1655

2. From Arthur Annesley[1] to Charles Fleetwood, London, 8 May 1655, 821, fos 3–4.

May it please your lordship,

Though my personall attendance on your lordship receives a discontinuance by my absence from Ireland, I cannot so much forget the obligation of that noble respect vouchsafed me there and the authority of your lordship's commands as not to waite on your lordship by my letters till a new oportunity admitt me againe the honour of kissing your lordship's hands. And though the impression I am under of your lordship's high civilityes might justifye large acknowledgments, yet beleeving your lordship delights more in obligeing acts then the repetition of them, I forbeare saying more then that I shall retayne a due resentment of my great ingagements to appeare your lordship's servant and am ambitious to receive some commands from your lordship which may witnesse you are pleased so to account of me.

I presume your lordship hath from more knowing hands an account of passages here, yet because in great variety something may be omitted, I shall adventure to acquaint your lordship that though severall at Salisbury and Exceter were condemned for the late action under Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, yet very few of them have beene executed and none of the ringleaders.[2] In the north nothing was done at all, it being judged but a riott, but at the returne of the judges to London justice Newdigate and baron Thorpe were displaced and the first of them practized the next day at the barres in Westminster Hall.[3] At the beginning of the terme the old masters of the chancery were by

[1] Irish-born parliamentarian politician and administrator, excluded from parliament at Pride's Purge, whose political career did not fully resume until the end of the 1650s, but who held minor posts in England and Ireland during the Protectorate and who was returned for Dublin to the third Protectorate parliament. In 1658, Henry Cromwell recommended him for favour as 'a person of eminent parts and abilities [. . .] of sobriety and good affection' to the government (*TSP*, VI, p. 777).

[2] In the aftermath of the royalist rebellion led by John Penruddock, and following trials at Exeter, Chard, and Salisbury, around forty participants were condemned, but in the end only twelve were executed for treason, during the second and third weeks of May.

[3] Judges Richard Newdigate and Francis Thorpe, sent north to try another clutch of royalists at York during April, had questioned whether opposition to the Protectorate could be deemed treason in law and whether the regime's treason ordinance of January 1654 had any legal standing. Although proceedings were abandoned on grounds of insufficient

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warrant of the Protector read in court discharged and a lesse number of new ones put in their places. And the commissioners of the great seale, though with much reluctancy and after long opposition, doe now act upon the Protector's new regulation.[4] The last newes from the fleet bound for the Indies is that just five weekes after they loosed from England they arrived at the Barbathoes where they tooke above 20 Dutch vessells trading contrary to the treaty and, takeing in 3,000 fresh men and foure troopes of horse, went on their voyage.[5] The articles of peace with the French seeme all passed but yet the signature is delayed by the Protector, which occasioned their embassador to move for a farewell audience which hath been yet put of, the Spanish embassador being dayly expected, who is at length come very gallantly attended and hath his audience this afternoon. It is said he comes to recapitulate the many civilityes and friendly offices shewed by that crowne to our nation and to expostulate the unkind returnes we have made and to make a quick tryall whither we intend to be upon fairer termes with them.[6] Others are confident that we are at a good correspondence with the Spaniard and that we doe nothing in the Indies but by his permission. This conceipt hath little ground, but a short time will unfold the mistery. Here is newly published a strict proclamation against papists receiveing againe the oath of abjuration.[7] Very few ships are appointed for the summer guard. The army here consent to a reducement and I heare all lieutenant-collonells and lieutenants of horse and foot will be put out of the establishment. I beleeve it will be yet six weekes before the lord Harry or any more judges come thither, though the great seale will be sooner finished.

evidence, Newdigate and Thorpe were summoned before the council on 3 May, questioned and dismissed.

[4] Various officials who opposed and had refused to implement the reforming chancery ordinance of August 1654 were brought into line or removed at the start of the new legal term, especially lords commissioners Bulstrode Whitelocke and Sir Thomas Widdrington, who, following a further month of defiance and not, as suggested here, reluctant compliance, were finally dismissed on 6 June.

[5] The fleet embarked in late December 1654 and arrived off Barbados by the end of January. Much to the dismay of the planters, several Dutch vessels that had been trading with them, in defiance of the 1651 navigation act and of terms confirmed by the Anglo-Dutch treaty of April 1654, were quickly seized. During February and March, 3–4,000 additional troops, predominantly foot though with a few horse, were raised locally and added to the expedition.

[6] The Protectorate was still being courted by both the French and Spanish governments and a new Spanish mission, led by the Marquis of Lede, arrived in London in early May. Not until the autumn was a treaty with France finally concluded and war against Spain formally declared.

[7] A proclamation of the Protector of 24 April called for the rigorous application of existing laws against Catholic priests, Jesuits, and Popish recusants, stressing that suspected recusants take the oath of abjuration – denying Papal supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, image worship, and salvation by good works – clearly and without reservation or equivocation.

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My leaving Ireland fell so unhappily upon a busy day with your lordship that I could not move your lordship concerning the restraint laid upon Sir Maurice Eustace[8] by colonel Harbert's[9] letter adviseing him in the name of the councell not to goe into Ireland. But when I first mentioned it to your lordship, I found you inclinable to take it of, and truly, my lord, it will no wayes conduce to the good of Ireland that such usefull instruments as he be discouraged or diverted from goeing thither. Therefore I beseech your lordship let it be your owne act of justice to leave him as free as before. My lord, I am very sencible of your many waighty affaires and therefore will conclude this interruption by presentment of my most humble service to my lady, subscribing myselfe, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
Arthur Annesley

I presented your lordship's letter to the Lord Protector.

3. From William Stane,[10] London, 5 June 1655, 821, fos 5–6.

Letter of request, seeking help in resolving a matter of business involving Sir William Sidley's[11] *reluctance to sell some unspecified property to colonel Sandys*[12] *and Sir John Pettus,*[13] *with Mr Hampden*[14] *and Stane himself acting as intermediaries; requests Henry Cromwell to intervene and speak to Sidley, who was recently at*

[8] Irish politician and judge and a royalist, he was imprisoned in Chester in 1648–1655 but then returned to Ireland and resumed legal practice in Dublin. Although initially viewed with suspicion, by the later 1650s he had won Henry Cromwell's confidence and was involved in various legal and educational matters. In March 1659, Henry supported Eustace's claim to Irish lands and noted that 'I am beholding to this gentleman, and doe owe him a kindnesse' (*TSP*, VII, p. 635).

[9] Thomas Herbert, parliamentarian administrator, served as a military commissioner during the 1640s, and attended Charles I during his captivity in 1647–1649. He served as a parliamentary commissioner in Ireland from 1649 and as secretary to the Irish council from its inception in 1654. He was trusted by Henry Cromwell and knighted by him in 1658.

[10] Stane/Stanes, a distinguished physician, was a parliamentarian administrator and commissary-general of musters in the general staff of the New Model Army.

[11] Sir William Sidley/Sedley had estates in Kent and elsewhere. He married Jane, Dowager Baroness Chandos in autumn 1655 but died the following year.

[12] Robert Saunders, parliamentarian officer, colonel of a foot regiment that served in Ireland in the early 1650s, and later governor of Youghal and Kinsale.

[13] Probably the Sir John Pettus who was a politician and also an active royalist in his native East Anglia and elsewhere during the civil war. He compounded after the war but was arrested and imprisoned by the republican regime in 1650, though he was soon released, perhaps through the intercession of Charles Fleetwood, to whom he was distantly related by marriage. He professed loyalty to the Protectorate.

[14] Probably Richard Hampden, parliamentarian politician – he represented his native Buckinghamshire in the second Protectorate parliament – and second son of John Hampden, the ship-money opponent and parliamentarian hero.

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Cromwell's lodgings,[15] *in support of the transaction; and indicates that the intending purchasers were now willing to offer £10,000, well above the £8,200 that the land was really worth.*

4. From Richard Kingdon[16] to Charles Fleetwood, 19 June 1655, 821, fos 7–8.

May it please your excellency,

The particulars I gave your lordship an accoumpt of in my last were on Wednesday morning past the councell and drawne into instructions to this effect: your lordship and the councell are impowered either for a valuable consideration in land or some other way to compound with persons' protests on whose estates there is any incumbrance; where any incumbrance is on an Irish papist's estate the value of the incumbrance is first to bee substracted and the person concerned to receive his land in Connaught according to his qualification in proportion to what remained of his estate after such substraction made; the county of Lowthis to bee deemed in Leinster; noe Protestant delinquent to compound after the 25th of December next, but estates of theirs uncompounded for are lyable to satisfy debts as other forfeited lands in Ireland; that a committee of articles bee impowred to state matter of fact in cases of articles in Ireland and transmitt their judgement to the committee of articles here; that your lordship and the councell may satisfy the arreares of widdowes in Ireland and setle the lands due for such arreare to the use of the commonwealth; that the adventurer and souldier have transferred to them the right the commonwealth hath in any lease made of lands fallen to their lott, and your lordship and counsell to appoint persons as a chancery in the case where instructions for letting have not beene pursued or conditions not observed; the act of oblivion not to extend to estates in Ireland. Your lordship will alsoe receive a letter signifying the councell's desire to know wherein any doubt lyes in the instructions and to receive your sense thereof.[17]

On Friday[18] the lord Henery went hence toward Chester about three of the clock in the afternoone. There accompanyed his lordship the lord Lambert, lord Lawrence, colonel Jones, colonel Sydenham,

[15] At this time Henry Cromwell had lodgings off Whitehall, as well as apartments at the palaces of Whitehall and Hampton Court.

