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FIFTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION

ON

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

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



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1899.

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COMMISSION.

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 entirelybeloved 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 Inman 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 Hon-ourable 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 vader 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 34, Wt. 4546.

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

Now know ye that We have revoked and determined, and do by these Presents revoke and determine, the said several

Warrants, and every matter and thing therein contained.

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

hundred and sixty-nine:

Further know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you the said Sir Nathaniel Lindley; Schomberg Henry, Marquess of Lothian; Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury; George Frederick Samuel, Marquess of Ripon; James Ludovic, Earl of Crawford; Archibald Philip, Earl of Rosebery; William Baliot, 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 object 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 authorise you, with the consent of the owners of such manuscripts, to make abstracts

and catalogues of such manuscripts

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

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

And for the better enabling you to execute these presents We do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint Our trusty and well-beloved James Joel Cartwright, Esquire, Master of Art, 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 ninetyseven, in the sixty-first year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's command,

M. W. RIDLEY.



FIFTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We, your Majesty's Commissioners appointed by Your Royal Commission 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 Fifteenth Report to Your

Majesty.

On the Eighteenth day of December, 1897, Your Majesty was graciously pleased to issue a new Commission for the purposes specified in your warrant dated the second day of April, 1869, with Sir Nathaniel Lindley, Master of the Rolls, and the Marquess of Ripon, the Earl of Crawford, Sir Edward Fry, Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, M.P., and Dr. S. R. Gardiner as auditional Commissioners. Since that date your Commissioners have suffered a great loss by the death of Lord Carlingford, who had acted with them cordially since the issue of Your Majesty's Commission to him in 1883.

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. Walter FitzPatrick, Mr. J. Cordy Jeaffreson, Mr. J. Horace Round, Mr. William Page, Mr. Reginald L. Poole, Mr. R. E. G. Kirk, and Mrs. S. C. Lomas. Sir William Fraser, until his lamented death in March, 1898, continued to work among the collections in Scotland; and Sir John T. Gilbert carried on the like duties entrusted to him solely in Ireland, until May last, when he also died, leaving a void in the work of your Commissioners which, like that made by Sir W. Fraser, will be found most difficult to fill. Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans has continued his inspection of manuscripts in the Welsh language.

The principal collections examined since the presentation of your Commissioners' Fourteenth Report are the following:—

In England.—The Duke of Portland; the Duke of Somerset; the Marquess of Ailesbury; the Marquess of Salisbury; the Earl of Carlisle; the Earl of Dartmouth; the Earl of Radnor; the Right Honourable F. J. Savile Foljambe; Sir Walter O. Corbet,

Bart.; the Rev. Sir T. H. G. Puleston, Bart.; P. Edward Tillard, Esq.; J. B. Fortescue, Esq.; Theodore J. Hare, Esq.; J. Eliot Hodgkin, Esq.; the late W. H. Kingsmill, Esq.; the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; the Dean and Chapter of Chichester; and the Episcopal Registry there; and the Corporations of Coventry, Shrewsbury, and Beverley.

In Wales.—The manuscripts in the Welsh language of Lord Mostyn, Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth, and others.

In Scotland.—The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, and J. J. Hope Johnstone, Esq., of Annandale.

In Ireland.—The Marquess of Ormonde; Charles Haliday, Esq.; the Archbishop Lord Plunket; and the Bishop of Galway.

The reports upon a few of the collections belonging to the abovenamed owners, not being complete, are held over for the present, but we append an abstract account of the remainder, full particulars of which will be found in the ten volumes forming the Appendix to this Report, which have been already presented to Parliament.

It should however first be mentioned, as it has in previous Reports to your Majesty been customary to begin with a statement of the progress made with the calendar of papers preserved in the House of Lords, that this work was soon after the date of our last Report, with the concurrence of the Treasury, placed directly under the superintendence of their Lordships' House. Your Commissioners are therefore unable to make any official report on that subject.

The Duke of Portland.—'The first volume of the Calendar of Harley letters and papers concluded with the year 1700, immediately after the death of Sir Edward Harley, and a month on two before the first election of his son Robert to the Speakership of the House of Commons. A few of the earlier pages in this volume contain abstracts or copies of other letters written in 1700, which were not forthcoming at the time when the first volume was completed at press, but the main portion of the manuscript material here printed ranges in date between 1701 and the end of May 1711, just after Robert Harley's elevation to the peerage as Earl of Oxford and Mortimer and his appointment to the supreme office of Lord Treasurer.

The letters, private and confidential for the most part, addressed to Robert Harley and to members of his family by persons of greater or less eminence during that interesting and eventful period of our history, cannot fail to attract attention; but it will be no surprise to those readers of historical and biographical tastes, to whom the annals of Queen Anne's reign are specially familiar, to find that the main events and the characters of the leading statesmen as conceived by them will need few modifications on account of the new contemporary evidence printed for the first time in the Calendar.

On one point, however, of some historical and of great literary and biographical importance, this volume may claim to be somewhat of the nature of a revelation by recording the very intimate relations, for public purposes, which existed for many years between Harley and De Foe. That the latter had some kind of employment as a Government agent about the time of the negotiations for the Union with Scotland has been stated by the majority of his numerous biographers, and one or two stray letters of his which have got into print have tended to prove the statement, but the details they have been able to furnish of such agency are practically nil, and of the help and advice given by De Foe to Harley during almost the whole of this statesman's official career nothing has been hitherto known. Considering the amount of research given to the elucidation of events of De Foe's life in recent times, when original contemporary manuscripts have been much more accessible, it is a marvel that the secret has been so well kept.

De Foe's first introduction to Harley appears to have been brought about by William Paterson's means. Under date of April 1703, about the time of De Foe's release from prison, there is a letter from him to Paterson expressive of his unfeigned sense of regret at having offended the Queen, and of his hearty desire to serve her in any capacity, even in the army for a year or two at his own charge. The concluding part of this letter points to Paterson's having hinted to him in conversation that some person high in the royal favour was inclined to help him to employment. That Harley was meant seems clear from the letter being endorsed by him as received from Paterson, though not until May 28 following.

Later in 1703 some casual references to De Foe in letters of Godolphin to Harley clearly indicate the latter's intention to give De Foe some political employment; but some of the earliest correspondence between them must have been lost or destroyed, as there are references in the extant letters, dated in May 1704, to previous communications and interviews between them earlier in that year. The May letters just precede in date the appointment of Harley to one of the Secretaryships of State. In two other undated letters, evidently written about the same time, De Foe gives details of his life and misfortunes, and urges his desire to accept some service proposed to him by Harley, if the pressure put upon him byhis creditors and his enemies can in some way be relieved.

In September 1704, we find De Foe fairly started on his first Government mission, which was apparently to travel about the country inquiring into the opinions and feelings of the inhabitants, or rather the voters, in the principal boroughs; to spread "principles of temper, moderation, and peace," and to persuade all people that the Government was resolved to proceed by those rules. The first of his letters on these topics here printed is dated from Bury St. Edmunds, on September 28, but there is a reference in it to one written from Cambridge on September 16, not now in the collection, and it also mentions a visit he had paid to Norwich. Nothing more can be ascertained from this corres-

pondence about the mission to the Eastern counties. On November 2 following, probably when back in town again, is a long letter, chiefly filled with the "ridiculous stuff" he hears about the "Triumvirate," namely, Marlborough, Godolphin, and Harley, and the way they are managing State affairs. There is, however, a short undated paper in De Foe's handwriting describing the state of parties in Hertfordshire, which was no doubt drawn up in the autumn of the same year.

We hear nothing more of De Foe until the middle of the following year, a few weeks after the general election in May, and shortly before his setting forth on a similar mission of inquiry into the Western and other counties. His first letter on the subject is from Crediton, on July 30, and the next from Tiverton on August 14, in which he encloses a warrant issued for his apprehension in Devonshire on the ninth of that month; on September 10 he dates an account of his proceedings from Kidderminster. Some of his letters after this time are probably missing, but among the papers dated in November of this year will be found inserted one in De Foe's handwriting entitled "An Abstract of my Journey with casual Observations on Public Affairs," which summarises the places he visited, with curious remarks on many of them and on the men of influence connected This abstract shows that his travels, after leaving Kidderminster, extended into Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and some of the Midland and Eastern counties.

Nothing more is found about De Foe in these papers until about six months after the date of his return to London, early in November 1705. On May 6, 1706, he writes a letter dwelling at great length on the desperate state of his affairs, and urging his claims on the Queen's bounty. He desires to "be assisted, as far as two or three hundred pounds will do it, to free myself from the immediate fury of five or six unreasonable creditors"; or to be sent somewhere abroad out of the reach of their hands. In a later part of the letter, he petitions for a private apartment in Whitehall, as the shelter of such a retreat might prevent his enemies' attempts to lodge him in the Queen's Bench. Review and its usefulness to the Government are also referred to. It is not until the September following that Harley appears to have decided to entrust De Foe with a very important mission to Scotland, the objects of which, as the latter understands them, are given in his letter of September 13, written on the eve of his departure for the North. A paper, apparently a copy of some of Harley's instructions, is also printed, but is only a fragment. De Foe does not reach Newcastle-on-Tyne until September 30, having visited Coventry and other places out of the direct route.

De Foe's first letter to Harley from Edinburgh, printed in this volume, is dated October 24 1706, but it is evident from the opening paragraph of it that he had written one or two letters previously, which are now missing. Between this date and the end of November in the following year, he remained in Edinburgh, with the exception of one or two short visits to

Glasgow, Stirling, Wemyss, and elsewhere, and his letters are very numerous and lengthy. The subjects of them are chiefly the temper of the Scottish people during the progress of the negotiations for the Union, the intrigues of the leading promoters and opposers of the Union, and the immediate effects of the measure on the nation generally. It is unnecessary here to give a full analysis of his observations and views; many of them appear in a maturer form in the history of that great legislative act afterwards compiled by De Foe, and it will be an interesting work for the historical student to compare his narrative of events. written as an eye-witness from day to day for Harley's information, with the work on the same subject which he published two or three years later. The occasional reference in these letters to others De Foe had written, which are not found in this collection, shows that some either never reached their destination or have since been lost; one of the missing ones, at any rate, dated 2nd November 1706, is in the collection of manuscripts formed by the late Mr. Alfred Morrison, and is printed at length in the Appendix to the Ninth Report of this Commission.

There is a brief letter of De Foe written a few days after his return to England at the end of 1707, from which it would appear that Harley, in anticipation of his early removal from office, was quite willing that the writer should transfer his services to Godolphin; but we hear no more of him in this correspondence until just before the time of Harley's return to office in August 1710. In October of that year, he was commissioned to take another journey into Scotland, for the objects set forth in his own handwriting, under the title "Queries for Management." Previously to this he had drawn up some lengthy papers containing various proposals for the improvement of trade and

navigation in Scotland.

The third volume of the Calendar of Harley papers, which is now passing through the press, will also contain a very large number of De Foe's letters, the last of them being dated in

August and September, 1714.

Of William Paterson we get other glimpses in this correspondence. His own letters to Harley show how much he was consulted in financial and other matters by both Godolphin and Harley. William Penn also contributes a few important and characteristic letters mainly about his unfortunate experiences in colonizing. Further particulars of these are given in the Introduction to the Calendar, as well as of Harley's relations with William Greg, well remembered for his trial and execution for high treason, a matter in which it was attempted to implicate Harley as well. Greg, it appears, was employed in Edinburgh just a year before De Foe went there, and there are many letters from him describing proceedings in the Scottish parliament in 1705.

Atterbury, not yet a bishop, was another of Harley's correspondents, but only one instance of his fiery humour need be referred to here. The occasion of it was in September 1704, when Bishop Nicholson of Carlisle threw every obstacle that

incenuity could devise in the way of Atterbury's installation as dean of his cathedral. Of course this is no newly-discovered episode in this remarkable man's life, but fresh details of it are evolved, and the vigour of his language in his reports of the proceedings to Harley add new interest to the situation. Unfortunately we have no letters of the bishop giving his view of the case, which is the more to be regretted, as a letter from him of later date (August 14, 1710), on election matters in Cumberland, shows him to possess a pretty wit of his own which would serve him in good stead even against so formidable an antagonist as Atterbury. One of Atterbury's undated letters contains an interesting reference to what appears to be the "Tale of a Tub." He writes, "I cannot close this letter without expressing the satisfaction I had last night in perusing Mr. Swift's book, which Mr. Prior shewed us. 'Tis very well written and will do good service, but I'm afraid by the peculiar manner of writing he will be too easily discovered."

There is hardly any other mention of Swift in the Calendar but there is printed a paper in his handwriting on the "First Fruits of Ireland." His intimacy with Harley had not been long established at the date when the volume closes.

Of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough hardly anything of personal interest will be found. There are a few of the Duke's letters written, not to Harley, but presumably to the Earl of Portland, at that time in Holland, during the campaign of 1705, but they are of a formal character. A curious tale is told of the Duke's negotiations with the Pretender, by Captain Ogilvie, one of Harley's spies, of whom more will be said presently; but we must take into account the character of the narrator before giving it entire belief. Of the terror inspired by the Duchess among those of her sex obliged by official circumstances to be brought into contact with her, we have an amusing instance in a letter of Lady Mansell, wife of the Comptroller of the Household, written at the end of May 1710, before Harley's return to office, but after the Duchess was held to have lost all favour with the Queen. Lady Mansell writes:-"1 am almost fright'd to death with the threats of a great Lady who is now retired from Court . . . In a little time she says she shall return with as full power as ever, and that both you and every friend you have shall feel the effects of her utmost revenge The terrible apprehensions I am under have took all rest from me and I was forced to send for my doctor, who ordered me something that I had a tolerable night of it; but without some good news I shan't recover mighty soon. I won't mention the writing this to anybody living, hope you will pardon the doing it, for the terrors that enraged Lady has put me into is (sic) not to be expressed. What means Harley found to allay these fears do not appear, but he is careful to endorse this letter as having been "answered immediately.

