially distinguished themselves at Valença, where they alone responded to an order to attack the town, and stormed a breach whilst the rest of the army looked idly on, losing eleven commissioned officers in half an hour, and nearly half their men. On June 17th, 1665, they had their share in gaining the great victory of Villa Viçiosa or Monte Claros, when the Spaniards were totally routed by Marialva. The last mention of the English troops is in January, 1666.

More than two years before this, in August, 1663, Fanshaw had returned to England, taking with him an earnest request from the King of Portugal that he might be allowed to go to Spain, and there once more try to arrange a peace with Portugal. J. M. Heathcote, Esq.: Fanshaw Papers.

On January 31st, 1664, he and his family again left England and journeyed to Madrid, which, however, they did not reach until June 8th (new style). The new Ambassador had his first audience on June 18th, the arrangements for it involving much discussion on various points of etiquette. As already stated, the diplomatic correspondence of this mission must be mostly looked for in the printed volume and the Harley MSS. (some cipher letters to Bennet of the summer of 1664 are in this collection, but they are all given in the printed volume, and the originals of them are at the Record Office), but the letters still remaining here show how many other matters Fanshaw had to take in hand.

In September, 1665, the King of Spain died, and his young son, Charles II. was proclaimed.

During this year, Fanshaw engaged in the ill-fated negotiation with Spain which brought about his recall. He agreed with the Spanish Court upon a treaty, with the proviso that it was to be ratified at a certain date, unless protested against by England. Lady Fanshaw believed Clarendon's (supposed) hatred of her husband, and his anxiety to find a place for his "cast Condé," as she calls Sandwich, to have been the cause of the Ambassador's disgrace, asserting that the English ministers had had the papers in their hands five months; but as the express was not despatched until November 1st, and the treaty was signed December 17th, it can hardly be thought that a very sufficient margin was left for the possible delays and accidents of the double journey, to say nothing of the time needed for deliberation in England. Lady Fanshaw's idea that her husband's disgrace was the result of an intrigue in England, is, however, strongly supported by other evidence.

In January, 1666, Fanshaw started on a fresh mission to Lisbon, there to meet Sir Robert Southwell and, with him, to try once more to arrange terms of peace between Portugal and Spain. The volume fitly draws to a close with the correspondence between the husband and wife during their brief separation. These last letters of Fanshaw's are very characteristic. He writes loving words to his wife, bids his girls make ready to act his play before Sir Robert Southwell, whilst his little boy Dick may "lug his puppy by the ears quite unconcerned," and urges strongly upon his friends at the Spanish Court—who openly resented another Ambassador being sent to supersede him—his desire that they should offer to Lord Sandwich a reception no less cordial than that which they had given to himself.

No letter here records the end of the mission, but it may perhaps be permissible to borrow a few lines from

J. M. Heathcote, Esq.: Fanshaw Papers.

a despatch from Sandwich to Arlington, in the Spanish correspondence. "The conclusion of this letter," he writes, "must be tragical, it having pleased God to take my Lord "Ambassador Fanshaw out of this life on Saturday last, "the 16-26th inst. [June], about eleven o'clock at night. I "was in his embraces in the evening, when his hands were "cold and life was hastening to expire, yet had he perfect "sense. He most Christianly submitted to God's will, ex- "pressed great love and fidelity for his Prince, and resisted "temptations from the people of this religion, who did press "upon him more than was fitting in that hour of parting. "He is universally lamented here as a good and worthy "person."

Next in importance to the papers connected with Spain and Portugal are the letters written from or relating to the British garrison at Tangier, which form a very valuable supplement to those at the Public Record Office. Closely connected with the affairs of Tangier are the letters from Sir John Lawson, Admiral Thomas Allin, and other commanders, giving us many interesting details concerning the English fleet.

In connexion with the West Indies, attention may be drawn to a number of curious depositions relating to the unfortunate Prince Maurice, his shipwreck and imprisonment, and the supposed manner of his death; concerning which there are only one or two slight rumours recorded in the Colonial State Papers. One account even professes (though in a very confused fashion) to give the words spoken by him to a chance fellow prisoner.

### J. B. FORTESCUE, ESQ., OF DROPMORE.

J. B. Fortescue, Esq.

After the publication of Volume II. containing Lord Grenville's correspondence from the beginning of 1791 to the end of 1794, a second inspection of the portfolios at Dropmore brought to light other papers of great interest relating to the periods embraced by Volumes I. and II.

These papers are now printed as Addenda to Volume III. The earliest of them are confidential letters from Pitt, Sir James Harris, and William Eden to Grenville, and the replies of the last named during and after his missions to the Hague and Paris in 1787. Besides affording valuable information in regard to the internal factions of the Dutch Republic, which involved Prussia and Great Britain as supporters of the House of Orange, and France as the ally of the Burgher party or Patriots, they bring into contrast the methods and characters of Harris and Eden, representing rival schools of English diplomacy; and they show clearly the unbounded trust already reposed by Pitt in Grenville's ability and judgment in situations of great responsibility for which previous training had not specially fitted him. While Pitt sought by negotiation to obtain the concessions required from France, the Duke of Brunswick cut the knot of the difficulty by marching into the Provinces at

the head of a Prussian army, and restoring the supremacy of the Prince of Orange. In April 1788, Harris signed a treaty at the Hague renewing the political alliance that had existed between Great Britain and the Dutch Republic from the English revolution of 1688 until 1780. In the following June, he induced the King of Prussia to join the maritime powers in forming a Triple Alliance for mutual defence and the preservation of peace. For these services George III. raised him to the House of Peers as Lord Malmesbury. As appears from his letters to Grenville, dated December 27th, 1787, Harris had aimed at making the union between the English and Dutch nations firm and cordial by coming to an agreement in regard to conflicting claims of maritime right and commercial interest, which formed a perpetual cause of dissension. "Affection," he wrote, "will follow complaisance, gentle "usuage, and not too rough and unqualified an exercise of "our influence." The reverse of this "lost us the Republic." But the British Government demanded advantages which the Dutch would not grant. Later on, William Eden, who had been rewarded for his diplomatic labours at Paris by an Irish barony, with the title of Auckland, and succeeded Malmesbury as Ambassador at the Hague, resumed the unfinished work of conciliation on which the stability of the Anglo-Dutch alliance in a great measure depended. His letters to Grenville, now Secretary of State for the Home Department, in 1790 and the earlier months of 1791, indicate clearly that although the Duke of Leeds held the office of Foreign Secretary, Grenville was Pitt's chief confidant and counsellor in matters affecting the external interests of the monarchy. J. B. Fortescue, Esq.

Lord Grenville's correspondence, however, for the first four months of 1791, is chiefly concerned with the business of the Home Department, that is, the administration of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies.

Towards the end of April the King appointed Lord Grenville Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in succession to the Duke of Leeds.

Interesting accounts of the flight of Louis XVI. and his family from Paris, in June 1791, founded on statements of Count Fersen, Marquis de Bouillé, and M. de Calonne, and sent to Grenville by the British resident at Brussels, are included in the Addenda.

Richard Burke figures in the correspondence as a medium of communication between the French Princes on the Rhine and the British Cabinet. Later on in the year, he acted in a similar capacity for the Irish Catholics.

The abstention of Great Britain deterred the Emperor from entering into an open conflict with the French Revolution. Lord Grenville's interpretation of the declaration of Pillnitz was, that the German sovereigns had determined to do nothing. An account of the motives attributed to them, and the chagrin of the French *emigrés*, is given in a confidential letter from Mr. Jackson, Secretary of Legation at Berlin.

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Many of Auckland's letters during the year 1791, deal with current negotiations for a commercial treaty, intended to cement the political alliance of the English and Dutch nations. But all his efforts to frame articles which the Dutch Government could accept, proved unavailing against the adverse influence of Lord Hawkesbury.

Diplomatic intercourse between Great Britain and the United States of America had been suspended in consequence of breaches by both parties of the articles of peace agreed to in 1784. Mr. Colquhoun, a Glasgow merchant, and Colonel Smith, son-in-law of Vice-President Adams, exerted themselves to improve the relations of two kindred people. Encouraged by Colquhoun's letters, Lord Grenville sent Mr. Hammond to Philadelphia, in the summer of 1791, to discuss terms of settlement; and later in the year, Mr. Pinkney came to London to represent General Washington. It appears from one of Hammond's letters that a geographical blunder in an article of the treaty of 1784, framed expressly to secure to British subjects the free navigation of the Mississippi, completely excluded them from that river.

Interspersed with these letters on political affairs are others of freer range and more familiar character from Lord Grenville's elder brother, the Marquis of Buckingham, and the Earl of Mornington, his most intimate friend. Mornington's letters are chiefly concerned with the scenes and incidents of his travels in Italy and Germany during the winter of 1790, and the spring and summer of 1791. They are the gems of the collection, and cannot fail to delight the reader by their power and brilliancy of description, cultivated taste, amusing and instructive comment, and the pleasing light in which they exhibit the writer's personal relations with Lord Grenville. Lord Buckingham's letters too frequently reflect the temper of a dissatisfied politican, irritated by constant disappointment of his hopes of place at Court or in the Cabinet in requital for services and sufferings, in great measure self-inflicted, during his second tenure of the post of Irish Viceroy. But the habits of affection and unreserved confidence in which the brothers lived, and the thoroughness with which Lord Buckingham entered into every question affecting Grenville's advancement or happiness, give them great historical value.

The prolonged correspondence on the subject of the Duke of York's marriage, exemplifies the chronic ill-humour and biting sarcasm to which Lord Thurlow seems to have given free rein in communicating with his principal colleagues, after Pitt sent Grenville to the House of Lords to take charge of public business. During a visit to Berlin in the summer of 1791, the Duke became engaged to a daughter of the King of Prussia. George III. postponed his formal assent to the union until Parliament should meet and make suitable provision for it. The King of Prussia growing impatient of the delay, Mr. Ewart, at the Duke's solicitation and unmindful

of the Royal Marriage Act, assumed the responsibility, on the strength of a private letter of enquiry from Pitt, of signing a provisional contract, which satisfied the Prussian Ministry, and enabled the ceremony to be performed at Berlin. Ewart's letters on the subject of this marriage, and the replies of Pitt and Grenville, will be found in the Addenda. J. B. Fortescue, Esq.

Abundant evidence may be found in the correspondence of the increasing distrust which the aggressive character assumed by the French Revolution at the end of 1791, under the direction of the Girondin party, aroused in the British and Dutch Governments.

Lord Auckland's letters in 1792 contain frequent allusions to the secret relations of De Maulde, the new French envoy at the Hague, with the "Patriot" party, and the care taken by the Dutch Government to intercept and copy his correspondence. Mr. Lindsay, by his confidential reports as Chargé d'Affairs at Berlin after Ewart's return to England, led Lord Grenville to attribute the estrangement of the King of Prussia to personal faults of Ewart, rather than to political causes. The letters of Sir Morton Eden, Ewart's successor, quickly dispelled this illusion. They also give us striking pictures of the weak and dissolute character of the Prussian Monarch, the sway of his profligate favourites, the impotence of Prussian ministers, and the evil influence of court manners on the society of the capital.

Lord Buckingham's letters for May, 1792, and the following months, refer to various events in England that excited great interest at the time: Lord Thurlow's mutiny and dismissal: Pitt's negotiation with the aristocratic section of the Whig party; a royal proclamation against seditious societies, and the loyal addresses it evoked; the Birmingham riots.

Lord Grenville's marriage to Annette Pitt, only daughter of Lord Camelford, is the subject of an affectionate letter from the Marquis of Buckingham, dated July 18th. His wedding tour was interrupted by the overthrow of the French Monarchy on August 10th. The Cabinet immediately recalled the British Embassy from Paris. Horrible details of the massacre at the Tuilleries, communicated by Morley, a Foreign Office Messenger, and Mr. Lindsay, Secretary of the Embassy, are given in letters from Bland Burges to Grenville, dated August 15th and September 3rd. The application from Baron de Breteuil, and Chauvelin's official note, referred to in letters of Pitt and Dundas, dated August 17th and 18th, are included in the Addenda. Another letter from Burges to Grenville, dated September 8th, contains particulars of the September massacres, brought from Paris by Mr. Lindsay, who had been detained in that city for several days after Lord Gower's departure.

A very interesting memorandum by Lord Grenville, dated September 24th, of a conversation with M. de Talleyrand on the subjects of the political tragedies of August and September

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in Paris, may be found among the Addenda; as also two letters from Edmund Burke in reference to the new political situation created by them.

A sudden rush across the British Channel of a multitude of proscribed priests, reported by Mason, a Foreign Office messenger, on September 12th, seems to have caused some dismay in England. As a set-off against this unwelcome news, Mason wrote an amusing account of Thomas Payne's escape to France.

Sir James Murray had gone to the Duke of Brunswick's headquarters at the end of July with private instructions from Lord Grenville to send home reports on matters affecting the political or military situation. But the German sovereigns, being much dissatisfied with the policy of the British Government, kept it quite in the dark in regard to their plans and objects. Letters, however, from General Money, commanding a division of Dumouriez's army, and a letter from another English officer serving under the Duke of Brunswick, giving interesting accounts of the campaign of Valmy from opposite camps, will be found in the Addenda. These also include a report by Stephen Rolleston of intelligence collected from various quarters regarding the secret negotiations between the King of Prussia and the Executive Council of Paris, which paved the way for the evacuation of France by the German armies; and an account of the early career of Lebrun, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, by A. W. Miles.

The papers contain only passing references to the official correspondence between Lebrun or Chauvelin and Grenville which led up to an open rupture betwen Great Britain and France. But they supply a good deal of information with respect to a concurrent negotiation, in which Dumouriez seems to have played the principal part. It would appear that the French general conceived a project of inducing the neutral powers to intervene for the restoration of peace, and, with their moral if not material support, of using his army to re-establish constitutional monarchy in France. The Dutch Government identified itself with the first part of this scheme, in which Lebrun co-operated. Dumouriez made overtures to Lord Grenville through M. de Talleyrand, who had returned to England after the downfall of Louis XVI., and disclaimed all connexion with the rulers of the Republic; and through De Maulde he invited Lord Auckland to a personal conference. Lord Grenville, however, as his letters show, had by this time made up his mind thoroughly as to the necessity, or expediency, of war with France. He declined to grant Talleyrand an interview on December 22nd. And although he seems to have entered into communication with him afterwards at the request of M. Malouet, he returned no answer, apparently, to Talleyrand's remarkable letter of January 28th, 1793, from Juniper Hall, announcing Maret's mission to London; and he only consented to an interview between Auckland and Dumouriez in order that the Dutch Government might have more time for military preparation. This meeting, however,

was prevented by the declaration of war, by which the Convention replied to an Order in Council, requiring Chauvelin to quit England. Madam de Stäel joined Talleyrand at Juniper Hall after the trial of Louis XVI., and announced her arrival in England to Lord Grenville in a characteristic letter.

Confidential letters and instructions in reference to treaties of alliance with Spain, Prussia and Russia, then engaged in the second partition of Poland, Austria and Naples; the appointment of the Duke of York to command the British and Hanoverian troops in the Netherlands, and other matters bearing on the war, make up a large part of the correspondence during the first months of 1793. A letter of Lord St. Helens contains an amusing sketch of Godoy, the new Prime Minister of Spain. Sir Morton Eden, who had resigned the office of British Minister at Berlin in disgust, was transferred to Vienna early in the year; and Count Starhemberg, brief notices of whose character and aims occur in Lord Auckland's letters during the year 1792, replaced Count Stadion as Austrian Minister in London.

Letters of the King and Pitt point to the capture of Dunkirk for Great Britain and the fortresses of French Flanders as a barrier for the Austrian Netherlands, the destruction of French arsenals, and the conquest of French colonies by naval expeditions, as the main objects to which the efforts of the monarchy were to be directed.

A British peerage having been conferred on Lord Auckland for his exertions in Holland, he returned to England after the evacuation of the Netherlands by Dumouriez, and soon afterwards retired from the diplomatic service. In the course of the summer, he introduced to Lord Grenville M. de Jarry, a distinguished French strategist, strongly recommended by Count Mercy, Imperial Minister at Brussels. Grenville engaged De Jarry to collect information about the royalist insurgents of Brittany and La Vendée, but seems to have employed him chiefly in drawing up military plans and reports, highly lauded for ability and knowledge, but apparently never followed, or not until it was too late.

Two remarkable letters from M. Malouet, a leading French statesman of the party of constitutional monarchy, and M. Mallet du Pan, one of the ablest political writers of the time, warned Lord Grenville in August that the dilatory tactics of the allied powers, each of them intent on the pursuit of some selfish aim, would infallibly lead to the triumph of the Revolution.

The correspondence for the remainder of the year 1793, records the failure of conflicting interests and a want of energy in command to overcome the patriotic efforts of the French people to save their country from partition. The evacuation of Toulon later in December, and the complete discomfiture of the Prussian and Austrian armies operating in Alsace, filled the measure of popular disappointment, so freely expressed in Lord Buckingham's letters.

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Lord Grenville, however, relied confidently on the inability of the Jacobin Government, with ruined finances, and a famine-stricken and generally hostile population, to maintain such an exhausting and unequal struggle. A strenuous and united effort of the coalition, on a regular plan, must, it was thought, bring the war to a successful issue. Acting on this conviction, the British Ministry sent Lord Malmesbury to Berlin to confer with the King of Prussia; put pressure on the Austrian Government to appease by concessions the jealousies of the Dutch and Prussians; and with judgment biased no doubt by an absorbing care of British interests, caused General Mack's plan of campaign for 1794 to be adopted.

It is clear from Pitt's letters to Grenville, in October, 1793, that the Ministry at first decided to insist on the King of Prussia fulfilling his engagements to Great Britain. Frederick William pleaded inability to do so on account of the empty state of the exchequer, but offered an army of 100,000 men for a subsidy of about 2,000,000*l*. Two confidential letters from Lord Malmesbury, written on January 9th, 1794, throw considerable light on the state of affairs at Berlin.

A memorandum of Pitt, dated July 15th, tells us the measures by which he proposed to retrieve the reverses in the Netherlands. The only new political feature it presents is a concert with the French Princes for the enrolling of regiments of *émigrés* to reinforce the royalist insurgents in Western France.

Mr. Grenville's letters from Vienna presented a very discouraging picture of the internal state of the Austrian monarchy and unpopularity of the war, and the difficulties thrown in Baron Thugut's path by the great nobles who filled the chief places at Court. A want of vigour in the administration, and of accord between its military and political views and those of the British Ministry, impressed the envoys so unfavourably that they set their faces against England incurring any pecuniary risk for an Austrian alliance. When, however, they returned home in November, Lord Grenville sent back Sir Morton Eden, then repenting at leisure of a hasty acceptance of the vacant embassy at Madrid, to resume his post at Vienna, and discuss with Thugut the amount and conditions of an Austrian loan to be raised in London on the credit of the British Government. Marshal Möllendorf having again declined to move his army for the defence of the Dutch Republic, Pitt stopped payment of the Prussian subsidy for October. The King of Prussia retaliated by withdrawing his troops from the Rhine, and refused to take any further part in the war until all arrears had been paid up. A note of the Prussian case, as presented to Lord Grenville by Baron Jacobi, is included in the Addenda. The French generals were not slow in turning the discord of the enemies to account. Letters which passed at this time between Lord Grenville and Lord St. Helens, who had succeeded Lord Auckland as British Ambassador at the Hague, and from the Duke of York to his father, bring out clearly the impotence of the Dutch Govern-

ment to take effectual measures of defence, in consequence of the disaffection or apathy of a population exasperated by the disorderly conduct of at least a part of York's army. J. B. Fortescue, Esq.

Other letters from General Clairfait, who had succeeded Cobourg in command of the Austrians, to Count Starhemberg, throw a good deal of light on the circumstances that facilitated Pichégru's rapid conquest of the Dutch provinces in the winter of 1794-5.

References in Lord Grenville's papers, after the breaking out of war with France, to matters of domestic politics, or of merely personal interest outside the catalogue of Lord Buckingham's grievances, are few and brief.

But although poor in information about the internal affairs of the British monarchy, the collection is exceedingly rich in confidential reports on the internal affairs of France. Two series of these, anonymous and in French, dealing with the Revolutionary Government established in Paris in the autumn of 1793, its methods, its resources, the perils that beset it, the characters and aims of the men who directed it, the internal dissensions that finally destroyed it, though now published in an incomplete form, are of special interest and importance. Lord Grenville dealt with these two sets of reports in the same fashion. He retained one part of both in his own hands, and left the other part in the Foreign Office, without adding in either case note or comment to denote the author, or the common origin of the separated parts.

The concluding papers of one series, of which the more important is entitled *Mémoire sur le Comité de Salut Public*, are printed with the Addenda of this volume. They form the continuation of an elaborate historical treatise, the first part of which, now preserved in the Public Record Office, has been published by Mr. Oscar Browning as an appendix to Lord Gower's despatches from Paris. Copious extracts from both parts in M. Taine's History of the French Revolution, leave no doubt in the editor's mind that they are the work of the famous political writer—Mallet du Pan.