[16] Dublin merchant and administrator, employed by the Irish government on several missions to London during the 1650s, including by Henry Cromwell in spring 1656 (*TSP*, IV, p. 672).

[17] A sound summary of the new, additional instructions passed by Protector and council on 13 June (Dunlop, pp. 518–520).

[18] 15 June.

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Sir Gilbert Pickering, lord Strickland, colonel Montague and severall others.[19] These went three mile and there parted. His lordship commanded mee to stay and come with Sir John Temple[20] with the great seale and attend him at Chester this next Saterday, which I am not in a capacity to doe because the great seale will not bee perfected till Saturday. The courts of justice are thus provided with judges: lord cheife justice Peppys and justice Cooke for the common pleas; lord cheife justice Lowther and justice Donnellon for the upper bench; lord cheife barron Corbett and barron Carew for the exchequer; the lords cheife justices and cheife barron to bee commissioners for the great seale and sit in chancery.[21] The £40,000 ordered to bee sent in specie comes in soe slowly that I cannot give any accompt when it's like to bee setting forward, though I shall not loose any opportunity to further it whyle I stay. The Spannish ambassador is gone away in displeasure. Our fleet in the Indyes were at Christopher's the 8th of May and tooke in 1,500[22] men. The supplyes for colonel Humphrye's[23] regiment that went with major Sedgewick[24] are gone towards them.

[19] All those named here – John Lambert, Henry Lawrence, Philip Jones, William Sydenham, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Walter Strickland, and Edward Montague – were members of the Protectoral council.

[20] Irish-born parliamentarian judge and politician, excluded from parliament at Pride's Purge, and out of office since the regicide. On indicating that he was willing to resume public office, and with the Protector's strong support (Abbott, III, pp. 722–723), he returned to Ireland in the summer of 1655 and resumed his old office as master of the rolls there.

[21] The list of judges appointed in mid-June is slightly garbled. Richard Pepys and John Cooke were nominated to the upper bench and Sir Gerard Lowther and James Donnellan to common pleas, with Miles Corbet and Edward Carey to the exchequer (Dunlop, pp. 520–521). In fact, Cooke and Carey declined these offices and, much to Henry Cromwell's dismay (*TSP*, IV, pp. 40, 376, 508, 606), Donnellan's appointment was deferred, probably because of his Irish connections, since he was the son of the late Nehemiah Donnellan, archbishop of Tuam.

[22] Second numeral amended and unclear, though it appears to be '5'. This is probably a reference to a foot regiment of around 1,200 men, raised on St Christopher (St Kitts) and adjoining islands, which joined the main expeditionary force on 7–8 April, not May.

[23] John Humphrey, parliamentarian officer, formerly a dragoon commander serving in Scotland in the early 1650s, commanded a foot regiment in the expeditionary force. It was ravaged by ill health upon landing in Barbados in August 1655 and Humphrey himself pestered to be allowed home, eventually being given permission to return to England on health grounds in October 1656.

[24] Robert Sedgwick, merchant and pro-parliamentarian officer in New England in the 1640s and early 1650s. In 1654 he was given command of a naval detachment in America and in the summer of 1655 he led 12 ships and 800 men to reinforce the West Indies expedition. He helped to establish English civil government in Jamaica in 1655–1656; in May 1656 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in the West Indies, but he died of natural causes before the month was out.

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Adjutant gennerall Allen,[25] controller Tomlins[26] and their wives went yesterday toward Chester. Major Rawlins[27] sets forwards tomorrow. The courts of justice will not bee filled up untill your lordship's sense bee knowne. Doctor Stanes hath beene lately sik. Colonel Rich[28] his wife is dead and soe is Sir William Constable.[29] I crave your lordship's pardon for my troublesome lines and remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's very faithfull and obliged servant,
Ri Kingdon

I have since the writing hereof received a letter from my lord Henery who was at Northampton last night.[30]

5. From S. Fisher, London, 5 August 1655, 821, fos 9–10.

May it please your lordship,

I suppose it is not unknowne to your lordship that his Highness hath ordered two horses for the greate sadle to be sent your lordship, which are the chesnutt and the spott that come from Oldenbergh,[31] which togeather with the pad that Mr Rey bought wilbe redy to sett forwards on thire jorny as soone as theire sadles and other necessary furniture are made. I was desired by my lord Cleypoole[32] to acquant

[25] William Allen, parliamentarian officer, adjutant-general of the horse in Ireland, had been arrested in England early in 1655 on suspicion of disaffection to the government, but, on promising loyalty to the Protectorate, he was released and allowed to keep his commission. He was one of the leading Baptist officers who opposed Henry Cromwell's religious policy in 1655–1656 and one of four who resigned at the end of 1656.

[26] Edward Tomlins, parliamentarian officer, comptroller of the train in Ireland under Henry Cromwell.

[27] Thomas Rawlins, parliamentarian officer and military administrator in Ireland under Henry Cromwell.

[28] Nathaniel Rich, parliamentarian officer and politician, campaigned in the civil war under the Earl of Manchester and then, in 1645, was given command of a New Model horse regiment. He held aloof from the regicide but supported the republic and was elected to the Rump in February 1649, though he supported its ejection in 1653. However, he quickly became disillusioned with the Protectorate, perhaps because it ran against his radical religious aspirations, was dismissed from the army in 1654 because of his political and religious disaffection, and thereafter was repeatedly arrested, questioned, and imprisoned. He did not return to favour and to military command until spring 1659, after the fall of the Protectorate. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edmund Hampden and sister of John Hampden, the ship-money hero.

[29] Parliamentarian politician and a regicide, he died on 15 June.

[30] Having travelled through the Midlands to Chester and Holyhead, Henry Cromwell and his retinue were then delayed by bad weather but eventually crossed to Dublin during the second week of July (*TSP*, III, pp. 581, 614, 632).

[31] During 1654, the Protector had acquired several horses from the Duke of Oldenburgh.

[32] John Claypole, the Protector's son-in-law and a Protectoral courtier and politician, was master of the horse.

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your lordship with this, as also to derect for theire jorny, and I have advised them to goe safly to West Chester and to receve your lordship's further order from Mr Wally[33] wheather to ship them att Neston or goe to Hollyhed. Mr Kerk hath in his custody a plaine hunting horse which (he saith) is as good as any he knoweth in England of thirty pound price, and it is possible your lordship may send time enough to have him com with the other horses, which if your lordship please to derect to Dr Harrison.[34] I will not presume to trouble your lordship with any apollogie for myselfe, only that I beg the honour of being in your lordship's good opinion and that your lordship would beleeve me to be, my lord,

Your lordship's ever faithfull and most obedient servant,
S Fisher

6. From William Stane to Charles Fleetwood, 28 August 1655, 821, fos 11–12.

My lord,

I received your lordship's of the 22 instant last night. I shall (if the Lord please) bee at Chester the 8 of September if not before.[35] Concerning Wallingford,[36] I gave your lordship formerly an account that her Highnes had taken of Sir Gilbert Pickering[37] and so I hope there will bee provision for all your family. But I tell your lordship truly Mrs Blofeild[38] will bee put to it, especially if you bring more company. I feare your lordship should have remov'd coaches only. I suppose the horse litter will serve some of the children and your sister Duckenfeild's[39] coach will help, and it's not improbable that colonel Zancky[40] will bring his; also there will bee a hackney coach at

[33] Charles Whalley, military commissioner at Chester for Irish affairs.

[34] Thomas Harrison, minister in New England during the 1640s and in London in the early 1650s, became a confidant of Henry Cromwell and accompanied him to Ireland, living in his household, probably acting as a personal chaplain, holding a salaried position at Christ Church, Dublin, and advising the Irish government on religious matters.

[35] Fleetwood and his retinue embarked from Ireland on 6 September.

[36] Wallingford House, near Whitehall, which henceforth served as Fleetwood's London home.

[37] Probably acting in his capacity as the Protector's lord chamberlain.

[38] Presumably the housekeeper at Wallingford House.

[39] Martha, daughter of Sir Miles Fleetwood and thus the sister of Charles Fleetwood, was the wife of Robert Duckenfield, parliamentarian officer and politician, governor of Chester and the Isle of Man in the early 1650s. His principal seat was Duckenfield Hall near Stockport in north-east Cheshire.

[40] Hierome/Jerome Sankey/Zanchy, parliamentarian officer and politician, commanded a New Model horse regiment, which served in Ireland from 1649 onwards, and he held a variety of senior military and administrative posts in Ireland throughout the 1650s; he was

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Wrexham much about that tyme and besides I have a reserve in my thoughts. I am so true to your judgement that I bring no body, not so much as Mr Stirrop.[41]

But that is no remedy. The ladyes (and I think my lord Richard,[42] who is now at White Hall), my lord Lambert[43] and colonel Sydny[44] will give your lordship and my lady a meet somwhere. The ladyes would have bin neer Northampton and would have bin going next week, but I tell them your lordship may come by Woodstock and so have put a stop to it till your lordship is come to Chester and so notice may bee given thence or in the way. I have bin twice to seek Mrs Blofeild tooday but missed her. Shee shall have your directions conserning the beds right as shee hath your lettre. Here is no news, all is quiett and more so then it hath bin, only an ill libell written. My lord Lambert and your lordship is mentioned, a pitifull engine.[45] I know you may have thoughts of hurt, but truly God is good to Isreall. Hee hath bin so to your lordship in Ireland and otherwise. My Lord Protector is very kinde to you. I moved his Highnes about Wysset and that said

elected to all three Protectorate parliaments, being returned for Irish constituencies to the first and third. Although Henry Cromwell initially distrusted him, at least in part because of his Baptist sympathies, in 1656 he noted Sankey's apparent compliance while remaining suspicious of him, writing that 'I dare not too much boaste of him at present, least he should leave me in the lurch' and 'I'll trust [him] as farre as I cane see hime' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 376, 407–408, 483–484). Indeed, although for a time Sankey seemed reasonably loyal and won a degree of acceptance and guarded trust, his qualms about the Protectorate came to the surface early in 1659 and led him openly to oppose the regime.