Among those of Harley's correspondents who may be described as his intimate friends, at any rate during the time over which this volume extends, may be named Henry St. John, his school-fellow Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Lord Chancellor, Robert Price, afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Robert Davies, M.P. for Suffolk. Erasmus Lewis, the amiable friend of Swift and many other men of mark, should perhaps also be classed among Harley's friends; his letters, chiefly in the form of London gossip, are most numerous and readable when his old official chief had been driven from power, and had retired to Brampton between May and November 1708. George Granville, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, chiefly now remembered as a minor poet of the period and the "polite" friend of Pope, also claims great intimacy with Harley, and writes him many letters on public matters, few of which are without some hint of the great services rendered by him and of his consequent claims for advancement. Only one letter gives the least evidence of any literary tastes.

Godolphin's numerous leters to Harley when Speaker and afterwards Secretary of State certainly show the great value which the writer placed upon his views on public affairs and upon his capacity for managing them. Well deserving of notice is a letter written in August 1704, from Tunbridge Wells by a plain-spoken friend who asks leave to acquaint Harley with his observation of people's opinions of him; and other friends at a much later period, when he returned to office in 1710, are not afraid of hurting his feelings by referring to the nickname of "Robin the trickster," which his opponents had fixed upon him. His own letters, printed from drafts or copies, are for the most part not specially interesting or instructive; the style of them is very involved, and some of them show either incapacity or unwillingness to take a plain straightforward course in any direction. One curious document of a biographical character, in his handwriting, is stated to have been drawn up in the "Crown" Inn, at Faringdon, Berkshire, on September 25, 1707, where, being alone on a journey, as he says, his thoughts were drawn to recollect how he came into the public service, and how he had behaved himself therein. The personal revelations in this document are not, however, very coherent, and the handwriting of it grows more and more indistinct as it approaches the somewhat sudden ending.

To Harley's famed associate in some of his schemes, Mrs. Abigail, afterwards Lady, Masham, we get the first reference in a letter written in May 1707 from Lady Pye to Harley's sister, also named Abigail, which concludes as follows: "This "makes me think of a [matrimonial] match your's mentioned, "our relation the Dresser with Colonel Masham, whom the "Queen hath lately advanced. If the same is young [I] have "heard her greatly commended for a sober woman. I believe "she is the same Aunt Brom[field] used to talk of, lived with "Sir George Rivers' lady when first we went to Greville Street. "The great Lady Duchess in that deserves great commendations, that hath taken such care of her relations, who when low are

"generally overlooked. Is her brother Colonel Hill married, as "was reported, to one of the Queen's maids?" This is an interesting little bit of contemporary evidence of Mrs. Masham's near relationship to both the Duchess of Marlborough and to Harley, though it hardly confirms the assertion alleged to have been made by Harley, to which reference is made in the introduction to the first volume of these papers, that he had never heard of the relationship between Mrs. Masham and himself until they met at Court. There are several letters from her to Harley, the earliest in September 1707, but the majority in 1708 and 1709, when he was out of office. The chief personages alluded to in them are slightly disguised, but, while they show plainly enough that the Queen was being influenced by Harley to some slight extent through her attendant before his return to office, they are of a very unimportant character and give little or no evidence of any deep machinations between the pair. They will, however, if of otherwise little moment, at any rate serve to rebut the statements of her enemies that she was an illiterate person, for the handwriting, style, and spelling of them are quite as good as those of any, and better than those of most, of the ladies of that period.

On the return of Harley to office, in August 1710, another voluminous correspondent of his appears on the scene, John Drummond, a Scotch merchant and banker settled in Amsterdam. Of Drummond's personal history not much is to be learned from his letters, except that he was thirty-four years old at this time, had left his native country when about fifteen, but was still sufficiently well-known and esteemed there to have been offered a seat in Parliament by the Duke of Argyll and others. His character evidently stood high with the Dutch authorities and with the leading Englishmen engaged in diplomacy and the army abroad. From his own letters here printed and from the published Bolingbroke correspondence it appears that Drummond was also in constant communication with St. John, just appointed Secretary of State, who wrote to him very openly, and told him he was of more use than any of the British envoys abroad. His subsequent history will be perhaps more fully disclosed when the later papers of the Harley collection shall be published. It may suffice here to add, as additional evidence of Drummond's capacity, that in April 1713 he was commissioned by Lord Bolingbroke to act with the Commissioners appointed by the Imperial and Dutch Governments to settle and preserve the trade with the Spanish Netherlands. Among the State Papers in the Public Record Office is a volume chiefly filled with his letters from this date down to May 1714.

To Drummond, Harley is much indebted for advice and help in retrieving the country's credit, and for warnings against the unscrupulous schemes of certain English and Dutch financiers for turning to their own private advantage the uneasy feeling abroad which the change of Ministry and consequent expected dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough had created. On the latter subject there is specially to be noted a long letter, written in November 1710, which depicts the almost panic-stricken state of Pensionary Buys and the Dutch generally at the prospect of the Duke's removal, and strongly urges Harley to effect a reconciliation with the great commander. Harley has preserved a copy of his reply to this letter, disclaiming the least feeling of resentment towards Marlborough or any one else, and stating his perfect readiness to act with him for the public good.

Drummond made use of this letter in an interview which he obtained with Marlborough shortly afterwards, and of which he wrote a long account to Harley, thus paving the way for the temporary reconciliation between these personages, which is more fully illustrated in the correspondence of the Duke, edited by Coxe, than in the Harley papers.

Of electioneering and parliamentary intrigues we get many glimpses to which it is unnecessary to draw special attention, unless we except a letter of Godolphin written during the first session of the Parliament elected in 1705. In this communication with Harley, the Lord Treasurer sums up the relative strength of parties in the House as consisting of one hundred and ninety Tories, one hundred and sixty Whigs, and one hundred Queen's servants, that is, persons all holding offices of more or tess value under the Crown and, therefore, as a rule, disposed to maintain the existing Government in power. Of these latter, Godolphin notices that about fifteen had been voting with the Tories, and the question submitted to Harley's consideration is, "Whether it be more likely or more easy to keep "the 160 which with the Queen's true servants will always be a "majority, or to get (sie) from the 190," together with some remarks of his own on the situation.

What may without question be termed the most important domestic event of Queen Anne's reign, the Union with Scotland, is very fully illustrated. The letters of Greg and De Foe atready described, contain many graphic details of the speeches and conduct of the chief supporters and opponents of this great measure in the Scottish Parliament, and of the very peculiar temper shown by the great body of Scotchmen both before and after the ratification of the Union; they are the more noteworthy, too, as being the testimonies of eve-witnesses of the struggle between the contending parties during its most critical stages. There are also occasional letters to Harley from the leading Scottish nobles who were in favour of the Union, especially the Earls of Stair and Leven, and the Duke of Queensberry. Of the uncertain part played by the Duke of Hamilton with regard to the Union there are many curious instances; the most favourable view of his policy is given in a letter of his friend, the Jacobite Col. James Graham.

In connexion with Scotland, we must not omit to notice the letters of Captain John Ogilvie, of the Airlie branch he tells us of that family, for many years a spy in Harley's employ. His own account of his earlier days was drawn up in February 1705,

and some time in that year he prepared a memorandum on the discontented party in Scotland, and its intrigues with the Court of St. Germains. In the same and following years we find him, under the name of Lebrun, writing from Rotterdam and Hamburgh. Later in 1706, he arrives in Paris, and writes in the assumed name of John or Jean Gassion, and, indeed, adopts that name throughout the remainder of his correspondence with Harley. Ogilvie's reports are certainly very curious and interesting, and could not have been supplied except at great personal risk; and it must be taken that his employer considered them as trustworthy on the whole, for he remained for many years in Harley's service, and had to be maintained as an officer and a gentleman during the time, otherwise he could not have mixed with persons of position good enough to possess the private information he needed—to use his own expressions, "bricks can" not be made without straw . . . for if I be in any "Court I must make acquaintance and drink a bottle and eat a "dish of meat with those that I think proper for my use, and it "will cost me something to keep my wife at St. Germains."

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Many other letters and papers of political and biographical interest in the Welbeck collection will be found described in the

Introduction to this volume of the Calendar.

The Duke of Somerset.—The manuscripts at Maiden Bradley, reported upon by Mr. William Page in the Seventh Appendix, which down to the 18th century relate exclusively to the elder branch of the Protector's family, will be found of considerable interest to students of the history of Devonshire, dealing very largely, as they do, with events in that county when Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, and other Devonian sailors were at the height of their reputation. This collection practically opens at the time of the Babington Conspiracy, when an expected invasion by Spain made it necessary to issue strict orders to the Deputy Lieutenants for the protection of the extensive sea-board of Devonshire, in order that every precaution might be taken and every contingency provided for. Beacons were to be made ready for firing and watchmen appointed to give warning, by firing them or otherwise, of the approach of any ships. Immediately upon such warning, the trained bands were to assemble at their parish church and await orders. These and similar rules as to the mustering of the trained and untrained bands of the county with their armour, and as to the places of rendezvous were from time to time issued by the Lords of the Council. Such orders, supplemented by those of the Deputy Lieutenants, became more frequent as the summer of 1588 approached, and the anxiety of the Privy Council can be read in the stringency and minuteness with which their instructions are drawn. The anticipation of later invasions by Spain covered so long a period that the preparations against them were as complete as they well could be. In July and August, 1599, it was generally expected that the Spaniards, whose fleet was off the French coast, would attempt a landing at Plymouth, Torbay, or White Sands, and the whole of the forces of the country were to be collected on the southern coast,

especially at Plymouth, where they remained in expectancy of the invasion till the 18th of August, when they were dismissed, only to be reassembled again a week later. Fishing boats were sent out as scouts and brought back such varying reports that the Lord Lieutenant scarcely knew how to act. More reliable news was, however, shortly brought of the withdrawal of the Spanish fleet and the trained bands of the county were dismissed.

On the outbreak of the civil war, Edward Seymour obtained on 9th November, 1642, a commission from the Crown to raise 1,200 volunteers; and again on the 16th April, 1643, he received a further commission from his kinsman, William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, husband of the unhappy Arabella Stuart, to raise a foot regiment of 1,500 men. On August 12th following, he was appointed to the important post of governor of the town of Dartmouth, then lately taken by Prince Maurice. In this capacity he had many difficult tasks to perform, such as the effecting of loans from the merchants of the town and the supplying of ordnance and ammunition, and of other pressing necessaries to the neighbouring royalist captains. Although in a constant expectation of an attack by the Parliamentary forces, the garrison and defences of Dartmouth, it will be noticed, were frequently being diminished to supply the needs of other places.

At the approach of the Earl of Essex with his army in July, 1644, preparations were made at Dartmouth to withstand a siege, the garrison was strengthened and provisions were hastily brought in, while a council of war took every precaution to increase the defences of the town. Fortunately, however, for the royalists, the Parliamentary army did not then attack Dartmouth; had it done so, the town would probably have fallen an easy prey, for the governor appears to have had no light task to preserve order with a small garrison and malcontent in-

habitants.

Edward Seymour relinquished the command at Dartmouth a year before that town was taken by the Parliamentary army under Fairfax in 1646, and in the spring of 1645, we find he

was taking part in the defence of Exeter.

After the surrender of that city, Seymour seems to have been kept more or less in a state of imprisonment or on parole till the end of the Commonwealth. While in prison at Exeter in May, 1651, he threatened that unless the Council would let him come up and give security for his appearance, he would send his wife, and he adds "I pray advise the Council of State from me in " relation to their own quiet, let them grant my request rather "than be punished with her importunity." In July following, Seymour received a pass to return to his house.

Some letters characteristic of the troublous times will be found, notably those from Sir William Waller, Sir Richard Grenville, and the Earl of Warwick, in which an attempt to avoid personal animosities and to keep alive the friendship

which had previously existed is strongly exemplified.

At the Restoration, Edward Seymour became a member of Parliament for the County of Devon, and although evidently a favourite about the Court, he received no recompense for his many losses in the royal cause beyond his reappointment as governor of Dartmouth in 1677. Notwithstanding that his services were further represented to the King by the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Bath, the only additional advancement he obtained was that of being pricked as sheriff of Devonshire in 1678. Sir Edward Seymour died before the completion of the Revolution of 1688-9, but lived just long enough to be appointed by William, Prince of Orange, on 22nd November, 1688, governor of the city of Exeter. He was succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest son, Edward, Speaker of the House of Commons, concerning whom there is little beyond some letters that he wrote on the current topics of the day to his father and mother.

Coming to the next century, there is some important correspondence of the time when Charles, sixth Duke of Somerset. superintended the departure from Portsmouth of the expedition under Sir George Rooke, for the succour of the Archduke Charles, and the entertainment of the same Archduke, or, as he is termed in these letters, King of Spain, who was then on a visit to this country. The expedition, which resulted in the capture of Gibraltar, was delayed by the want of men, fittings, and provisions for the ships. A start was, however, made early in January, but the fleet, being overtaken by a storm in the Bay of Biscay, had to return to Plymouth to refit. Some of the transports, being in a very bad condition, the soldiers, much against the will of Sir George Rooke, were crowded upon the men of war without any proper provision being made for them, causing much illness and inconvenience. After waiting a short time for the contingent from Holland, the expedition sailed on the 12th February with about 7,000 British soldiers and 3,000 Dutchmen.

Among the later papers of interest are some political letters as to the representation in Parliament of Liverpool, and a memorial setting out the abuses committed at the Charterhouse, London, and misappropriation of its funds. At the end of the collection will be found abstracts of a number of ancient deeds relating to properties of the Duke in the counties of Buckingham, Devon, Cornwall, and Wilts, which will throw light on the topography and history of various places situated in those counties.