The other series of secret reports, beginning on September 2nd, 1793, and forming in Volume II. a continuous record to June 22nd, 1794, came to Lord Grenville from Mr. Drake, British Minister at Genoa. In transmitting the first of these bulletins, as he named them, Drake wrote, on November 9th, "I have the honour to enclose a detailed account of the sitting "of the *Committee of Nine* on the 2nd of September. Your "Lordship may rely on the authenticity of it, as it was "drawn up by a person who is employed as secretary of "that committee, and who conceals his real principles under "the cloak of the most extravagant Jacobinism."

Lord Grenville retained in his own custody all the bulletins that came to him during the Reign of Terror, generally six weeks after they had been written. Those received after August 2nd, 1794, he deposited with Drake's secret despatches

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in the Foreign Office. Although their relations continued with hardly a break during the remaining period of his diplomatic employment in Italy, Drake appears to have been unable for a long time to learn anything more about his mysterious correspondent than the circumstances that he was a royalist of fanatical type, and a secret agent of Count de Provence, known as Monsieur until the death of his nephew in June, 1795, and afterwards as Louis XVIII. But his secret despatches in the sequel supply information which seems to fix the identity of the writer of the bulletins beyond reasonable doubt.

A royalist agent residing at Venice, referred to in one of the bulletins as a man of considerable mark, personally known to English Ministers, and an old friend of the writer, acted as an intermediary between the latter and Drake. This description points to Count d' Entraigues, chief political manager for Monsieur, or some one intimately associated with him.

An unsigned covering letter from the intermediary to Drake, dated August 27th, 1795, excuses orthographical errors in the bulletins by stating that in order to guard against discovery, which might compromise the writer, he had the original copied at Venice by a child only ten years old.

Strong antipathies divided the writer of the bulletins, who hated a constitutional royalist more than a Jacobin, from Mallet du Pan, an advocate, like his friend Malouet, of the reforming policy of Louis XVI. One of the bulletins affords amusing proof of this antagonism in the care with which the attention of the British Government is drawn to a boastful letter of Mallet, found among the papers of Herault de Sechelles.

Nevertheless, a remarkable degree of agreement may be observed in their reports, in regard not only to the leading features of the system of terror, but as to details of its working, and the characters of those who worked it. Another point worth noting is that information supplied in the bulletins as to matters particularly affecting the British Government, is frequently confirmed by other evidence in the correspondence. For example, the revelation of a design to murder George III. and Pitt is fully corroborated in the disclosures of an Irish priest named Ferris to Bland Burges at the Foreign Office in London. And Count Mercy, at Lord Grenville's request, caused the emissaries of the Committee of Public Safety to be tracked and arrested in Belgium on their way to England. Drake's own accounts from the South of France correspond with the statement in another bulletin of the number and condition of the French troops besieging Toulon. The double part played by the writer enabled him to diversify his narrative by confidential information drawn from Royalist as well as Jacobin sources. But the chief ground on which the bulletins challenge attention is their want of accord with most of the standard works on the French revolution in two particulars of great historical interest: (1), the position they assign to Abbé Sieyès

as standing counsel of the Revolutionary Government, and more especially, prompter and mainstay of Robespierre; and (2), the part attributed to St. Just as chief opponent of Robespierre's supremacy, after the latter had rid himself by means of the guillotine of all his political rivals, in March and April, 1794. The bulletins immediately following the last printed in Volume II., dated June 14th-22nd, embrace the events of the 9th Thermidor, or July 28th; and consequently bring the narrative in regard to both of those debatable points to a conclusion. J. B. Fortescue Esq.

The circumstances of Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and sudden recall, assume a somewhat novel aspect in Lord Grenville's correspondence. Readers of Lord Buckingham's letters during his tenure of the same office in 1788-1789, published in Volume I., will remember the strong personal antagonism that embittered his conflict on the Regency question with Mr. Ponsonby, leader of the Irish Whigs, and close ally of the Duke of Portland; and his deep mortification at what he considered the ingratitude of the Crown for services rendered during that political crisis. Constant disappointment of his hopes of royal favour, for which he held Pitt in some measure responsible, did not suffer those feelings to subside during the five following years. In this frame of mind he resented the appointment of the Duke of Portland as Home Secretary, with an intention, avowed soon afterwards, of restoring Ponsonby to office in Ireland under Lord Fitzwilliam, as a repudiation of his own acts as Lord Lieutenant by Pitt and Grenville, who had been parties to them; and when, in spite of his remonstrances, the new arrangements had been completed, he gave free vent to his indignation in letters to both. Grenville's replies betrayed deep pain on account of his brother's reproaches, and conveyed the most earnest assurances, which a letter from Pitt confirmed, that Buckingham's reputation had been particularly guarded by the rejection of every proposal which could be interpreted as casting a slur on his Irish administration. Buckingham, however, demanded as a public testimony of the approbation of the Crown, either the endowment of an Irish peerage for his second son, or a seat in the Cabinet for himself. On these terms being rejected, he broke off all relations with Grenville and Pitt until the recall of Fitzwilliam afforded him the satisfaction he required. An attentive perusal of the papers leaves an impression that the personal sensibilities of the Marquis of Buckingham formed an important though hitherto unappreciated factor in the shaping and the ending of a political episode, which has provoked much controversy.

A comparative statement of the conditions of two new conventions concluded by Great Britain with Russia and Austria, and constituting a triple alliance for defensive purposes, will be found at the end of the correspondence for May, 1795.

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The prospect, which British Ministers seem to have regarded as certain, of a sudden and complete collapse of the Jacobin Republic is made probable by an anonymous report in French which gives a vivid picture of the miserable condition of France in the spring of 1795, under the combined pressure of famine, anarchy, and financial embarrassment; and of the rapid progress of a conservative movement for the restoration of religion, monarchy and peace. The writer's statements are simply confirmed in an abstract, made by or for Lord Grenville, of speeches in the French Convention, and reports of British diplomatic agents. The comments on these reports, as well as Grenville's minute, dated April 23rd, of a conference with Count Wedel, Danish Minister in London, testify to his firm conviction that the provisional Government, dragging out a precarious existence in Paris, could not possibly continue the war. French and English accounts bear witness alike to the ascendency of Siéyès in the French Convention.

Two of the circumstances which told fatally against the success of the unfortunate expedition to Quiberon Bay in June, 1795, are clearly brought out in the correspondence; (1) A general disinclination of continential governments to allow facilities for the enrolling of regiments of French *émigrés*; and (2), The long detention of Count de Puisaye in London while the Ministry considered his proposals, a main cause of the submission of the Royalists Chiefs at La Jaunaye in February, 1765.

An abstract of numerous letters addressed by the Chouan chiefs to Puisaye during the winter of 1794-5, insisting on the need of immediate succour from England, and of his own return to Brittany, is included in the Addenda. When accounts arrived early in July of the occupation of Quiberon Peninsula by Puisaye's small force, and the good dispositions of the Chouans, Pitt determined to send nearly 20,000 British troops, under the command of Lord Moira, to support the French insurgents. A British ship of war brought Count d'Artois from the Elbe to Spithead to join the expedition. Later news of Puisaye's defeat retarded the naval and military preparations; and the peace concluded at Basle between France and Spain caused the enterprise to be abandoned.

Lord Buckingham was at this time quartered at Southsea with his regiment of militia. Several of his letters to Grenville during the month of August are also exclusively concerned with the situation of the French Prince, who, in order to avoid arrest for debt, lived on shipboard for several weeks in a painful state of suspense and discomfort until the Cabinet despatched him and the French regiments which had escaped from Quiberon to join Count de Charette in La Vendée. General Doyle accompanied Artois with 4,000 British troops to protect his disembarkation on the coast of Poiton.

An interesting report by Baron de Nantiat, who was sent by Lord Grenville early in July on a mission to Charette, and

did not return until after Artois's departure from England, exposes frankly the wants, plans, and sentiments of the great royalist chief at this critical period of his career. J. B. Fortescue, Esq.

Lord Grenville's correspondence shows that the political state of the Dutch Republic also occupied much of the attention of the Ministry during the year 1795.

Most of the King's letters during the last months of 1794, and the first months of 1795, are concerned with preliminary arrangements for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, whose journey to England under the care of Lord Malmesbury was much retarded by the French conquest of Holland. In November 1795, the Hereditary Prince of Wurtemberg became a suitor for one of the King's daughters, but judging from George III.'s first letter on the subject, with little prospect of success. The Prince's perseverance, however, gradually surmounted all the obstacles raised by his Majesty's dislike of the alliance, and the marriage was celebrated in the spring of 1797. The King peremptorily rejected the addresses of the Duke of Ostrogothia, who aspired to the hand of another English Princess.

In September 1795, the correspondence begins for the first time to betray signs of discouragement in regard to the prosecution of the war, and a sense of the expediency of making peace, if peace could be obtained on honourable and advantageous terms.

Lord Buckingham's letters in November refer, in a lighter vein than might be expected from an alarmist, to riots in London, and feeble opposition in the Legislature to repressive measures introduced by Government.

In December, M. Regnier sent Grenville a report on French affairs, containing short accounts of the Directors and their principal Ministers, who formed the executive Government of France under the constitution of the year III.

Lord Elgin's confidential letters from Berlin as British Minister during the year 1796 and 1797, give us pictures of the governing influences and unstable policy of the Prussian Court not less curious and discreditable than those contributed by his predecessors, Lord Malmesbury and Sir Morton Eden.

### F. W. LEYBORNE-POPHAM, ESQ.

The Littlecote collection includes two quite distinct series of papers, arranged chronologically. The value of the collection is mostly departmental, the one series being chiefly concerned with military, and the other with naval affairs.

To take the latter first, the Popham papers, properly so called, consist, with a few exceptions, of the correspondence of Colonel Edward Popham, one of the three "Generals at Sea" for the Commonwealth. He was the fifth and youngest Popham Papers.

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son of Sir Francis Popham, of Littlecote, and grandson of Sir John, the Lord Chief Justice of the end of Elizabeth's reign.

There are two letters addressed to Sir John Popham, the first being on the working of the new poor laws. The other letter is from Balliol College, Oxford, concerning the benefactions to the College of Peter Blundell, the founder of Tiverton Grammar School. A later letter, relating to Blundell's foundations at Cambridge, alludes to the fact that Sir John was one of his trustees.

Edward Popham himself was born about 1610, was the captain of the ill-fated 5th Whelp, cast away in 1637, received his commission as Colonel of a regiment of foot in May, 1645, and on February 27th, 1648-9, was appointed by the Council of State one of the three "Commissioners for ordering and commanding the fleet during the coming year."

The Admiralty papers of this period are so fully dealt with in the Calendars of State Papers, that large numbers of documents in this collection may be passed over with a mere mention. But there remain many interesting letters, especially those from the generals themselves, and there are also portions of Col. Edward Popham's journal, which give a good deal of fresh information.

In March, 1649, the fleet put to sea under Col. Popham's command, and sailed westward. His journal gives their movements up to April 16th, when there is a break in the narrative.

The later part takes the fleet to Kinsale, which was reached on the 1st of May. Here it was determined that Blake and Deane should remain to block up Prince Rupert's ships, then in the harbour, while Popham returned to London to report to the Council of State and obtain supplies. The fleet had not only to block Kinsale, but to "keep in the rebels" at Waterford and Wexford.

There are many allusions in these papers to the difficulties which the authorities had with the commanders and crews of their vessels. They were often dilatory in their preparations. In July, 1649, Popham had evidently been complaining on this head, for Coytmor assures him that they were to have a sharp check for their neglect, and that two of them had promised to be ready forthwith.

On August 8th, Coytmor sends details of a tumult on the *Tiger*, Captain Peacocke's ship, which is only casually alluded to in the State Papers. This outbreak having been subdued and the ringleader and principal actors secured on shore, the ship put out to sea again, but further trouble soon arose in consequence of the six months' term of service of the merchant ships employed by the State being increased to eight, a measure which gave great dissatisfaction both to the captains and their crews.

On August 14th, 1649, Col. Popham joined the fleet in the Downs, this time hoisting his flag upon the *Happy Entrance*, perhaps as being commanded by Captain Badiley (afterwards Rear-Admiral), of whom he had a very high opinion. The narrative of the voyage will be found on pp. 26-34. F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq.: Popham Papers.

In Ireland, on August 23rd, Deane wrote to the Council of State announcing his arrival at Dublin and the safe landing of the troops there, after a vain attempt "to recover Munster and the Bay of Kinsale." A month later, Col. Deane repeats the assertion that he was intended for the South of Ireland, while defending the Lord Lieutenant's conduct in looking first to the North.

In this same September, Blake tells Popham of Cromwell's offer to him "with much affection" of the Major-Generalship of the foot, praying his friend to prevent its coming before Parliament if he can, as he does not wish to waive any resolution of the House, and yet cannot accept it.

There are a few other notices of the struggle in Ireland, for example, Coytmor's announcement to Sir George Ayscue of the "good news" of the taking of Drogheda; a list of the garrison there, an account of a "shrewd dispute" of Venables with Lord Montgomery of Ards and Col. Mark Trevor, whereby "the whole forces of the Lord of Ards and that party are "quite defunct," and of the fight near Arklow Castle, when three thousand of the enemy betook themselves to a bog, and were there all cut off and slain; and an interesting letter from Col. Deane upon the taking of Wexford, in which also he emphasises the desire of Cromwell to induce the Governor to surrender, and so to save the town.

In November, 1649, Rupert escaped from Kinsale and took refuge at Lisbon. Col. Blake and his fleet were despatched after him, and in May, 1650, Col. Popham followed with eight more ships, reaching Cascaes Bay on the 26th. From the first the leaders seem to have felt that they were upon a bootless errand, for the very day after he joined Blake, Popham wrote to his wife that they had very little hope of gaining Rupert's ships, the King of Portugal having taken them into his protection, from whom there was no possibility of getting them.

Col. Popham's narrative concludes with a description of the movements of the fleet under his command from April 1st to August 7th, 1651, the time being spent in cruising about, convoying merchant ships, arranging for the exchange of prisoners in Jersey and elsewhere, watching the coasts of Holland, clearing of pickaroons, and keeping a lookout for the enemies ships.

The last document belonging to the Popham papers proper calendared in this collection, is a letter from Thomas Gage, brother of the Sir Henry, who distinguished himself on the Royalist side by his relief of Basing. Born of an old Roman

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Catholic family, he became a friar of the order of St. Dominic, went as a missionary to South America, lived for many years amongst the Indians, and after twenty-four years' absence returned to England, left the Church of Rome and joined the Parliament party. He was chaplain to Venables' expedition in 1655, and died in Jamaica soon afterwards.

Clarke MSS.

*Clarke Manuscripts.*—The second division of this collection—the Clarke papers—forms a part of the great collection of Sir William Clarke and his son George, the bulk of which was bequeathed by Dr. G. Clarke to Worcester College Library on his death in 1736. How they got amongst the Littlecote papers can only be conjectured, but a little light is thrown upon the matter by a scrap of paper, endorsed by a Miss Eliza Taylor, daughter of the Rev. Zachary Taylor, "My father's account how "manuscripts came into our hands."

It is probable that the final statements of the note are correct, and applicable to all the Clarke papers in Mr. Leyborne Popham's collection, there being little doubt that on Dr. Clarke's death they passed to Dr. R. Shippen, his executor, and thence, by way of the Leybornes and Taylors, reached Littlecote.

As regards Sir William Clarke's own life, there is little information to be added to that given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in Mr. Firth's prefaces to the *Clarke Papers*. But although little light is thrown upon William Clarke's own family, a good deal can be learnt about that of his wife, Dorothy Hilyard, daughter of Thomas Hilyard and his wife, Elizabeth (Kempton), of Hampshire.

In addition to the correspondence, the collection includes two rather bulky documents, both of much interest. One is a narrative of the Restoration, the other an autobiography of Dr. George Clarke.

The narrative is not signed, but two points help at once towards an identification of the writer. He was William Clarke's uncle, and he had a house at Stanmore. In the course of the narrative itself, certain incidental statements occur relating to the Inner Temple. The inference appears to be that he had some close connexion with the Temple, and that it was rather that of an official than of a bencher. Whatever it was, he had given it up, and was now living at Stanmore. A reference to the registers of the Inner Temple shows that one John Collins was successively chief butler and steward there up to the year 1656, and the probability is that he was the author of the narrative.

The narrative is the work of a foolish man, but there is much in it that is interesting, and its frank conceit is amusing. It is primarily an attack upon the continuation of Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle (professedly written by Ed. Phillips, but probably inspired by Dr. Clarges), and upon the view that "Monk was he that did bring in the King." It is preceded by a sketch of the argument in doggerel verse. According

to Mr. Collins, he himself was "the man that did bring in the King," it "pleasing the Lord to put it into his mind "to argue with the General in such solemn and convincing fashion that Monk was always much "touched," or "moved," or "troubled," and usually ended by praying his mentor to tell him what he ought to do. The narrator pictures himself as hurrying about from Speaker to General, from General to City, from City back to General, until he had gradually brought everybody into a right frame of mind, and the Restoration was happily accomplished. F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq.: Clarke MSS.

The other lengthy manuscript contained in this collection, lifts the reader into a very different atmosphere. In perfectly simple fashion, and with unaffected modesty, Dr. George Clarke tells us the history of his long and useful life, from the time when, as a little child, he tumbled out of a coach, his legs luckily falling into a hole in the road (in the middle of Whitehall) so big that the carriage wheels passed harmlessly over them.

In July, 1676, he entered himself at Brasenose College, Oxford, and in the following year "spoke verses" in the theatre, and won the first square cap ever worn by a commoner. After taking his degree in All Soul's College, he obtained a fellowship, which he held to the end of his life. In March, 1681-2, he was appointed Judge Advocate of the army, *vice* his step-father, who resigned in his favour.

Upon King Charles' death, King James renewed Dr. Clarke's patent and increased his salary. On Sir Leoline Jenkin's death, he became member for Oxford University, defeating Dr. Oldys by seventy-nine votes.

In 1687 occurred King James' celebrated visit to Oxford. Anthony à Wood mentions his Majesty's speech to Clarke about All Souls' College, but the doctor's own account is much more amusing.

Dr. Clarke was at the court martial upon the Portsmouth officers who refused to take Papists into their regiments, and waited on the King with their answer. "I can never forget," he says, "the concern he was in, which showed itself by a "dejection rather than anger."

Perhaps the most graphic part of the whole narrative is the account of what happened after the landing of the Prince of Orange, when Clarke, going westward, met the King and the army marching back, and was an eye-witness of the confusion of the Court and the bewilderment of James, who knew not whom to trust, for "everybody in this hurly-burly was thinking of "himself, and nobody minded the King."

In the summer of 1689, Clarke went down to the north with the Commissioners of the Army, and was in Edinburgh when the Castle surrendered to Sir James Tanier.

The following year he accompanied King William to Ireland, and was present at the battle of the Boyne. Many details are

F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq.: Clarke MSS.

given of the doings of the English troops in Ireland, the most interesting being the notice of the siege and surrender of Limerick.

On December 5th, 1691, Dr. Clarke left Ireland in company with General Ginckel, and after this, during King William's absence abroad, was, as secretary of war, much in attendance upon the Queen.

Upon Queen Anne's accession, he became secretary to Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral, until, by his opposition to the Court candidate for the Speaker's chair in 1705, he lost his office, from which time he absented himself altogether from Court until 1711, when he went up to return thanks to the Queen, who had put him into the Commission of the Admiralty without his knowledge.

Meanwhile, he had built himself the house adjoining All Souls, which he bequeathed to the College for the Warden's lodgings; and having now also disposed of his place of Judge-Advocate to Mr. Byde (the purchaser of Ware Park from the Fanshaws), he removed all his books and goods to Oxford, and there "enjoyed, thank God, a great deal of quiet for "many years."

The autobiography closes with the writer's election for the fifth time to represent his University in 1734.

The earlier letters and papers in the Clarke portion of this collection, dated from 1648 to September, 1659, include many individual papers of interest, but are as a whole much less valuable than the later ones. There is an interesting account by Colonel Rainborowe of the siege of Pontefract, and of the animosity of Sir Henry Cholmley to Fairfax, whose orders he flatly refused to obey.

On p. 9 is one of the few letters written from the Royalist point of view. It describes the state of Charles' Court at the time when Montrose, and also Lanerick and Loudon were there, and at daggers drawn with each other.

Two letters from Coventry give a curious picture of some of the wild fanatics of the time.

In the spring of 1650, men's eyes were all turned towards Scotland, where the young King was daily expected. Col. Duckenfield strongly urged the desirability of promptly despatching the army northwards, and fighting the Scots before their harvest supplied them with money; and in May, Lieut.-Col. Hobson wondered much at the army's not marching, especially now that the agreement between the King and the Scots was confirmed.