[41] Possibly the Nathaniel Stirrup who in 1656 was appointed a commissioner for discovering concealed property.

[42] Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the Protector and thus Henry Cromwell's elder brother.

[43] John Lambert, senior parliamentarian officer and politician, rose to prominence during the 1640s as a senior officer in northern England, successively holding command of a number of horse and foot regiments. Although he did not campaign in Ireland, in 1650–1651 he strongly supported Oliver Cromwell in Scotland. For a time during the 1650s he was one of the most influential military and civilian politicians, close to Cromwell, an architect of the Protectorate, a Protectoral councillor, and perhaps the second most powerful figure in the Protectoral regime. He was elected to all three Protectorate parliaments.

[44] Perhaps Algernon Sidney, parliamentarian officer and politician, who campaigned in both England and Ireland in the civil wars, but his republican principles led him to hold aloof from the Protectorate. Or perhaps his brother, Philip Sidney, who was an active supporter of the Protectorate and held high office as a Protectoral councillor; but he is invariably referred to at this time by his courtesy title of Lord or Viscount Lisle. It is more likely, therefore, that this is a slightly garbled or strangely abbreviated reference to William Sydenham, parliamentarian officer and politician, who had campaigned in and around his native Dorset in the civil war and was for a time military governor of Weymouth and the Isle of Wight. A Protectoral councillor and elected to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, Sydenham was often an ally of Lambert during the 1650s.

[45] *A Short Discovery of His Highness the Lord Protector's Intentions Touching the Anabaptists in the Army*. George Thomason dated his copy 20 August and noted that it had been scattered in the streets at night.

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moietie.[46] Hee hath refered it to my lord president[47] who promises his care, and Mr Stirrop and colonel Lloid[48] must follow it. It's of no small moment, some £2,000. I doubt wee shall do no good there as to Metheld,[49] but may do somwhat another way. Wee did before hand provide £2 or 300 for your lordship in case of need. My wife's and my humble and affectionate services to my lady and yourselfe. The children are well. My lord,

Your very[50] servant,

W Stane

I do intend to come on part of my way for Chester toomorrow; I shall take Worcestershire by the way.

7. From John Stone[51] to [Charles Fleetwood or Henry Cromwell],[52] London, 4 September 1655, 821, fo. 13.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of Mr Ogle, nephew of Mr Ogle, MP,[53] *seeking military employment in Ireland.*

8. From Francis Russell,[54] Chippenham, 10 September 1655, 821, fos 14–15.

My lord,

If two of my letters since you went for Ireland have miscarryed I hope you will pardon me and think that others have bin negligent

[46] Fleetwood was seeking discharge of the balance of £1,918 due on several properties in Suffolk and Norfolk, including Wysset le Rose, settled on him by parliament in July 1651.

[47] Henry Lawrence, president of the council.

[48] Probably Griffith Lloyd, parliamentarian officer, captain in Fleetwood's New Model horse regiment, and a trusted colleague.

[49] Possibly Methwold in Norfolk.

[50] Word apparently omitted.

[51] Parliamentarian officer, politician, and administrator, who held a string of mainly financial offices – in the exchequer, wine office, and customs office – during the Protectorate and who was elected to all three Protectorate parliaments.

[52] There is no surviving endorsement or cover sheet, so it is not clear whether this letter was addressed to Fleetwood as the departing lord deputy or to Henry Cromwell as the incoming chief administrator of Ireland.

[53] Henry Ogle, parliamentarian politician, represented the northern counties of England in the Nominated Assembly and Northumberland in the first Protectorate parliament.

[54] Parliamentarian officer and politician, from Chippenham in Cambridgeshire; he was a friend and comrade-in-arms of Oliver Cromwell, campaigning with him in East Anglia and elsewhere during the civil war and succeeding him as governor of Ely. The bond was strengthened in May 1653, when Henry Cromwell married his eldest daughter, Elizabeth. Accordingly, he became a close friend and supporter of Henry Cromwell. He was elected to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments.

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onely. My melancholy I hope, my lord, hath no effects of neglect in it. If I could find that it bore such kind of fruit, I should not love it so well as I doe, nor nourish it in the least, but being tis not my infermity but my choyse, my deare freind and best companion, pray, my lord, accuse it not. I hope you shall never have the least reason to blame it or me for its sake, when I know it counsells and teaches me both to love and honor you. I must confesse by no meanes I can be perswaded to part with it. They wrong it that call it melancholy and think it my enemy, for I am sure tis far better than mirth and jollity, so that I hope wee shall never part; when others have left me, that onely stud by me and gave me sweet counsell and comfort. In it the Lord hath appeared unto me, who loves best to teach in private. My lord, I must returne you thanks for your kind invitation into Ireland. To serve you any where I shall be glad, and so to doe faithfully I have made it my businesse allways. But, my lord, being not perfectly my owne, but at the dispose of my freinds and relations here in England, I cannot say suddenly I must doe this or that without theyre leaves and consents. For my owne part, I care not much where I am, being the Lord of heaven and earth fills all places with His presence, but they who have not fully learned that are tyed to one place more than another, and to them in some measure I am in subjection, and true wisedome will have it so if I serve hir aright. Since I left you at Northampton[55] I have scarce stired from home or scarce received a letter from any. This world parts me and many of my old freinds. The leave wee have taken, it may be, will be long and till that partition wall be downe tis not likely wee shall meet againe. Generall Disborrow[56] was here lately. He made himselfe a kind of stranger both by his lookes and deportment at first, for allthought he came to Chippenham about six at night, yet he offered to be gone presently, askeing me whether his stay would not be inconvenient, but my freedome with him prevailed till the next morning. I spake to him about my eldest sonne,[57] that I had a mind to dispose of in some imployment, but he gave me no answer to it any way. And now, my lord, give me leave to tell you I wonder not at it, nor scarce at any thing of that nature; if it were otherwise I should admire indeed. My love and relations to your lordship will not suffer me to take such a leave of you as I doe of others and unlesse I

[55] Henry Cromwell passed through Northampton on 18 June, en route to Ireland.

[56] John Desborough, parliamentarian officer and politician, commander of a New Model horse regiment, a Protectoral councillor, and newly appointed major-general for south-west England, was distantly allied to Russell, since both had married into the Cromwell family; Desborough's wife was Jane Cromwell, the Protector's sister. He was a co-opted member of the Nominated Assembly and was elected to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments.

[57] William Russell, aged around twenty when this letter was written.

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find your back turned I must be still proffering my love and service to you, as wisedome calls for it and commands me. I can give you free leave to try this world and the men of it. It may be when you have done that throughly, you will find that I am like not many others (thought yet a kind of stranger unto you) but a freind and borne for my day onely wherein it will be most manifest that I am,

Yours in simplicity and sincerity,

Franc Russell

9. From Charles Fleetwood, Birmingham, 18 September 1655, 821, fos 16–17.

Deare brother,

I have heereinclosed sent you a list of the offices for the respective places in the foure courts,[58] which I desire may not come unto publique veiw untill I have acquainted his Highnes with what wee have done, for I confes it doth some what sticke with mee the taking away men's former rights, as also I doubt wee have put in two many into one place, but I shall lett his Highnes know the full of that busines, with the grounds upon which wee did it. Since you spoke to me about my lord Pepes'[59] kinsman I have endevored to bring him within the list. You well know it was read to the councell before I understood anything of his kinsman, and therefore I should desire that you would put him into the gaurd or else to be mustered himselfe and servant in my troope. Or if that be not approved off, to have one of the gaurd to ride with his man in my troope to make way for him. There is one captaine Gardner[60] that came with collonell Sankey out of England now in the gaurd. He desires his continnuance, because one of the gaurd was made a quartermaster in his regiment to make way for him. I have put Mr Loading in two places. You may take which you will for him and dispose of th'other to whom you please. I cannot make way for colonel Blount[61] in the list, and therefore shall desire that a place

[58] After long discussion, and not entirely to Fleetwood's liking (*TSP*, II, p. 733, III, pp. 196, 305), in July 1655 the council decided to revive the traditional central judiciary of Ireland based upon the courts of chancery, upper bench, lower bench, and exchequer.

[59] Richard Pepys, parliamentarian politician and lawyer, baron of the exchequer, chief justice of the upper bench, and member of the Irish council. He proved a loyal and firm supporter of Henry Cromwell in Ireland and was praised by him when he died in January 1659 as 'a good councellor, and a good judge, and indeed a right honest man' (*TSP*, VII, p. 590).

[60] Probably captain Samuel Gardiner, parliamentarian officer, who served in Sankey's New Model horse regiment.