The Marquess of Ailesbury.—Beyond a few unimportant letters of the end of the sixteenth century, this collection begins with Lord Bruce's correspondence at the time of the Commonwealth. The principal letters in it are to or from his aunt, Christian Countess Dowager of Devonshire, who at the period referred to, had just settled at Roehampton House, which she had purchased of Sir Thomas Dawes, and where she afterwards entertained many of the wits and men of letters of her time. Farther than the gossip of the royalist party, these letters contain little of interest; it would, however, appear from them that the royalists had by no means a dull time during the latter part of the Pro-

tectorate, and there is nothing to show that the King's return eaused any difference to the aged Countess Dowager's even course of life. An interesting notice of James, first Duke of Ormond, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and of the marriage between his daughter, Mary, and Lord Cavendish, in 1662, will be found in the letters from Col. Edward Cooke, which incidentally give some information regarding the state of Ireland. The account of the Duke's progress through England and Ireland to take up his position in the latter country and his simple and busy life there brings vividly before us the qualities of this eminent nobleman.

The recipient of most of these letters was Thomas Bruce, first Earl of Elgin in the peerage of Scotland and Baron Bruce of Whorlton in county of York. He did not long survive the Restoration, and was succeeded in 1663 by Robert Bruce, his son, who in the following year was created Earl of Ailesbury. There is no correspondence of importance in this collection during the time that the first Earl held the title. Upon his death in 1685 he was succeeded by his son Thomas, a man of remarkable character, an ardent supporter of the Stuart cause, and in whose arms Charles II. is said to have fallen when seized with his last illness. He took a leading part at the time of the Revolution, bringing James II. back from Faversham to London and accompanying him to Rochester when the King abandoned the Government. This Earl afterwards refused to take the oaths to William and Mary, and being suspected of complicity with Sir John Fenwick's plot, he was arrested and put in the Tower. He afterwards obtained the consent of the Government to live at Brussels, and many letters to and from him while there will be found in this collection, but the bulk of the papers relating to him were printed in his memoirs (the original manuscript of which is at Savernake) which were edited for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. W. E. Buckley in 1890. The family estates were managed by his son, Charles, Lord Bruce, who communicated to his father from time to time the doings of himself and his uncles.

Upon the accession of Queen Anne, the Earl made strenuous efforts to obtain permission to return to England through the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and other influential sources, but without success, there apparently being some suspicion that he had become a papist. In 1706 he sent his daughter, Elizabeth, to England, to be with her brother upon his marriage with Lady Anne Savile. At that time her brother had considerable anxiety regarding her leanings towards the Romish Church and her intimacy with the Howards and other Roman Catholic families; and in the correspondence between Lord Bruce and his father upon this subject the views of the latter are shown, especially his disapproval of persecution or any compulsion in matters of religion. The young lady seems to have been induced to return to the Protestant faith, and in the following year she was married to Lord Cardigan. The second Earl appears to have made a further unsuccessful attempt to obtain permission to return to England, on the accession of

George I., after which he lived on quietly at Brussels, cultivating his garden and fruit trees, as he tells his son, until his death in 1741.

Charles, Lord Bruce, afterwards third Earl of Ailesbury, entered keenly into the political life of the time; and much correspondence as to the elections at Marlborough, Bedwin, and Ludgarshall, during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, will be found, which gives a considerable insight into the manner of conducting elections at that period. The burgesses of Marlborough had not, apparently, always been so venal as they became in the early part of the eighteenth century, when the only question they appear to have considered was, which of the candidates had the freer hand and the longer purse. The Duke of Somerset represented the Whig interest and Lord Bruce or the Earl of Ailesbury that of the Tories. The election of 1705 was keenly contested at Marlborough. Roger Williams, about that time Mayor of the town, was the Duke's agent, while Charles Beecher represented Lord Bruce's interest, and these two gentlemen seem to have bid for the votes of and threatened the electors by every direct and indirect means in their power. The like practices were observed at the election of the mayor, and at one time each party elected its own mayor, and each of these mayors, acting as returning officer, returned the political candidates of his own party at the Parliamentary election of 1715, and each of them presented an address to George I. upon his accession, the one through the Duke of Somerset and the other through Lord Bruce. At the mayor's election of 1712, we are told that the Duke of Somerset offered an elector of Marlborough for his vote a pension of 201. per annum for his life and that of his wife, and to make him porter of Sion House; to another he offered a pension of 40l. with a post worth another 40l. a year; and to others he gave sums of money varying from 201., even up to 2501. The Septennial Act, against which the burgesses of Marlborough petitioned, seems to have led to less corrupt elections.

At the Great Bedwin election in 1705, the electors demanded 61. a man, the money being occasionally paid to the wives of the electors under the pretence of their spinning wool, at 20s. the pound. Whichever side failed in the elections immediately accused its opponent of bribery and corruption. The account given in the depositions taken after the election for the purpose of the petition against the return of Sir George Byng and Nicholas Pollexfen, the elected members for Bedwin, is amusing, illustrating the electioneering tactics then Pollexfen was the first Whig candidate selected, and he gave to each elector 51. for his vote, the recipient entering into a bond for the like amount to vote as desired. Pollexfen looked about for another candidate to stand in the same interest as himself, the borough returning two members. He, with two of the electors, first negotiated with a Mr. Withers, who promised 31. a man, which he afterwards raised to 41., but this being his limit his services were refused. Eventually the

unfortunate admiral, Sir George Byng, came forward and seems

to have given an amount varying from 7 l. to 5 l. a vote.

Charles, third Earl of Ailesbury, who was summoned to the House of Lords in the lifetime of his father, did not long hold the Earldom. Upon his death in 1747, without heir male, his Scotch honours devolved upon his cousin, the Earl of Kincardine, while all his English titles became extinct, except the barony of Bruce of Tottenham, which, by special remainder, went to his nephew, Thomas Brudenell, who was, in 1780, created Earl of Ailesbury. This nobleman was much about the court of George III. and held office in the household of Queen Charlotte, with whom he was a great favourite and whose confidence he en-His diary and letters mention small details which will not probably be found elsewhere, and contain many matters of interest concerning the royal family; his description of Kew, showing the King's fondness for farming and gardening, the visit of the King and Queen to Whitbread's Brewery, and the accounts of drawing rooms, levees and balls, and the proceedings in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, are valuable records of one who was a participator in these events.

Of the early life of his third son Charles, who alone survived him, and was in 1821 created Marquess of Ailesbury, there is a great deal of correspondence while he and his tutor, Rev. Thomas Brand, were making the grand tour, especially during their residence at Naples, when we obtain many pieces of gossip of Sir William and Lady Hamilton and of the English society with

which they were surrounded.

Of the miscellaneous documents referred to in this collection, perhaps the most important is the sale catalogue of the paintings, formerly in the possession of Sir Peter Lely, dated 1682, in which will be found entries of several famous works. As the catalogue gives the painter's name, the subject, size, purchaser, and price paid, it will probably be found valuable to historians of the fine arts and collectors, as will also the somewhat similar but less full catalogue of Mr. Graham's collection which is dated 1711. At a later date, we have an account of the exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1787, at which the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir William Chambers, and Mrs. Damer were the principal exhibits. There are also references to the decorations by West and Jarvis at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and by Wyat at St. James'. We have mention of several well-known actors and actresses, including some criticisms of Mrs. Siddons. A curious letter will be found from John Walter, founder of the "Times" newspaper, to Lord Ailesbury, dated 20th December, 1786, in which he bitterly complains of the treatment he had received regarding his scheme for composing letterpress by words instead of letters. Further information on this scheme will be found in the report upon Lord Kenyon's Manuscripts (Fourth Appendix to the Fourteenth Report of your Commission).

The Marquess of Salisbury.—Part VI. of the Calendar of Cecil Manuscripts contains abstracts of the papers at Hatfield

for the year 1596. A large proportion of them have reference to foreign relations, much of the earlier part of the volume being taken up with the correspondence of Sir Henry Unton, the Queen's Ambassador to the King of France, and others in that country. This correspondence gives numerous details of the course of events in France, and some gossip of a personal character relating to the King and those around him. Among the incidents so related is an account furnished by the King himself to Unton, of the capture of Marseilles, "for the strangeness of the success almost incredible."

The story of Sir Henry Unton's mission, sickness, and death is a sad one. His errand was not only disagreeable to himself, but occasioned him real depression and distress of mind. Misfortune supervened. After he had been in attendance on the King for some two months he met with an accident by a fall from his horse, by which he was badly hurt. At the same moment he was depressed by the dread lest the French King, moved by "our could comfort and others' liberal offers," should be influenced in a direction dangerous to England, and was much perplexed by his own ill-success. Then almost immediately came the severe attack of sickness already alluded to, during the course of which, nevertheless, he continued his business conferences with the King and dictated dispatches home. A letter describing the symptoms and treatment of the "malignant hot fever" is an interesting contribution to the history of medicine. Its fatal termination was the cause of general grief.

Meanwhile in England plans were being laid "to terrify and ruin the great adversary" Spain, and in furtherance of preparations directed to this end Sir Francis Vere was summoned home from Holland. After three weeks' stay in England he returned to the Hague, charged with the mission of engaging the States General to render aid in men and ships. The "great adversary" on his part was not idle, and presently, early in April, the Archduke Albert, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, put into execution the bold project of the siege of Calais, a project which, though not unexpected, caused, when actually attempted, the utmost consternation. "We all are amazed," writes Sir Francis Vere to Essex, "with this siege of Calais, those of the country for the harm they shall receive "by the loss thereof, and those who are to attend your Honour "this voyage with the doubt that the same shall not go forward."

At once preparations were made in England to succour the city, and levies of men ordered, which were to be placed under the Earl of Essex's command, but they were soon laid aside, to Lord Burghley's disgust, to whom Essex had given hopes of being able to carry aid to the besieged place. But by the middle of April the town was in the hands of the Spaniards and their purpose achieved.

The documents in this volume which furnish information with regard to the Cadiz expedition, and its results and remoter

consequences, are numerous. The expedition was under the joint command of the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, with the common title of Lords Generals, and upon them also rested the burden of a great part of the expense; but it was the Earl of Essex who was the heart and soul of the enterprise, and who was the chief source of the enthusiasm which prevailed. The force was intended to consist of twelve of the Queen's ships, twelve from the City of London, and twenty from the Low Countries, with 5,000 men raised in the counties of England and Wales, whilst almost every English port was invited to furnish a vessel to transport the land forces. Among the subordinate leaders were Lord Thomas Howard, Sir George Carew, Sir Francis Vere, Sir Walter Ralegh (newly returned from his Guinea voyage), Sir John Wingfield, Sir Convers Clifford, and Sir Matthew Morgan. The preparation took a considerable time, and Essex was indefatigable. Not content with the official communications for the levying and furnishing of suitable men and arms, he wrote numerous private letters entreating "honourable furtherance." The papers here calendared show him at Plymouth early in May overwhelmed with business, having "not an hour's breathing time: " lodging the army and providing means to victual and pay it: aided indeed by the Lord Admiral and the council of war, but taking the heaviest share of the burden upon himself. Sir Walter Ralegh was at this time in the Thames with his squadron, delayed by adverse winds, pressing reluctant men, "hunting after runaway mariners and "dragging in the mire from alehouse to alehouse," while his presence at Plymouth was eagerly desired by Essex. At this point comes in the Queen's characteristic part, her "unkind dealing, as Essex ventures to describe it to herself, which, though of a sort "to stick very deeply in his very heart and "soul," was yet not sufficient to prevent him from going upon this service with comfort and confidence. In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil he "deals somewhat freely" with this matter. am myself," he protests, "engaged more than my state is worth; "my triends, servants, and followers have also set up their "restes"; my care to bring a chaos into order and to govern "every man's particular unquiet humours possesseth my time both of recreation and of rest sometimes. And yet am I so "far from receiving thanks as her Majesty keepeth the same form with me as she would do with him that through his "fault or misfortune had lost her troops. I receive no one "word of comfort or favour by letter message, or any means "whatever."

His patience and temper were to be tried still further: the two leaders received letters of recall. This produced a general remonstrance from Lord Thomas Howard, Sir George Carew, Sir Francis Vere, and others, and an additional separate remonstrance from Vere, as one that had "cause to feel the grievousness of the change," he having been nominated to take Essex's place in the command of the land forces. They all deprecated the Queen's proceeding with the most forcible arguments they

could adduce. Essex's state of mind is reflected in his letter to Cecil on the occasion.

But the uncertainty did not last long. A few days later the Queen's letters for "the dismission of the journey without further delay were received, and enthusiasm revived. An eve witness, coming at this moment upon the scene, was struck, in common with all observers, by "the mutual love of these two honourable generals," while the review of a large number of the troops, some 3,000 men, who were "taught to march, advance, retire, file, and unfile," and did it with such dexterity that "the raw ploughman vying with the old soldier, all showed themselves very sufficient and able men," tended as much to his own satisfaction as it did to "the contentment of the gentlemen and country people who came to see them." It is a curious commentary on the "mutual love" to which this witness testifies that on the same day Essex explains in a letter to Cecil the cause of the mutilation of the sneet whereon the "lovers'" joint letter to the Queen was written, namely, that it was due to her "unruly admiral," who cut out Essex's name because he would have none so high as himself. Essex, however, though he states the circumstance, gives no sign of consequent ill-humour.

Meanwhile Ralegh had been plying up towards Plymouth with his squadron, and by this time had reached there. Some days still elapsed, nevertheless, before the expedition made a start. The constitution and numbers of the force as given at the last moment were, "soldiers from Wales and elsewhere, besides those of the Low Countries, 6,200, and out of the fleet 1,200 English and 60 Dutch mariners; the Queen's ships 15, of London and the

coast towns 77, and from the Low Countries 28."

A last message from the Queen, a "devout prayer divinely conceived," having been received by those on whose behalf it was composed "cheerfully and thankfully," and ordered to be recited "at fit times as a prayer and invocation unto the Lord purposely indited by his Spirit in His anointed Queen, His instrument in this action," the last day of May saw them all embarked and ready to be gone. The desire to take a part in this "glorious fleet and army," which animated so many, is illustrated by the action of Sir Edward Hoby, who bade farewell to no one save Lord Burghley, not even to his own wife, "until she over dearly sought him out," lest the Queen might prevent his going, and who, though he was the eldest knight in the army, took an inferior place "to show what was in him."

The expedition, after knocking about Plymouth Sound for a couple of days, finally on the 3rd of June passed out of sight of

those on shore, not to be heard of for many weeks.