In November, Joseph Frost (son of Gualter Frost, the old clerk of the council) writes ascribing the premature death of the Prince of Orange to his having "espoused the quarrel of "that wicked Scottish family," and speaks of his poor young widow as "left big with child, and laden with that often "imprecation of her father—God so deal by me and mine etc."

Five days before this letter was written, on November 4th (O.S.), her nineteenth birthday, the Princess had given birth to the son who was afterwards to turn his mother's brother from his throne. F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq.: Clarke MSS.

In this same November, 1650, Margetts and Rushworth sent Clarke various letters on passing occurrences; the doings of the Ranters, whom truly the reports render "stark mad"; the "subscription" getting up approving the King's death; the alarm caused by the intelligence of the rising in Norfolk and Suffolk, etc.

On March, 1659, there occurred the quarrel between Whalley and Ashfield, which is mentioned by Ludlow, and caused a serious division amongst the officers of the army. Lieut.-Col. Gough, who was with Ashfield at the time, sent an account of it to Clarke, and a little later Ashfield wrote himself on the subject.

Towards the end of April, the army demanded that the Parliament should be dissolved.

Of the rapidly succeeding events—the retirement of Richard, the recall of the long Parliament, etc.—these papers have nothing to say, but there is a letter from Wariston, then president of the Council of State, written in July, describing the press of business consequent upon the expected rising of the Royalists, and an account of the meeting of Lambert's officers at Derby to formulate the demands which they intended to send up to the House.

The refusal of Parliament to accede to the demands of Lambert's army led, as is well known, to a new rupture. Then Monk for the first time made a sign, and called upon his Scottish army to rally round him in defence of the Parliament.

From this point the Littlecote papers become of great importance, supplying much information that can be found nowhere else concerning Monk's dealings with his own army in Scotland, and the measures taken by him to suppress opposition in the English army after he reached London.

Three or four letters from officers in Ireland are valuable as throwing light on the movement got up there by Coote, Theophilus Jones, and others, in support of Monk's action in England.

The list of the London Militia Commissioners, with notes, the account of the quarrel between the old and new (i.e., the King's and Marshal's) Colleges at Aberdeen, and letters from Hugh Peters, Sir Charles Cote, on the adjournment of the Irish Convention, and Col. Fairfax, on the reading of the proclamation announcing the return of the King, are worth notice; also letters from Col. Unton Croke, son of Sir John Croke, a former Recorder of London and Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir William Lockhart, husband of Cromwell's niece Robina, and Major, afterwards Sir Edward Harley—son of Sir Robert Harley

F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq.: Clarke MSS.

and Brilliana Conway—who is often alluded to in his grandfather's letters as his "little Ned." Papers relating to Oxford are scattered through the volume.

Of post restoration papers there are very few. The most interesting, perhaps, are the letters from Col. Daniel and Sir Thomas Morgan on the state of affairs in Scotland. Amongst others worthy of notice are a list of the Fellows ejected at Oxford in 1648, and of those put in their places, which, though very imperfect, has points which do not appear to be noticed by Anthony à Wood, the Register of Visitors, or elsewhere; a curious inventory of goods of the late King, bought (for a very small sum) by Sir William Clarke; a rather interesting newsletter from the Hague, written in December, 1655; and a long letter from Dean Prideaux on the nations of the East. There are several good Ormond letters (copies by Dr. Clarke).

A large number of documents, which formerly made part of the Littlecote collection, were purchased in 1884 for the British Museum, and now form Vols. 2,618—2,621, of the Egerton MSS.

MRS. FRANKLAND-RUSSELL-ASTLEY, OF CHEQUERS COURT, BUCKS.

Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley.

The papers in this collection may be broadly divided into three groups:—(1) The Russell and Frankland correspondence, belonging mostly to the years 1657-1697; (2) The Cutts and Revett papers, 1687-1708; and (3), Colonel Charles Russell's letters, 1742-1754. There are also some outlying documents, such as the note-book of Sir John Croke.

The Report might almost be termed a new series of "Memorials of the House of Cromwell," so numerous are the figures of his descendants to be found in its pages, and so great the amount of light thrown upon the history of the Russell branch of the family tree.

Topographically, the interest centres in the estate of Chequers Court. From the family of De Chequers, this estate passed by marriage to the Hawtreys, and early in the seventeenth century, Bridget Hawtrey carried it to her husband, Sir Henry Croke. His grand-daughter and heiress married Serjeant Thurbarne, and from them Chequers descended to their only child, the wife of Colonel Edmund Revett. Her two sons died without heirs, and the estate passed to their sister's son, John, afterwards Sir John Russell, and thence, by way of his cousins, to the present representatives of this branch of the Russells, the Franklands, and the Cromwells. From the Crokes downward, each of these families has contributed to the collection.

The first document calendared is the note-book of John, afterwards Sir John Croke, M.P., Recorder of London, Speaker of the House of Commons, and finally Justice of the Common Pleas. As there is little of his in print, beyond a collection of judgments, which is still highly esteemed, his speeches have

been abstracted at some length. The quaint law doggerel of the headings is given verbatim.

Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley; Russell and Frankland Correspondence.

The Russell family papers, or rather the papers of the closely allied families of Russell, Belasyse, and Frankland, begin on p. 21.

The interest of the early letters centres in the figure of Frances Cromwell, the Protector's youngest daughter. She was allowed to marry young Robert Rich, although her father strongly disapproved of the match. Rich died a few weeks after his marriage.

During Mrs. Claypole's (Elizabeth Cromwell's) illness, old Lady Devonshire wrote a long letter of sympathy to the "poor "young Frances, weeping in her weeds." This is followed by letters of condolence to her upon Mrs. Claypole's death, and (after the Restoration) of advice how to proceed as to her estate of New Hall in Essex, granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Albemarle. Lady Frances did not recover her estate, but as time went on she evidently recovered her spirits. On pp. 25-28 is a series of love letters, addressed to her by John, afterwards Sir John, Russell (son of Sir Francis Russell, of Chippenham, already connected with the Cromwell family by the marriage of his daughter to the Protector's son Henry), with drafts of two of her answers. After their marriage, Sir John had to be much in London on business, and his young wife, in his absence, evidently allowed herself to be worried and agitated by small domestic difficulties. In 1670, she went to stay with her sister, Lady Fauconberg, and in her husband's letter, written just after she left home, are some baby scribbles ending in a rather tremulous W.R., from her little boy Will. Crossing this letter was one from the absent wife, telling of her kind reception. But she longs for her husband and children, and sends kisses to her dear, dear sweet babes "from their "poor Mama," an extremely early instance of the use of the term by an English mother.

Soon after this, Sir John died, and henceforward Lady Russell—a widow for the second time before she was thirty—devoted herself to her children. In 1683 she became the wife of Thomas, eldest son of Sir William Frankland, of Thirkleby, co. York (who had married Lord Fauconberg's sister, Arabella Belasyse).

In 1689, her son, Sir William, had involved himself in such pecuniary difficulties that he had been obliged to sell Chippenham, and had apparently spent all the money received for it. On page 71 is a letter from an anonymous friend, who warns the young man that there could be no worse way of paying court to the King (William III.) than by extravagancy, as his Majesty believed no man to be capable of directing public affairs who could not manage his own.

Many of Lord and Lady Fauconberg's letters are in this collection, for the most part addressed to Sir William and Lady Frankland at Thirkleby. Lord Fauconberg's letters are

Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley; Russell and Frankland Correspondence.

very lively, in spite of ill health and much trouble with his eyes. He was never so happy as in the retirement of Sutton Court. He loved not crowds, as he told his brother; preferred the music of his annual guests, the nightingales, to the noise of the jockeys at Newmarket; and found his books and his fruit trees the best of entertainments. But the old diplomatist was a keen observer. In a letter written probably in the summer of 1697, and endorsed "My last farewell letter to "Sir William Frankland," Lord Fauconberg laments that his own age and his brother-in-law's infirmities must prevent all hope of his ever conversing again with his best friend, and concludes with a prayer for their happy meeting in a better world.

In Sir William Frankland's correspondence will be found a considerable amount of information concerning election matters in Yorkshire.

A letter from John Frankland, afterwards Dean of Gloucester, gives a description of the French Protestant refugees in Holland, interesting in view of their connexion with the Boers of South Africa.

Another interesting letter has a long account of the condition of Italy, giving a curious and evidently prejudiced description of the religious houses and observances, but greatly praising the noble charities and sobriety of the people. The writer was also much struck with their intelligence in regard to public affairs.

Under date of 1718, are two letters from the celebrated Lady Huntingdon. "I cannot help making dear Lady Hertford a "sharer of my joys," she writes, "and this is at present with "the hopes of the conversion of the blacks, of which Mr. "Whitfield gives me great hopes in North America." The letters are almost entirely on religious matters.

On page 211 is a long letter describing the riots and massacre at Ziddah, in which Robert Frankland, brother of Sir Thomas and of Henry, Governor of Bengal, lost his life.

The second series in this collection—*i.e.* the papers of Lord Cutts and the Revetts—is found at Chequers in consequences of the marriage of Lord Cutts's sister with Serjeant Thurbarne, who had inherited the estate from his first wife. His daughter Joanna married Edmund Revett, and ultimately became both her father's and uncle's heir.

In 1693 are various papers connected with Lord Cutts's appointment as Governor of the Isle of Wight, and in 1694, a statement concerning his election for the County of Cambridge, where he was unseated on petition.

The more important portion of Lord Cutts's papers begin in 1701, when he was sent as Brigadier-General with Marlborough into Flanders. There are several letters from the Earl during this year, all holograph, and written in a very friendly style, but not of any importance. During the following winter (Marlborough being in England) Lord Cutts acted as Com-

mander-in-Chief. He took a house at the Hague where, as he says, he had always a piece of mutton and a glass of good wine for a friend, and gave himself up to the care of the army. In the spring of 1702, he was in England for a while, urging his claims upon the Government, but without much success. He returned to Flanders on the breaking out of the war of the Spanish Succession, and on September 8-18th captured Fort St. Michael at Venlo, on which glorious action, performed by his own "conduct and personal hazard," the Earl of Rochester sent him very hearty congratulations. Mrs. Frankland Russell-Astley; Russell and Frankland Correspondence.

At the beginning of 1703, Marlborough (now Duke) announced to Cutts that the Queen had pitched upon him to arrange a cartel with France for the exchange of prisoners. There are a good many papers in relation to the negotiations which followed; but the matter fell through.

In June 1703, begins a series of interesting news-letters sent to Lord Cutts, during his absence from the Hague, by Guillaume de Lamberty, the compiler of the fourteen volumes of *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIIIme siècle*, and author of *Mémoires de la dernière revolution d' Angleterre*. Besides the current news of the day, "Le Connu," as he usually signs himself, gives a good deal of information as to the negotiations between the various powers, and his letters present an amusing picture of the rival diplomatists gathered at this changing-house of Europe; of their endeavours to ascertain each others' plans, and their struggles to carry out their own. The letters being long, and containing many details of no general interest, have all been considerably abridged in this report, and so are not given in the original French.

Unfortunately, this collection contains hardly anything concerning the campaign of 1704. There is no notice of the Duke's great march into Bavaria, and only a casual notice of the battle of Blenheim, where Lord Cutts was third in command. This was his last year abroad, as in 1705 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland.

Lord Cutts died in Dublin, January 26th, 1707, and it is said that he was so deeply in debt that his aides-de-camp "dubbed 10*l* apiece" to bury him.

*Cutts and Revett Papers.*—Colonel Edmund Revett, to whose wife the Cutts papers seem to have descended, first appears in the army lists in 1692, as an ensign in Lord Cutts's regiment of foot. On January 1st, 1696, in consequence of his valour at the siege of Namur, the King gave him a company in the Coldstream Guards, to the command of which Lord Cutts had succeeded in 1694. It will be remembered that at this time, the captains and lieutenants of the guards bore a brevet rank higher than their actual grade in the service. Thus the captain of each company was a lieutenant-colonel, and in ordinary parlance was termed colonel. Edmund Revett married, in 1697, the daughter and heiress of Serjeant John Thurbarne by his second Cutts and Revett Papers.

Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley: Cutts and Revett Papers.

wife Anne, the sister of Lord Cutts. In 1704, Revett was ordered to Portugal, where he bore himself creditably, especially at the siege of Gibraltar, as was testified by the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, Lord Galway, and Ambassador Methuen. On page 177 is an account of the siege. In November 1705, he returned to England and had an honourable reception from the Queen, but before long he again took the field. There is an interesting letter from him, written in July, 1709, telling of the siege of Tournay, and the probable future doings of the army, and hoping for peace; but only a few weeks later he was killed at Malplaquet, leaving his wife with four little children and a very embarrassed estate. The Queen, however, gave her a pension of £200 a year.

Of the miscellaneous Cutts papers, the most interesting are two letters from Richard Steele, who, as is well known, was at one time Lord Cutts's secretary, and was a life-long friend of the family. The first describes his life in a very agreeable solitude (at Wandsworth!) on the Thames, cared for by an admiring landlady. The other, written four years later, in 1705, congratulates Revett on his honourable actions in Portugal, mentions that "your friend Mr. Addison is now Under-Secretary of State, "may be a serviceable correspondent, and will certainly be "glad of the opportunity," and concludes by declaring, probably in joke, that Lord Cutts, "who always thinks he "has too many friends, has used him like a scoundrel."

In a letter, which must belong to August, 1710, and which was evidently written in the greatest excitement, Joanna Cutts describes the confusion at Court, "till my Lord and Lady "Marlborough are out," and gives a correct forecast of the appointments made in the following January. All this turn, she says, is owing to our cousin Robin (Robert Harley), whose diligence and intelligence have opened the Queen's eyes to her danger. With this may be linked an amusing letter, written apparently for publication in one of the periodicals, which must probably be put between the 9th and 27th of July, 1714, narrating the supposed bewilderment of a country village in consequence of the very conflicting views of affairs sent down by the two great men of the parish, Sir James Carbunkle and Sir William Lawless, the former declaring that the "fanatic dogs are down," and that their toleration is to be taken away; the latter writing that popery and slavery are coming fast upon them, that the Treasurer is to go out, the Prince of Wales about to land in Scotland, and Bolingbroke and "that bitch Masham" now rule the roast and carry all before them.

Col. C. Russell's Letters.

On page 212, we enter upon the last series of papers in the collection, consisting mainly of the letters of Charles Russell, lieut.-colonel in the 1st regiment, and afterwards in the Coldstream regiment of Guards.

They present an admirable series of the campaigns of 1742-1748, though unfortunately the letters of 1745—the year of

Fontenoy — are missing. As a picture of the life of the army from day to day, the letters are most valuable. No doubt they show the bright side of the shield. Like will to like, and Col. Russell, himself holding the highest possible ideas of honour and duty, would naturally choose his friends from men of the same stamp, but it is pleasant to look at this little group of old Etonians and English guardsmen, in the middle of the eighteenth century, with their enthusiasm for their work, their simple life, and their diligent care of their men. Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley: Col. C. Russell's Letters.

When the army was settled in winter quarters, Russell was anxious to get leave to go home for awhile, and, as usual, begged for the interest of his sister's mistress, the Princess Amelia, in the matter. The Duke of Cumberland spoke to him about it, but in a teazing manner, and Russell, knowing "his Royal Highness was what they call, and has been for "some time at the head-quarters called, cherry-bobbing," was "very short in his answers," and refused to be "drawn." However, in December, he was appointed first Major to his regiment, and then, to his great joy, his "station and "command" were at home. After this there are only a few scattered letters. One alludes to his service as colonel of the regiment stationed in Minorca, whence he was invalided home in the spring of 1751, but although better for awhile, his recovery was only temporary, and he died in the following December.

Col. Russell's letters contain many notices of Col. Braddock, by the light of which the failure of the latter's subsequent proceedings in America is in no way surprising. There are also several notices of Lady Vane, the "Lady of Quality" whose memoirs are given in *Peregrine Pickle*: and in Fanny Russell's letters to her brother are many details concerning the Princesses and their doings, and a good deal of the society gossip of the day.

### BOROUGH OF BEVERLEY.

Among the records of the Borough of Beverley are—Charters; Documents belonging to Charities; Account Rolls; and the valuable Town Books; together with miscellaneous documents. The extant records are only a scanty remnant of the magnificent series that once existed, and many were, like the valuable Book of the Provost of Beverley, now restored to the Minster, only recovered a few years ago from the executor of a local antiquary, Mr. Gilliatt Sumner. Borough of Beverley.

The records consist of:—

1.—The Charters.—A list of these is given in the *History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley*, by George Oliver, Vicar of Clee, published at Beverley, 1829. It begins with the celebrated charter of Archbishop Thurstan, of York, which has been printed, from Rymer's *Foedera*, in Bishop Stubbs's *Select Charters* (Oxford, Clarendon Press

Borough of Beverley.

1870). Most of these Charters have been given with some fulness either in Oliver's History or in the more elaborate *Beverlac, or the Antiquities and History of the Town of Beverley, and of the Provostry and Collegiate Establishment of St. John's*, by George Poulson, 1829, two vols.; or will appear in the Calendars of Patent Rolls or Papal Bulls. They are, therefore, only noticed here so far as they appear in the Town books. The Corporation possess an elaborate transcript of all these charters, in two volumes, with translations, made by W. Illingworth, formerly Deputy Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, in pursuance of a resolution of the Corporation, 5th March, 1810.

2.—Account Rolls of the Keepers or Governors of the Town of Beverley to the time of the formal Incorporation of the Town and the creation of a Mayor by charter of Queen Elizabeth; 1344 to 1574, but not complete.

From 1574 the accounts purport to be those of the Mayor. These are extant:—1575 to 1729 inclusive. They are all on parchment, and till 1574 in Latin. The Rolls, after 1574, have not been examined fully.

It is to be regretted that the Account Roll for 1420, which is perhaps that most copiously drawn from by Poulson, has disappeared since his day.

3.—Minster Fabric Roll for the year 1447, in Latin.

4.—Roll of particulars of Chantries granted to the Town by Edward VI. This is imperfect.

5.—Two Account Rolls of the church wardens of St. Mary's for the years 1548-9 and 1551-2.

6.—The Town Chartulary. This is apparently partly a copy of an older book, now gone, which is referred to in other Town Records as the "Old Paper Register" and the "Large Register." It contains the ancient customs of the town, and divers extracts, charters, and documents bearing on its constitutions and privileges, and at the end a few guild ordinances and contemporary documents. It seems to have been begun at the end of the fourteenth century, and is continued to 1452. The Town and Guild Ordinances are mostly repeated in—

7.—The Great Guild Book. This is a large parchment quarto. It seems to have been begun in 1409, and continued to 1589. In the middle, Elizabethan Ordinances of the Merchants are inserted on a quite different parchment to the rest of the book.

8.—The Governor's Minute Book. This is a quarto volume. In date it extends from 25th April, 1436, to 20th, August, 1470. It is written in Latin. This book seems to have been quite unknown to the historians of Beverley.

9.—Minute Books of Governors, on paper, folio, bound in modern bindings, and lettered—"Bev. Gov. 1558 to 1567," Vol. I. The same, 1568 to 1573, Vol. II.

10.—Corporation Minute Books, 1597 to the present time. Borough of Beverley.

11.—Great Order Books. Parchment, in modern leather bindings. Elections of Mayor, Governors, Officers, and the like, 30 Elizabeth (1587-8) to 1821. At the other end, Ordinances as to Corporation and "Occupations" or Craft Guilds, 1st September, 1602, to 1728.

12.—Court Leet Pains, 1697. A large roll on parchment.

13.—Miscellaneous deeds of various dates from Stephen to Edward VI.

VARIOUS COLLECTIONS. VOLUME I.

Volume one of "Reports on Manuscripts in various collections"—a series which will contain reports not of sufficient length to demand a separate volume for each—deals with manuscripts of various corporations, municipal and ecclesiastical, and county documents, namely:— Var. Coll. Vol. I.

(1) *Berwick-upon-Tweed.*—In the Third Report of the Commission, issued in 1872, the Rev. Joseph Stevenson gave a short account, at pp. 308-10, of the records preserved in this borough. This was, however, little more than a list of books and papers, and of the royal charters, with but few further particulars. It was thought, therefore, that the records of so ancient and historical a town deserved somewhat fuller examination. Berwick-upon-Tweed.

Unhappily, the vicissitudes to which the town has been exposed, seem to have contributed to the loss of many of its earlier records.

In the present report will be found the more interesting items contained in the volumes noticed by Mr. Stephenson, but which were not extracted by him; while there is one additional volume which appears to have escaped him altogether, containing copies of letters from 1646 to 1765. This is lettered on the back, "Letter Book B." Of the earlier volume "A," unfortunately, no fragment appears to exist. The most interesting portion of the newly found volume is the examination of Francis Tunstall, who came over from France with several Jacobite officers in 1715, in time only to find the Chevalier on the point of re-embarking. The narrative of the movements of those who only came to be fugitives is precise.