[61] Possibly lieutenant-colonel Robert Blount, parliamentarian officer, who served in a foot regiment in Scotland during the early 1650s and died at Inverness in 1656.

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may be made vacant to receave him into the gaurd. I must desire your particuler favour to my cosen Lambert,[62] Mr Browne and three or foure more of the gaurd that came over with mee, togeather with Roe that waited on my wife, that they may be continnued where they are. I must also beseech your respect unto Mr Briscoe.[63] He brings with him one Mr Morsden,[64] a relation of Mr Murcotte,[65] who is said to be a precious good man and fitt for the ministry. If you please to order him £50 for his transportation and £120 he is to have per annum.

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

Charles Fleetwood

10. From Hierome Sankey, Wallingford House, 23 September 1655, 821, fos 18–19.

My lord,

We have beene att length thrugh God's mercy after a troublesome journey brought in safety to this place. My lord,[66] lady and all the litle ones, with our selves, in good health. Their Highnesses excedingly refreshed with the sight of their so neare relations. Most of the counsell, as well as severall of the cheife officers of the army, and many good people else, meeting my lord upon the way with a demonstration of much kindnes and affection. I have not yett had an oppertunity to waite on his Highnes in private, but intend it speedily.

I went this day to the Tower to see generall Venables, who indeed is very sad and much troubled att his unexpected committment.[67] Things

[62] Fleetwood's uncle, Sir Gervace, had married Elizabeth Lambert.

[63] Michael Briscoe, preacher and minister, worked in both his native Ireland and Lancashire during the 1650s. In the summer of 1655 he became a lecturer at Christ Church, Dublin, receiving a government salary.

[64] Gamaliel, Jeremiah, and Josiah Marsden, the three sons of Ralph Marsden, all spent part of the 1650s as preachers and ministers in Ireland. It is not clear which of the three is intended here.

[65] John Murcot, son-in-law of Ralph Marsden, served as an Independent minister on the Wirral in the late 1640s but crossed to Ireland in the early 1650s and then served as a minister in Dublin, Cork, and elsewhere. After a brief visit to England, he returned to Ireland in the autumn of 1655 and died there in December.

[66] Fleetwood.

[67] Robert Venables, parliamentarian officer and politician, commanded a horse regiment in Ireland in 1649–1654. In the summer of 1654, on his return to England, he was elected to the first Protectorate parliament for counties Down, Antrim, and Armagh, but, more importantly, was given the effective joint command, with William Penn, of the naval expedition to the West Indies. Following the rebuff at Hispaniola but the occupation of Jamaica, they both returned to England with much of the fleet in late summer 1655. Upon their arrival, they were questioned by the council in September and imprisoned in the Tower for leaving the West Indies without orders. Both were released by the end of October but lost their commands.

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are excedingly ill represented to his Highnes in relation to his conduct and his leaving the army without order, and I feare there hath beene too great a ground for it. I thinke, indeed, tis a sore reproofe both to the instruments that wee ingaged and to those that imployed such a sort of persons. The Lord grant that His dispensations may be of teaching to all.

The Swede goes on very successifully.[68] The poore Protestants in the valleys have, I fear, unworthily putt themselves out of all hopes of releife; have by subjecting their good cause too slavishly to ther enemyes' tearmes.[69] I cam unto nothing concerning Allen[70] because I have had no speech yett with his Highnes. I hope I shall manifest as reall a desire to serve your lordship by a speedy returne as I have upon an honest accompt professed unto your lordship. I have not else to adde, but assume the boldnes of presenting my own and my wife's kinndest respects to my good lady; which being all, committing you to the Lord, I rest,

Your lordship's faythfull servant,

Hie Sankey

11. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 25 September 1655, 821, fos 20–21.

Deare brother,

Wee are through the good hand of the Lord brought hither upon Saturday night last,[71] and have great cause to owne the goodnes of the Lord to us in our jorney, He being pleased beyond expectation to enable my deare wife and children to indu[. . .][72] the jorney. I desire all our praying freinds may remember our condition before the Lord,

[68] The Swedish army was invading Poland and took Warsaw at the end of August.

[69] The massacre in April 1655 of Vaudois or Waldensian Protestants in the Alpine valleys of Piedmont, at the hands of troops of the Catholic duke of Savoy, had deeply affected the Protector and his regime and set back relations with France. After complex diplomacy, a treaty was concluded between the duke and the Vaudois Protestants, though this limited the areas in which the Protestants could continue to hold property. With some reluctance, the Protector accepted that the treaty had closed the issue.

[70] Henry Cromwell was opposing Allen's application to return to Ireland, fearing that his strong republican and Baptist sympathies would foment unrest, especially amongst the English army in Ireland (*TSP*, IV, pp. 55, 108, 190–191). Henry believed that Baptism encouraged military indiscipline and served as a front for political disaffection and disloyalty to the Protectorate, and he was determined both to crack down on army discipline and to curb the powers and privileges that Baptism had acquired under Fleetwood's administration of Ireland.

[71] 22 September.

[72] Paper slightly damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete word is apparently 'indure'.

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and to seeke His face that wee may walke more worthy of such a mercy as wee have receaved. I have bine so much taken up with the cerimonious part that I[73] bine able to mind little of busines since I came, or to acquaint his Highnes with any thing considerable, but I am endevouring and shall doe what I can to send you some money and to dispatch those other affaires which relate to Ireland, but the most difficult part I find wilbe want of money, generall Pen's fleet being come upon them. The miscariages in that busines hath bine a great triall and affliction to his Highnes. I trust the Lord will worke it out in much mercy. I find that the treatie with France sticke upon the account of the Protestants of Piedmont, but I doe thincke there wilbe a sudden conclusion of itt. By reason of our disappointmente in Jamiaca the Spaniards are like to breake with us. He hath had some late successe against the French in Italye.[74] The Swedes continnue victorious in there conquest of Poland.

I find heere that it is not very difficult to gett power for satisfying of the arreares before 49 of such as are now disbanded, if they will accept of the same termes as those who were last disbanded did. I wish you would advise therein and give mee a speedie accompt thereof what may be best done for the publique. Nothing in that shalbe done untill I heare from you. I shall entreate your excuse that I am no more large at present. You shall by the next receave a larger account. With my humble service to my deare sister,[75] I remaine,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,
Charles Fleetwood

I have spoke with captaine Blackwell[76] and he doth advise by all meanes that the army should be paid from the muster in June and not from the third of September. For if it be not from the last payment, wee shalbe in danger of losing that arreare, which he is not hopeles but that wee shall receave it. There are 12[. . .]o[77] of the Irish foott that are upon there march towards you and wilbe at Chester about the 10th of October and intend to take shipping at Liverpoole. If you find it necessary they should be soner with you, then a passage may

[73] Word – perhaps 'have' – apparently omitted.

[74] France and Spain were at war in northern Italy.

[75] That is, Henry Cromwell (his brother-in-law)'s wife.

[76] John Blackwell, parliamentarian officer and politician, was deputy treasurer at war in Ireland and then receiver-general of assessments and treasurer at war; he was probably the John Blackwell returned to the second Protectorate parliament. In this letter, Fleetwood is conveying Blackwell's advice on the financial aspects of paying off part of the English army in Ireland, for, in the summer of 1655, shortly before he left Ireland, Fleetwood set in train procedures to disband up to 5,000 troops there.

[77] Paper damaged and a numeral lost – perhaps another zero, since a foot regiment would normally number around 1,200.

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probably present at that place. You will doe well to send orders to colonel Sadler[78] to march to Beamorris where you may send two men of warr to convey them over.

12. From William Stane, London, 28 September 1655, 821, fos 22–23.

My lord,

I received this day your lordship's of 18 instant, wherby I perceyve that your lordship hath not received divese[79] letters which I have sent. I am very sensible of your lordship's kindnes and minding mee of that which I rejoyce to doe, and truly it doth much glad mee that the Lord hath putt it into your hart to bee tender of and freindly to those good people in Ireland, which I hope will accrue to your interest every way. I think your lordship knows mee and that I am not led to that severity which perhaps some others are under. But where there is one Father and one Lord Jesus, one faith and one spirit, they are to bee receyved into the same armes of love and kindnes, which doth and will cover many spotts; and your lordship will finde that the more you are led by His spirit and by those ryvers of waters, the more comprehensive you will bee of all those who are of one familye, and you will have the more establishment in your mind in these shaking tymes, and the greate blessing in your other affaires. For if the series of these late alterations bee rememberd, it hath pleased the Lord to do much by the feet of the poore and needy, and such whom the spirit of this world contemnes. I do above any one thing earnestly beg of your lordship, to keep up your retired assemblings and to take in such whom you finde of the most quick and active spirit for God, of all sorts, without distinction, other then what God hath putt. The Lord continue your quiett and mutuall peace and love. I wish wee here did not want it.

My lord deputy hath bin gladly receyved both in the way and in the place, especially by the good people of every kind. Wee have all reason to blesse God for that savourie quick spirit which the Lord hath given him, and which may (because hee is so accessable) ferment and prove usefull here. My Lord Protector did receyve him with much kindnes.

Your lordship heares that general Venables and general Pen are in the Tower. It little consernes mee to look into those matters; their comeing away is by all looked upon strange. But surely in the busines of

[78] Thomas Sadleir/Sadler, parliamentarian officer and politician – he represented Irish constituencies in all three Protectorate parliaments – and colonel of a foot regiment in Ireland, was returning there after several months in England. In January 1655 he had brought over from Ireland a brigade of around 2,600 foot to help counter the expected royalist risings in England.