A description of the capture of Cadiz, dated at Madrid on the 28 June (O. S.), gives a favourable account of the behaviour of the English soldiery under the strict orders of Essex. Sir George Carew, dating his letters in a triumphant state of mind from "her Majesty's city of Cadiz, not in fancy, but won and yet held by her soldiers' swords," launches forth into loud praise of the valour of the lords generals (Essex in particular)

and Sir Walter Ralegh, time not permitting him "to discourse of all who in this service have merited extraordinary honour." Even at this early moment, however, the resolution first taken to hold the town for the Queen had been altered on a survey of the provisions, and a determination come to to quit the place with as much expedition as possible. It was, in the event, held for fourteen days, then abandoned and in part burnt. For everyone concerned, and primarily for Her Majesty, "the glory" of the one day's victories by land and sea was ample, and the damage and annoyance to the enemy equally satisfactory. Carew notes a new "precedent" set, that the English captives in the Spanish galleys were released and sent to their victorious countrymen; and points out the most grievous blow of all to the King of Spain, namely, "to have his weakness so much discovered which heretofore was so fearful to all the nations of Europe."

On the way home the expedition again landed on the enemy's coast, but there was no fighting, only a long wearisome march to the city of Faro, which was abandoned on the approach of the English troops. Two days later, the city having been first delivered to the flames, the troops marched back to the ships, "the day extreme hot and the ground deep sand which was painful unto us," Essex going afoot both ways, "having no more

ease than other captains.

The fleet was thence steered along the coast of Portugal in the direction of home. The last port of call was the Groyne, whence "they sent in to see what was in Ferrol," but finding no shipping there, and the proposal to visit the other ports betwixt that point and France having been negatived by the council of war called to discuss it, they set sail straight for England, "sorry" so Essex and the Lord Admiral write to the Queen, "that we are at an end of doing your Majesty service, but glad to think we shall so soon come to see your fair and sweet eyes."

One opportunity of inflicting still greater damage upon the enemy the expedition missed. This was the intercepting of the West India fleet. Rumour assigned a reason not too creditable, viz. that the ships' companies having got so much pillage could not be kept any longer at sea. Essex's plans and desires in this connexion are well known, though no evidence of them appears in this volume. On August 8 the whole fleet came into Plymouth, Essex at once landing and proceeding to report himself to the Queen, and the Lord Admiral taking the ships on to Portsmouth. The issues of this expedition are summed up by a correspondent of the King of Scots thus, "the prosperous success as this late action of Cales hath been so strangely carried by bad advice of late, some ransacking the vessels for the Queen's advantage, some accusing their companions for their own advancement, the Queen complaining of want of care in the generals to conserve the treasure, the generals excusing themselves by impossibility in so great confusion, upon the sudden taking of a town, and part of the Spanish fleet arriving safe and rich, that might easily have been met withal if the ships had made some ten days' longer stay, while the last adventurers are disputing and quarrelling about the loose ends, the profit of the voyage is exceedingly spent, if not lost in the chiefest part, and the world rather inclined to find fault with that which was left undone than to praise that which was done."

Arising out of this Cadiz voyage in particular—but also in other connexions—the present instalment of the Calendar yields considerable information relative to British naval and mercantile history. The chief English port towns were called upon to furnish and fit out ships for this service and to bear the expense. Certificates of the amounts thus expended were afterwards demanded by the Council, and furnished by Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Hull and York combined, Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich, London, Southampton, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Plymouth, Exeter, and Bristol which supplied three ships, but received contributions towards the cost from Bridgwater, Worcester,

Shrewsbury, Cardiff, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury.

Several letters refer to the ill-fated expedition which had sailed in 1595 under Drake and Hawkins. The first communication from Sir Thomas Baskervile, who had succeeded to the chief command after their death, came from the neighbourhood of the Scilly Isles. It was but a fragment of the original squadron which he had kept together until then, "three of her Majesty's ships and one merchant." He had likewise but a melancholy story to tell. "The success of this action hath contraried all expectation, for in it we have lost both the generals, Sir Nicholas Clifford, my brother, and many other worthy gentlemen, and gotten no great matter. Some pearl and silver there is which, I fear, will hardly bear the charge of this voyage." He did bring with him, nevertheless, what were perhaps of more value than he was disposed at the moment to claim for them-"plats and papers I have gotten of the description of the Indies, ports, havens and fortresses, with the ways from the North to the South sea, and riches and commodities of many of those

The letters of the Earl of Essex's correspondents in the Low Countries-Bodley, Gilpin, Norreys, Vere, Sir Robert Sydney, and others-tell the history of the negotiations with the States General of the United Provinces and the progress of events generally on the other side of the North Sea. Bodley's letters run to great length, describing in detail the difficulties which attended his mission, notwithstanding the aid received, unknown to his own Dutch countrymen, from M. Barneveldt. "In truth," he writes, "to speak of myself and mine own contentation (wherein God is my witness I speak unfeignedly unto you), if it were in my option to endure a year's imprisonment or two such other months' toil, my mind would account it a far better bargain to lose a year's liberty with some further discommodity." In the end he came over to England with certain articles which the States General were brought to the point of proposing for the Queen's acceptance. Deputies from their own body followed Bodley in the autumn; with regard to the progress of their negotiations in England there is but little information. When towards the end of the year it was proposed that Bodley should

return to the Hague he absolutely refused.

Border and North Country papers are somewhat numerous. They consist chiefly in communications from Dr. Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham, a zealous representative of the Queen's authority, and from the Archbishop of York and the Council of the North. The Bishop's letters are decidedly interesting. The business in which he was concerned in the year now under consideration was chiefly connected with the supersession of the aged warden of the Middle Marches, Sir John Forster, and with pro-

ceedings against the Recusants.

Some eighteen letters fall under the head of Scotland. Of these two from the Queen to the King, and one from the King to her Majesty, have been already printed, with others, by the Camden Society. Of the rest, four are more or less lengthy communications from Richard Douglas to his uncle Archibald Douglas, chiefly concerned with the subject of the former's endeavours to promote his uncle's reconciliation with the King, endeavours frustrated from time to time by hostile persons of influence in the Scotch Court, seconded apparently by Bowes, the English Ambassador in Scotland. In another letter Douglas advises the King as to the policy he should pursue with regard to the Queen and her ministers, and then proceeds to describe passing events at the English Court.

The number of papers having reference to Ireland is not large, but they include three or four lengthy letters from Sir William Russell, the Lord Deputy, setting forth the unfavourable state of affairs in that country, deploring the expenditure of the Queen's treasure to little purpose, and asking for additional

forces.

The Earl of Carlisle.—At Castle Howard there is not so much as might have been expected relating to Lord William Howard, the founder of the Naworth branch of the Howard family; and in fact there is comparatively little of older date than the 18th century. Possibly many of their papers perished in the burning of the old Castle of Henderskelf, on the site of which the present

Castle Howard was erected by the third Earl.

The Surtees Society has already published the Cartulary of Newminster Abbey, and the Household Accounts of Lord William Howard, in two separate volumes, and therefore no more need be said about them here. His treatise on Duelling contains many corrections and additions by himself in a very neat hand. The appendix to the volume of Household Accounts includes a number of Lord William's legal papers relating to his claims to the Dacre estates, including some of his own compositions, which were formerly at Castle Howard, and are now at Naworth Castle.

For the 17th century there are copies of letters and papers of King Charles I., dated in 1645 and 1646, and a number of curious entries relating to Sir John Fenwick, who was executed on Tower Hill in 1698. Several bound books of the same

century are of some value, especially the account-book of the Aing's silver mines in Scotland for part of the year 1608.

The materials for the history of the eighteenth century are extremely abundant and varied. Almost every personage and every event of importance belonging to that eventful period, besides innumerable matters of social, literary, artistic, and general interest, receive more or less illumination from the extracts from this collection now printed for the first time.

Letters will be found from most of the leading statesmen and politicians in the reigns of the first three Georges, including Walpole, Pitt, Fox, and Burke. Details are given in respect of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the affairs of the South Sea Company, the administrations of Sir Robert Walpole and successive Cabinet ministers, the rise and progress of "the Opposition"—or "the Minority," as it was first called—debates in the House of Lords and the House of Commons, Parliamentary procedure, the disputes in the Royal family in the reign of George II., the American War of Independence, the negotiations with the Americans in 1778-80, the fifth Earl of Carinsle's mission to America as British Commissioner, and his Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland in 1780-2, the French Revolution, the Regency, and Lord Fitzwilliam's Lieutenancy of Ireland in 1795.

The correspondence of the third Earl, especially with Sir John Vanbrugh, relating to the erection of Castle Howard, shows the careful attention which was bestowed on its architecture and surroundings, but selections from it have not yet been made; and matters of purely local interest, such as Parliamentary elections in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Northumberland, have usually been omitted. Vanbrugh's letters on more general subjects are very interesting, and have been printed at great length.

The voluminous letters of the younger son, daughters, and sons-in-law of Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle, between 1718 and 1758, mostly addressed to their father, but partly to their brother the fourth Earl, give very elaborate particulars of Court and Parliamentary news during a period which still stands in great need of illustration.

One of these series consists of the letters of Lady Anne, Viscountess of Irwin, relating chiefly to the differences between George II. and his son Prince Frederick, in whose household she held the position of lady-in-waiting to the Princess Augusta; but also referring to many other matters between 1720 and 1743, about which she was well able to acquire accurate information.

Two other series of letters, those of Colonel, afterwards General, the Hon. Sir Charles Howard, M.P. for Carlisle (1727-60), and those of Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., of Rokeby Park, Yorkshire, M.P. for Morpeth, give many descriptions of Parliamentary proceedings and debates in both Houses during the reign of George II., which are very meagrely reported in Cobbett's Parliamentary History and in the Historical Register, besides court and general news, obtained at first hand. The

important letters of Lady Elizabeth Lechmere and Colonel

William Douglas refer to the same period.

For a later period we have the extensive correspondence of Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle. His own earlier letters, some in the form of a diary, were written while he was on his way to America, and during his residence there in negotiation with the Americans. They throw much light on the Earl's proceedings and opinions as one of the British Commissioners. His later letters were written during his Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, and subsequently. There are also many letters and papers of William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, who was another of the Commissioners to America, and Chief Secretary in Ireland under Lord Carlisle.

Perhaps the greatest find, from a literary point of view, is an extensive collection of letters from George Selwyn to the fifth Earl of Carlisle and his Countess, dated between 1767 and 1790. They are written in an increasingly careless hand, always without signature, mostly without year-date and address, often without any apparent beginning or ending, and at first sight their importance is not evident. Of the correctness of their ascription to Selwyn there can be no doubt, as a few of the letters are endorsed by the fifth Earl himself with the name of "Selwyn," and some others have addresses, in the same hand as the letters,

showing that they were franked by "George Selwyn."

Altogether there are some hundreds of Selwyn's letters, and none of them appear to be contained in Mr. John Heneage Jesse's work, "George Selwyn and his Contemporaries," published in 1843-4, in four volumes, which consists almost entirely of letters to Selwyn from his numerous correspondents, selected from his own collection of papers. Many of Selwyn's letters relate to private and personal matters, but the greater number refer to matters of general concern, and these have been extracted. He appears to have assumed the part of mentor to the Earl, first of all, and to the Earl's children afterwards, from their tenderest years; and whenever he was at a distance from the family he maintained an exhaustive correspondence, dealing not only with matters within his own sphere, but with the doings of his acquaintances at Court, Parliamentary debates and intrigues, club gossip and scandal, anecdotes of the gaming tables and faro banks, social occurrences and observances-interspersed with literary, artistic, and dramatic criticism, and with philosophical and satirical reflections on men and manners in general.

A smaller number of letters from Selwyn's intimate friends, Anthony Storer and James Hare, are of similar style and quality to his own, and relate to the same matters. These two, with Lords Carlisle and Fitzwilliam, Fox, and Eden, were at Eton together. Storer's handwriting closely resembles Selwyn's, and it is hard to distinguish between them. They were fond of writing on all four sides of the paper, without an atem of margin, the letters varying in length from one to three sheets.

Your Commissioners, however, do not think it necessary to append any extracts here from this or other correspondence

printed in Mr. R. E. G. Kirk's calendar of the manuscripts at Castle Howard. In his Introduction to the Calendar Mr. Kirk has already sufficiently shown the nature of the contents.

The Earl of Dartmouth.—With the exception of the curious and valuable lists of armour at the Tower and elsewhere—which probably came into the hands of the first Baron Dartmouth when he was Master of the Ordnance, in 1682—the portion of the Earl of Dartmouth's manuscripts calendared by Mr. William Page in Appendix, Part 1, to this Report, begins at the Restoration. The principal part of the collection was reported upon by your Commissioners in 1887 (see Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part 5). The Calendar refers only to the documents that have come to light since that time, and forms an interesting supplement to

the earlier report.

The collection opens with the correspondence and papers of Colonel William Legge, father of George Legge, first Baron Dartmouth, and commences with a letter from the famous Charlotte de la Trémouille, widow of James Stanley, Earl of Derby, and the gallant defender of Lathom House and the Isle of Man against the Parliamentary forces. In this letter which is dated 18 February, 1661-2, the Countess prays Colonel Legge to use his influence with King Charles II. to obtain a title for her younger children, meaning probably her two younger surviving sons, Edward and William, who, she said, had suffered so greatly in the Royal cause by the loss of their father. Her eldest son, Charles, then eighth Earl of Derby, had occasioned great grief to his father and the anger of Charles II. by marrying the daughter of John Kirkhoven, Baron of Rupa, in Holland, and by his will, dated August, 1651, James, Earl of Derby, left his estates to King Charles II., with a desire that they and the title might descend to his second son Edward, to the exclusion of his heir apparent, Charles, "and this," he continues, "by reason of my just offence against Charles, my eldest son, for his disobedience to his Majesty in the matter of his " marriage, and for his going to join the rebels of England at this time to the great grief of his parents by which he has " brought a stain upon his blood if he were permitted to inherit, but this by his Majesty's great goodness, may be prevented." An explanation is here given to the reference in the latter part of the Countess's letter as to her husband's intention to bar the entail of the family estates, had he lived, and the invalidity of that portion of his will which proposed to convey the title and estates away from the heir.