Of the registers of the old governing body for garrison and town, unfortunately, only the concluding portions have been preserved.

The complete series of the registers of the guild of the town begins, as stated by Mr. Stevenson, at the year 1509, and only the years 1612-14 are wanting. But a bound portion of one earlier volume also exists.

In the volume of Council proceedings, lettered "Council Book from 1574," there are five presentments made at courts

Berwick-upon-Tweed

of inquest in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the dates of the first two of which are lost; the third is dated 23rd October 1594; the fourth is in 1598; and the date of the fifth is lost.

A tattered book, of sixteen folio pages, contains the presentments made at a court held 6th March, 42 Eliz., 1599-1600, and there is also another tattered book of presentments of which the date is lost, but which is nearly contemporary.

The books of the proceedings of the Mayor's Court (the first of which contains, besides the record of suits for debts, fines, etc., copies of a will and of bonds), appear to be preserved for the years 1560 to 1657.

There are two books of pleas for 1626-9, and from 1652, proceedings of the Land Court (dealing with lands and tenements) 1639-1679

There are several parcels of the Mayor's accounts, of which the earlier ones are sadly injured by damp.

The dangers to which the trade of Berwick was exposed in time of war from French privateers, are illustrated by several papers about the capture of vessels.

A paper mentioned briefly by Mr Stevenson as the "Capture of a French ship called the *Prince Charles*, 1746," cannot at present be identified. This might contain some information with regard to Jacobites escaping from Scotland.

The first register of cases at Petty (or "Private") Sessions (a volume which is kept in the office of the Clerk of the Peace), extends from 1735 to 1767. Most of the cases are concerned with lewd women, who are generally ordered to be whipped out of the town.

Corporation of Burford.

(2) *The Extinct Corporation of Burford, Oxfordshire.*—In the possession of Mr. Thomas Henry Cheatle, M.R.C.S., J.P., of Burford, are preserved the records of the Corporation formerly existing in that town. This gentleman has inherited them as being the last survivor of the body of burgesses, while his father was the last holder of the office of alderman. The Corporation or Gild was by prescription, and was one of the oldest in the kingdom, the privileges and customs of the men of the place being recognised in a charter of Henry II. as having existed in the time of Henry I. The body consisted of an alderman and of ten burgesses, who yearly elected two bailiffs out of their own number; they had also a steward, a town clerk, and a chamberlain, with a sergeant. The bailiffs (of whom a list is preserved from 1529, with some blanks in the reign of James I., and a total blank for that of Charles I.) held a court for pleas of debt, etc., but the registers of this have almost entirely perished. A certificate from the Corporation of Oxford in 1620, that the people of Burford enjoyed the same rights as themselves, attests the antiquity of the borough. The duties of the municipal body became, however, in course of time, mainly devoted to the

administration of numerous charities; and this administration being in the hands of a body not representative, but co-optative, seems to have caused constant friction and constant charges, evidently often two well grounded, of malversation. Commissions of enquiry into the charitable uses were from time to time issued, and in 1742, a Chancery decree seemed to settle matters in a way to ensure correct management; but at the beginning of the present century, through general neglect and the defalcations of the clerk to the feoffees, matters were in a bad state. Extinct Corporation of Burford.

A very full report is given in the Charity Commission Report in 1882; a further enquiry was held in 1856, and in the eighth Report of that Commission, issued in 1861, the final conclusion was announced.

The *Insignia* of the Corporation are also in the possession of Mr. Cheatle. These consist of two elegant silver maces, one thirteen inches long, and the other two feet nine inches, the former probably of a date about the middle or latter part of the sixteenth century, and the other of the early part of the last century.

There is also a fine silver oval seal, of the thirteenth century, bearing a lion rampant gardant to the sinister, and the inscription—"Sigill' commune burgensium de Burford." Several good impressions of this seal are found attached to leases; and another small seal, attached to the former by a leather thong, represents the Virgin and Child, with an ecclesiastical figure kneeling below, with the inscription—"+ Ave Maria, grã plena Dñs tecum." This may have been the seal of the Hospital.

It is hoped that these valuable records may eventually be permanently secured by deposit in the Bodleian Library, and the maces and seals in a museum.

(3) *The County of Wilts.*—The examination of the records of the Sessions of Justices of the Peace affords a new field for the investigations of the Commission. In the case of the County of Wilts, these records go back to an earlier period than is said to be the case with most counties; Devonshire alone is found to begin its registers at a slightly earlier date. That in no case do they begin before the last quarter of the sixteenth century is a thing much to be regretted. The light which might have been thrown by them upon many of the conditions of village life in the previous years of that century, as well as, possibly, in that which was before it, would no doubt have been great. But successive clerks of the peace, it may be supposed, regarded their papers as their own property, and on each vacancy in the office they must have been removed or destroyed. County of Wilts.

The Wiltshire records are preserved in a room built within recent years for the purpose, which is attached to the Assize Court at Devizes. They are dry and well kept: but at some

County of Wilts.

previous time, a few of them (especially some of the time of Charles II.) have been exposed to damp, and are consequently mutilated. They were reduced to order and arranged chronologically some years ago by the care of a clerk of the peace, Mr. John Swayne, who held office in the first half of the present century. They consist of two classes: i., Registers; ii., Files, in bundles. Of these, the latter are the most interesting and easier to examine, as they contain all the original papers on which the proceedings of the justices were taken. The registers give the abstract of the orders and decisions, written, except during the Commonwealth time, in the legal engrossing hand, and are consequently wearisome in perusal. One volume, containg 1604-1609, is lost. The volumes for the period examined for this report are thirteen in number, of which No. 1 extends from January 1574-5, to December 1592 (with one tattered leaf of July and Mich., 1563).

Some things are apparently occasionally entered in these registers of which no mention occurs in the files.

Upon these follow successive volumes of a register of the actual orders made, briefly entered in English, and not fully engrossed. The first of these extends from January 1641-2 to April 1654; the second from June 1654 to June 1668; and others continuously onward.

The files (which commence with one roll of 1602-3) consist of four rolls for each year, when perfect, viz., for Easter, Midsummer, Michaelmas, and Hilary Sessions. Their contents run thus:—

1.—Writs, warrants, recognizances, indictments, and indentures of apprenticeship; on parchment.

2.—Alehouse licenses; on parchment.

3.—Nominations of constables.

4.—Presentments by constables and juries of the hundreds and by grand juries.

5.—Petitions and letters.

6.—Depositions.

7.—Lists of constables, of persons in the House of Correction, of committals and punishments.

Bishop of Chichester.

(4) *The Bishop of Chichester.*—The muniments of the Bishop's volumes, consist principally of two classes, (1) Registers, (2) Chartularies.

The registers begin unusually late, in the last years of the fourteenth century. A few extracts, however, from registers earlier than those which have been preserved, are contained in the Chartularies.

The miscellaneous books of the Bishop, which when the surviving ones were bound were numbered up to XVIII., are now no more than four. Although there are no actual registers preserved until the pontificate of Bishop Robert Rede, there

is evidence of considerable activity in the collection and transcription of documents in the time of Bishop William Reed, a generation earlier. This activity is represented by three volumes of chartularies, rentals, etc., distinguished as *Lib.* A, *Lib.* B, and *Lib.* E. Bishop of Chichester.

The first seven volumes of Registers preserved, the first three in quarto, the others in folio, run from 1397 to 1596, and are lettered in the following curiously perverse order: R, E, D, A, C, B, F. 3. They present several considerable *lacunæ*, amounting in all to the space of more than sixty years in the first hundred and thirty-eight years. After 1596, the series is believed to be unbroken down to the present day.

A stout volume bound in vellum, known as "Swayne's Book," and written early in the seventeenth century, is lettered on the outside *Liber Episcopi Cicestrensis*, *K*, but, in consequence of a modern note pencilled on the first page by the late Canon Swainson, was until lately placed among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter. The note in question says, "These are extracts from the old Acts Book of the "Dean and Chapter now lost, taken by Swayne, who was their "Chapter Clerk, and belong, I conceive, to the Dean and "Chapter." As a fact, the Act Books from which the extracts are made are not lost but are the "White Act Book," and the Act Book beginning in 1545 described below. The part of the volume which has independent value is that beginning on p. 167, and excerpted from the lost Leiger Book, referred to hereafter. This book is here named *Liber Magnus Evidentiarum vel Magnum Registrum pergameneum*; but the description of it on p. 170 leaves no doubt as to its identity. Swayne's book also contains accounts and indexes to other volumes among the muniments, among these one to the "Lease Booke, L.," a volume of Queen Elizabeth's time, which is not now to be found among them.

(5) *The Dean and Chapter of Chichester.*—Few capitular collections have suffered such injury as those of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester. Dean and Chapter of Chichester.

Chichester is believed to retain no more than five and twenty charters, and but one volume earlier than the reign of King Edward IV. The more modern registers of the Dean and Chapter, known as the Chapter Acts Book are preserved in a strong room in the bishop's registry in West Street.

It appears by no means impossible that other documents may still be preserved, which have not been traced or identified. On the other hand, we have the distinct testimony of Bishop Nicolson, who wrote, in 1696, that there was very little to be found at Chichester in his time. "Most," he says, "of "the ancient records of this church were squander'd and lost "upon the city's being taken and plunder'd by Sir William "Waller in our late Civil Wars; and after the Restoration, they "never recover'd more than three books belonging to the Chapter,

Dean and Chapter of Chichester.

"and a register or two of the Bishops. These do not reach "above 230 years backward. So that the prime antiquities of "this See (before the Episcopal Throne was removed from "Selsey to this place, and for some ages afterwards) are either "wholly lost or in such private hands as have hitherto very "injuriously detain'd them from their right owners."

From this statement it appears that Bishop Nicolson found but three capitular books, the earliest of which went back to the time of Edward IV., and may probably be identified with the "White Act Book" described below.

On the whole it may be inferred that Bishop Nicolson's words bear reference not so much to books as to charters, the extreme paucity of which has been already noticed; and an article in the Visitation of 1616 may even justify a doubt whether the Parliamentary troops have not been made chargeable with a destruction of records which was really due to the negligent rule of Dean William Thorne, the Orientalist.

The oldest book in the collection is a volume bound in vellum and lettered in ink on the back, "Muniment Book," and on the side "Y," containing a chartulary of composite origin. Prefixed to it is a full table of contents in a hand of the sixteenth century. Next come twelve leaves written at the end of the sixteenth century, containing reports on the condition of various benefices, memoranda and correspondence relative to disputes about rents, accounts (temp., Henry VIII., etc.) and a series of transcripts of charters, 1190 to 1300, relating to the vicarage of Westwightrings, with notes down to 1487. At the end of the unpaged section is a copy of Bishop Sherburne's rules for stewards. The paged portion of the book begins with one gathering of fifteenth century copies. The rest of the volume is a chartulary, written chiefly from the thirteenth to the early part of the fourteenth century, with many insertions of the fifteenth century and later.

A quarto volume, which from its loose wrapper of rough parchment has been cited as the "White Act Book," and which was written on paper from the latter part of the fifteenth century onwards, bears the title, *Registrum Dominorum Decani et Capituli Ecclesie Cathedralis Cicestrensis ab anno Domini millesimo cccc^mo^ lxxiii^o^*. From the erasures on folio 53 and elsewhere, and also from the changes in the pagination, it appears that structurally this volume is an Act Book, in which, however, very few entries were recorded, and which was therefore made available afterwards for the insertion of charters, and in part also of capitular acts under Dean Fleshmonger. Finally, the blank remainders of leaves were used for rough notices of admissions and other acts, so that gradually the volume resumes more and more the appearance of an Act Book.

The forms taken from Chichester documents belong to the episcopate of Bishop Thomas Bickley [1584-1596], and it is possible that it was through him that the volume passed into the collection.

A large folio volume in paper boards, lettered "Gibson's Miscellanea," or "L," contains a mass of material bearing upon the privileges of the Dean and Chapter and their relations with the city, together with evidence collected from other cathedral churches. Dean and Chapter of Chichester.

A folio volume in leather, marked "K," and distinguished as "Dr. Hayley's Book," is not as a whole the compilation either of Dean William Hayley or (as was formerly supposed) of Dean Thomas Hayley. The foundation of it was earlier than Dean Thomas Hayley's time, but he added very largely to it, and his younger relative made insertions here and there. The book principally consists of transcripts of various documents of interest for the church of Chichester.

In a strong room in the Bishop's Registry, in West Street, are preserved the later registers or Act Books of the Dean and Chapter. The earliest of these form the immediate continuation of the White Act Book already described, and it is difficult to understand on what principle the volumes have been stored in different buildings. The first volume in the Registry runs from 1545 to 1618. The second begins with 11th July, 1600, from which date the series is continued without break to the present day.

In the Library of the Cathedral are exhibited twenty-five charters [780-1674], which were discovered not long ago in a drawer in the vestry, and were then placed in the librarian's charge, though they belong strictly to the capitular muniments. An excellent manuscript catalogue, with full transcripts, is provided.

(6) *The Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.*—The muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury have already formed the subject of an extensive report in the appendices to the Fifth, Eighth, and Ninth Reports of your Majesty's Commissioners (1876-1883). The reasons why it has appeared desirable to draw up a supplementary report are, first, that portions of the muniments have subsequently been published, and, secondly, that important discoveries of lost documents have been made in recent years. The following is a Summary of the Muniments, namely:— Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

I.—Books.—These are twenty-two in number, lettered from A to U, T being double (T and T 2). They are known by the common title of Registers, although many of them are in strictness not Registers but Chartularies.

II.—Original Records.—These, as distinguished from transcripts (or, it may be, drafts) in volumes, are preserved in two forms. Some have been mounted in the present century, and combined so as to constitute volumes, *i.e.* artificial chartularies letterbooks, and books of miscellanea. The rest are stored singly in drawers and portfolios. The former class consist of—

The Book of Saxon Charters, 742-1049, containing twenty-two Anglo-Saxon Charters.

Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

Canterbury Letters ranging from 1560 to 1790. These were separated from the *Chartæ Antiquæ*, among which they had previously been confounded, in 1806, and were bound up in two volumes lettered "Ancient Letters," and are now kept in the Chapter Library. They are described in the Ninth Report, pp. 121-124. Besides these, are seven volumes of letters and documents of various kinds, which were collected and to a great extent recovered by Dr. Sheppard, and by him pasted into blank books now preserved in the Chapter Library.

Christ Church Letters, in two volumes.

*Sede Vacante*, in three volumes.

Scrap Books (thus misnamed), in three volumes.

The second class of original documents, that is, of those not made up into volumes, includes—

The great series of *Chartæ Antiquæ* preserved in the Chapter Library.

*Obedientiaries' Rolls*, 1269-1533, in the Howley Library, arranged by Dr. Sheppard, but not indexed or catalogued.

*The Eastry Letters*, a collection so called for convenience of distinction, preserved in the Howley Library, and consisting of documents in four portfolios and one roll of letters.

Since this report was printed there has been restored to the collection a box called the "Inventory Box," now preserved in the Howley Library, containing, according to a memorandum by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, paper drafts of the priors' accounts, 1331-1343; treasurer's weekly bills or accounts, of the fifteenth century; and inventories of Church goods, 1540, 1563, 1584, 1634, 1662, and later.

County of Worcester.

(7) *The County of Worcester.*—Some years back the Worcester County Council took in hand the repair and calendaring of the County Records. Every document composing the files or rolls of proceedings at quarter sessions, which cover the period from 1591 to 1643, has been calendared.

The County Council has printed this calendar under the supervision of its chairman, Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A., and the calendar is appearing by instalments in the publications of the Worcester Historical Society.

The records, as might be expected, throw a decidedly important light on the social state of Worcestershire at the close of the sixteenth and during the seventeenth centuries. The document possessing, perhaps, the most general historic interest is the presentment of the grand jury, in 1640, as to the abuses of the Court of the Marches of Wales.

The progress of the great Civil War is illustrated by a presentment by the grand jury, in April, 1643, as to the money raised for the defence of the county.

From the point of view of social history, one of the most curious documents is a presentment in 1661. Those making the presentment desire (1) that overseers of parishes may not be compelled to provide houses for such young persons "as will marry before they have provided themselves with a settling"; (2) that servants' wages be rated according to the statute, for the "unreasonableness" of wages had become a grievance, and servants had grown "so proud and idle" that they could not be known from their masters, except, as it is sarcastically observed, "because the servant wears better clothes than his master"; and (3) that more children be brought up to husbandry and less apprenticed to trades. County of Worcester

The religious condition of the county also receives considerable illustration. Roman Catholicism was extensively professed among the better-to-do classes, and there are many presentments for recusancy; other dissenters from the Anglican Church are also in evidence, and there are references to sentences of excommunication and the performance of penance.

(8) *The Corporation of Lostwithiel.*—The municipal records of the borough of Lostwithiel, Cornwall, have greatly suffered from spoliation and neglect. There are no early registers of the proceedings of the corporation beyond the records of elections of officers and of the court of ordinary jurisdiction. That the first town charter, granted by Robert de Cardinan in the time of Richard I., has been preserved is fortunate, but several subsequent royal charters have been lost. Borough of Lostwithiel.

The collection consists of Royal Charters, Miscellaneous Documents, and Registers. The miscellaneous deeds commence with a fine one of about the end of the twelfth century, 1190-1200, between which and those that follow there is, unfortunately, a great gap.

The only volumes of official registers which are now in existence are the four following:—

Folio volume, bound in rough calf, and lettered on the side, "The maritime water of Fowey. Court leet paper commencing "(*sic.*) 7 Charles I." This extends from 1361 to 1708, but is extremely imperfect, wanting all from 1645 to 1694, besides other years. The entries in the former part only relate to trivial cases of assault and the like, and in the latter part are only the formal record of the holding of the Court.

Folio volume, similarly bound, lettered on the side, "Burrough of Lostwithiell. Proceedings of the three weeks "Court of Record, commencing 13 Charles I." This extends from 1637 to 1672 (wanting 1653-8), and is almost entirely occupied with proceedings on pleas of debt, assault and trespass.

Folio volume, also bound in rough calf, and lettered on the side, "Burrough of Lostwithiell. Elections of Mayors and "other officers, Court Leet papers, commencing (*sic.*) A. 1648" (really, in 1645). It extends only to 1667, with the addition of the years 1705-8.

Small quarto paper book in a parchment cover, being the register of "The Lawe Court of the Marytan Water of Fowey," from 1659 to 1683.

Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.

(9) *The Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.*—The muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury are stored in four presses. The present report is in no sense intended to serve as a guide to the collection, and no full description is here given of a mass of documents of the sort which naturally finds a place in a capitular collection of muniments—accounts, receipts, records of installations, terriers, charters affecting property, and the like—unless for special reasons. All that is attempted is to select those documents which from their antiquity have a claim to a more than local importance, and those which on any other account may be considered of general interest. The great wealth of the collection has made it impossible to attempt a fuller survey.

The First Report of your Majesty's Commissioners include (App. p. 90) a notice relating to Salisbury Cathedral; but this concerns merely 'a small collection,' in fact, a single bundle, described by the Rev. John James, and apparently in his possession.

The first press contains deeds relating to property in various places, arranged in boxes alphabetically under the names of the places. They extend in date from the reign of John to modern times.

The documents relating to Shaftesbury are numerous (the inventory reckons seventy-two), and range from the time of Edward I. downwards.

The second press contains the bound volumes enumerated at the end of the report. It also includes a number of documents affecting religious houses (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), and other documents affecting religious houses, appeals to the Court of Canterbury, documents concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, notes and minutes of chapter meetings, *congés d'élire*, communars' accounts, fabric accounts, bishops' deeds, mandates, etc.

The third press contains documents relating to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, and to the various dignities and prebends in the church, arranged in thirty-eight boxes.

The fourth press contains thirty-three boxes, and is classified in two series; one by letters of the alphabet, the other by titles.

The books contained in the second press in the muniment room include:—

The Chapter Act Books, forming a remarkable series extending, with occasional but inconsiderable breaks, in seventeen volumes, from 1329 to 1642. The series is resumed in 1660, and extends thenceforward to the present day. These books deserve a full calendar.

The *Liber Evidentiarum*, marked "C" to distinguish it from a similar collection known as "B" in the Bishop's Registry, etc.

VARIOUS COLLECTIONS, VOLUME II.

This volume contains reports on the Manuscripts of the following owners, namely:—

(1) *Sir George Wombwell.*—Among the manuscripts at Newburgh Priory, Yorkshire, are preserved the papers of the family of Belasyse, Viscounts Fauconberg, with many relating to the allied family of Fairfax, and others. The mass of mixed papers, however, include also a considerable number of early charters, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, many of them of considerable interest. But of the ancient library of the Priory itself, no remains are found, no register or chartulary, and only three original deeds. Of the neighbouring Abbey of Byland, seventeen early charters are preserved, and a few relating to Rievaulx, Gisburne, Whalley, Chester, Deerhurst, and Bicester. The only document relating to Whalley is a charter, by which Henry, Duke of Lancaster, founds, in 1360, a cell for an anchoress in the churchyard of Whalley, together with a chantry-chapel; the grant of land is large, and the particulars of endowment minute. Among miscellaneous deeds is one of the foundation of a chantry by William Greenfield, Archbishop of York, in 1314, in a chapel built by him in his manor of Ripon. Sir George Wombwell.