[79] Apparently a slip for 'diverse'.

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Hispaniola the hand of the Lord was evident; three of our own negroes made 600 of our men to run away leaveing theire armes. That was a strange panick feare amongst them; and the quite contrary appeared at Jamaica.

The partie lately imprisoned are not yet released nor that busines put to an end.

My Lord Protector's late fitt was a sore one.[80] Now his Highnes is exceeding well; so is my lord deputy, his lady and family, but my lady Elizabeth very ill.[81] Doth not your lordship forget to write to her Highnes? I rejoyce with you in that part of my lady. The Lord give her health and blesse her fruit.

My poore wife is growne so melencholy that I know not what to say to it, and the worse abundently for my late journey.

My lady Russell[82] sent to mee lately to know how your lordship and my lady doe.

Myne and my wife's affectionate service to my lady and your lordship. I hope your lordship understands colonel Tomlinson[83] and the benefit of conversation with him. My regards to Mr Harris.[84] I am, my lord,

Your lordship's faithfull servant,
W Stane

Indeed, my lord, I have lately receyved the most Christian and savourie lettre from Mr Patience[85] that ever I receyved from any. The

[80] He had been ill since the end of August, suffering from both fits of the stone and malarial-type fevers.

[81] Second daughter of Oliver Cromwell and wife of John Claypole. She suffered a severe illness at this time, possibly linked to pregnancy, and, although she appeared to recover and had another child in 1657, it is possible that her illness of autumn 1655 was the first sign of the disease, probably cancer, that killed her in the summer of 1658.

[82] Katherine, wife of Sir Francis Russell, and thus mother-in-law of Henry Cromwell.

[83] Matthew Tomlinson/Thomlinson, parliamentarian officer and politician, commander of a New Model horse regiment, and from 1654 a member of the Irish council. He was not entirely sympathetic to Henry Cromwell's handling of Ireland, but he retained his position and, indeed, was knighted by Henry Cromwell in the autumn of 1657 'as one, with whom I desire to have a better correspondence, as well upon account of his old kindness for me, as his owne worthiness' (*TSP*, VI, pp. 634–635). He was a co-opted member of the Nominated Assembly but was not elected to either of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, though he became a member of the new, nominated, second parliamentary chamber in the autumn of 1657.

[84] Perhaps Thomas Harrison.

[85] Thomas Patient, Baptist preacher and minister, who was in New England in the 1630s but back in London by 1644 and who established a Baptist church there. Employed by parliament to go to Ireland as part of Oliver Cromwell's expedition in 1649–1650, he initially travelled as an itinerant preacher and army chaplain, but then settled in Waterford and later in Dublin, where he became one of the leading Baptists and for a time chaplain to Fleetwood and the officers there. From 1655 he was again employed as an itinerant preacher

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Lord hath filled that man with a great measure of faith and great expresses.[86] I could not but mention it.

13. From Hierome Sankey, Wallingford [House], 2 October [1655], 823, fos 120–121.

My lord,

His Highnes' indisposednes as to health principally (I thinke indeed) occasioned by his laying to heart the losse abroad and dissatisfactions att home makes most things here att a stand. Very many of the dissatisfied people have visited my lord,[87] and tomorrow Simpson, Jessey[88] and 4 more of the cheife of them are to meet my lord privately, who I am to attende upon, and then we shall know what are the things they stand upon. The growing charge of the navyes encurages the distraction. I thinke we have much to eye in this day and may prize the condition of Ireland much, the more when we compare the affaires there with those here. The Lord preserve his Highnes, whose integrity is his support in this day of his tryall. Myne and my wife's dearest respects and humblest service to you and my lady. I committ you to the Lord and rest,

Your lordship's humble servant,
Hie Sankey

Indeed, my lord, I shall mind my obligation.

14. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 5 October [1655], 823, fos 357–358.

My deare brother,

This bearer, our old frind adjutant-generall Allen, will make so slow pase that, by the next post, mine may reach you to give an account of affayres as soone as this. It is his Highnes' pleasure that adjutant-generall Allen showld remaine all or most of the time I am

in Ireland. Although initially suspicious of Henry Cromwell's religious policy, he was one of those moderate Baptists won over by his management of affairs and willing to work with the regime.

[86] Word could alternatively be read as an abbreviated form of 'expressiones'.

[87] Fleetwood.

[88] John Simpson, a Fifth Monarchist, was generally antagonistic towards the Protectoral regime, and was arrested and questioned or imprisoned several times during the Protectorate. Despite his Fifth Monarchist and millenarian leanings in the early 1650s, Henry Jessey, a prominent London Baptist, was more moderate in his stance towards the Protectoral regime, though he criticized some aspects of the regime's religious policies, especially the continuation of the tithe system.

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to staye in England and then to return with me,[89] and it being an expensive time with him to bring over his wife hither, it is his Highnes' pleasure he showld receive a hundred pounds towards his charges out of contingent monyes, which I desire you would please to order accordingly. I trust you will finde that satisfaction in him as will be to your content. It is matter of rejoycing to your deare father to heare ther is so right an understanding twixt you and good men, and the more you are enabled to disapoynt some hopes upon that account the greater will be your mercy. His Highnes to heare of this rejoyces him. His interest and his mercy lyes in the saints, and still he is kept, I trust, with a pretious sence therof, and I am not in dispayre but that good men will more and more (through mercy) see wherin lyes their true interest. The Lord keepe you firme ther unto, even to the end, and then I feare you not. His Highnes desired my playnes hearin with you, which my duty and affection will prompt me unto, and when I told him of your carriage in Ireland it did revive him; that will be your mercy, crown and glory. The Lord keepe you and us. I am,

Your most affectionate brother,

Charles Fleetwood

I shall not expect adjutant-generall Allen's return till his wife be up and in a condition to travill and the weather seasonable. During the time of his absence he is to have his pay continued as if presant.[90]

15. From Hierome Sankey, Wallingford House, 9 October 1655, 821, fos 24–25.

May it please your lordship,

Your kind letters I have received, and shall mind your lordship's commands in reference to myselfe. Things here are much att the old passe. I shall not adventure to write much. My lord, I conceive, will go to the councell this weeke.[91] I wish he were oftner att Whitehall for

[89] Suggesting that, at this stage, Fleetwood believed that he would in due course return to Ireland or at least wished to give that impression.

[90] So, although Allen was generally to remain in England while Fleetwood was there (but still receiving his military pay out of the Irish budget), despite Henry Cromwell's strong misigivings (*TSP*, IV, pp. 190–191, 197, 328), he had been given permission to return to Ireland at this stage, ostensibly so that he could rejoin his ailing wife and then bring her back to England once she was fit again; in fact, she did not recover and died in Dublin in December 1655. Thurloe reported that Allen had been given permission to return to Ireland only after expressing 'all manner of satisfaction' and promising 'utmost fidelitie', but a fortnight later he ruefully noted 'I am sorry to heare, that the adjutant general doth deceave some expectations heere, though I confesse he doth not mine' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 107–108, 190–191).

[91] Fleetwood did not, in fact, attend the council until the first week of December.

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divers reasons. Exceding many people (I hope honest) and sufficiently dissatisfied come to him, and indeed you know his excellent tempar to deale with them. Wednesday last we mett accordingly, as I gave you a hint, where Simpson, Jessey and severall of the cheifest of all that gange.[92] And after some houres' discourse were spent we parted without making Pressbytes of either side. The subject of our debate will better befitt you ore tenus[93] then in a lettre. All we gained was another private meeting this weeke. The Hispaniola busines pierces deeply, and that other navy under Blake is returned and though we sett a good face of it, yett I assure you twas inexpected.[94] Neither hath any thing bene done to answer so great a charge. His Highnes is much refreshed to heare of the faireness of you to others and theirs likewise to your lordship. Mr Brewster's[95] letter excedingly pleased him. Myne and my wife's humblest service to your lordship and my lady. I committ you to the Lord and rest,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
Hie Sankey

I pray you burne it.

16. From John Winkworth, Ferns Castle,[96] [County Wexford], 17 October 1655, 821, fos 26–27.

May it please your excellencie,

Your message I delivered unto captain Ivory,[97] which was taken as a grate obligation from your lordship. Your disbanded party since

[92] Word could alternatively be read as 'gauge'.

[93] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'by word of mouth'.

[94] Robert Blake, parliamentarian officer and politician – he was returned to every parliament of the period 1640–1656 – had become one of the republic's foremost admirals, giving naval support to Oliver Cromwell's Irish campaign, engaging Prince Rupert's royalist fleet, commanding the naval expeditions that recaptured the Scilly and Channel Isles, and prominent in the Anglo-Dutch War. He commanded a fleet that first swept the Mediterranean for pirates in 1654–1655 and then, in the summer of 1655, was ordered to attack Spanish shipping off the coast of Spain. It returned to the Downs on 6 October.

[95] Nathaniel Brewster, a Norfolk minister highly praised by the Protector (Abbott, III, p. 756), crossed to Ireland with or just ahead of Henry Cromwell in the summer of 1655 (*TSP*, III, pp. 503, 660) and took up a salaried position at St Audoen's, Dublin. He became a friend and confidant of Henry Cromwell in Ireland and was sent by him to London in December 1655 to report to Protector and council about affairs in Ireland (*TSP*, IV, pp. 327–328, 348, 373).