Colonel William Legge had a considerable amount of property in Ireland, and the letters of his agents there, James and Nicholas Jones, throw some light on the condition of affairs in that country during the fifteen years following the Restoration. At the death of Colonel William Legge, on 13 October, 1670, these properties, with others in England, went to his eldest son, George, who had been trained to the sea under Sir Edward Spragg, and who afterwards served under the Duke of York and Prince Rupert in the various naval battles against the Dutch in

Hence it is probably that we have such ample information of the naval affairs of that time in this collection. Of the engagement in Sole Bay between the combined English and French fleets and the Dutch on 28 May, 1672, there are full accounts; for some reason these were prepared by the principal commanders who survived the action, and copies of these are in this collection. A specially melancholy interest is attached to the account of what happened on board the Royal James, the flagship of Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich. Being hard pressed, the Earl sent unsuccessfully to Sir Joseph Jordan for assistance. His ship was then boarded by a Dutch man of war, which he proposed to get rid of by taking the initiative and boarding the Dutchman himself; however, the force available was too weak, his ship having lost between 250 and 300 men. The Earl fought on bravely in hope of assistance, but none came, Sir Joseph Jordan passing close by to windward "very unkindly" taking no notice of him. Jordan, however, states in his account of the battle that he was unable to render assistance. The Earl's vessel having repulsed the boarders from the Dutch man of war, was attacked by a fire ship, which set fire to the Royal James, in the destruction of which Lord Sandwich perished.

The journals of Admiral Sir Edward Spragg, who gives an outspoken account of all he saw and thought, commence with a narrative of the destruction of the Algerine fleet in Bugia Bay in May, 1671, and end off abruptly on the 10 August, 1673, the day before Spragg was drowned in the engagement with the Dutch off the Schoonvelt. In consequence of the Test Act, the Duke of York resigned his command of the fleet, and was succeeded by Prince Rupert, whose unpopularity or incompetence alienated the affections of most of the naval officers under his command. In the various engagements off the coast of Holland in the summer of 1673, Sir Edward Spragg severely criticises the Prince's mismanagement, and speaks of the "ill conduct and most notorious cowardice" of the fleet, in which there was want of order, no man well knowing his station. A further account of the naval engagement off the Schoonvelt of 11 August, 1673, will be found in Sir John Narborough's journal.

There is little further in the appendix to the present report till after George Legge had been created Baron Dartmouth in 1682, previous to his taking the command of the expedition for the destruction and abandonment of Tangier. Of this expedition and the proceedings of the Commissioners at Tangier, we obtain a considerable amount of information, which, with what has been printed in the appendix to the Eleventh Report, gives a fairly complete account of the expedition. Some interesting details are given about the topography of Tangier, the names of the inhabitants and of the streets, together with particulars of the goods and ornaments of the Church of St. Charles the Martyr there.

Some of the papers here calendared assist materially in clearing up the question as to the position which Lord Dartmouth as admiral of the fleet took at the time of the Revolution. It

appears that at the beginning of September, 1688, James II. appointed him admiral of the English fleet intended to intercept the Dutch ships which were to bring William of Orange to this country. The opinion in England was that the Dutch were bound for Harwich or the Thames and Medway; Lord Dartmouth determined, therefore, to alter the lights of Harwich and the buovs at the mouth of the Thames, so as to bring their ships upon some of the sand-banks around that coast. Towards the end of October, Lord Dartmouth hoisted his flag on the Resolution and cruised about the mouth of the river. On 30 October the fleet sailed northward along the east coast, and on the 4th November, a Dutch fly boat with about 200 soldiers. under the command of Major Collingsby, was taken, from whom it was discovered that the Dutch fleet had sailed to the westward. Lord Dartmouth immediately set sail in pursuit, but hearing that the enemy had landed, it was not deemed advisable to tempt them to offer battle, considering the inferior strength of the English fleet. Lord Dartmouth therefore remained in the Downs and neighbourhood until November 13th, when dispatches were received from the King, and from the instructions contained therein it was determined to attack the Dutch fleet whereever it might be found. From first to last Lord Dartmouth in his letters to the Bishop of London complains of the winds being contrary and the weather bad. On the 16th of November the whole fleet set sail for the west and on the following day, when off Portsmouth, an order was sent in to Sir Richard Beach to man what vessels he could for strengthening the fleet. Later on in the day Torbay was passed, but could not be approached on account of contrary winds. On Sunday, the 18th November, a great storm arose which dispersed the fleet, but upon the storm slightly abating on the Monday the fleet again made for Torbay. where the Dutch ships were descried, but the storm increasing. the English had to make for shelter in St. Helen's Road.

Notwithstanding the continued application to James for instructions, no definite orders were sent. It seems quite vident that for as long as it was possible to do anything in James's service the fleet held to his cause; Lord Dartmouth had been an intimate friend of James, when Duke of York, as the letters between them in the former report on the papers at Patshull clearly shows, and whatever feelings might be held towards the King on land, he continued to be considered the admiral and sailor prince among the sailors. But if the King had now no heart for the fight, his officers could not be blamed for being inactive. Undoubtedly Lord Dartmouth was in a most difficult Sir Henry Shere, writing to him on the 25th November, seems to have expressed the position pretty clearly, and advised the only course which it seemed possible to him for Lord Dartmouth to pursue. As no reply came to his repeated request for instructions, on the 1st December an address was sent to the King by the hands of Lord Berkeley, but beyond an expression of approval of the action of the fleet, Lord Berkeley brought back no definite message. While lying at Spithead, the little Prince of Wales being at Portsmouth, the commanders waited upon him, and every ship in the fleet fired a royal salute in his honour. There can be little doubt that the presence of the Prince of Wales and his mother at Portsmouth was one reason for the detention of the fleet at Spithead, for we find James had sent word that if it were found impracticable for Sir Edward Scott to convey the Queen and Prince to London by land, Lord Dartmouth was to carry them there by sca. James had desired Dartmouth to convey the Queen and Prince to France, but this he absolutely refused to take upon himself the responsibility of doing.

While the fleet was still at Spithead, on the 13th December, there was received a letter from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, dated the 11th, ordering all acts of hostility towards the fleet of the Prince of Orange to cease and all Roman Catholic officers to be removed. Upon receipt of this and the news that the King had withdrawn, Lord Dartmouth had these orders carried out, and further wrote to the Prince of Orange as to the safety of the ships under his charge. Concerning Lord Dartmouth's bringing the greater part of the fleet up the Thames and his interview with the Prince of Orange, nothing fresh is brought to light.

There are no documents touching the imprisonment, examination, and death in the Tower of the first Lord Dartmouth in this supplementary calendar; of his examination before the Council, however, a full account will be found in the earlier report. His successor, William, second Baron Dartmouth, was under age at the death of his father, but shortly after attaining his majority he took his seat in the House of Lords, and became recognised as a statesman of some distinction. Queen Anne created him, in 1711, Viscount Lewisham and Earl of Dartmouth. A piece of European history comes to light in some correspondence between him and Lord Townshend touching the death of Philip, Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, and the abdication of Philip V. of Spain, which called to the remembrance of Lord Dartmouth a curious account of the feelings of those concerned in the negotiations between the Court of St. James's and that of Madrid for the renunciation by Philip V. of the crown of France and the settlement generally of the succession to various European kingdoms at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht.

The most important part of the later correspondence in this collection relates to the time of William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth, generally known as "the good Lord Dartmouth." He was appointed President of the Board of Trade and Secretary for the Colonies in the cabinet of Lord North, to whom he remained steadfast all through that eventful ministry. In 1775 he was appointed to the less onerous post of Lord Privy Seal, and acted in that office under Lord North till the fall of his ministry. Before taking office, Lord Dartmouth was urged both by the Earl of Hillsborough and the Earl of Chesterfield to obtain unrestricted power in his office, the latter ominously adding that "if we have no Secretary of State with full and

"undisputed powers for America, in a few years we may as "well have no America." The letters and papers of this collection touching America have been dealt with in a separate report, the contents of which were summarised in your Commissioners' Fourteenth Report to Your Majesty, and printed in the tenth Appendix to that Report. There are one or two letters of interest from Lord North, John Robinson, and other politicians and statesmen, the most interesting of which is perhaps the letter from Lord North announcing to Lord Dartmouth the defeat of the ministry in 1782. The English policy with regard to the bloodless revolution in Sweden, whereby the aristocratic form of government was deposed by Gustavus III. is shown by a letter from the Earl of Suffolk to the Earl of Dartmouth of 6th September, 1772.

The second Earl of Dartmouth will, however, be perhaps best remembered as a lover of the arts and literature, a scientist, but above all as a philanthropist and supporter of Wesley and the Evangelical movement of the middle of the eighteenth century. Principal among the letters touching this subject are those of the Rev. John Newton, of Olney, and afterwards of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, the converted slave trader, the hymn writer, and friend of William Cowper, the poet. Newton relates his difficulties in obtaining ordination from the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chester, and his early letters throw light upon the distaste in which the Evangelical movement was held by the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries and the governing body at Oxford. The most interesting part of this correspondence is perhaps that which refers to Newton's association with Lord Dartmouth's old schoolfellow, Cowper, who, with Mrs. Unwin, lived with Newton for some time before going into their new house at Olney, and light is thrown upon Cowper's long period of despondency in 1774-5. Of other persons who took part in the Evangelical movement, whose letters appear in the appendix to this report are the Countess of Huntingdon and Rev. M. Haden. There is also an exceedingly curious and interesting letter from the Rev. John Wesley, dated 23 August, 1775, giving an account of the commercial and social condition of this country, and pointing out the decay of trade and discontent of the people consequent upon the American war.

As a man of science, the Earl of Dartmouth was applied to concerning a polar expedition in 1774, and in the following year touching the various inventions of James Watt. In 1778 he was requested to succeed Sir John Pringle as President of the Royal Society, and in 1779 was asked to undertake the presi-

dency of the Society of Antiquaries.

The second Earl of Dartmouth was succeeded by his eldest son, George, who before his accession to the title had gained some political distinction, and, as a director of the East India Company, had shown an aptness for administration. The letters of Alexander Macaulay to him, when Viscount Lewisham, deprecating the means adopted by Englishmen for securing fortunes in India, throw a valuable light on the conduct of affairs in that country. In his capacity as Lord Unamberlain many interesting letters were written to him, from which we get some information as to various theatrical and similar schemes at the beginning of the present century.

Of miscellaneous letters and papers, the correspondence between Lady Marow and her daughter, Lady Kaye, and between Lady Kaye and Lady North, are interesting as illustrating the social history of the first half of the eighteenth century. The instructions to the Duke of Ormond, and the correspondence between him and the Secretary of State regarding the negotiations prior to the Treaty of Utrecht, throw considerable light upon the subjects with which they deal. The letters of Mr. Rawlings, a wine merchant of St. Columb, in Cornwall, give a graphic description of the systematic smuggling which existed in the West of England during the middle of the eighteenth century, and the totally inadequate means for suppressing it. The evasion of the custom duties was a fault not confined to small traders, but was practised largely by East Indiamen, and especially by the Lisbon packets coming into Falmouth harbour. The letters of Gainsborough, the artist, and of one Thomas Jenkins, a dealer in works of art as well as a painter, have much interest in quite another direction.

The Earl of Radnor.—The manuscripts at Longford Castle are of no great bulk, but have some archæological and historical interest. Among those reported upon are—a fine folio volume entitled "Registrum Hungerfordianum," containing copies of deeds, &c., relating to the Hungerford family and their possessions from the reign of John to that of Edward IV.; a collection of original deeds, &c., many with fine seals, relating to the same family in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; some letters of Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, and one of Lady Jane Seymour, to Lord Hungerford; many letters from the Lords of the Council, temp. Charles I., to the high sheriff of Wiltshire. about the collection of ship money, &c., with a few letters of later date; and a history of the Castle compiled by a chaplain there in the seventeenth century, most of the materials for which are taken from printed sources, but from the original matter therein a curious extract has been made having reference to the Civil

The Right Honourable F. J. Savile Foljambe.—The manuscripts at Osberton consist of (1.) A manuscript entitled "Book "of Musters, 1588;" (2) A collection of letters from James, Duke of York, to William, Prince of Orange, in 1678 and 1679; and (3) A number of miscellaneous letters and papers between 1636 and 1789.

(1.) The "Book of Musters" comprises much that may be found in other collections, but it also furnishes a quantity of important materials which do not appear to exist in the public archives. It will be sufficient here to call attention to the fresh historical information now made available.

The designs of the French on Calais and the neighbouring territory were well known to Philip and Mary, and the final loss of the English possessions in France was not due to any want of foresight and preparation. This is evident from their commission to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, dated ?rd July, 1557, in which they announce the declaration of war with France, and their intention to levy "an army or power" of their subjects, which shouls be sufficient not only to defend Calais against the anticipated invasion, but even to carry the war into the French King's dominions. Of this army the Earl was appointed their Lieutenant and Captain-General. In another commission to William Wightman, as Treasurer of the Army, dated 2nd July, 1557, Philip announces his intention to "pass the seas" and invade France in person, saying nothing about the preservation of Calais, the latter object being no doubt considered to be included in the former. A number of warrants and schedules relate to the payment of the Captain-General and the officers under him. Some of these warrants are dated at "the English camp before Hawne," 15th September, 1557. But the English troops were employed in assisting Philip in Flanders instead of being employed to garrison Calais, and consequently the town and territory fell an easy prey to the French.

In 1571 an army was sent "into Scotland" under the Earl of

In 1571 an army was sent "into Scotland" under the Earl of Sussex, and a paper copied in this manuscript gives the names of the gentlemen serving under him, and the accounts of their

"entertainments."

A comparative table of the numbers of foot and horse attending "the general musters" in 1574 and 1577, shows that the forces of the realm in the former year were a little under 300,000, and in the latter year considerably exceeded that number. The Isle of Wight and the coast of Hampshire were then supposed to be most liable to invasion, and an elaborate scheme was prepared for the concentration of the forces of that county wherever an attack might be made.