The first part of the Calendar deals with all the documents on vellum, and gives full abstracts of all of royal and monastic character, and of such miscellaneous deeds of title and grants as appear to call for particular notice, while the general nature of those not calendared is indicated. It is disappointing that only one document relating to the Protector Cromwell has been found, and no correspondence with his son-in-law, or with his daughter. It would seem probable that upon the Restoration many papers were destroyed.

Of the paper documents, the oldest is a very curious narrative, by one Robert Pilkington, of the struggle between himself and the Ainsworths for the lands of Mellor in Derbyshire, during the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII.: a narrative which throws many interesting side lights upon the history of those times.

Next in chronological order is a thick folio volume containing copies of leases of chantry lands in Yorkshire, mostly in or near York and Scarborough, which form a useful supplement to the *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, published by the Surtees Society. The leases supply many additional details, and several missing names. Another volume has extracts from the court rolls of some of the Yorkshire monasteries, with a curious form of oath to be given to tenants, in the reign of Philip and Mary. These two volumes were apparently compiled for the use of the commissioners who were sent down into Yorkshire after the dissolution of the monasteries (probably the second commission, of which Sir Nicholas Fairfax was a member), and who drew up the surveys already alluded to.

Sir George Wombwell.

Following these in date is a very fine series of household account books, of the years 1571-1582, in which John Woodward, house-steward to Sir William Fairfax, of Gilling and Walton, has entered not only the daily, weekly, and yearly expenditure of provisions, but the bill of fare for dinner and supper on every day of the year.

The letters and papers of Lord Fauconberg, husband of Mary Cromwell, form a large part of the collection. There are no papers relating to the Protector except Lord Fauconberg's acknowledgment of the receipt of 15,000*l* as the Lady Mary's portion, which carries our thoughts back to Cromwell's repeated expressions of anxiety regarding the marriage portions of his "little wenches"; but there is another document which reads like one of history's little ironies, viz. a licence, duly signed and sealed, from the Bishop of London to Thomas, Viscount Fauconberg, and Mary, his wife, to eat flesh in Lent, for their health's sake.

In 1669, Lord Fauconberg was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Princess of Italy, and "principally and ultimately" to Venice. He left England in January, 1669-70.

Lord Fauconberg's despatches are amongst the Foreign State Papers at the Public Record Office, and are not therefore, noticed here, excepting one, written on July 8th-18th, which is missing from that series. Those in official custody are the letters actually sent. These are the copies in Lord Fauconberg's letter book.

On his return home, Fauconberg presented a report to the King, giving an interesting account of the princes and States which he had visited. Extracts from it are printed.

The later part of Lord Fauconberg's correspondence mostly relates to family affairs and election matters in Yorkshire. It should be taken in connexion with the letters in the report on Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley's papers (*see pp.* 86-91), the letters often touching on the same subjects, as for instance in regard to the proposal to apprentice Lord Fauconberg's nephew, John Saunderson (a younger son of Lord Castleton), to a merchant in London.

There are several letters relating to the Popish plot; the precautions taken in Yorkshire to prevent a rising, and the efforts made there to apprehend suspected persons.

Coming to the early eighteenth century, we find a series of curious letters narrating the doings of the dowager Lady Fauconberg of the time. They were written by one of the family dependants to the Earl of Fauconberg, her son.

Lastly, there are several interesting letters from Lawrence Sterne, who was appointed vicar of Lord Fauconberg's living of Coxwold in 1760. Amongst some business letters from Richard Chapman, the steward of the Newburg estate, is one, written in March, 1760, in which he expressed his extreme gratification that Mr. Sterne was appointed to the living.

Amongst the Fauconberg papers is a curious MS. account of England, written by Henry Bellasis, in the time of Cromwell's protectorate.

(2) *Miss Buxton, of Shadwell Court.*—The earliest progenitor of the ancient family of Buxton, of Shadwell Court, in the County of Norfolk, of whom we have any certain knowledge, was Peter de Bukton, knight, steward of the household of Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV., whom he accompanied on his travels in the years 1390-1 and 1392-3. Ten years later he appears in the Gascon Rolls as Mayor of Bordeaux, a lucrative office, one of great importance, which probably was the foundation of that wealth which his immediate descendants appear to have acquired when they settled at Tibenham, in Norfolk, and soon became important personages in the county. In November, 1553, Robert, son of John Buxton, of Tibenham, entered as a student of the Inner Temple, and was called to the Bar in due course. He became M.P. successively for Bramber and Horsham in the first and second Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth (1559 and 1563), and was appointed counsellor or legal adviser to the Earl, an office which he continued to hold for his Lordship's grandson, the unfortunate Philip Howard, 23rd Earl of Arundel

Miss Buxton.

When Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, was beheaded in 1572, leaving three sons under age, of whom Philip, then bearing the title of Earl of Surrey, was the eldest, it was inevitable that Robert Buxton, who had the full confidence of the Earl of Arundel, should become the trusted adviser of the Howards, and the letters which exist in the Shadwell archives abundantly prove that this is what came to pass.

Until the appearance of the pathetic life of Philip, Earl of Arundel, and his Countess, the Lady Anne, which the Duke of Norfolk published from the original MS. in 1857, surprisingly little was known of the career of that unfortunate nobleman, who suffered an imprisonment of more than ten years in the Tower. The Arundel letters at Shadwell afford many illustrations and confirmations of the contemporary biography, especially as to the Earl's deplorable condition of financial embarrassment. They indicate, moreover, that he was a man of considerable business capacity and generosity. The letter dated 16th November 1583, requiring Buxton to get together some large sums of money was evidently written when the Earl was intending to slip away to the continent, and that dated St. Thomas' Eve (1584) marks the date of his having been "received" into the Church of Rome. He was committed to the Tower, 25th April 1585. After this the correspondence ceases, but there is an interesting letter from Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, concerning his imprisonment, written in October 1586.

The Earl died in the Tower, 15th October 1585. Robert Buxton had managed to settle large portions of the Arundel

Miss Buxton

estates, and thus secure them from being forfeited on the attainder of the Earl. He thereby brought upon himself the fierce animosity of some of the courtiers, who were baffled in their attempts to obtain a share of the spoils. The result was that on some frivolous charges, the exact nature of which remains unexplained, Mr. Buxton was thrown into the Fleet, and only released on petition to Queen Elizabeth at the end of 1599. Faithfully as he had served the Howards during those trying years, his reward was by no means excessive. As far as we know, it consisted of a grant of the Rushford property, which remains an integral portion of the family estates to the present time. The evidences of this property are among the most interesting and valuable manuscripts in the Shadwell collection.

Robert Buxton survived his imprisonment nearly twenty years, during which he resided at Chanonz, and as a Justice of the Peace showed himself an active magistrate, keeping up some correspondence with his neighbours and taking part in all the business of the county, leaving a somewhat voluminous collection of notes and memoranda behind him. On his death, 15th November 1607, he was succeeded by his grandson Robert, a young man of twenty-two, who met with a tragical end, 17th January 1611. It is not till John, son of this latter Robert, had arrived at manhood that the archives at Shadwell begin again to be interesting and valuable.

During the rebellion, the civil war, and the Protectorate, John Buxton lived in retirement at Tibenham—acquiescing in the inevitable. He kept himself informed, however, of what was going on, receiving frequent intelligence from his correspondents in London and elsewhere. The letters of this period, some of which are printed in extenso, will be found of much interest. Among the most noteworthy letters addressed to John Buxton during the Interregnum, are the letters of Thomas Knyvett, 2nd March 1640-1, on Lord Strafford's trial; the letter of George Humphrey, of the 29th November 1644, on Cromwell's quarrel with the Earl of Manchester; the letters of William Leech, tutor of Mr. Buxton's son Robert, during his residence at Oriel College, Oxford, 1651-1653; and the only too brief information concerning the elections in Norfolk of members to serve in the Parliament of 1656. John Buxton was one of those elected, but he was excluded from serving, and was never permitted to take his seat.

John Buxton died at his house, Chanonz, on the 29th April, 1660, just a month before Charles II. made his entry into London. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert Buxton, who appears to have lived in obscurity as a country squire.

In 1680, his eldest son—another John Buxton—a young man of much intelligence, was attacked by some pulmonary disorder and was sent off to France, where he spent two years in the hope of recovering his health. The young man died at Orleans,

where he was buried, in July 1682. The letters which he wrote home during his absence, and the fragment of his diary, afford us a curious narrative of continental travel, and many valuable observations on the manners of the time, descriptions of towns through which he passed, and other incidents illustrative of the state of France two centuries ago, under the rule of Louis XIV. Miss Buxton.

The Shadwell archives, after the revolution of 1688, as far as they have been examined, are not of much value except perhaps to the local antiquary. The only letter which has come under notice deserving to be printed *in extenso* is that of Simon Verlander, addressed to another John Buxton, great grandson of the John Buxton who was High Sheriff of Norfolk in 1638. This gives a remarkable story of the young Pretender's presence with his motley gathering at Manchester, in March 1745.

(3) *Lord Edmund Talbot.*—In a collection belonging to Lord Edmund Talbot there are many documents of special interest. Early charters relating to property in many English counties, chiefly in the Midlands and Cheshire, begin in the last quarter of the twelfth century. A confirmation by the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, soon after A.D. 1200, has a chapter seal attached which seems to be unknown, bearing a representation of the Cathedral. Of several documents relating to the pawning of plate, one records the recovery by Henry VII., in 1485, of a salt-cellar and a jewelled "coronal," given in pledge to Richard Gardiner, once Mayor of London, and to the Mayor and Aldermen by Richard III. Other deeds relating to Gardiner (including his will in 1490), from whom the Cambridgeshire family of Alington descended by marriage, are found. A parchment roll, dated in 1576, contains a long inventory of the goods contained in the various houses of Edward, Lord Windsor. Lord Edmund Talbot.

A large and interesting portion of the collection consists of personal and official papers of Sir Gilbert Talbot, K.G., the Deputy for the Government of Calais in the reigns of Henry VII and VIII. Amongst them are royal letters and commissions (some of the former of which have already appeared in print), and three letters from Wolsey ("Wulcy") in 1513. Upon Talbot's death, on 16th August 1517, there is an inventory of his goods, in which two books, and two only, are mentioned—Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and a Primer. Later family papers include household books, 1544-1577; inventory of goods of John Talbot, 1570; a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury from the burgesses of Wexford, in 1591; two letters from Frances, Countess of Shrewsbury, when on her death-bed, in 1652, to her cousin G. Gage, with her wishes respecting bequests; and from James Roche, in 1737, to Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury (then living at Isleworth). This lady, who styled herself Countess of Shrewsbury, was the widow of the Hon.

Lord Edmund Talbot.

George Talbot, brother of Gilbert, 13th Earl, and father of George, 14th Earl, who assumed the title of earl because his brother, being a Jesuit priest, never claimed it.

For the history of the English occupation of Calais at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, some materials are found in two parcels of papers of the French secretary to the Council of Calais, Jean de Houpplines. Many of them are extremely difficult to decipher, being rough drafts of letters with many alterations; but all that appear to be of interest, together with miscellaneous correspondence on the part of others, will, it is believed, be found described in the Calendar. An earlier document gives the names of all the mounted lances and archers serving in the garrison in 1477-8.

Duke of Norfolk.

(4) *The Duke of Norfolk.* — Amongst some manuscripts belonging to the Duke of Norfolk, there will be found described several of great and very varied interest. One item is a series of revenue account rolls of the College at Arundel from 1383 to 1541. For the County of Westmoreland there is a series of charters concerned with the possessions of the Lords Dacre, from about A.D. 1200 to 1536, which appear to have formed part of the collections of Peter Le Neve, Norroy. A parcel of Norfolk deeds, which also belonged to Le Neve, extends from circa 1150 to 1506. Two papers, by Leonard Calvert, 1633-7, relate to the settlement in Maryland, of which province he was governor. In 1680, there is the original letter written to Lord Stafford by his confessor, James Corker, which the latter printed in his anonymous *Stafford Mémoires* in 1682, with the initials N. N. An interesting letter from an English nun at Rouen, named Standish, gives some account of the routine of conventual life there in 1731. And a letter from Lord Brougham, in 1825, deals with his movements for the foundations of the University of London, and with the parliamentary agitation on behalf of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill.

Mrs. Harford.

(5) *Mrs. Harford.*—The manuscripts at Holme Hall, Yorkshire, form a useful contribution to the literature of the Exile, for they consist almost entirely of letters from the chief advisers of the young Charles II. to Sir Marmaduke, afterwards Lord, Langdale. The letters are mostly concerned with hopes and plans for the future, personal affairs, and the movements of the King and his friends. At the end of 1659, Hyde sent Langdale information of the dissolution of Parliament by the army. Following on this came accounts of the doings of Monck and of Lambert.

The next document calendared is the summons from Charles II. to Lord Langdale to attend his coronation and the procession on the previous day. The last paper noticed is a similar summons from James II., in which, as the Queen was also to be crowned, Lady Langdale was called upon to accompany her husband.

(6) *Mrs. Wentworth, of Woolley.*—The manuscripts at Woolley consist almost entirely of family papers, beginning with those of Michael Wentworth, who purchased Woolley and Notton from the Woodroves in 1599, and ending with those of Godfrey Wentworth, who held the estates from 1729 to 1789. There are also a few papers relating to his grandson and heir, Godfrey Wentworth Armytage, who took the name of Wentworth on succeeding to the estates. Mrs. Wentworth

With the letters are two or three copies of early deeds, and also a copy of the licence from Henry VIII. to Thomas Wentworth to wear his bonnet in the royal presence.

The early history of the manors of Woolley and Notton will be found at considerable length in Hunter's *South Yorkshire.* Michael Wentworth purchased them, and settled at Woolley. He died in 1641, and was succeeded by his son, Sir George, who married Ann Fairfax, daughter of the first Lord Fairfax, of Cameron (and aunt of the future Lord General of the Parliament). The first paper which speaks of Sir George Wentworth, of Woolley, is dated 1637, four years before his father's death; but the explanation of this is that in 1630, Michael Wentworth, already eighty-two years of age, had assigned his estates to his sons.

There are many letters from the second Earl of Strafford in this collection, but they are chiefly about matters relating to his estates.

Sir George Wentworth died in 1660, and his two sons having died in his own life-time, the estates of Woolley and Notton passed to his brother John, but with certain charges upon them for his daughters.

John Wentworth had studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, and afterwards contributed largely to its building fund. He was an active justice for the West Riding, and a good many papers are connected with his magistracy, but most of his correspondence is concerned with election matters in Yorkshire, especially at Aldborough and at York.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century, we come to a fresh generation of the Wentworth family. Sir Michael died in 1696, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William. His second son, John, died in 1700. His third son, Godfrey, who lived at Hickleton, married Anna Maria, daughter of Giles Clarke, Esq., of the Inner Temple, and had three sons, Michael, William, and Godfrey (the first two dying in childhood, while the third lived to succeed his uncle William at Woolley).

Of some general interest are letters from Lord Harley—conveying his wife's gracious approbation of Godfrey Wentworth's candidature for Aldborough (where the Newcastle family had property and influence)—and from General Willes, announcing the capitulation of the rebels at Preston.

In 1729, William Wentworth died, and Godfrey succeeded to the estates. He married Dorothy Pilkington, daughter of

Mrs. Wentworth.

his Aunt Ann (afterwards Lady Dalston) and Sir Lyonell Pilkington, senior. This old lady lived until 1732, and there is a letter from her in the collection, written only four days before her death. There were so many Dorothies in the family that some care is needed in order to distinguish them.

There is a letter from Mrs. Godfrey Wentworth to her son, written in 1753, in which she gives a rather amusing description of society in York.

There are two letters from the Earl of Strafford himself which are amusing from the fact that they both contain mention of "Ward's Pills," a quack medicine in which his Lordship had great faith, but which his friends thought did him much harm.

In the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* for 1893, will be found papers, by the late Mr. George Edward Wentworth, upon the Wentworths of Woolley, which were largely compiled from the family collection here calendared. They are a most painstaking piece of work and very interesting, but, unfortunately, are marred by many mistakes and misprints.

Mrs. Stopford-Sackville.

MRS. STOPFORD-SACKVILLE, OF DRAYTON HOUSE, THRAPSTON. VOL. I.

As the report upon Mrs. Stopford-Sackville's papers (Report IX., Appendix 3) is out of print, Your Majesty's Commissioners have thought it well to re-issue it in the more convenient octavo form, uniform with the later volumes of their publications, at the same time correcting some few errors and misprints which had crept into the earlier report, and including many papers which were omitted or briefly mentioned.

The report has now been divided into two volumes, the first containing the documents relating to the British Isles, the Continent of Europe, and India, while the second is devoted to the States of America, Canada, and the West Indies.

The great bulk of the fresh material will be found in the second or American volume, which has not yet appeared, but amongst the new papers in Volume I. may be noted Lord Feversham's original despatches to King James during his campaign against the Duke of Monmouth, explaining at much length, and in very bad French, his reasons for what he did and what he did not do. He makes the curious statement that Monmouth often preached to his army; does full justice to the gallant conduct of Lord Churchill and the young Duke of Grafton, and evidently believes the current report that Major-General Ludlow was with the rebel army.

With these Monmouth papers is an interesting map of Sedgemoor, sent up to Lord Sunderland by the Rev. Andrew Paschall, rector of Chedzoy, which would have been reproduced for this volume had it not been already given to the public by Mr. Fea, in his "*King Monmouth.*"

The sections devoted to Home Affairs, Ireland, Correspondence with General Irwin, the Seven Years' War, etc. have not been much enlarged, as all these papers were very fully

dealt with in the earlier report; but some few papers of interest have been added. See, *inter alia*, the letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Charles Townshend, the answer to which is printed in the Report on Marquis Townshend's MSS.; a long and interesting letter from Geo. Grenville's secretary, Mr. Whateley, on the crisis of July 1767, and one from William Knox on the new ministry of July 1782. Also letters from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and Lord George Sackville on the steps to be taken in consequence of the surprise of Minden by the French, and a series of extracts from a History of the Seven Years' War, with marginal notes upon the battle of Minden by Col. William Kingsley, whose regiment, under his command, greatly distinguished itself in the engagement. This document was sent, many years afterwards, by an officer in India to Lord G. Germain, as throwing a "new light" upon the battle, but there is nothing in the new light at all exculpatory of his Lordship's conduct.

Some interesting papers have been added on Indian affairs at the time of Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic, especially a long letter giving a detailed account of the defeat of the English by Hyder near Conjiveram. This letter contains a strong attack upon Sir Hector Monro's conduct in not supporting Colonel Baillie. Other papers worthy of notice are a summary of the events which preceded and precipitated Hyder's invasion, and three letters from Lieut.-Col. Patrick Ross concerning the abortive expedition to the Cape under Commodore Johnstone and General Meadowes, and the state of affairs in India at the time.

Finally, there are several letters from Lieut.-General James Murray, who was in command in Minorca, first as Lieutenant to Governor Mostyn (invalided in England), and after Mostyn's death as Governor. With these letters is a copy of the questions submitted by Murray to his officers in January, 1782, concerning the defence of Port St. Philip, then besieged by the Duc de Crillon. The officers answered by proposing negotiations with de Crillon, and, in default of relief from England, the surrender of the fortress, to which Murray sternly replied that their answer had taken a latitude which he never gave them. He had consulted them how best to prolong the defence and on that alone; would never consent to surrender until driven to the last extremity, and, if they refused to execute his orders, must resign the command to the Lieut.-Governor (Sir William Draper), whom he believed to be a better officer than himself, and who was certainly "a better politician." Upon receipt of the general's letter, the officers unanimously assured him of their determination to stand by him and obey him. When they made their proposal, it must be remembered that the fatal scurvy had already made its appearance, which quickly reduced the little garrison to a state of desperation, and three weeks later obliged the general to surrender. If the garrison had remained in health, he wrote to Lord Hillsborough, he could have held out two months longer.

This volume contains reports on the Manuscripts of T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq,. Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., Pelham R. Papillon, Esq. and W. Cleverly Alexander, Esq.

T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq.