[96] The medieval castle at Ferns, County Wexford, was held by Irish Catholic forces during the 1640s but was recovered by Oliver Cromwell in 1649.

[97] William Ivory, parliamentarian officer, served as a captain in Edmund Ludlow's horse regiment in Ireland, one of the regiments disbanded in the summer of 1655.

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the commetting of lieutanant-colonel Scott[98] have been verry wary in letting their discontents come to publique view, but they doe hold often clandestine councils, wherein they endeavor to find out who it was that did discover their discontents to your lordship. In the doing of which they accuse each other, so that in the conclusion I am doubtfull it will appeare they were set on by a person who seemes to represent a parte of honesty and honnour. But whether such actions (if soe) ought to be the practise of such an one I leave to you to judg. Some of the disbanded officers privately (as lieutenant-colonel Candler,[99] etc) talkes more then comes to their shewes and makes a great noise of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire then unapt to beer in the popular sense, which is to do what every man liketh best. But if the divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to doe what they so will, according to religion, reason and law, I hope your lordship envies them not that liberty, it being all (as a man) you desire to enjoy yourselfe. Good men will never desire greater freedoms then good laws allow, whose bonds they count their ornament and protection, others their manacles and oppression. Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benifit of the law, who dispiseth their rule and direction, loseing justly their safety while they seeke an unreasonable liberty. My lord, in my poore opinion there is nothing that portends more God's displasure against a nation then when Hee suffers the clamours of men to pass all bonderyes of laws and reverance to authority. I am perswaded that that is one of the vanities Soloman speakes of in Ecclesiastes 8: 11.[100] Therefore the ordinary preventive physick in a state against growing maladies is execution and administration of law and justice, and in so doing you will find comfort from Proverbs 10 and the ninth vers,[101] for if you yeeld to any party or faction, contrary to a rule, you will find they will pervert and abuse any act of greatest indulgance and turne it into wantonness. I have no more at presant save only this to add, that my petition to the Lord for your lordship shall be (I hope daily) that you may continually harken unto His commandments and doe them. Then shall your peace be as a river, and your righteousness as

[98] Scott (his forename is not recorded), parliamentarian officer and lieutenant-colonel in Ludlow's regiment, was seen by Henry Cromwell as the ringleader of a group of officers opposing both the disbandment and the Protectoral government, and he had ordered his arrest earlier in October. He referred to Scott as 'the ringlader' of 'endeavours to promote and encourage discontents' and planned to apply 'punishments suiteable of such distempers' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 73–74).

[99] Probably William Candler, parliamentarian officer, a captain in Robert Phaier's foot regiment in Ireland.

[100] 'It is because sentence upon a wicked act is not promptly carried out that men do evil so boldly.'

[101] 'A blameless life makes for security; crooked ways bring a man down.'

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the waves of the sea, and your name shall not be cutt off nor destroyed from before Him. Then shall the divell and all his accomplices, who seeke to lay open those wounds againe that were so lately bleeding, and of teareing out the bowels of the commonwealth by embroiling it in new troubles, come to nought. What phrensie it is that possesseth some men is hard to be understood, or what it is they would have. But without doubt no other reason can be imagined of the happy peace and tranquillity which we now enjoy, but that He who stretched out the heavans and laid the foundations of the earth and formeth the spirits of men within them, hath brought that forth, as the accomplishment of His own good will and purpose towards His people. And that you and all in highest authority may make a right use and application of the same is earnestly desired by,

Your excellencie's verry humble and affectionate servant,
J Winckworth

I would intreat your lordship, if you think fit, to let me here this way whether this come safe to your hands. My brother Kingdon will send it safe to me.

17. From Robert Barrow[102] to ?,[103] Carrickfergus, 31 October 1655, 821, fo. 28.

Sir,

Even now I received yours of yesterday's date intimating the receit of orders from Sir John Reynolds.[104] I answer wherunto, be pleased to take notice that I comawnd the forces in theise parts by speciall order from his excellency the lord deputy, by virtue wherof I looke uppon myselfe as concerned to take care of the charge till farther order from his lordship or the lord Henry Cromwell, and therfor apprehend it

[102] Parliamentarian officer, he came to Ireland in 1649 in Robert Venables's foot regiment and in 1650 succeeded Roger Fenwick as commander of his own foot regiment, though that regiment was disbanded in 1653. He retained military office in Ireland until 1656, was one of the leading Baptist officers who opposed Henry Cromwell's religious policy in 1655–1656, and was one of the four who resigned at the end of 1656.

[103] There is no surviving endorsement or cover sheet, so it is not clear to whom this letter was addressed. Clearly, it was not originally addressed to Henry Cromwell, though it was passed to him or otherwise came into his possession.

[104] Parliamentarian officer and politician, originally from Castle Campes in Cambridgeshire. He fought in the English civil war, helped crush a Leveller-inspired mutiny in his own newly created horse regiment in spring 1649, and then campaigned with Cromwell and his successors in Ireland, in the process acquiring land and property there. He strongly supported both the Protectorate and Henry Cromwell's government of Ireland, and was returned for Counties Tipperary and Waterford to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments. In 1657 he married a daughter of Sir Francis Russell and so became Henry Cromwell's brother-in-law, but he drowned shortly afterwards.

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not safe without the same to resigne that trust. Till the receit of which I shall, God willinge, continue my care in that charge as heertofore and when that shalbe sent mee, which I hope will not be denyed (if those in power thinke meet to imploy another) I shall, I hope, freely part therwith to you or who els shalbe appoynted. In the interim give me leave to acknowledge your civilities by your letter manifested to, sir,

Your very affectionate servant,
Robt Barrow

18. From Thomas Brooke,[105] Chippenham, 1 November 1655, 821, fos 29–30.

Letter of thanks for an unspecified favour, and of religious exhortation and guidance.

19. From Philip Carterett,[106] 1 November 1655, 821, fo. 31.

My lord,

Havinge accidentally received the inclosed proclamation from his Highnes, printed heer by the councell's order,[107] and seriously considered it, I have thought it my duty humbly to present it to your excellency, that soe I may receive your excellency's commawnds theron. His Highnes is pleased to comawnd all officers, both[108] civill and military, to take care in their places that his proclamation be putt in due excecution; and I, havinge the honour to be intrusted as advocate-generall to his army in Ireland, should be very unworthey of his favour if I should[109] dilligently obey his soe just, soe much by all good men to be esteemed, comawnds in that declaration expressed,

[105] Perhaps chaplain to Sir Francis Russell at Chippenham, or possibly the more prominent London preacher of that name who was minister at St Margaret's, Fish Hill Street, from 1653 to 1662.

[106] Advocate-general to the army in Ireland as well as judge advocate in the business of transplanting the native Irish, he was involved in various military, financial, and judicial aspects of the Irish administration. He opposed Henry Cromwell's religious policy and was associated with several more prominent opponents of the Protectorate in Ireland (*TSP*, IV, pp. 327–328, 349–350). However, he was employed by Henry Cromwell on a mission to London in the spring of 1656, and then went on to take up an appointment in Jersey (*TSP*, IV, p. 672 and V, p. 45), though he returned to Ireland later in the 1650s.

[107] Proclamation of the Protector, originally issued on 21 September, prohibiting anyone who had assisted the late king from holding any office of public trust until the Protector's pleasure was known.

[108] Word repeated in error.

[109] The pattern of this sentence suggests that the word 'not' was omitted in error at this point, but, since the second half of the letter indicates the author's doubts about enforcing the proclamation, perhaps this sentence was intended as written.

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and therfor I take the boldnese to begg your excellency's order in this case. Severall officers in this army have formerly served the king (some of eminent qualitie, others inferior), and yet I am informed that notwithstanding his Highnes his proclamation, they still presume to act in their comawnds, tho as farr as I can heare his Highnes hath not yet signified his pleasure concerning them. Soe that they are, if my information be true, to be reputed contemnors of his Highnes his pleasure, and therfor it lies uppon mee as a duty to prosecute them; but knowinge that I am wholly in my place subordinate to your excellency's pleasure in the excecution therof, I humbly submitt it to your excellency whither I shall proceed to question any such military officers in Ireland who have formerly served the king or otherwise abetted his party and doe presume to act in their imployments befor his Highnes his pleasure be knowne concerning them. Which in discharge of my duty I humbly offer to your excellency and remayne,

Your excellency's most humble servant,
Phi Carterett

20. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 5 November 1655, 821, fos 32–33.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of captain Bodham, a godly man from an Independent church in Norfolk and known to Mr Brewster; while in Ireland, Fleetwood had found him temporary employment at Athlone.

21. From William Jephson,[110] Mallow, 19 November 1655, 821, fos 34–35.

My lord,

Did I not thinke it a greater shame that soe good a friend of mine should come to wayte on your lordship without the tender of my most humble respects in a lyne or two, I should blush to thinke your lordship should any more receyve the trouble of this hand, untill I presented my whole selfe to your lordship's service. But I doubt not but the little doctor[111] will give your lordship full satisfaction of the occasions

[110] Parliamentarian officer and politician, of Irish descent on his mother's side, who had fought in both England and Ireland during the 1640s, though his loyalty to parliament had sometimes appeared suspect and he had been excluded from parliament at Pride's Purge. After spending some time in semi-retirement in England, he returned to Ireland in 1653. Fearful that his Irish estates might be sequestrated, he sought to emphasize his loyalty to the Protectoral regime and won partial rehabilitation under Henry Cromwell, sitting in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments for the towns of Cork and Youghal.