Between 1583 and 1587 there are copies of numerous Council letters, and a few of Queen Elizabeth, with instructions, certificates, and other papers relating to musters, training, ordnance, and ammunition. Many of these are also to be found among the States Papers. Some attention was paid to the defence of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Sheppey. There are schedules showing the total numbers of ships, masters, and mariners throughout England in 1583, and giving many details of the composition of the Royal Navy, apparently in 1587.

The preparations of the King of Spain for the invasion of this country were known to the Council early in 1587, and orders were given for putting both the inland and the maritime counties in a posture of defence. The instructions sent to Devon, Cornwall, and Wales for opposing the landing of the enemy are to be found here, but are not among the State papers. A special warrant was issued to the Master of the Ordnance to supply certain counties with various kinds of guns and ammunition out of the Queen's "Store" in the Tower of London. In August,

the barons of the Cinque Ports were reprimanded for their remissness in not defending the coast of Kent against the spoil

of the Dunkirkers, and in not making reprisals.

From this point the manuscript is professedly devoted to recording the measures taken by the English Government to encounter the Spanish invasion. Directions were from time to time sent to the Lords Ineutenants in every county; and though in some cases there were several counties under one Lord Lieutenant, every county on the south coast had a separate head. The Earl of Leicester was "Lieutenant-General" in Essex and Hertford, and Sir Walter Raleigh was "the Lieutenant" in Cornwall, while he was also one of the Deputies in Devon. The instructions given by the Queen and Council to the Lords Lieutenants are minute, and vary according to the needs of each district. No detail was considered too small for the attention of the central authorities. The actual mustering and training of the troops, however, devolved chiefly upon the Deputy-Lieutenants in each county.

As early as 5th October, 1587, the Council announced to the Vice-Admirals that the Queen had "ordered that her own Navy" should be forthwith made ready to pass the seas," and that it should be reinforced by the ships and mariners of her subjects. The Vice-Admirals were therefore to lay an embargo on such ships, and to charge the owners not to quit their respective ports till they should receive directions from the Council or the Lord Admiral. As, however, it is stated that the Vice-Admirals made

no return to this order, it was probably countermanded.

The official date of Lord Howard of Effingham's commission as "Lord High Admiral, being appointed to go to the seas," is 21st December, 1587, but his instructions are here dated the 15th. The Queen states therein that she had been "sundry ways most " credibly given to understand of the great and extraordinary "preparations made by sea, as well in Spain by the King there, as in the Low Countries by the Duke of Parma, and that it " is also meant that the said forces shall be employed in some " enterprise to be attempted either in our dominions of England "and Ireland, or in the realm of Scotland." To "impeach any descent" on Ireland or on the south-west parts of the realm, Sir Francis Drake was to be instructed by Lord Howard to "ply up and down" between the Irish coast and the Scilly Isles or Ushant; and if any forces were sent by the enemy in that direction against Scotland, Drake was to "intercept and distress" them. To withstand any attempt which might be made from the Low Countries, Lord Howard himself was to "ply up and "down," sometimes "towards the north, and sometimes towards " the south," and he likewise was to be on the watch for any forces that might be sent to Scotland by way of the East Coast.

If Drake's ships should prove to be inadequate to face the navy expected from Spain, Howard was directed either to recall him and "join both their forces together," or to send him as many ships as could be spared for his reinforcement. No similar direction was given for Drake to join or to aid Howard, because

the forces of the Duke of Parma were not considered likely to give much trouble. From this it is evident that Drake's squadron was to bear the brunt of the invasion. His commission does not appear to have been issued till 15th March, 1588, but in this volume he is said to have been sent to the seas in December, 1587. The names of the ships under the commands of Howard and Drake, with the tonnage of each, are given. Drake had the larger number of ships, but Howard the greater tonnage.

Howard's instructions direct that all foreign ships bound from the East for Spain were to be stopped "in some courteous and favourable manner," and sent to England, there to be searched for any victuals or munition that might be intended for the enemy. Howard was further to take under his command the Dutch ships which were to be furnished by the States, and to see to the defence of Brill, Flushing, Ostend, and Bergen-op-

Zoom, which were garrisoned by the Queen's subjects.

In March, 1588, the Queen announced to the Corporation of London that the whole of the realm had been fully provided for, with the exception of the City, which she commanded to furnish ten thousand able men, with suitable armour and weapons. On 12th April, special instructions were given to Sir John Norris and "other martial men" to confer with the Lords Lieutenants of the maritime counties for the prevention of the enemy's landing, and, in case a descent should be effected, to choose places where the best stand might be made against him, and his advance impeded. Returns were sent up to the Council from all parts of the numbers of "able men," trained and un-In London the total trained, "furnished" and unfurnished. number of able men between the ages of seventeen and sixty was returned at 17,083. Out of these were selected four regiments, each of 1,500 trained men. The names of the captains in every ward of the City are stated. In the country the principal noblemen and certain gentlemen were summoned "to attend upon her Majesty's person," and offered to bring 3,058 horse and foot, while the clergy contributed 4,444.

In May the Queen herself wrote letters to the respective Lords Lieutenants, thanking them for what they had done, and informing them that she had discovered an "intention not only of invading, but of making a conquest also of this our Realm," which had been "fully resolved on, an army being already put to the seas for that purpose." "The best sort of gentlemen" were therefore to be convened, and informed of this "purposed conquest, wherein every man's particular estate is in the highest degree to be touched;" and that the Queen expected them to provide a still "larger proportion of furniture both for horse-

men and footmen, but especially horsemen."

On 27th June, the Council ordered each Lord Lieutenaut to how 2,000 men in readiness, either to attend on her Majesty's person, or to repair to the army about to be assembled, but "the General" of which had not yet been appointed. Two armies were, in fact, to be formed, one for attendance on the Queen,

and the other to meet the enemy on his landing; the number of foot, lances, light horse, and pioncers required for them being

stated. Each was to consist of more than 30,000 men.

Many other instructive contributions of later date to the history of the defeat of the Spanish Armada are pointed out by Mr. Kirk in the introduction to his calendar of the contents of this "Muster Book." They are followed by a few papers of the years 1589 and 1590. The remainder of the manuscript consists of numerous letters and papers connected with the preparations made against the invasion threatened by the new King of Spain, Philip III., in 1599. The documents are all comprised

within the months of July and August of that year.

(2.) The letters of James, Duke of York, to William, Prince of Orange, cover an important period of the Duke's life, the first of them being dated 29th October, 1678, the day on which "Lord "Shafsbury and his gange" made their attempt to get him removed from the Council; this letter is followed by many others written at intervals of a few days referring to the proceedings in both Houses against him and to the alleged popish plots. In March 1679, he writes from Brussels, a few weeks after his withdrawal from England by Charles's order, thanking William "for your kind usage whilst I was with you, of which I shall always be very sensible," an expression worth calling attention to, as a recent biographer of James states, on the authority of Henry Sidney's Diary, that he met with little civility at the Hague on this occasion. The kindly expressions which James continually makes use of when addressing his "sonne" (-in-law) are indeed a noticeable feature of this correspondence.

The Duke remained at Brussels until the beginning of September, and wrote occasionally to the Hague commenting upon the news which reached him from the English court and Parliament. On his re-call to England in that month, there are a few letters from Windsor chiefly referring to Monmouth's disgrace. In October he writes two letters from Brussels, whither he had gone again to fetch the Duchess of York home; and others from London and Hatfield refer to his intended journey to Scotland to take up his appointment as High Commissioner there. The concluding letter in the series, dated November 27, 1679, reports his arrival in Edinburgh three days previously.

(3.) The miscellaneous letters and papers, 1636-1789, in Mr. Savile Foljambe's collection require little detailed notice, though they contain many interesting items. The main portion of it consists of the correspondence of Sir George Savile, of Rufford, for many of the earlier years of George III.'s reign the popular representative of Yorkshire, and perhaps the most esteemed member of the Whig party in his time. Among his correspondents will be found Lord Rockingham, Edmund Burke, David Hartley, Joseph Priestly, and Charles Pelham, referring to political and electioneering matters chiefly.

The Rev. Sir Theophilus H. G. Puleston, B.A.—This collection relates principally to Ireland and North Wales; the

papers concerning the latter district are mostly orders from the commissioners for array as to the raising and disposition of troops during the early part of the Civil War, and also as to some election intelligence of a century later. The Irish correspondence first touches upon the title to the land upon which the Parliament House at Dublin was built, then belonging to ancestors of Sir Theophilus Puleston. Although not referring to any very important matters, the letters from Lord Barrymore and others in Ireland in this collection give us an amusing picture of the somewhat wild and lawless condition of the southern part of that country in the middle of the last century. There are some particulars as to the arrest of Lord Barrymore for supposed communication with the Pretender in 1744, when his papers at Castle Lyons were examined and a guard placed over the house.

There are several letters from one Edmund Spencer, touching upon the news in Ireland, and a memorial from him to the Duke of Marlborough setting out his family history and showing that he was great grandson of the poet of the same name. This collection concludes with a series of letters from Anna Seward, "the Swan of Lichfield," during the latter part of her life, to Mrs. Parry Price, and which are not included in Constable's collection of her letters. Amongst them will be found some interesting particulars of the lives of Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby, the ladies of Llangollen.

Sir Walter 6. Corbet, Bart.—At Acton Reynald, in Shropshire, are preserved some early charters relating to Haughmond Abbey from the time of Henry II., with a few relating to the Abbey of Lilleshall, and the little-known houses of Stratt Marchell in Montgomeryshire and Clattercote in Oxfordshire, which last was a hospital for sick women, of the order of Sempringham. Amongst the miscellaneous deeds there is one of the time of Henry I. There occurs a parcel of deeds relating to property in the town of Northampton, commencing at the year 1293. Among other noticeable documents are (1) a lease by the churchwardens and parishioners of Shawbury in 1533 of a messuage in the village called the Hall; (2) two manumissions in 1350 and 1406;; (3) an acknowledged forgery, professing to be dated in 1395, but owned to be fabricated in 1469; (40) licence granted to the parishioners of Broseley in 1595 for burials in the churchyard there, bodies having been previously carried to Much Wenlock, three miles distant; (5) Correspondence between Mr. Rowland Hill and Mr. Andrew Corbet in 1768-70, upon an attempt by the former to suppress races on Shrewsbury Heath and a village wake, on account of the disorder to which they gave rise. The family of L'Estrange often appears among the earlier documents. There are also some which relate to Linslade in Buckinghamshire, while for Banbury, Cropredy and Wardington in Oxfordshire there is a book of court-rolls of the time of Edward VI.

Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.—In this collection there is much to be found, beginning at the year 1737, relating to the trade of

Newcastle, and to the early commerce between the North of England and the American Colonies: but the correspondence with America ceases upon the outbreak of the revolutionary war The chief exports sent out thither by Mr. Ralph Carr, merchant and banker, from the year 1748, were glass, lead, iron, and woollen goods, and the chief import was tar. Amongst Mr. Carr's correspondents were many persons bearing names since well known in the United States, e.g., Wendell, Inman, Quincy, Hutchinson, Bowdoin, Gould, Schuyler, Franklin, with many others. One letter from Governor Hutchinson written from London in 1774 says that he, after enduring the most cruel calumnies, has received from the King as full an approbation of his entire conduct as perhaps any subject ever received from the Crown. With the house of Thomas and Adrian Hope in Holland Mr. Carr had constant correspondence, and with John and James Coutts, bankers, in Edinburgh. He interested himself on behalf of a poor lady in America with her son, who was the widow of Robert, the eldest son of Sir Arthur Hesilrige, whom his father had disinherited. Several letters to and from this Lady Hesilrige in 1768-1771 are preserved; and by Mr. Carr's interposition her son, who died in India in 1805, was assisted by Lord Maynard. There are three letters from Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, and one from William Seward in 1798 respecting his Biographiana, the frontispiece to which was designed by Miss Harriet Carr.

Amongst some seventeenth-century documents relating to the property of the Ellison family at Jarrow is one with a fine impression of the seal for writs in the county palatine of Durham in 1656, with the figure of the Protector on horseback.

Mr. J. Eliot Hodgkin.—The manuscript collection of Mr. Hodgkin, of Richmond, Surrey, though formed by purchase, presents many of the features of one formed by a family in successive generations, in that it includes groups of letters and papers which are complete in themselves.

Among these groups may be named a long series of letters addressed to Samuel Pepys between 1661 and 1701, many of much historical value, his correspondents including such well-known characters as the Earl of Sandwich, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Belasyse, and John Evelyn; besides a few letters of Pepys himself. Another important series consists of letters passed between the Earl of Danby and Ralph Montagu, when the latter was ambassador in France early in 1678. A garbled version of these was printed in 1710 by Danby, then become Duke of Leeds, and these originals bear marks signifying passages to be omitted and notes thereon made by the Duke himself. A third group, generally described as Ormonde papers, consists mainly of the correspondence of the Duke of Ormonde, after he succeeded Marlborough as Commander-in-chief in the Low Countries, early in 1712. Still more voluminous among Mr. Hodgkin's manuscripts are the papers relating to the Old and Young Pretenders and their adherents; and to the

Chevalier D'Eon. Besides special collections relating to Charles I., the Civil Wars, and Charles II., there is a mass of miscellaneous letters and documents of considerable interest, which it is impossible to specify here, but they will be found printed at length in Mr. Jeaffreson's calendar of the manuscripts in part 2

of the Appendix to this Report.

Mr. P. Edward Tillard.—Mr. Tillard has in his possession a diary kept by William Tillard, born 1675, who went out to Masulipatam in 1699 as a servant of the New East India Company. The diary covers the period of his absence from England between 1699 and 1705. Mr. J. H. Round has made some extracts from it, which are interesting in illustration of the tension between the old and new companies, and useful as a record of facts and dates.