(1) *T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq.*—The manuscripts of Mr. W. Clarke-Thornhill, of Rushton Hall, consist almost entirely of the correspondence and other papers of Sir Thomas Tresham, owner of Rushton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They were discovered in 1828, when, in pulling down a very thick partition wall, in the passage leading from the Great Hall, the workmen came to a very large recess or closet in the centre of it, in which was deposited an enormous bundle, containing the manuscripts and some theological books, wrapped up in a large sheet. From the fact that the papers go on pretty steadily from 1576 to November, 1605, and then suddenly stop, and also that there are no later endorsements upon any of them, it is supposed that they were walled up in the alarm following the Gunpowder Plot and the arrest of Francis Tresham, eldest son of Sir Thomas, for complicity therein. Unfortunately there are no papers relating to the plot; perhaps there never were any; for Sir Thomas had died only a few weeks before, and there is not the slightest reason to believe that he knew of it, and every possible reason to believe that he would have disapproved of it.

But there is a great deal of information in the papers concerning the families intimately connected with the conspiracy; the Treshams, Vaux, Catesbies, Monteagles, &c. The documents have every appearance of having lain undisturbed in their hiding place for two hundred years, and they have been remarkably little injured by damp.

The most valauble aspect of the collection is the light which it throws upon the views of the loyal Roman Catholic party in the reign of Elizabeth and at the accession of James I. Of this party, Sir Thomas Tresham was one of the foremost leaders, and although repeatedly suffering fine and imprisonment on account of his recusancy, the " noble-hearted man," as Dr. S. R. Gardiner calls him, showed throughout a loyal love for his Queen and country, second only to his devotion to his religion and his church.

Sir Thomas Tresham came of an old Northamptonshire family, who were seated at Sywell. The only relics of his ancestors amongst Sir Thomas Tresham's papers are two short, indented deeds, one on paper and one on parchment, concerning certain moneys, household effects and jewels delivered to Isabel Tresham, daughter of Lord Vaux, widow of Williaw Tresham, Attorney General to Henry V, and mother of the Sir Thomas who fought in the wars of the Roses.

In August, 1581, a considerable sensation was created amongst the English Catholics by the statement that Campion, the Jesuit, had given up the names of his friends and those who had entertained him at their houses. Amongst these names were those of Sir Thomas Tresham and his brother-in-law, Lord Vaux. Sir

Thomas would appear to have been doubtful whether Campion had been to his house or no, and so refused to depose either way, upon which he was committed to the Fleet, as was also Lord Vaux. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq.

From these Tresham papers we gather that the treatment of the recusant prisoners varied a good deal. Sometimes they dined together, and had each a bed chamber, though small and ill-furnished. At other times Sir Thomas was confined alone, and not allowed to see even his wife and daughters. In one of his letters he speaks of his keeper often forgetting to bring him his dinner, though never unmindful to lock him up close. Learned Protestant theologians often resorted to them for argument, of whom Dr. Lylly, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, seems to have pleased Sir Thomas best.

After three months' imprisonment Tresham was tried in the Star Chamber. There is an account of the proceedings amongst these papers, but as this has been already printed from another copy, it was unnecessary to do more than catalogue it. At the end of the trial, Tresham was re-committed to the Fleet.

In February, 1582, there is the first mention of those family troubles which so sadly clouded Sir Thomas's life.

In January, 1582-3, Sir Thomas wrote to Hatton, earnestly praying for restoration to her Majesty's favour, he having paid all his fines and continued in captivity to the uttermost time adjudged by law, and all others confined for the same cause having been now enlarged save Lord Vaux and himself. Shortly afterwards, he was released, on bond not to come within four miles of London or to depart forth of such house as should be assigned to him. Lady Tresham appealed to her aunt, the Countess of Bedford, whose husband had exerted himself for Tresham's release, to obtain some relaxation of these hard terms, which shut him out from both his own houses at Tuthill, Westminster, and at Hoxton, or as it was then called, Hogsden. She was so far successful that he was allowed to remain at Hogsden, living there with his family on bond "not to depart forth of the precincts of Hogsden and Shoreditch," although it appears that he was not in his own house, but in a cottage, "erst a tippling house," which he had rented for a time.

With other noted recusants, he continued to enjoy a limited freedom until the reports of the great Spanish preparations reached England in 1587, when, as Sir Thomas states, although her Majesty was fully convinced of their loyalty and true English hearts, yet, "alonely to frustrate the enemy's expectations of finding any succour" from them, it was thought policy to shut them up. They earnestly implored to be employed against the enemy, but were told that their confinement would more avail than the help of their hands. At the end of Michaelmas term, therefore, they were committed to the charge of the clergy, Sir Thomas Tresham being sent to the Bishop of Lincoln at Buckden.

They remained in episcopal custody for seven months, but in the following July, "the enemy's powerful fleet then under sail," were all removed to the Bishop's Palace at Ely for greater security.

T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq.

After the repulse of the Spaniards, the feeling against the recusants continued to run high, but in October the Privy Council sent orders that upon signing a protestation of their allegiance, and giving bond for their appearance when called upon, they were to be released. Sir Thomas Tresham's freedom was of short duration. In March, 1589-90, upon a renewed alarm of Spanish invasion, the recusants were once more ordered into custody, some at Ely, some at Banbury Castle, and some at Mr. Fiennes' house at Broughton, near Banbury. Sir Thomas was amongst those allotted to Ely, and although he made an attempt, through his wife, to have his place of confinement changed to Mr. Fiennes' house, on account of the bad air of the "filthy and fennish country," it was not successful.

Tresham's actual incarceration did not last long. His presence in London was necessary for the arrangement of Lord Vaux's entangled affairs, then under consideration of Parliament, and he appears to have left Ely in April, and to have been allowed to live at Hogsden, with permission to repair to the Judges and learned counsel or elsewhere as needful. His stay in town was lengthened by repeated orders of the Privy Council, and he was still there when, in October, the order was given for all the prisoners in Ely and Banbury to be liberated.

Early in 1592-3, the principal recusants were again ordered into custody. Apparently it was intended to send Sir Thomas Tresham back to Ely, but he does not seem to have left Hoxton when "ten days before the end of this last Parliament," that is on April 1st, he was set at liberty, by means, as was believed, of the Earl of Essex. Meanwhile he was allowed to return to Rushton and thus, after twelve years absence, he returned to his home. In February, 1594, he was once more apprehended and sent to his old prison, the Fleet, where he was treated with much more rigour than before, not being allowed any servant to attend him, or to see his wife and children, even in the warder's presence. This strict confinement lasted until July, when he was again released.

During the next two or three years, Sir Thomas was allowed to remain quietly with his family, carrying on his building operations and looking after his family affairs.

Towards the end of 1596, there was again serious alarm aroused by the preparations of Spain, and at the beginning of November, Lord Burghley advised, amongst other measures of defence, that all the principal recusants should be once more committed. In December, Sir Thomas found himself back in his "familiar prison" at Ely. It was during this imprisonment that he wrote certain very interesting notes, giving the key to the train of thought which led to the building of the Triangular Lodge at Rushton.

The document in question is headed by Sir Thomas, "Eely "15 Julii, 1597, Memorandums concerninge two pyeces of paynted "worke at Eely in parte of the galery chamber wyndow ther." He relates that on returning for the third time to Ely, he found

that his fellow-prisoners had been engaged in decorating the walls of their chambers with painted work; and made up his mind to do the same. He selected the gallery window "west towards the orchard." T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq.

Lady Alwyne Compton, in very courteous response to enquiries, has identified this window beyond dispute as that at the west end of Bishop Goodrich's gallery, where it still looks down on an enclosure containing a few ancient nut-trees, the relics of the old orchard. In the decoration of this window, Sir Thomas Tresham gave free play to his religious enthusiasm, love of symbolism and artistic fancy.

There is no allusion to the Triangular Lodge in these notes, but during his imprisonment Sir Thomas was busily engaged in his building operations, writing directions concerning them to two of his principal servants, George Levens, his steward at Rushton, and John Slynne, his keeper at Lyveden. Levens' account books for this period contain many items concerning them.

Refusing to obey a decree of the Court of Chancery, improperly obtained, as he thought, Sir Thomas was in 1599, once more committed to the Fleet. This imprisonment distressed him more than any of his former ones. To suffer for his faith was an easy thing, bringing its own consolations with it; and he was infinitely just to and patient with those who were only carrying out the laws of the realm; but when his own family, members of his own Church, so repeatedly attacked him, he could only pray for patience "to endure so intolerable a cross."

Throughout the summer of 1599, during the "contagious, hot and dangerous season of the year," he remained close prisoner, confined to one chamber, with no place for his servant within the prison, and so straitly kept that even his wife and daughter coming up from the country, were denied access to him. Early in 1600, however, he was released from what proved to be his last imprisonment.

In 1601 he was involved in fresh anxieties by the conduct of his eldest son, who was implicated in the Earl of Essex's abortive rising.

In 1603, as a Justice of Peace for his county, he proclaimed King James at Northampton, as his grandfather had proclaimed Queen Mary, nealy sixty years before.

The last glimpse we get of Sir Thomas Tresham is in July, 1605, when he wrote to Levinus Monck, Lord Salisbury's secretary, to ask whether he might, without offence, withdraw from the [Rockingham] forest commission, on which he had been serving as a member. He died only a few weeks after this, on September 11, 1605, at Rushton.

In addition to the manuscripts, there were found in the Rushton hiding-place several books and pamphlets on religious and controversial subjects, one or two of which are extremely rare.

T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq.

The notes respecting Sir Thomas Tresham's building operations found amongst his papers are exceedingly interesting. It has been thought advisable to print them in the introduction, rather than in the text of the Report, in order to compare them with the very valuable monograph upon "The Buildings of Sir Thomas Tresham," by Mr. J. Alfred Gotch.

Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard.

(2) *Additional MSS. of Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard, Bart.*—The letters and papers now calendared are of considerably earlier date than those reported on previously (*Report XIII. App. IV.*) and may be looked upon as a pendant to the manuscripts of the Marquess of Drogheda (*Report IX. App. II.*), for they consist almost entirely of documents in relation to the great Loftus cause, which began shortly after Wentworth's appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland, and lasted for nearly half a century.

The dispute was primarily in relation to the several rights of Lord Chancellor Loftus's two sons, Sir Robert and Sir Edward, and their heirs, to the reversion of their father's property. But there was also involved a personal struggle between the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Deputy; a contest for the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland, as against the supremacy of the Privy Council and Parliament of England, and a curious question as to the legal status of the English House of Lords in the time of the Civil War.

Pelham R. Papillon, Esq.

(3) *Pelham R. Papillon, Esq.*—The papers sent up by Mr. Papillon consist of a small number of valuable holograph letters, written to his ancestors, Sir Henry and Sir Walter Vane, and Edmund Dunch of Wittenham, by Charles I., the Queen of Bohemia, Oliver Cromwell and the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of England.

During the autumn of 1631, Sir Harry Vane, senior, was sent to negotiate a treaty with the King of Sweden, having for its object the restoration of the Rhenish Palatinate to the King of Bohemia. In the following April, when the Queen of Bohemia's letter, here printed, was written, Sir Harry must have been at or near Frankfurt, as Elizabeth alludes to the Kurmesse or great fair there.

The short letter from Oliver Cromwell was written to his cousin, Edmund Dunch, of Lower Wittenham, Berkshire, whose mother was Mary Cromwell, youngest sister of the Protector's father.

The two other letters here printed were written by William of Orange to Sir Walter Vane, youngest son of Sir Henry, senior, who had served in Holland in his youth, and had been made colonel of the Dutch Brigade. He resigned the command in 1673, but in 1674 went over again to join the Prince of Orange, and was killed at the battle of Seneff in the following August. The Prince's letters were written shortly before Vane's departure from England, to express his pleasure at the prospect of his friend's return and to assure him that the unhappy war between their countries had made no difference in his affection.

The only other document sent up by Mr. Papillon is a certificate in favour of Thomas Papillon, dated Dec. 9, 1662. The writer, Sir Thomas Chamberlain, states that he has known Thomas Papillon for twenty-five years, during thirteen of which the said Thomas lived with him as "apprentice and agent"; that he "hath constantly, upon all occasions, manifested a cordial and loyal affection" to the late King, and that "for his endeavours to have restored his said most sacred Majesty" he was committed to Newgate in Feb., 1647-8, and only set free upon bond being given for a very large sum. Pelham R. Papillon, Esq.

(4) *W. Cleverly Alexander, Esq.*—The last document in this Report is a long letter written by John Noy or Noies, M.P. for Calne, to his wife, in June, 1610, containing a description of the ceremonies and festivities which attended the creation of Prince Henry, eldest son of James I. as Prince of Wales. There are many accounts of this in existence (the pamphlet issued immediately afterwards has been reprinted in *Somers' Tracts* and in Nichol's *Progresses of James I.*; there is a manuscript account amongst the State Papers, which is almost identical with one printed by Howes in his continuation of Stow's *Chronicles*; a long letter in Winwood's *Memorials*; an account in Camden, etc.,) but there are some points here not found elsewhere, and the narrative is a very graphic one. W. C. Alexander, Esq.

## *SCOTLAND.*

### THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY.

The three reports of the muniments at Drumlanrig Castle already presented, were dated respectively 24th December 1895, and 10th April and 29th October 1896. Since the last of these dates, on 13th March 1898, the death of Sir William Fraser, K.C.B., who made these reports, has taken place. At the time of his death, Sir William had made considerable progress in the preparation of a fourth report upon the muniments at Drumlanrig. He also left what he had overtaken of the report in such a state as to render it possible to complete it upon the plan which he had mapped out for himself. Duke of Buccleuch: MSS. at Drumlanrig Castle.

The report is classified under two sections of correspondence. The first of these consists of letters from Alexander, fourth Earl of Moray, Secretary of State for Scotland, to William Douglas, Marquis and Duke of Queensberry. These are holograph of the Earl, and comprise in all 167 letters.

The second section consists of letters by the Hon. John Drummond, of Lundin, successively Treasurer Depute and Secretary of State for Scotland, afterwards Viscount and Earl of Melfort, to William Douglas, Marquis of Queensberry. These letters, also holograph, are 114 in number.

The more important of the letters in these two sections of correspondence are given at length in the report. There are other letters, however, which are not so important, and these appear in the report in abstract form.

Duke of Buccleuch: MSS. at Drumlanrig Castle.

Section first.—Letters from Alexander Stewart, fourth Earl of Moray.

Alexander, fourth Earl of Moray, was the eldest surviving son of James, third Earl of Moray, and Lady Margaret, eldest daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Home. He was the great-great-grandson of the Regent Moray. He succeeded to the title and estates of Moray upon the death of his father, on 4th March 1653, and was retoured heir to him on 23rd June of the same year.

The Earl of Moray continued to enjoy his title and estates for the long period of forty-seven years. He held several important offices of State, including the high office of Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland. He was immediately after the restoration of King Charles the Second, on 13th October 1660, made Sheriff of Inverness. He thereafter served on several Parliamentary commissions. Falling in with the policy of the Government, he was employed by the Privy Council in suppressing the Covenanters. For this purpose he received various commissions to fine, apprehend, and imprison them. But it was only after he had held the title of Earl for twenty-two years that he was called to hold any office of State. On 1st June 1675, he was made Justice General in room of John, second Earl of Atholl.

The Earl of Moray was one of the Scottish nobility who was considered to have interest and influence in the North of Scotland, and who, along with Huntly, Atholl, Argyll, Mar, and others, towards the close of 1677, was employed by the King and Council in levying the Highland Host, with a view to let it loose upon the tranquil West of Scotland. After this Host had overrun the country, and had committed the most barbarous outrages, so that representations were made to the King by the suffering noblemen and gentlemen of the West, Moray and Colington were the persons sent to Court with a letter from the Council craving the royal approbation for its proceedings. In these ways the Earl of Moray continued to be forward and zealous in the work of the Government.

Another and greater honour was conferred upon Moray in 1680, when, in that year, Lauderdale, the prime mover in all the violent measures of the time, being stripped of his offices, Moray was appointed Secretary of State in his place.

The letters of the Earl of Moray included in this report, embrace the period from 11th May, 1682, to 1st August, 1685—a period covered by the Second and Third Reports upon the muniments at Drumlanrig Castle. While these letters to some extent deal with the same subjects as those in the two previous reports, they do not always do so from the same point of view, nor yet do they present them in the same way, nor express the same opinions regarding them.

About thirty of the Earl of Moray's letters, written in the years 1682, 1683, and 1684, to George, first Earl of Aberdeen, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, have already been printed

for the Spalding Club, in a volume entitled *Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen*, 1681-1684. These are not noticed in this volume, but a much larger collection of his letters is now made available for the public in this report. Duke of Buccleuch MSS. at Drumlanrig Castle.

The letters of the Duke of Hamilton and of John Graham, of Claverhouse, already reported, were for the most part written from Scotland. The Earl of Moray, as Secretary of State for Scotland, was resident in Court, and his letters written from England therefore form the complement of the others. They to some extent furnish details of letters sent to Court by the various Government officials in Scotland, give an insight into the influences brought to bear upon the King in regard to public affairs, and contain the sentiments and instructions of the King and the views of Moray himself upon Scottish affairs. In short, they supply a daily or weekly record of much of what passed at Court with reference to Scotland.

William, Marquis and Duke of Queensberry, to whom the letters were addressed, was, during the period in which they were written, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. The first letter in the series is dated 11th May 1682. The date of the commission of the Marquis to be Treasurer is a day later, or 12th May 1682. Besides holding this important office, the Marquis, now Duke of Queensberry, was Commissioner for King James to his first Parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh on 23rd April 1685. It was only to be looked for when the Duke became the representative of the King in Parliament, and held the office of Commissioner in conjunction with that of Treasurer, that the Earl of Moray, as Secretary of State, should have occasion to write a greater number of letters to him than when he was only Treasurer. This accounts for the fact that more than half of the letters of the Earl of Moray in this report are addressed to the Duke as King's Commissioner.

Several of the letters included in this report, either at length or in abstract, were, in 1862, printed in whole or in part by the late Mr. Mark Napier in his *Memoirs of Dundee*. Sir William Fraser has already pointed out in the Third Report upon the Drumlanrig Collections that in printing the letters of Claverhouse in the same work, Mr. Napier had altered the spelling of the original letters. A collation of Mr. Napier's print of the letters of Moray with the print of them in this report, will shew that not only is the spelling modernised, but also that Mr. Napier has by mistake in some instances, fortunately not very numerous, either omitted or inserted words. In other cases, mistaking the writing, he has given words not used by Moray.

Second section.—Letters from the Hon. John Drummond, of Lundin, afterwards Viscount and Earl of Melfort, to William Douglas, Marquis and Duke of Queensberry.

The Hon. John Drummond, who was afterwards created Earl of Melfort, belonged to the noble family of Perth. He

Duke of Buccleuch: MSS. at Drumlanrig Castle.

was the second son of James, third Earl of Perth, by his wife, Lady Anne Gordon, eldest daughter of George, second Marquis of Huntly. James, Lord Drummond, his elder brother, on the death of his father, on 2nd June, 1675, succeeded to the family title and became fourth Earl of Perth. The two brothers were both advanced to positions of high distinction in the government of their country. But they were as unfortunate as they were distinguished.

John Drummond, in 1680, had the two appointments given him of General of the Ordnance and Deputy Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh. Being handsome and of pleasing manners, he became a Court favourite. In August, 1682, when Queensberry was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, John Drummond was made Treasurer Depute. Although much occupied, John Drummond's letters are frequently long, for which he apologises "once for all," craving "pardon for the leinth, confusedness, and other errors of my "letters, seeing they are wreaten in such haste that I am not "able to get them mor correct."

There is a hiatus of about ten months in the letters of Drummond reported upon, between 30th November 1683, and 25th September 1684. He was, on the first of these dates, on his way to Scotland, where he remained until November 1684, when he returned to London. Till the close of September 1684, he was apparently in Edinburgh or its vicinity, where he would have opportunities of meeting with Queensberry, which would obviate any necessity for his writing to him. But in the beginning of October he was sent to Glasgow, where he was for the greater part of that month, and from which place he wrote many letters to Queensberry.

After the Earl of Moray had been Secretary of State for Scotland for about two years, Charles, second Earl of Middleton, was, on the 26th September 1682, associated with him in that office. But on the appointment of Middleton, on 26th August 1684, to be one of the principle Secretaries of State for England, John Drummond succeeded him as Secretary for Scotland, an office which he continued to hold till the Revolution.

The year 1684 begins the period known in history as "the Killing Time" in Scotland. Drummond took an active part in the severe measures adopted against the Covenanters at this time. As already indicated, he was during the most of this year in Scotland. In October, he was one of the Judges on the Western Circuit. This required his presence in Glasgow. He wrote from there the series of letters in this report giving an account of his proceedings. His letters show how exceedingly zealous and active he was. One of the letters gives a journal of the "Justice Raid" in Lanarkshire. Another furnishes further information of the doings of the Western Circuit, and states the condition of affairs in the district over which it had jurisdiction.

The case of Porterfield, of Douchal, has been regarded as an outstanding one in the Western Circuit. Porterfield came to be known as "Melfort's Martyr." On this account, Drummond's reference to it in his letter, where he states his recommendations regarding it, is of interest. Duke of Buccleuch: MSS. at Drumlanrig Castle.