[111] Probably Dr Robert Gorges, who served as a clerk to the Irish council and secretary to Henry Cromwell.

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of my stay. My lord, it grieves my heart to see the disadvantadges you are put upon here for want of money, without which certainlye your lordship is the first that ever was put upon without moneye. If your lordship will give mee leave to take the boldnesse to write his Highnesse somthing of mine owne, and others of his and your friends' sense in this particular, I shall doe it very freelye. For really, my lord, I am very sensible of your condition and shall in all thinges, to the best of my capacitye, indeavour to approve myselfe, my lord,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Wm Jephson

22. From Thomas Sadleir, Beaumaris, 24 November 1655, 821, fos 36–37.

May it please your excellency,

According to my last, I have sent collonell Axtell's[112] three companies to Hollie Head, all which, or the most part off them, I hope wilbe over beffore this comes to your excellency's hands. I have taken the opertunitie off captain Coleman[113] and a vessel drove in heare by storme, to send over my owne three companies. Captain More will wayght one your excellency for the disposing off them, when it shall please God they land on the other side. Iff it may stand with your excellency's affayres, I humbly begg your favor to them, as to the sending off them to the quarters wher ther concearnments doe lie, off which captain Moore will informe your excellency. In regard wee have noe monies leaft I was unwilling to come my selve till I shiped the last men, which I hope, iff this wind stands, will not bee long after this comes to your excellency's hands. I humbly bege your excellency's order to the treasurer for the payment off the passage off the men, in regard the monies I receive on that account must bee expended for the soldiers' present supply. I rest,

Your excellencie's in all faythffullnesse to serve you,

Tho Sadleir

[112] Daniel Axtell, parliamentarian officer who played a prominent role in both Pride's Purge and the trial and execution of Charles I – he commanded the troops at the trial and so was deemed a regicide. He went to Ireland in 1649 in John Hewson's New Model foot regiment, but in 1650 he was given a foot regiment of his own, disbanded in the summer of 1655. A vigorous and sometimes brutal commander, he was for a time governor of Kilkenny and was returned for Counties Carlow, Wexford, Kildare, and Queen's to the first Protectorate parliament. He was a prominent Baptist, became one of the leading Baptist officers who opposed Henry Cromwell's religious policy in 1655–1656, and was one of the four who resigned at the end of 1656.

[113] Probably Robert Coleman, parliamentarian naval officer, at this time commanding the *Wexford* and operating in the Irish Sea and around the coast of Wales.

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23. From Richard Cromwell, Hursley, 27 November 1655, 821, fos 38–39.

Deare brother,

That I doe not oftener write unto you will, notwithstanding my private condition, bare an excuse; for indeed though I much love and honour you, yet writing to my unskilfull hand is very irksome, and could my affections talke some other way, I should not care for appearing in this. I could almost notwithstanding forbidd it when I consider the ardent affections I have for you, there being a beleife in me of community with you, and that forreine distances cannot hinder the opperation of love in good dispositions, nor the many waters betwix England and Ireland squench that beate which admitts of noe winter of snow or froist in that breast where it dwelleth. I can say I have it from bouth sides, it being naturall, but the worth which makes it otherwise then a childish love. And now having entred upon the liste, let me tell you my hearte speaks much more then my expression can declare, and were it[114] love noe more then what can be discovered in its excellency by words, it were a foolish thing, but it is a very great matter and hard to be discoursed. I hope I shall upon all occations mannifest that I have a reall intention, and shall you but reflect youre credditt that I offer not a light and vaine matter, you will make this black paper to shine. The date of this will tell you my being where my patience is exercised[115] and I can boaste of the love of God whoe affords me restraining grace, keeping me within the compasse of my place, and I can just say I am the proportion of a man, my glasse telling me I have my noosse; what God will doe more for me I know not. I am certaine His devine goodnesse hath exceeded my desert. It is not fitting for me to trouble you with these things, but to give your time full liberty for better entertainment. A little divertisment is like a whett to the workman's toole, and give me leave to lett this tell you that there hath been great care in Sir Francis Russell to furnish you with some cattle for feild recreation, most propper for such as are wearyed in the service of their country; and that that worke might not be delayed and the wheeles of it be stopt for want of some spoaks, having a parcell that I had gathered up amongst my freinds, I could not doe lesse (when I came to know what Sir Francis was doeing) then to make some expression of a brother (though poore, it being in doggs, compannions they have been for princes). I ded with very great chearfullnesse lay hold of the oppertunity to present to the kennell

[114] Word amended and possibly deleted.

[115] In 1649, Richard Cromwell married the elder daughter of Richard Maijor, a Hampshire landowner, and settled on his father-in-law's estates at Hursley, south-west of Winchester.

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(now I suppose upon there marche to you) eight couple of beaggles, the wholl stock of that kinde I had. Pray take noe notice that there are any from me, for I ought to have made a compleate kennell for you oute of my owne stock of idle kind, fitt for nothinge but to breed doggs. But now I can assure you I have not any but my buck hounds which are abroade; but the pleasure and delight I shall exceedingly content myselfe with, and fearing I shall not leave roome to tender my respects, with my wife's, to your selfe and deare consorte, I shall desire that wee may be knowen to you and how much I am, deare brother,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

24. From Hierome Sankey, Wallingford House, 27 November 1655, 821, fos 40–41.

My lord,

I shall not neglect to present your lordship with an accompt of things here during my continuance. I was about 3 daies since with his Highnes, who I perceive is much troubled concerning the petition from Ireland, and asked me of severall things relating therto and concerning severall persons there.[116] I professed to him, as in the Lord's presence, that I did not know nor heare of any offence given by your lordship to the Anababtists, but on the contrary had seene and received severall lettres from them acknowledging your faire and freindly carriage to them. I told him what I was confident they might have, and what I thought they might not have. He sayes this petition confirmes people in their slanderous beleifes of his setting up himselfe and family; and that he had not called for my lord deputy over,[117] but mearly being sollicited

[116] A petition urging the Protector to make Henry Cromwell lord deputy of Ireland in place of Fleetwood, which spread in civil and some military circles in Ireland. It proved an embarrassment to Henry Cromwell, who denied prior knowledge of it and attempted to distance himself from it, because he predicted, correctly, that it would not be supported by the Protector and would merely sour his relationship with Fleetwood and be used against him by his opponents (*TSP*, III, p. 29, and IV, pp. 197, 227, 259–260, 327–328, 348).

[117] Probably strictly true, though the largely unspoken assumption on both sides seems to have been that Fleetwood would return to England in the summer of 1655 and hand over day-to-day control to Henry Cromwell. In a letter to Fleetwood of late June, the Protector had vigorously denied rumours that he would be recalled and Henry Cromwell made lord deputy in his place, but the Protector did write that, if Fleetwood wished to return to England, he would be welcome (Abbott, III, p. 756). In a letter of early August, Fleetwood wrote that he had received from the Protector 'positive commands to returne into England' (*TSP*, III, p. 697), but the phrase is open to various interpretations and in no surviving letter did the Protector lay an absolute injunction upon Fleetwood to leave Ireland.

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by Stanes, major Haynes[118] and captain Loyd, who were allwayes insisting upon his debts and pretended his estate did excedingly suffer in his absence, that he was £10 or 11,000 in debt. As to Stanes, he thought he did it designingly; the other two dealt more plainly in it. He beleived Stanes did upon accompt either to gratifie the party he associated with (meaning, as I suppose, Turner[119] and them), or else to reconcile those who were not satisfied with the government to his Highnes therebye. His Highnes sayes he is the unfittest man in the world for that. But notwithstanding their sollicitation till the busines was effected, all the slanders are upon him as though he intended to lay aside my lord deputy.

He told me further that he would call Stane, Haynes and Loyd together and charge it to thir faces, before my lord deputy and some others, what he then alleaged, and was very confident they would not deny it; and that for his part he would be glad if my lord deputy would go back within a month. Well my lord, I know well right it trubles you, but God will owne your sincerity and justifie your love to Him and His. If I were privy to the least whisper of a complaint, I'de acquaint you, for I know you would proffitt therby. Be not angry att my lengthened stay; I did not expect, nor any body else, so long an estrangment of my lord from the counsell. But now that I suppose he is going in and the Irish busines, which we have beene pretty close upon, toward a finishing, you shall see I shall not deserve a chiding; though tis worse than a chiding to be so long a time silent, notwithstanding my severall lettres. My humble service to my good lady. I committ you to God and rest,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
Hie Sankey

[118] Hezekiah Haynes, parliamentarian officer and politician, was major in Fleetwood's New Model horse regiment and campaigned extensively in England and Scotland. Close to Fleetwood, he often effectively commanded the regiment in Fleetwood's absence and, in 1655, was appointed (deputy) major-general for East Anglia, again deputizing for Fleetwood; he represented Essex in the second Protectorate parliament.

[119] Identification uncertain, as several ministers, preachers, and administrators of the 1650s bore this surname.

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25. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, November[120] 1655, 821, fos 42–43.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of Mr Perrin, seeking employment in Ireland to support his large family; reports that Perrin formerly had a place in Ireland but had lost it because of his absence.