Shrewsbury Corporation .- The municipal records of Shrewsbury are remarkable for the completeness of the Burgess Rolls, which give the admissions of freemen from the year 1209, recording with these the names also of their parents and those of their own children. Several of the earliest of these rolls have been printed by the Shropshire Archæological Society. Other portions of the records are equally remarkable for completeness and age. A series of forty-five Royal Charters commences with one of Richard I. in 1189, followed by three of John in 1200 and 1205. The Subsidy Rolls extend from the reign of Edward 1. to that of Queen Anne, and include the Roll of 1380, the year of Wat Tyler's insurrection, which gives the number of inhabitants then in the town above the age of 14 as being 2,083, reckoned at five score to the hundred.* The Registers, which commence roughly towards the end of the reign of Edward III., contain ordinances for the crafts of weavers,, cordwainers and tanners, carpenters and tilers, fletchers, coopers and bowyers, vintners, and tailors and skinners, extending from 1389 to 1450; but these comprise generally only the usual provisions for election of officers, meetings and contributions. In 1574 there is a curious petition from one Maderne Wysbecke, a physician, who was also a warden of the craft of joiners, praying for some annual pension for himself and his wife, in consideration of their having for 22 years attended upon the sick, often gratuitously, and of his having to bear heavy charges in buying books in order to keep up his knowledge. Subscriptions to the amount of twenty-two shillings were promised; but he was complained of by some of his fellow-craftsmen and relations (who described him as "naming himself doctor of physie") for admitting earpenters among the joiners. In 1568 it had been ordered that the joiners should be admitted into the company of bowyers, the carpenters having in their turn complained against them. 1576 the town was infected with the plague, and orders for general cleansing were issued, which included the removal of all swine and dogs from the town, and the killing of all cats. From 1585 to 1735 inclusive the Registers of the acts of the Cor-

^{*} The corresponding roll for Oxford was printed by Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers Oxford City Documents, 1891; the number of inhabitants there was 2,005

poration are wanting, and consequently for a specially interesting period of the municipal history the principal materials are not to be had. But something for the missing years can be learned from the bailiffs' and mayors' accounts, which are for a large part well preserved (except in the reign of Henry VIII.), and which begin as early as about 1256. Amongst these is an interesting Coroners Roll, containing reports of 58 inquests from 1295 to 1306.* The Rolls of Pleas in the Bailiffs' Court begin at the year 1272. There is an Assize Roll of 1379, and four Rolls of the Court of Pie-powder in the reign of Henry VI. A tattered parcel of market accounts relating to sales of cattle and horses extends from 1525 to 1668. For the Grammar School there is one box of papers relating to it, foundation and endowment, with some letters of later date. From the funds of the School £600 were lent to Charles I. in 1642; it is needless to say that the loan was never repaid, but the unfortunate trustees were subsequently involved in law-suits with the view of compelling their personal repayment, but in 1673 the case was dismissed.

Coventry Corporation,-Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson's Report on the Corporation Records at Coventry supplies a needed supplement to the brief sketch furnished in the First Report of your Commissioners by the late Mr. H. T. Riley. Among the Royal Charters (which begin with a confirmation by Henry II. of the Charter granted to the burgesses by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, in 1153, the original of which is also preserved) are many from Edward III., and from his mother, Queen Isabella, to whom the manorial rights belonged respecting in particular the foundation of a Merchants' Guild and of the Guilds of St. John Baptist, St. Katherine, Corpus Christi, and the Holy Trinity. Licence to the burgesses to elect a Bailiff yearly is granted by the Queen in 1344, which, in the following year, is extended by the King in a Charter to the election of a Mayor and Bailiffs, with the usual privileges of a corporate town. 1406 the foundation of more guilds in addition to those then existing is prohibited by Henry IV. The Chamberlains' Account Books commence in the 17th year of Henry IV. Of the Company of Carpenters there are books which reach back to the time of Henry VI.; while similar books of the Corvisors' Company begin at 1653. From a very large mass of miscellaneous deeds, abstracts of eighty-nine are given, extending from the reign of Henry III. to that of Charles II.

The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.—The first portion of the late Sir William Fraser's report on the Duke of Buccleuch's manuscripts at Drumlanrig describes the charters and miscellaneous feudal writs relating to the family of Douglas of Drumlanrig from the year 1357 and onwards till the year 1609; and also an earlier series of charters granted by the Bruces as lords of Annandale from the year 1190 till Robert the Bruce, lord of Annandale, became King of Scotland, and Edward

^{*} An Oxford roll, containing 29 inquests from 1297 to 1322, is printed in Thorold Rogers' Oxford City Documents, pp. 150-174.

Bruce, his brother, became King of Ireland and Earl of Carrick. All these Douglas and Bruce charters, ranging as they do over four hundred years, illustrate the early history of the districts of Nithsdale and Annandale; and they contain many references to the families of Johnstone, Douglas, Kirkpatrick, and Jardine, and to the Lords Carlyle of Tortherwald and the

Abbey of Holywood.

The second portion is of more general historical value, the documents described in it being mainly:—Commissions, Instructions, Correspondence, and many original writs connected with the first Session of the only Parliament held by King James II. in Scotland; twelve official letters of James II. to William, first Duke of Queensberry, as Commissioner to that Parliament, and also to the lords of the Committee of the Secret Council, from 25 April to 3 August 1685; fifteen private holograph letters of James II. to William, Duke of Queensberry, as Commissioner, from April to June 1685; and some miscellanous papers specially connected with the first Session of the same Parliament 1685.

First in interest of these are the private holograph letters of the King. They refer to the current business of the Parliament, which the King was pleased to find had begun well, as it would be a very good precedent to the English Parliament. They also refer to the news arriving from Holland of the sailing of Argyll's expedition. The King surmised at first that Stirling would be the point aimed at; afterwards he judged that Argyll would make for Galloway to raise an insurrection in that district. Both surmises were erroneous, as Argyll's forces descended on Renfrew and were dispersed without much bloodshed. In his last letter James II. requires the Duke as Treasurer of Scotland to find the means of raising money to pay the three Scotlish

regiments that were coming from Holland.

The King, while Duke of York, it will be remembered, had been long conversant with the affairs of Scotland. He had been Commissioner to Parliament for King Charles, and having resided in Scotland for years and been entrusted by the King with the business connected with that kingdom, he kept up a close correspondence with the Marquis and Duke of Queensberry, both in the later years of King Charles, or between 1682 and 1685, when Queensberry was regarded as prime minister for Scotland, and in the earlier years of his own reign. In the third portion of his report, Sir William Fraser printed no fewer than one hundred and nine letters of James, when Duke of York, to Queensberry, dated between June 1682, and February 1685, and three others written shortly after he became King; these are of great interest from their references to passing events, but it will be sufficient here to refer to the careful analysis of them given in Sir W. Fraser's introductory remarks. Extracts from the correspondence of the third Duke of Hamilton with the same Duke of Queensberry, between 1676 and 1685, and of the famous John Graham of Claverhouse, between 1682 and 1685, complete the report.

J. J. Hope Johnstone, Esq., of Annundale.—Besides many charters and miscellaneous writs, chiefly of local and family interest, which date back to about the year 1400, there is a great mass of l'storical material in the way of correspondence, upon which Sir William Fraser had been able to complete two reports at the time of his death. As Sir William described very fully in his introductions to these reports, which were presented to Parliament, and issued some months ago, the historical value of these papers, it will be unnecessary to do more here than to indicate generally the nature of the correspondence. One section of the first report consists of royal letters written between 1536 and 1712; another section includes State and official letters written between 1573 and 1696, but the bulk of them addressed to William, Earl of Annandale, in the time of William III., and the second report brings down the correspondence of the same Earl, who was made a Marquis in 1701, down to 1715. other important feature in the second report are the selections from the correspondence of William, eighteenth Earl of Crawford, who was President of the Parliament and Privy Council, and one of the Lords of the Treasury, in Scotland; this extends from 1689 to 1698.

Collections in Ireland.—From the Collections of Manuscripts in Ireland examined by Sir John T. Gilbert, LL.D., has been issued the Book of the Privy Council in Ireland, printed for the first time, extending from 1556 to 1571, and containing new and original information as to methods of English Administration in Ireland during that period. Particulars are given of the Members of the Council, the places where their meetings were held, the subjects which came under their consideration, the style, penmanship and orthography of the book, the manner in which the records were written and preserved, showing the autographs of English and Anglo-Irish Councillors; of the delivery of the Great Seals and Curial Seals for Ireland of Philip and Mary in 1558, and of Elizabeth in 1559; of the conveying of the Council Book to Queen Elizabeth in 1561-2; of the Chief Governor and Deputies of Government holding place in Ireland; of the transactions of the Council with regard to the outlawry of Shane O'Neill; of expulsion of armed Scots from Ireland; reduction of Ulster to shire ground; subjection of Leinster septs and conversion of their lands into counties; arrangements between the Earl of Clanricarde and his kinsmen with the town of Galway; contentions between the Earl of Ormonde, Earl of Desmond and Baron of Upper Ossory; revolt of the brothers of the Earl of Ormoude; imprisonment of Thomas Stucley; applications from Spain for Irish hawks and hounds; claims from foreign merchants on ships and cargoes; projects for a University at Dublin and a free school at Galway. Here are copies of Governmental "indentures," with native Irish lords who covenanted to become faithful subjects to England, all such communications being made through Latin, as the lords and gentlemen of the best houses of Connacht could not either speak or understand the English language. An example of this is the document of agreement between the Queen's Commissioners and Torlogh O'Neill, chief of Tyrone. Hitherto unpublished documents appear concerning Conor O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, including two letters from Queen Elizabeth besides details as to the Queen's monies current in Ireland; as to "hostings," as to punishment of rebels, etc. The contents of the Council Book are printed as they stand in the manuscript, but marginal notes and head numbers have been added to facilitate reference. The existence of the Council Book appears to have been unknown to historical investigators for two centuries. Towards the year 1850 it was purchased by Charles After his death in 1866 the manuscript was presented to the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. The table to the Council Book, compiled by Ussher in 1609, which is here printed, remained long in obscurity and apart from the manuscript to which it referred, but Sir John T. Gilbert found that this table, bound with other papers, was for a time in the possession of Sir James Ware, and that the volume in which it was included passed successively to Henry, Earl of Clarendon, Archbishop Tenison, James, Duke of Chandos, Dean Milles of Exeter, and finally to the British Museum.

The second volume of the Ormonde archives, in the press, contains a large amount of valuable and hitherto unpublished information of the proceedings of Government in Ireland in the 17th century; a great number of letters of James, Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland, correspondence with Sir Robert Southwell and others; letters from or concerning Peter Talbot, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Father Peter Walsh, Captain W. Cadogan, General Preston, Owen Roe O'Neill, etc.; also lists of regiments in Ireland, particulars of their condition, precise information as to military arrangements, proclamations, etc.; reports on and estimates for fortifications all over Ireland by Lord Dartmouth and Thomas Phillips. An important feature of this volume is the list of transplanted Irish to Connacht in 1655-1659, with names of families and places from which they were removed, dates of decree and final settlement and numbers of acres granted.

Materials for a third volume of the Ormonde archives are now in preparation.

A report on original documents from the archives of Galway, Ireland, is in progress.

Manuscripts in the Welsh Language.—When the work of reporting on Manuscripts in the Welsh language was begun it was thought best to aim at examining first of all those collections which had been, for various reasons, more or less inaccessible to students, and the contents of which were little known. As the work of inspection progressed it was found more and more difficult to proceed with any one collection continuously, owing to the not infrequent absence of owners from home. Moreover, it soon became clear that different libraries contained duplicates. These considerations made it necessary to depart from the usual method

of reporting on one collection as a whole before beginning another. The older manuscripts had, therefore, to be selected as far as possible from the different collections, and inspected first, so that it is scarcely practical to do more than indicate the work done, without reference to the various homes of the documents.

Manuscripts of the Welsh Laws are numerous, and those (written on vellum) at Peniarth, the British Museum, Oxford, and Cardiff have been inspected. The oldest copy is a Latin version of the last quarter of the twelfth century, and the next oldest is the Welsh version known as the Black Book of Chirk, which can hardly be later than the year 1200. Both these manuscripts are at Peniarth, and their texts contain the substance of the other numerous recensions of later date. The prologue of the Chirk Codex states simply that Howel Da "prince of all the Kymry," finding no doubt much confusion in the administration of the law when his lordship extended over Gwyned and Powys in addition to Dyved, summoned six men from every commote, four laics and two clerics, to examine the customs and laws of his dominion and to deliberate thereon. As a result some of the old laws were confirmed, some amended, some abrogated, and some new ones enacted. These were afterwards solemnly promulgated and confirmed in a general assembly attended according to the Latin text by "all archbishops, bishops, abbots and priests." But whether this took place before or after Howel's visit to Rome it is not stated. That Howel did go to Rome in 928 we know on the testimony of the Annales Cambria and the Brut y Tywysogion; and if we may credit the prologues of the later manuscripts the object of his visit was to submit the codified laws to the approval of the Pope. This statement derives some colour from the words of an unedited thirteenth century manuscript at Peniarth, which declares that the Laws were drawn up in Latin, in order that the Church and the Pope might be able to judge of them, and that the common people might hold them in greater respect from their inability to understand them. Linguistic tests, too, tend to support this assertion of a Latin original, and probability enforces it. We should in this way get independent translations into Welsh, which would naturally give rise to what came later to be regarded as different "Codes," labelled respectively "Venedotian," "Dimetian," and "Gwentian," though Howel was never King of Gwent and Morgannwg. The Chirk Coder represents Welsh prose of any extent in its most primitive form, and the MS. must be regarded as a transcript of an earlier one. No one can doubt this who will compare its style with that represented by the fragments of the Mabinogion in a MS. of about 1230. In the latter we find Welsh prose at its best. How far the Laws of Howel are purely Welsh in their origin can never, probably, be determined, as no copy of the text in its original form is known to be now extant. The existing manuscripts refer to the "Laws of Howel," which would not be possible in a pure text; and some of them have admittedly been revised by later princes. It is also instructive to note that the older the manuscript the fewer the triads it contains. The two oldest do not contain a single triad between them!

The vellum manuscripts of Brut y Tywysogion have also been examined, and important variant readings given in Vol. I. of the Report of Manuscripts in the Welsh Language. There are many

"chronicles," some brief, some extensive.