Subsequent letters in the report continue to supply information regarding the measures adopted against the "fanatics," and the part Drummond had in them. In one, Drummond states the difficulties they found in dealing with the heritors of Lanark, and the uncomplimentary views he entertained of them.

Towards the end of 1684, and in the early part of 1685, Queensberry and Claverhouse were not in agreement. The occasion of the breach was the part the later took in favouring a bill given in to the Council against Colonel Douglas, the brother of Queensberry. The Premier took the part of his brother, and resented the action of Claverhouse. Drummond makes frequent mention of the conduct of the latter to Queensberry in his letters, and always in the way of denouncing it. He brought the matter under the notice of the Duke of York, and states the displeasure the Duke consequently felt against Claverhouse. In a letter, he says of Claverhouse, "If he will play the fool, he must drink as he brews." In another, the last in this report, dated 16th April 1685, Drummond, who was now Earl of Melfort, intimates to Queensberry the King's interposition in his favour shewn by his Majesty ordering Claverhouse to give Queensberry satisfaction.

The year 1685 opened with a display of unabated zeal upon the part of the Government and its officials against the Covenanters. Jealousy was now more than ever manifested lest any mercy should be extended to them either by the King or by those under him. Drummond, while giving an example of this, makes it abundantly evident how little leniency to the Covenanters accorded with the policy of the Government. He refers, on 29th January, to rumours of the King's intention to adopt new and apparently milder measures, and to release some prisoners.

The first reference to the illness of King Charles the Second, which terminated in his death, is in a letter dated 5th February 1685. In this letter, Drummond reports that the King continued to grow better and better, and that a return of feverishness the previous night had been met by giving him "Jesuites pouder" twice during the night, which relieved him, so that he was better than he had been since the beginning of his trouble. The King died a day later, on 6th February, 1685.

The accession of King James to the throne, which had been matter of dread anticipations, was in its actual accomplishment a most tranquil event, everything relating to it proceeding quietly and pleasantly. A letter, written on 10th February 1685, and of which an abstract is given in the report, alludes to this. It states, "The face of things continous so smooth, that it

Duke of Buce euch: MSS. at Drun lanrig Castle.

"looks like a miracle to imagine that ther should hav bein so "great fears for a thing so little dreedfull in itself. I assur "your Grace that ther is the fairest hopes that euer any King "of Ingland had."

On 14th April 1685, King James, immediately after ascending the throne, advanced John Drummond to the peerage as Viscount of Melfort. Drummond makes no mention of this promotion in his letters. The Viscount was, a year later, on the 12th August 1686, created Earl of Melfort.

### COLONEL DAVID MILNE HOME, OF WEDDERBURN.

Col. Milne Home.

The muniments of the family of Home, of Wedderburn, are very numerous, and relate to lands in almost every part of Berwickshire, though a few affect lands in the County of Haddington. Some of them date from the time of King William the Lion. They chiefly illustrate the history and vicissitudes of the family of which Colonel Milne Home is now the lineal representative; but they are also full of interest as throwing light on the fortunes of many old families in the Merse, as well as other branches of the name and race of Home. The collection from which the selection in the Report has been made is preserved partly at Paxton House, partly at Caldra, and partly at the chambers of the law-agents of the family in Edinburgh.

It has been judged expedient to classify them as follows:—

I.—Charters and other documents relating to the family of Home, of Wedderburn.

II.—Writs affecting lands originally belonging to the Priory of Coldingham.

III.—Writs relating to various lands and families.

IV.—Miscellaneous writs and manuscripts. Even this classification, however, does not strictly hold, for most of the papers and documents in the three last sections relate to the family of Home, of Wedderburn, also. But some such arrangement is necessary even though it relegates several of the most interesting discoveries, as the early Lamberton Charters, to a somewhat remote part of this report.

## *IRELAND.*

### THE MARQUESS OF ORMONDE.

Marquess of Ormonde.

Three volumes of the new series of the Calendar of Manuscripts at Kilkenny Castle have appeared since the date of Your Majesty's Commissioners' Fifteenth Report. The letters and papers calendared in these volumes have been selected from those catalogued by the late Sir John Gilbert in the Appendix to the Fourth Report of your Majesty's Commissioners. They form a portion of a very large collection of documents in the possession of the Marquess of Ormonde, which embrace a period of above two centuries. Having been carefully arranged in chronological sequence, these papers were,

some years since, under Sir John Gilbert's superintendence, bound into a series of over two hundred large volumes, which are now in the Evidence Room at Kilkenny Castle.

By far the greater portion of the contents of the first volume deals with the life and times of the first Duke of Ormond, to whose sedulous regard for the safety of his official correspondence the preservation of these papers is primarily due.

So much of the volume as covers the decade from the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641 to the retirement of Ormond from Ireland in 1650, adds many valuable details to our knowledge of events in Ireland during the memorable era of Ormond's first vice-royalty; whilst the remainder is remarkable for the wealth of its contributions to the still imperfect chronicles of the exiled Court of Charles II.

A considerable proportion of the collection has only a very remote bearing on those historical, archæological or topographical questions with which the work of your Majesty's Commissioners is concerned, and consists mainly of agents' or stewards' reports. It may be assumed that those items in the catalogue, published in the Appendix to the Fourth Report, which are not noticed in this volume, either refer to documents of this kind, which lie outside the purview of the Commission, or have already been printed elsewhere.

The earliest manuscript in the series bears date November 27th, 1560; but only nine of the letters or papers belong to the sixteenth century, and of these the majority are merely formal documents of no historical significance. Nor are the seventeenth century papers, prior to the reign of Charles I., of very great interest or importance, though their number is more considerable. Exception must, however, be made of the first of these, a joint letter, written in 1602, from Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury and his Countess to Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormond —Elizabeth's 'black husband'—whom the writers affectionately address as "Tom Duff." Of the documents of the time of James I., the most valuable is the description of the territory of Ealy O'Carroll, in the King's County, by Viscount Tulleophelim, which has already been printed by Sir John Gilbert. But some interesting family letters addressed to Lady Elizabeth Preston, the heiress to a large part of the Ormond estates, whose subsequent marriage to the first Duke of Ormond reunited the vast possessions of the great house of Butler, also belong to this period.

The early years of Charles the First's reign are scarcely more fruitful, and although the Duke of Ormond was well acquainted with Wentworth, the collection contains no Strafford letters. This deficiency is, however, in some degree made good by the familiar letters of Strafford's intimate friend, Christopher Wandesforde, Master of the Rolls in Ireland. The first of these is noteworthy for its curious prediction, in the year 1630, of that sack of Baltimore by Turkish pirates, which actually took place in the following summer, and which has been com-

memorated in the well-known ballad of Thomas Davis. Wandesforde's correspondence adds considerably to our knowledge of the character of a statesman who played a conspicuous part in the Ireland of Strafford, and these additions to our knowledge enhance the writer's character for moderation and good sense.

It is, however, with the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, and the appearance of the first Duke, then the twelfth Earl of Ormond, as a man of action and affairs, that the interest of these letters as a contribution to the materials for history really begins. During the government of the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase, Ormond was in command of the army in Ireland, and a large section of the correspondence relates to the military operations of the time, and more particularly to the condition of the Royal forces. Some of the documents plainly indicate both the undisciplined state of the army and the inadequacy of the provision made by the Government for supplying its needs. But neither for this period nor for the years that follow, during which Ormond was himself Viceroy, is the collection rich in manuscripts which can be said to illuminate the politics of the time. The miserable state to which the country and capital were reduced by the ten years' incessant warfare, consequent on the civil dissensions of the time, is, however, apparent in almost every letter. The exhausted condition of the public exchequer is plainly exhibited in the "Motives and Propositions concerning the Farming of the Excise on Ale and Beer," while the impoverished state of Ormond's private purse is amusingly illustrated in the plaintive appeals of one Perkins, a tailor, for the payment of his bills for clothes supplied to Ormond and his sons.

The letters for the period between Ormond's return to Ireland in 1648, and his final retirement, are relatively more numerous than those bearing on the earlier period of his first Viceroyalty. They throw much light on the obstacles, other than purely military difficulties, which rendered success impossible for the adherents of the Royalist cause; the hopelessness of raising adequate supplies of money or food; the want of cohesion between the jarring elements opposed to the Puritan party; the disputes with the representatives of the Roman Catholic clergy; and the universal spirit of jealousy and distrust.

It is, however, as already observed, for the period between Ormond's definite withdrawal from Ireland to that of the Restoration that the papers here published will be most valued by historical students. During the whole of this intricate decade, Ormond was among the most trusted of the inner circle of the advisers of Charles II. His correspondents include practically every person of importance in the wandering Court, which followed the fortunes of its exiled sovereign. Among them, for example, are Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Henry Bennett (afterwards Lord Arlington), Ulick de Burgh, Earl of Clanricarde (Ormond's Deputy in the Viceroyalty), John Bramhall (the well known Bishop of Derry,

and sometime Irish Primate, whose letters chiefly relate to his curiously unepiscopal functions as the Royalist prize agent), Theobald, Viscount Taaffe (the most striking of whose letters is a particularly vehement one addressed to Nicholas French, the well known Bishop of Ferns), Sir Edward Nicholas (the faithful Secretary of State to Charles I.), Donough MacCarthy, Lord Muskery, Major-General Edward Massey (conspicuous at different times on either side of the great civil controversy), the first Earl of Inchiquin, Henry Coventry (afterwards Secretary of State), and a host of lesser persons. Marquess of Ormonde: New Series, Vol. I.

Not all of the letters in the correspondence are printed for the first time. But in most cases of documents not published for the first time, those here given differ in some material degree from the versions accessible elsewhere.

It is not, of course, to be expected that a collection in which there are such large gaps as those indicated above, should provide anything approaching to a continuous chronicle of the events of the period covered by the correspondence. And in point of fact the letters and documents, though arranged chronologically, have otherwise no real sequence. None the less, their interest to the historical student is great, inasmuch as when read in connexion with such collections as the Carte Papers, and the Clarendon State Papers at the Bodleian Library, the Nicholas Papers and the Clarke Papers published by the Camden Society, the Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, and the History of the Confederation and War in Ireland, 1641-1643, both edited by Sir John Gilbert, and the Calendars of State Papers relating to the same period, they will be found in many instances to fill serious *lacunæ*, and to add materially to our knowledge of one of the most complex and difficult periods of modern history.

Vol. II.

The manuscripts included in the second volume consist of so much of the collection at Kilkenny Castle, other than correspondence, as, falling chronologically within the period covered by the correspondence printed in Volume I. of the present series of the Ormonde Papers, is of historical importance, and has not been already dealt with in earlier reports. Substantially, the correspondence is that of James, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Ormond. By far the greater portion of it belongs to the two decades between 1640-1660; and is concerned with the Irish Rebellion of 1641, the period of the Civil War in Ireland, and the exile of Charles II. and his Court. The documents here printed have precisely the same range, and illustrate the same phases of seventeenth century history. With the exception of the manuscripts illustrative of the early life of the great Duke of Ormond, which belong to the reign of James I., the whole falls within the same period and deals with the same great events. But they have more to do with the decade 1641-50 than with 1651-60. The manuscripts, though belonging to the same period, are conversant with quite separate episodes in its history.

Marquess of Ormonde: New Series, Vol. II.

They are :—

I.—Letters of the Irish Lords Justices, 1641-1644.

The volume from which these transcripts are taken is a large folio, handsomely bound in calf, lettered on the back "Manuscripts," and comprising 728 closely written pages of manuscript in seventeenth century handwriting. It does not contain, and apparently has never contained, any title or other preliminary indication of the nature of its contents. It commences with a full transcript of the well known letter of the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, dated October 25th, 1641, to the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Lieutenant, detailing the plot for the seizure of Dublin Castle, and the revelations of Owen Connolly in regard to an intended rising. This letter is followed by consecutive transcripts of the letters sent by the Lords Justices and Council to the King, the Lord Lieutenant, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Secretaries of State, the Commissioners for Irish Affairs at Westminster, and other officials; and the volume includes practically all letters sent from Ireland by or with the authority of the Irish Privy Council to official persons in England relative to the progress of the Irish Rebellion, and the measures taken for its repression, down to January 15th, 1643-4. The period thus covered is the whole period during which William Parsons and John Borlase, and, later, Borlase and Sir Henry Tichborne, were successively Lords Justices; that is, from the outbreak of the Rebellion in October 1641, to the assumption by the Duke, then Marquess of Ormond of the active duties of the Viceroyalty in January 1664. Ormond was appointed on November 13th, 1643, but was not sworn in until January 21st, 1643-4, and the authority of the Lords Justices therefore lasted to the beginning of the latter year. Of the series of letters sent by the Lords Justices and Council, several have been printed in Rushworth's and Nalson's Collections, in Temple's and Borlase's Histories of the Rebellion, in the collection of State Papers which forms the third volume of Carte's Life of Ormond, and in the more modern collections edited by Sir John Gilbert. But no approach to a complete series of these despatches has ever been printed.

The volume from which the letters are taken, is a duplicate of the copy known to Carte, apparently taken for the use of the Duke of Ormond, who, in 1680, was Lord Lieutenant, and of whose anxiety, despite the freedom with which he seems to have lent his manuscripts, to make his collection of the Irish State Papers of his own time as complete as possible there is plenty of evidence.

The volume consists exclusively of letters. It includes no proclamations or other acts of the Irish Government. Neither does it include letters sent by that Government to its subordinates in Ireland, such as the Presidents of Provincial Administrations of Munster or Connaught, nor to the Commanders of the army or expeditionary forces. It is practically

confined to letters in the nature of reports sent by the Lords Justices to those personages in England to whom they were responsible, or whom they had been instructed to keep informed of the progress of events in Ireland. But as such they form a complete official record of the views of the Irish Government for a space of two years and three months, *i.e.* from the outbreak of the Rebellion on October 21st, 1641, to the termination of the government of the Lords Justices by the appointment of Ormond to the Viceroyalty.



Further, though entitled "Letters of the Irish Lords Justices," these documents may be more correctly described as despatches of the Irish Privy Council; for each one of them was signed by the Councillors present at the Board on the date of its despatch.

II.—Some Passages in the Early Life of James, 1st Duke of Ormond.

These documents were printed in part by the Rev. James Graves, a well known Irish antiquary, in the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal* (vol. IV., part II., N.S., p. 276) for the year 1863.

The transcript printed in this Calendar is from the original, there stated to have been missing, but which, having been found at Kilkenny Castle, is now preserved in the Evidence Room in a volume of MS. labelled "MSS. illustrative of the Early Life of James, 1st Duke of Ormonde."

It appears a not improbable conjecture that the manuscript may have been one among the collections stated by Carte to have been made in 1692 by William Moreton, Bishop of Kildare, of materials for his contemplated biography of the first Duke.

Although containing one or two demonstrable inaccuracies—*e.g.* the picturesque exaggeration which represents Viscount Thurles, the Duke's father, and the Earl of Desmond as having perished at the same time and in the same storm, when in fact their respective catastrophes were nearly nine years apart—the narrative obviously throws valuable light not only upon the Duke's character, but upon a period of his career which even the monumental biography of Carte slurs lightly over.

III.—A brief Relation of the Life and Memoirs of John, Lord Belasyse: Written and Collected by his Secretary, Joshua Moone.

The memoir appears to have been hitherto unknown. Besides adding several important particulars to our knowledge of the career of Lord Belasyse, it does something to illustrate afresh the great events of the Civil War, in which Lord Belasyse was actively concerned.

The memoir occupies 83 pages of a quarto manuscript book. The whole is handsomely bound in red morocco, elaborately tooled. From the internal evidence of the narrative, and from the handwriting, it is apparent that the memoir was written

in the lifetime of Lord Belasyse, and probably from his dictation; and also that it was not written continuously, but that its composition was spread over a lengthened period, commencing with the second imprisonment of Belasyse in the Tower in 1650

The memoir opens with an account of Lord Belasyse and his ancestry; but it is mainly conversant with his military exploits in the battles of the Civil War, from the first outbreak of hostilities to the defeat at Naseby and surrender of Newark. Belasyse held important posts throughout that period in the Royalist army, and was present at most of the chief engagements in the early stages of the war. The memoir gives detailed accounts of the engagements of Edgehill, where Belasyse commanded a brigade of foot, and of Brentford; of the first battle of Newbury, where he led the van and had his horse killed under him; of the fight at Selby, where he commanded and was taken prisoner; and finally, after his release from the Tower on an exchange of prisoners, of Naseby. Lord Belasyse was also present at the sieges of Reading, as one of the garrison; of Bristol, where he held command after its capture in Prince Rupert's absence; and of Leicester, which he successfully took shortly before Naseby. Lastly, he was Governor of Newark during the King's stay there after Naseby, and afterwards until its surrender on conditions in May 1646. Several letters of Charles I. to Lord Belasyse, instructing him as to his behaviour at Newark, are included in the memoir, which also contains some interesting particulars of the disagreements between Charles and Prince Rupert.

After the surrender of Newark, Belasyse spent some years abroad. He returned to England on receiving a commission as general of horse in the army designed to be raised in Yorkshire in 1650, under the Marquis of Newcastle. This came to nothing, and, on his visiting England later on, Belasyse was arrested and sent by Bradshaw a prisoner to the Tower, where he remained until the defeat of Charles II. at Worcester. He was then released on bail. From this period the memoir becomes little more than a bald summary of the incidents of Belasyse's career. Belasyse was appointed by Charles II. successively General of his forces in Africa and Governor of Tangier; Governor of Hull and Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire; and his Majesty's Envoy on the occasion of the French King's visit to Dunkirk. Later, Belasyse, who had refused the Test, was accused by Oates, and for the fourth time sent a prisoner to the Tower. The memoir ends with his release after five years' detention on a bail of £30,000, found by the Duke of York, and his appointment almost immediately after, on the accession of James II., to the rank of Privy Councillor and the office of First Commissioner of the Treasury.

IV.—Declaration by the Commissioners of Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland.

This document differs from the other documents given in this report in that it is taken from a printed original. But it is a printed original which, as stated by the late Dr. S. R. Gardiner in his *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660,* is a unique example. Its importance in relation to the history of the transplantation to Connaught has been clearly pointed out by Dr. Gardiner, not only in the references to that episode in Cromwell's dealing with Ireland in his history, but in a paper entitled "The Transplantation to Connaught," which he contributed to the English Historical Review for October, 1899. Marquess of Ormonde: New Series, Vol. II.

V.—Table and Cellar Book of Charles I., at Oxford, 1644.

The volume, from which extracts only are printed, is a folio manuscript, which has been bound in calf, and is lettered "Table and Cellar Book of Charles I., Oxford, A.D. 1643-1644." It consists in effect of the *menus* and wine lists for the royal dinner and supper tables during the residence of the Court at Oxford, in the spring of 1644. The book is divided into two equal parts, of which the first is devoted to the bills of fare, and the second to the wine lists and returns of the state of the royal cellar. On the overleaf, preceding part one, is written, "The King's Majesty's Book of Fare: Beginning the first day of February at Oxford." The entries in this part of the book are consecutive for each day from February 1st, 1643-4, to May 31st, 1644, when they terminate.

The second part of the volume gives the state of the royal cellars and pantry from October 1st, 1643. The reckoning seems to have been taken regularly on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is continuous for about a half-year. Afterwards, there are interruptions, which seem to correspond with the periods of the King's absence from Oxford.

Of the three classes of documents dealt with in the 3rd volume, the first section is a continuation of the selections from the voluminous correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond, from the Restoration down to 1675, and covers the period of the Duke of Ormond's first post-Restoration Vice-royalty and of the subsequent temporary eclipse of his splendid fortunes, which lasted from 1668 to 1677. New Series Vol. III.

The interest of the correspondence, though in many respects it is of great value, is disproportionate to its bulk. The gaps in the collection at Kilkenny are many and great, and they occur, as a rule, just at those periods and in relation to those events in regard to which historical curiosity is keenest. No better testimony can be borne to the efficiency with which Thomas Carte discharged his great biographical task than that which is provided by the comparative poverty of the materials remaining at Kilkenny. The biographer thoroughly understood his business. He had a quick eye both for the documents essential to his task and for those which would serve to brighten

his work, and accordingly he carried off to England almost all the best gems of a singularly varied collection. The papers accumulated by the first Duke of Ormond are the richest of all collections of extant manuscript materials for modern Irish history. But their most precious treasures are no longer in Ireland. It is therefore to the great mass of papers at Oxford which bear the biographer's name, rather than to those still in the evidence Room at Kilkenny Castle, that we must have recourse for the most important of these documents. Thus it is that an impression of disappointment is inevitably produced in the mind of the ordinary reader by the detached and inconsecutive character of the portion of the correspondence which still remains in Ireland.

By far the greater portion of the existing papers at Kilkenny, for the period covered by this report, have to do with the strictly domestic interests of the House of Ormond, and with the management of the immense estates of the dukedom. They consist largely of the reports of stewards and agents on these and cognate matters which, though they may at times touch on matters of historical, topographical, or archæological interest, are in general remote from the domain of history. As in Volume I. of the present series, so in this, it may be assumed that those items in the chronological catalogue compiled by Sir John Gilbert which are not noticed, either lie outside the purview of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, or have already been printed elsewhere.

To the student of seventeenth century history, however, who is familiar with the correspondence accessible elsewhere, and still more to the reader whose knowledge is confined to printed sources, the correspondence here printed, though provokingly scrappy and disjointed, will not appear uninteresting. Upon at least three important topics the letters throw no inconsiderable light. They supply many fresh details of the negotiations attending the Irish Acts of Settlement and Explanation; they add a good deal to our comprehension of those intrigues of the courtier statesmen of Charles II., which, in England, resulted in the disgrace of Clarendon, and, in Ireland, led to the removal of the Duke of Ormond from the Viceroyalty; and they throw much useful light on the reconstitution of the administrative machinery of Ireland after the Restoration. They are also valuable for the information they contain on many matters of social and topographical interest; such as the efforts of the Duke of Ormond to encourage the woollen industry in Ireland, and the formation of the Phœnix Park. Finally, they supplement with many lively touches our knowledge of the career of the Duke of Ormond himself, and contribute to a correct appreciation of the great figure which filled so large a space in the Ireland of the seventeenth century.

II.—State of His Majesty's revenue in Ireland, 1661.

This manuscript, which is here reproduced *in extenso*, is the return furnished by Sir James Ware, the Auditor-General of

Ireland, of the Revenue and Expenditure of Ireland for practically the first clear working year after the Restoration. It is of the utmost interest for the light it throws upon the administrative machinery of Ireland, as constituted after the Restoration under the government of the first Duke of Ormond. It may be usefully compared with the Lists of Civil Expenditure for the year 1666 and of the Military Establishment for 1664, given by Sir William Petty in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland, 1672.*

III.—Letters of Elizabeth, Duchess of Ormond, to Captain, George Mathew, 1668-1675.

The collection from which the letters of Elizabeth, Duchess of Ormond, printed in this volume, have been selected consists of a series of one hundred and thirty letters, addressed by the Duchess to her husband's half-brother, Captain George Mathew, or Mathews, between the years 1668 and 1675. The mother of the first Duke of Ormond, Elizabeth, Viscountess Thurles, who was a daughter of Sir John Poyntz, of Acton, Gloucestershire, had married as her second husband George Mathew, of Thurles. The Duke, who was always upon excellent terms with his numerous relatives, seems to have been specially intimate with his half-brother, George Mathew, and the latter appears to have acted as agent for Ormond's estate in Ireland and as his confidential adviser in all matters of private and domestic concern. Mathew, like Ormond's mother and most of Ormond's relatives, was a Roman Catholic. The Duke's engrossing concern in politics, even when not in power, naturally prevented his giving close attention to his private affairs, and during his often lengthy absence from Ireland the business of correspondence in regard to family matters appears to have been left for the most part to the Duchess, who was herself owner in her own right of a large part of the Ormond estates, and who was possessed, as these letters demonstrate, of excellent business aptitudes. The letters, indeed, show that the Duchess fully deserved the character given her by Carte as "a person of very "good sense . . . . of an excellent capacity . . . . "who understood all business in which it came in her way to be "concerned perfectly well, and wrote upon them with great "clearness and comprehension and strength of expression: not a "superfluous or improper word appearing in her longest letters." It must be added that the caligraphy of the letters confirms Carte's statement as to the neglect of the Duchess's early education. He states that not having been taught to write, "she learned it of herself, by copying after print; for which "reason she never joined her letters together." But they also show that Carte was right in adding that "if the Duchess of Ormond "had any fault it was the weight of her spirit, which put her upon "doing everything in a noble and magnificent manner without "any regard to the expense." She was extremely extravagant, and these letters unfold many a tale of the domestic embarrassments which resulted.

Marquess of Ormonde: New Series, Vol III.

The Duchess's letters, accordingly, are all of them mainly concerned with the domestic interests of the Ormond family, but they incidentally touch on a number of matters of public interest and importance. They begin in the autumn of 1668, when the second of Ormond's three terms of office as Viceroy of Ireland was about to be closed as a consequence of the successful intrigues of the courtiers who had brought about the fall of his close friend and ally, Clarendon. Thenceforward there are continuous allusions to the state of politics, and the prospects of the Duke's reinstatement in the royal favour, with comments on various personages connected with the Court. These are seldom acrimonious, with the exception of the references to Roger Boyle, Lord Orrery, who in one letter is spoken of as 'the most false and ungrateful man living,' and whom the Duchess evidently considered to be the centre of hostility to her husband's interests.

The letters also frequently throw interesting light upon the social conditions of the period both in England and Ireland, and enable us to understand the difficulties of maintaining a great establishment which beset the courtiers of Charles II., and involved in almost continuous embarrassment even so wealthy a subject as the Duke of Ormond.

In this as in former volumes, Ormond and not Ormonde has been uniformly followed as the form of the title almost invariably used by the Duke of Ormond and by his Duchess.

## *MANUSCRIPTS IN THE WELSH LANGUAGE.*

The principal collections are the following :—

Lord Mostyn.

*The Lord Mostyn.*—Of the forty-two manuscripts at Mostyn Hall, the most important is the oldest extant copy of Brut y Tywyssogion, from which many variant readings have been included in the report. To the English public, the most interesting item is a History of England and Wales, from the Conquest to Edward VI., by Elis Griffith, sometime "custodian of Wyngfield Palace" in London, and afterwards "one of the Retinue at Calais." The first half is based on the writings of the Mediæval Chroniclers, including certain "Welsh writings," which have apparently been destroyed. The second half, which deals with the time and reign of Henry VIII., treats of events which had happened in the author's life-time, and which had in many cases been witnessed by himself or his friends. The careful student of the first half of the sixteenth century will find in this History material that will throw light upon subjects more or less obscure, and particulars that will add definiteness to knowledge gathered in other fields. We also get glimpses of affairs and men in Wales, especially of the band of Kymry in and about the Court of the earlier Tudors, whose gossip gives an informing flavour to many readable passages. The contents of the remaining manuscripts are too various to be characterised briefly.

*W. R. M. Wynne, Esq., of Peniarth.*—Three hundred and twenty-seven manuscripts of this collection have been inspected. The subjects of these cover the whole field of Welsh literature, and a few only can be selected for special mention. Among the more valuable items are the Black Book of Camarthen and the Book of Taliessin, which contain the oldest poetry; the Black Book of Chirk and MS. 28 constitute respectively the leading versions in Welsh and Latin of the Laws of Howel, as does MS. 36 of the "Dimetian" code; a thirteenth century Life of Griffith ap Kynan; several transcripts on vellum of Brut y Tywyssogion, and many of Brut y Brenhinedd; the earliest versions of the charming Romances and Tales, known collectively as *The Mabinogion*, which Lady Charlotte Guest translated into English (from the Red Book of Hergest), and Tennyson embodied partially in his *Idylls of the King*; the oldest and only complete version of the Holy Grail, translated from old French about 1400. Other thirteenth and fourteenth century translations include portions of the Gospels, several apocryphal gospels, the finding of the Cross, the miracles of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Edmund, the Vision of Paul, the Purgatory of Patrick, the Elucidarium, Lives of Saints, etc. There are numerous treatises on various subjects, including history, antiquities, and heraldry. The older Pedigree MSS. are practically all in this collection, and if these are ever printed and tabulated, comment on the work of the later heralds, and the MSS. usually consulted, will become unnecessary. The quantity and variety of the poetry is very great, and when made accessible in a printed text, it will yield a rich harvest to the student of literature, history, custom, and manners, as well as to the genealogist. There are a few charters and definitions of old boundaries. There is an important Latin-Welsh Dictionary, in three volumes, and a Welsh one, with illustrative quotations to shew the use and meaning of words, written before 1564. In brief, this collection is more valuable than all the other Welsh collections put together. It contains also one of the best MSS. of Chaucer, and of Henry of Huntingdon, an old MS. of Beda's works, and much valuable matter in English bearing on the history of the Marches. W. R. M. Wynne, Esq.

*Jesus College, Oxford.*—The glory of this collection is the Red Book of Hergest, a folio MS. of 1,442 columns, written at the close of the fourteenth and during the first half of the fifteenth centuries. Its subjects are various. It forms a sort of select mediæval library in itself. Its real importance lies in some 400 columns, devoted to poetry and the Romance of Rhonabwy, which are not preserved elsewhere. The contents of the prose part are found at Peniarth in older manuscripts. The Book of the Anchorite of Llan Dewi-vrevi, and of Llewelyn the priest, are also here, and a copy of a Welsh Grammar in the hand of Simwnt Vychan. Sixteen other MSS. contain a copy of the Welsh Laws, a Lexicon Graeco-Cambro-Britannicum, Bruts, and Poetry.

Cardiff Free Library.

*Cardiff Free Library.*—As in the previous case, this collection also has but one MS. of first rate importance, viz., the Book of Aneirin, which unfortunately consists of but thirty-eight pages of twenty-two lines each. The poem deals with the Strathclyde Britons and the battle of Cattraeth. Among interesting autograph MSS. are the Booke of Sir John Wynn, Bart., which deals with the history of the Gwedir family, etc. (83), the Book of Elis Griffith (4), the Poetical works of William Llyn (8), and Pedigrees by Peter Ellis (45). There are Estreats of part of Denbighshire, copies of Laws, chronicles, Bruts, poetry, Tristan and Essyllt, and much miscellaneous matter.

Harod MSS.

*Harod Manuscripts.*—The twenty-six manuscripts which make up this collection are devoted largely to theology, Lives of Saints, and the Bruts of Geoffrey. The most valuable are those which contain the Botanologium and Medical receipts, and the poems of David of Guilim.

Sir John Williams, Bart.

*Sir John Williams, Bart.*—Out of a very large number of manuscripts in this collection, 200 have been inspected. Among the most important vellum MSS. are an early version of the Brut of Geoffrey, and the Red Book of Talgarth. There are surveys of Gower, and transcripts of nearly everything that is of the greatest importance to Welsh literature and history. There is a valuable early copy of the works of Lewis Glyn Cothi, the bard of the wars of the roses, and there are important MSS. of David of Guilim, including poems not found elsewhere. The best collection of the flyting poems of Edmund Prys and W. Kynval are here, as well as a number of unpublished pieces by Vicar Prichard. Also a Cornish Dictionary, and what appears to be the last composition in that language.

Wrexham, etc.

The reports on the MSS. at Wrexham, Llanwrin Rectory, Aberdare, and Merthyr have also been published, and the reports on the Panton and Cwrtmawr MSS. are in the hands of the printer. The older MSS. at the British Museum have been partially inspected, but the collections at Porkington, Dingestow Court, Llanover, Swansea, Carnarvon, Gelliwig, and various other places have not yet been seen.

All which we humbly submit for your Majesty's gracious consideration.

R. HENN COLLINS, M.R. (L.S.), Chairman.
RIPON (L.S.)
CRAWFORD (L.S.)
ROSEBERY (L.S.)
DARTMOUTH (L.S.)
EDMOND FITZMAURICE (L.S.)
ALVERSTONE (L.S.)
HAWKESBURY (L.S.)
LINDLEY (L.S.)
STANMORE (L.S.)
H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE (L.S.)

R. A. ROBERTS, *Secretary.*

*July*, 1904.

*THE FOLLOWING LIST SHEWS THE NAMES OF THE OWNERS OF MANUSCRIPTS UPON WHOSE COLLECTIONS REPORTS HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT UP TO THE MONTH OF JULY, 1904. IT ALSO SHEWS THE PLACES OF DEPOSIT OF THE RESPECTIVE COLLECTIONS AT THE TIME WHEN THE REPORTS WERE DRAWN UP; AND, IN ADDITION, INDICATES THE MORE CONSIDERABLE GROUPS OF PAPERS COMPRISED IN THEM.*

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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.
———— University of. Second Report.
Aberdeen, Earl of. Fifth Report.
Aberdona, Clackmannanshire, MSS. at. *See* Erskine-Murray, Hon. Mrs. Isabella.
Abergavenny, Marquess of [18th cent.]. Tenth Report, App. VI.
Abergeldie, Aberdeen, MSS. at. *See* Gordon, Mr. Hugh Mackay.
Abingdon, co. Berks., Corporation of. First and Second Reports.
———— Hospital of Christ at. First Report.
Aboyne Castle, Aberdeenshire, MSS. at. *See* Huntly, Marquess of.
Acton Reynald, co. Salop, MSS. at. *See* Corbet, Sir W. O., Bart.
Ailesbury, Marquess of [17th and 18th cent.]. Fifteenth Report, App. VII.
Ailsa, Marquess of. Fifth Report.
Ainslie, Miss. Second Report.
Airlie, Earl of. Second Report.
Aitken, Mr. G. A. [18th cent.]. Twelfth Report, App. IX.
Alexander, Mr. W. Cleverly, [17th cent.]. Various Collections, Vol. III.
Allardice. *See* Barclay-Allardice.
Alltyrodyn, Llandyssil, co. Cardigan, MSS. at. *See* Stewart, Captain James.
Almack, Mr. Richard. First Report.
Alnwick Castle, co. Northumberland, MSS. at. *See* Northumberland, Duke of.
Alwington, North Devon, Church Books of the Parish of. Fifth Report.
American MSS. in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, Vol. I. 1904.
Ampleforth, near Gilling, co. York, MSS. in the Library of St. Lawrence's College. Second Report.
Ancaster, Earl of [16th-18th cent.]. Thirteenth Report, App. VI.
Anglesey, Earl of. Letters [17th cent.]. *See* Leconfield, Lord.
———— Diary [17th cent]. *See* Lyttelton-Annesley, Lieut.-General.
Annandale, William first Marquess of. Correspondence, 1690-1715. *See* Johnstone, Mr. J. J. Hope.
Anne's (Queen) Bounty, MSS. in the possession of the Governors of. Eighth Report.
Annesley. *See* Lyttelton-Annesley.

Ansford, co. Somerset, MSS. at. *See* Woodforde, Rev. A. J.
Antrobus, Mr J. C. Second Report.
Apethorpe, co. Northampton, MSS. at. *See* Westmorland, Earl of.
Arbuthnott, John, Viscount. Eighth Report.
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.
Argyll, Duke of [14th-18th cent.]. Fourth and Sixth Reports.
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.
Arundel College, co. Sussex, Revenue Account-Rolls of, 1383-1541. *See* Norfolk, Duke of.
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Astle, Thomas, MSS. of. *See* Ashburnham, Earl of.
Astley. *See* Frankland-Russell-Astley.
Athole, Duke of [15th-18th cent.]. Seventh Report and Twelfth Report, App. VIII.
Athole, Earl of. Correspondence [17th cent.]. *See* Ros, Lord de.
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.

Bacon family, Papers relating to the. *See* Wodehouse, Mr. E. R.
Badminton, co. Gloucester, MSS. at. *See* Beaufort, Duke of.
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Baillie, Robert. Letters [17th cent.]. *See* Ridgway, Mr. Matthew.
Baker, Mr. W. R. [17th and 18th cent.]. Second Report.
Balcarres Papers. *See* Edinburgh.—Advocates Library.
Balfour, Mr. B. R. T. Tenth Report, App. VI.
Balfour, Sir James, Collections by. *See* Edinburgh.—Advocates Library.
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Bankes, Mr. Ralph. Eighth Report.
Barclay-Allardice, Mrs. Fifth Report.
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Basset Down House, Swindon, co. Wilts, MSS. at. *See* Story-Maskelyne, Mr. Nevil.
Bath, Marquess of [17th and 18th cent.]. Third and Fourth Reports. Vol. I. (1904).
Bayfordbury, co. Hertford, MSS. at. *See* Baker, Mr. W. R.

Bayly, Mr. J. W. First Report.
Beale, Robert, Papers of. *See* Calthorpe, Lord.
Beamont, Mr. William, MS. copies of papers in the museum of, at Warrington. Fourth Report.
Beaufort, Duke of [17th cent.]. Twelfth Report, App. IX.
Beaulieu, co. Hants. MSS. at. *See* Montagu, Lord, of Beaulieu.
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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.
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Belvoir Castle, co. Leicester, MSS. at. *See* Rutland, Duke of.
Berington, Mr. C. M. Second Report.
Berkeley Castle, co. Gloucester, MSS. at. *See* Fitzhardinge, Lord.
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Berwick-upon-Tweed, Corporation of. Third Report and Var. Coll. Vol. I.
———— MS. at. *See* Ainslie, Miss.
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Beverley, co. York, Corporation of. 1900.
Biddulph. *See* Myddelton-Biddulph.
Binns, The, co. Linlithgow, MSS. at. *See* Dalyell, Sir R. A. O., Bart.
Birch Hall, co. Essex, MSS. at. *See* Round, Mr. James.
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Blithfield Hall, co. Stafford, MSS. at. *See* Bagot, Lord.
Blythburgh, co. Suffolk, Augustinian Priory of. *See* Hill, Rev. T. S.
Bolton Papers [17th cent.]. *See* Bridgewater Trust Office, MSS. at the.
Bolton Abbey, co. York, MSS. at. *See* Devonshire, Duke of.
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Bowtell (The) Collection of MSS. *See* Cambridge.—Downing College.

Bury St. Edmunds, Corporation of. Fourteenth Report, App. VIII.
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———— Magdalene College. Fifth Report.
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———— Queen's College. First Report.
———— St. Catherine's College. Fourth Report.
———— St. John's College. First Report.
———— St. Peter's College. First Report.
———— Sidney Sussex College. Third Report.
———— Trinity College. First Report.
———— Trinity Hall, Second Report.
———— Registry of the University. First Report.
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———— Dean and Chapter of. Various Collections, Vol. I.
———— Black Book of the Archdeacon. Sixth Report.
———— Corporation of. Ninth Report, App. I.
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Carberry Tower, Musselburgh, co. Edinburgh, MSS at. *See* Elphinstone, Lord.
Cardiff Free Library, Welsh documents at [formerly the Philipps MSS.]. *See* Welsh MSS. Vol. II., parts 1 and 2.
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Claydon House, co. Buckingham, MSS. at. *See* Verney, Sir Harry, Bart.
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Clyst St. George, co. Devon, MSS. at. *See* Ellacombe, Rev. H. T.
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Coffin, Mr. J. R. Pine. Fourth and Fifth Reports.
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Cossey Hall, co. Norfolk, MSS. at. *See* Stafford, Lord.
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Crathes Castle, co. Kincardine, MSS. at. *See* Burnett, Sir James Horn, Bart.
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Crawford and Balcarres, Earl of. Second Report.
Crawford Priory, Fifeshire, MSS. at. *See* Glasgow, Earl of.
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Cressett, James. Correspondence (1693-1703). *See* Macclesfield, Earl of.
Crome Court, co. Worcester, MSS. at. *See* Coventry, Earl of.
Cromwell Papers. *See* Prescott, Mrs.; Webb, Rev. T. W.
Crowcombe Court, co. Somerset, MSS. at. *See* Carew, Colonel.
Cullen House, Banffshire, MSS. at. *See* Seafield, Earl of; Seafield, Countess Dowager of.
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Dacre, Lords. Their possessions. (1200-1536). *See* Norfolk, Duke of.
Dalhousie, Earl of. First and Second Reports.
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Danby Papers [17th cent.]. *See* Leeds, Duke of; Lindsey, Earl of; Hodgkin, Mr. J. Eliot.
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——— Corporation of. Fifth Report.
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Davenport, Mr. W. Bromley. Second Report; Tenth Report, App. VI.
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Devon, Earl of. Third Report; Ninth Report, App. II.
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Dillon, Viscount. Second Report.
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Dupplin, co. Perth, MSS. at. *See* Kinnoul, Earl of.
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Eaglescarnie, co. Haddington, MSS. at. *See* Stuart, Mr. A. C.
Earle, Mr. Serjeant, MSS. of. *See* Boycott, Misses.
Eaton Hall, Chester, MSS. at. *See* Westminster, Marquess of.
———— Congleton, co. Chester, MSS. at. *See* Antrobus, Mr. J. C.
Edgerston, co. Roxburgh, MSS. at. *See* Rutherford, Mr. W. Oliver.
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———— City of. First Report.
———— Library of the Catholic Bishop of. First Report.
———— University, MSS. in the Library. First Report.
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His Majesty the King has been pleased to ratify and confirm the terms of the Commission issued by Her late Majesty, appointing certain Commissioners to ascertain what unpublished MSS. are extant in the collections of private persons and in institutions which are calculated to throw light upon subjects connected with the Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, or Scientific History of this country; and to appoint certain additional Commissioners for the same purposes. The present Commissioners are:—

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The Commissioners think it probable that you may feel an interest in this object, and be willing to assist in the attainment of it; and with that view they desire to lay before you an outline of the course which they usually follow.

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