A large proportion of Mediæval Welsh prose consists of translations from the Latin. There are several independent versions of the Historia of Geoffrey of Monmouth. We have the story of the Crucifixion from the Septuagint, the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Elucidarium, the miracles of St. Edmund, the dream of Paul, the Seven Wise Men of Rome, Imago Mundi, the finding of the Cross, the Purgatory of Patrick, the Lives of Saints, and we have even seen a translation of the Athanasian Creed done for the love of Eva, the fair daughter of Meredith, a somewhat original method of recommending a suit. The earlier versions of the Charlemagne story follow the text of Turpin pretty closely, but later, as in the Red Book of Hengest, the text of the old French Otinel is embodied almost verbatim in the earlier part, and then in summary. Another translation from the French is the Holy Grail, which exists in a MS. of the close of the xivth century. In addition to the Mabinogion and the Arthurian Romances, there are others. such as Bown of Hampton, and Amlyn and Amyc. Two vellum copies of the Physicians of Mydvei exist. There are many copies of the "Historical" Triads, and of the Genealogy of the Saints, and of pedigree MSS. on paper, as well as manuscripts containing lists of Proverbs, Vocabularies, Prophecies, Orations, Grammars, Dictionaries. &c.

In verse we have very abundant material, and by far the greater part is a kind of rhymed chronicle of public events, wars, heroic deeds, adventures, quarrels, reconciliations, incitements to leaders, paeans to victors, lamentations on the death of patriots Without these bards much of the dry facts of Welsh history would have been lost, and nearly all the colouring. For instance, it would probably be possible to draw up a list of the Sheriffs of Welsh counties, or of those who were knighted, from the bards alone. Perhaps no language has so many elegies, and from these can be gathered at least the virtues of the subject, as well as what manner of man he was. Incidentally, interesting customs and social habits are vividly portrayed. Many of the old Welsh families retained their own bard. He has his place in the court of Howel Da, and we find him housed at Nanney so late as 1700. No incident in the family history escapes him. Scarcely a hawk or favourite hound dies unrecorded; and it is a fact worth mentioning that the least promising subjects often bring out the most interesting information. The student of Welsh history should attach but little importance to the headings or titles of the poems, and read everything belonging to the particular period of his researches, if he wishes to meet with a fair measure

The poems that may claim to rank as literature of a high quality deal as a rule either with the human affections or with aspects of nature. In love and death the Welsh poet is often supreme, and his love and observations of nature were as keen in the fourteenth century as those of Byron, Shelley, and Wordsworth in the nineteenth. There is no Welsh drama. The jingling shackles of the Welsh metres have hitherto proved inimical to the production of anything requiring sustained effort.

The collections of manuscripts inspected, and practically completed, are those at Mostyn Hall, Conway, Llandudno, Plás Hén and Chwilog in Carnarvonshire. The report of the Mostyn MSS. was published last May, and attention was directed in the Introduction to an important and interesting History of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., written, by a contemporary, in the Welsh language.

The Conway MSS. are about 30 in number, and have been in South Africa since they were inspected. Many of these formed, at one time, a part of the Havod MSS., which were supposed to be all destroyed by fire in 1807.

The Llandudno MSS. consist of a folio book of pedigrees in the autograph of John Brooke, "lord of Mawdwy," a quantity of poetry, the Gospel of Nicodemus, &c.

The Plâs Hên collection contains about 70 manuscripts, which are nearly all in the autograph of the Rev. Evan Evans, who bequeathed them to Paul Panton, Esq., of Plâs Gwyn in Anglesey, in acknowledgment of a small annual allowance to the copyist during the closing years of his life. The Myfyrian Archaiology of Wales, published at the beginning of this century, represents really the labours of the Rev. Evan Evans, whose name should have been on the title-page.

The Chwilog MSS. consist largely of transcripts by the Rev. David Ellis and others of originals found elsewhere.

The collections at Peniarth, Shirburn Castle, Jesus College (Oxford), the Cardiff Free Library, and the British Museum, are in progress of inspection. The MSS. at Peniarth form the premier collection both in quality and quantity, and in addition to 327 in the Welsh language, there are over 150 in English and Latin, some of which contain material bearing on the history of the Marches.

The collections at Llanrwst, Carnarvon, Cwrtmawr, Llanstephan and the Bedleian Library have been seen (mostly unofficially). None of them are extensive.

There are also MSS. at Porkington, Wynnstay, Crosswood (near Welshpool), Newtown, Ruthin, Gwysaney, Glanyrafon, Llanwrin Rectory, Swansea, as well as single MSS. in various other parts of the country. None of these have been seen, and, except at Porkington, the number is believed to range from a dozen downwards to two or three.

Owing to representations made in Parliament and elsewhere on the inconveniences resulting from the form in which your Commissioners' Reports and the appendixes thereto have hitherto appeared, arrangements have been made under which in future each volume of Calendar or abstracts of one or more collections of manuscripts, hitherto issued in the form of an appendix to some general Report of your Commissioners, will be presented as an independent Report. This, therefore, seems a suitable occasion for giving a complete list of all the Reports issued, and of the collections of manuscripts examined, since the Commission was originally appointed in 1869.

NATHL. LINDLEY, M.R. (L.S.) LOTHIAN (L.S.) SALISBURY (L.S.) RIPON (L.S.) CRAWFORD (L.S.) ROSEBERY (L.S.) ESHER (L.s.) EDMOND FITZMAURICE (L.S.) W. OXON (L.s.) ACTON (L.S.) EDW. FRY (L.s.) W. E. H. LECKY (L.S.) H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE. SAMUEL R. GARDINER (L.S) J. J. CARTWRIGHT. Secretary.

April, 1899.

APPENDIX.

Complete List, with Dates of Issue, of the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and of the Appendixes thereto; together with an Alphabetical Index of the Collections examined and reported on, giving a Reference to the Report and Appendix wherein the Result of the Examination may be found. 1870—1898.

LIST OF REPORTS.

THE FOLLOWING ARE IN FOOLSCAP:-

	Sessional Paper.	Price.	Actual Date of Issue.
First Report, with Appendix House of Lords, &c.	[c. 55]	s. d. 1 6	March - 1870 [Reprinted 1874.]
Second Report, with Appendix, and Index to the First and Second Reports Duke of Bedford, &c.	[c. 441]	3 10	August - 1871
Third Report, with Appendix and Index. House of Lords, &c.	[c. 673]	6 0	January - 1873 [Reprinted 1895.]
Fourth Report, with Appendix, Part I House of Lords, &c.	[c. 857]	6 8	July - 1874
Ditto - Part II. Index Fifth Report, with Appendix, Part I. House of Lords, &c.	[c. 857-1.] [c. 1432]	2 6 7 0	July - 1874 March - 1876
Ditto - Part II. Index Sixth Report, with Appendix, Part I House of Lords, &c.	[c. 1432-1.] [c. 1745]	3 6 8 6	January - 1877 July - 1877
Ditto - Part II. Index	[c. 2102]	1 10	September 1878 [Reprinted 1893.]
Seventh Report, with Appendix, Part I House of Lords, &c.	[c. 2340]	7 6	August - 1879 [Reprinted 1895.]
Ditto - Part II. Appendix and Index. Duke of Atholl, &c.	[c. 2340-1.]	3 6	August - 1879 [Reprinted 1895.]
Eighth Report, with Appendix, Part I., and Index - List of collections examined, 1869– 1880. House of Lords, &c.	[c. 3040]	8 6 [Out of print.]	October 1881
Ditto - Appendix, Part II., and Index. Duke of Manchester.	[c. 3040-1.]	1 9 [Out of print.]	October - 1881
Ditto - Appendix, Part III., and Index. Earl of Ashburnham.	[с. 3040-п.]	1 4 [Out of print.]	October 1881
Ninth Report, with Appendix, Part I and Index St. Paul's and Canterbury Cathedrals, &c.	[c. 3773]	5 2	February 1884 [Reprinted 1895.]
Ditto Appendix, Part II., and Index. House of Lords, &c.	[c. 3773-1.]	6.3	July - 1884
Ditto Appendix, Part III., and Index. Mrs. Stopford Sackville.	[c. 3773–n.]	1 7 [Out of print.]	August * 1884
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THE FOLLOWING ARE IN OCTAVO: -

THE FOLLOWING ARE IN OCTAVO:			
	Sessional Paper.	Price.	Actual Date of Issue.
Ninth Report—continued. Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. (or Cecil MSS.). Part I.	[c. 3777]	s. d. 3 5	November 1884
Ditto - Part II	[c.5463] [c. 5889-v.] [c. 6823] [c. 7574] [c. 7884]	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	[Reprinted 1895.] August - 1888 April - 1890 February 1893 November 1894 June - 1896 May - 1899
Ditto - Part VII	[c. 9246] [c. 4548] [c. 4575] [c. 4576–III.]	$ \begin{array}{c cccc} 0 & 3\frac{1}{2} \\ 3 & 7 \end{array} $	February 1886 September 1885 [Reprinted 1895.] December 1885
Norfolk. Ditto - Appendix III. and Index Wells Cathedral	[с. 4576-п.]	2 0	February 1896
Ditto - Appendix IV. and Index Earl of Westmorland, &c.	[c. 4576]	3 6	May - 1886
Ditto - Appendix V. and Index	[c. 4576-1.]	2 10	January 1887
Marquess of Ormonde, &c. Ditto - Appendix VI. and Index	[c. 5242]	1 7	[Reprinted 1895.] November 1887
Marquess of Abergavenny, &c. Eleventh Report Ditto - Appendix I. and Index	1	0 3 1 1	May - 1888 August - 1887
Mr. H. D. Skrine, Salvetti Correspondence. Ditto - Appendix II. and Index	[c. 5060-1.]	2 0	August - 1887
House of Lords, 1678–1688. Ditto - Appendix III. and Index Corporations of Southampton and	[c. 5060-II.]	1 8	November 1887
Lynn. Ditto - Appendix IV. and Index	[с. 5060-ии.]	2 6	November 1887
Marquess Townshend. Ditto - Appendix V. and Index	[c. 5060–iv.]	2 8	May - 1888
Earl of Dartmouth. Ditto - Appendix VI. and Index Duke of Hamilton.	[c. 5060-v.]	1 6	September 1888
Ditto - Appendix VII. and Index Duke of Leeds, &c.	[c. 5612]	2 0	February 1889
Twelfth Report Ditto - Appendix I. Earl Cowper, K.G. (Coke MSS. at	[c. 5889] [c. 5472]	$\begin{bmatrix} 0 & 3 \\ 2 & 7 \end{bmatrix}$	
Melbourne Hall, Derby). Vol. I. Ditto - Appendix II Ditto - Vol. II.	[c. 5613]	2 5	February 1889
Ditto - Appendix III. and Index Ditto - Vol. III.	_		October - 1890
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Ditto . Appendix V. and Index Ditto - Vol. II.	_	_	December 1891
Ditto - Appendix VI House of Lords, 1689, &c		2 1	1/2 June 1890
Ditto - Appendix VII Mr. S. H. le Fleming, of Rydal Ditto - Appendix VIII. and Index	[c. 6338]	1 0	June - 1891
The Duke of Atholl, K.T., and th Earl of Home. Ditto - Appendix IX. and Index. The Duke of Beaufort, K.G., &c.	[c. 6338-1.]	2 6	June - 1891

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	Sessional Paper.	Price.	Actual Date of Issue.
Twelfth Report—continued. Ditto - Appendix X	[с. 6338-и.]	s. d. 1 11	June - 1891
Thirteenth Report Ditto - Appendix I The Duke of Portland. Vol. I.	[c. 6827.] [c. 6474]	0 3 3 0	May - 1893 October - 1891
Ditto - Appendix II. and Index. Ditto - Vol. II. Ditto - Appendix III J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore.	[c. 6827-1] [c. 6660]	$\begin{array}{ccc} 2 & 0 \\ 2 & 7 \end{array}$	January 1894 August - 1892
Vol. I. Ditto - Appendix IV. and Index Rye, &c.	[c. 6810]	2 4	December 1892
Ditto - Appendix V. and Index House of Lords, 1690-1691.	[c. 6822]	2 4	January - 1893
Ditto - Appendix VI. and Index Sir W. Fitzherbert, Bart., &c.	[c. 7166]	1 4	October - 1893
Ditto - Appendix VII. and Index The Earl of Lonsdale.	[c. 7241]	1 3	January - 1894
Ditto - Appendix VIII. and Index The First Earl of Charlemont. Vol.II.	[c. 7424]	1 11	July - 1894
1784-1799. Fourteenth Report - Ditto - Appendix I. and Index.	[c. 7983] [c. 7476]	0 3 1 11	March - 1896 January - 1895
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Ditto - Appendix III. and Index The Duke of Roxburghe, &c.	[c. 7570]	1 2	October - 1894
Ditto - Appendix IV. and Index Lord Kenyon.	[c. 7571]	2 10	November 1894
Ditto - Appendix V J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore. Vol. II.	[c. 7572]	2 8	February - 1896
Ditto - Appendix VI. and Index House of Lords, 1692–1693.	[c. 7573]	1 11	October - 1895
Ditto - Appendix VII The Marquis of Ormonde.	[c. 7678]	1 10	April - 1895
Ditto - Appendix VIII. and Index Lincoln, &c.	[c. 7881]	1 5	October - 1895
Ditto - Appendix IX. and Index Earl of Buckinghamshire, &c.	[c. 7882]	2 6	May - 1896
Ditto - Appendix X. and Index The Earl of Dartmouth. Vol. II	[c. 7883]	2 9	July - 1896
American Papers. Fifteenth Report.	[c. 8156]	1 5	August - 1896
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Ditto - Appendix VIII, and Index The Duke of Buccleuch and Queens- berry, K.G., K.T.	[c. 8553]	l 4	February - 1898
Ditto - Appendix IX. and Index J. J. Hope Johnstone, Esq., of Annandale.	[c. 8554]	1 0	May 1898
Ditto - Appendix X. and Index - Shrewsbury Corporation, &c. Manuscripts in the Welsh Language —	[In the $Press.$		-
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