26. From Charles Fleetwood, 1 December 1655, 821, fos 44–45.

Since my last I have received yours, but it is so late and the usiall poast night past that I shall not inlarge at present, only presume to send you this inclosed, which I shall earnestly desire you would give me yours and the councell speedy thoughts thearin, they being colonel Hill's[121] proposalls, and are preparing at a committee for the councell's resolution; and I, not desireing any thing should pass without your privaty, doe earnest desire you would speed your oppinion to me upon the same. I am,

Your affectionate brother.

Deare brother,

I canot deny but that I know of the[122] petition you mention long since, and have known so much of unhandsomnes in some about it that I have reason to be satesfied you would have an abhorrency to their actions. But I canot charge my selfe with guilt why some men love me no better, and did they doe what they have done out of a true love and service to your service and your selfe, I might be satisfyed. Our interests are so nearly interwoven, one in another, that they canot stricke at the one but they must hitt the other. Yet this last designe hath, I hope, bine of more use and advantage to me then I could have expected or I am sure they intended; that's my mercy. Deare brother, marke them for untrue frinds who labour to divide us. Thos you call my frinds doe frequently write with great affection and are farre

[120] Paper slightly damaged and date lost.

[121] Arthur Hill, parliamentarian officer and politician with family estates in Ireland, was active in the Irish administration during the 1630s. After some uncertainty, he supported parliament in the 1640s, and during the 1650s he was again active in the political, administrative, and economic affairs of Ireland, being returned for Counties Down, Antrim, and Armagh to the first Protectorate parliament. He was one of a small committee, including councillor Sir Charles Wolseley, that in autumn 1655 presented proposals concerning Ireland – the details of which do not appear to have survived, but which probably related to improving Irish trade and lifting the various duties on trade between England and Ireland – to the Protectoral council, which duly referred them to the Irish council and committee (*CSPI*, p. 818).

[122] Word originally written 'yo^{r}' (= your) but then amended to read something closer to 'y^{e}' (= the).

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from endevoring to worke by such an indirect engine, but I trust your affections are so intire and you will have such a discerning eye as to discover such deceits. Whatsoever you doe with me, yet be confydent you shall finde me playn hearted, I at least desire it may be so, and faithfull to you on the best account. I hope our affections are so intire that men's subtiltyes canot divert each from other. I am your most affectionate brother.

27. From George Ayscue,[123] Ham Haw, Surrey, 4 December 1655, 821, fos 46–47.

My most honoured and deare lord,

I received your lordship's of November 15th and with it so greate a trouble of spirit that I, who have such passionat affections to your person and so true a zeale to advance your servis and honour, should unhappily be made an instrument to act any thing that your lordship should call an injurie to you, was none of the smalest troubles I have mett with in my life. But truly, my lord, I did not know anything of carying over the petition with me untill wee were ready to saile, when Doctor Loftus[124] brought them aborde to me, at which I was troubled; not at the matter of the petition, but at the slight delivering of them to me. Not, my lord, that I expected out of a selfe vanitie the cerimony of the maior, alldarmen and persons of quality concerned in it to have delivered them to me, but doubting if his Highnes should aske me how I was impowred to present them to him, if I had answred the truth I was fearfull it would lessen the reputation of the petition, especially there being so smalle an number of them readiye. And therfore I desired Doctor Loftus that the maior, aldermen and such gentlemen as weare concerined, and then in towne, would impowre me by there letter to present the petition to his Highnes, and in the meanetime more of the petitions would be ready to be sent over, and that no advantage in the meanetime might be lost I resolved to waite on Mr Secretaire Thurlow[125] as soone as I came to towne and to deliver him

[123] Parliamentarian naval commander, who supported Oliver Cromwell's 1649–1650 expedition to Ireland as admiral of the Irish seas and then campaigned in the Anglo-Dutch War, the West Indies, and the Baltic. Although in semi-retirement from 1654, in 1658 he resumed his naval career as an admiral in Sweden's service, and in 1659 rendezvoused and co-operated with the English fleet in the Sound.

[124] Dudley Loftus, Irish-born politician, judge, administrator, and scholar, held a variety of judicial, financial, and academic positions in Ireland during the Protectorate and was returned to the third Protectorate parliament for Counties Kildare and Wicklow.

[125] John Thurloe, parliamentarian politician and statesman, and a confidant of Oliver Cromwell, served both as secretary to the Protectoral council and effectively as secretary of state during the Protectorate; he was elected to all three Protectorate parliaments and played

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those petitions I then had, which accordingly I did before I received your lordship's, leaving the busnesse to his discretion how to manage, which is all that at present is don in it. Here is a report that my lord Fleetwod is to returne for Ireland, but thay see not far that beleeve it, not well undarstanding the true intrist of the present affaires. But it is now time to begg your lordship's pardon for this tedious addresse, to which I doe with all humblenesse subscribe myselfe, my deare lord,

Your lordship's most true and faithfull, humble servant,

George Ayscue

28. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 4 December 1655, 821, fos 48–49.

Deare brother,

I have received yours, whereby I understand that you apprehend I have received some misunderstanding concerning you, wherein I must tell you, you are much mistaken. As for the petition, it would argue too much calling into question your judgment if I should say you were guiltie therin. But I confes I doe not thincke his Highnes' interest is preserved[126] by such indirect endevours to divide. And I hope I should have had a hart readie to have laid downe my authoritie at his Highnes' feett, and thereby have given way to what is pretended of desire in relation to yourselfe, without all this stire. And I doe not thincke the petitioners themselves could have immagined his Highnes had so little kindnes for mee, as to have demanded my authoritie which I had from himselfe and the parliament without my consent. But those kind of dividing practises are most unsutable and I am sure most unseasonable at this time, when there is so much labour to bring the common enemy in upon us, from abroad as well as at home; but, deare brother, take heed of giveing way to jelous suggestions. His Highnes can beare me wittnes with what respect and affection I have spoken concerning you, and though men may endevour our misunderstandings each of other, yet I trust it shall not be in there power. I hope I shall not, by any precipitant action of my owne, give any occasion of offence to you, but still manifest that affection which may make it appeare how much I am,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

Charles Fleetwood

a prominent role in each. He corresponded regularly with Henry Cromwell throughout the latter's time in Ireland and their correspondence, printed by Thomas Birch in *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esquire* (London, 1742), sets the context for and often fleshes out the letters in this collection.

[126]The first three letters of this word have been heavily amended and possibly deleted.

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It is very wonderfull how providence hath brought to light some secrett designes tending to disturbance. Have a care of Ulster. Deare brother, colonel Hewson[127] hath write unto me about his brother captain Turner,[128] that he might have captain Brtt's[129] company. I shall not take upon me to dispose of any commands without you. I am sure wee all have reason to love his honest brother. I shall leave it to you to doe what you shall judge of most publique advantage. This inclosed is from his Highnes about Mr Reynolds' busines.[130]

29. From William Malyn,[131] Whitehall, 4 December 1655, 821, fos 50–51.

My lord,

It hath pleased God to afflict the lady Elizabeth Claypole with very great paynes; she was prettie well recovered and at ease about a weeke or 2 since, but her paynes are lately [. . .]newed[132] upon her. Her Highnesse hath also been ill of late and kept her bed for severall dayes; but praysed be God, her Highness is now in a very good way towards the recovery of her health; and the lady Disbrow hath been also very weake and much troubled with her old greifes, but is now

[127] John Hewson, parliamentarian officer and politician, and a regicide, was colonel of a New Model foot regiment that campaigned in Ireland from 1649, and he served as governor of Dublin in the early 1650s. In 1655, part of his regiment was disbanded and part of it transferred to England, and thenceforth Hewson was based in England and given command of a formed regiment there. A strong supporter of Charles Fleetwood in Ireland, he was out of sympathy with Henry Cromwell's Irish policies, and he was in turn strongly distrusted by Henry Cromwell, who regarded him as a Baptist, an opponent of his government, and a trouble-maker with access in London to Fleetwood and the Protector. He sat for Ireland in the Nominated Assembly and he was elected to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, being returned to the first for County Dublin.

[128] Parliamentarian officer (his forename is not recorded), captain of one of the companies in Hewson's foot regiment in Ireland, which were disbanded and paid off over the summer.

[129] Name written thus, apparently in an abbreviated or slightly garbled form. Possibly the captain George Brett who in 1658 was serving in the horse regiment sent to Flanders.

[130] Robert Reynolds, half-brother of Sir John Reynolds, a somewhat lukewarm parliamentarian politician during the 1640s, who held aloof from the regicide but retook his seat in the Rump and held various legal and administrative posts during the 1650s; he was returned to Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament. In December 1655, he gained the Protector's strong support for his request to receive forfeited land in County Louth. The Irish council obeyed the Protector's order but felt that, because forfeited land in Louth was earmarked as a reserve to satisfy the claims of the adventurers, the granting of Reynolds's request might create an unfortunate precedent (Dunlop, p. 561).

[131] From humble origins in Essex, Malyn had risen to become Oliver Cromwell's personal secretary by the time of his Scottish campaign of 1650–1651 and retained that position during the Protectorate.

[132] Paper slightly damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete word is apparently 'renewed'.

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better and att more ease. The Lord teach us to understand His mind in these chasticements and sanctify them unto us.

As to newes in reference to the publique: the peace between us and France was proclaymed here on Wednesday last, and on the morrow the French ambassador was feasted att White Hall. The major-generalls, who were sent into the severall counties about setling the militias and raysing of monyes out of the estates of the cavileers, are carrying on that worke apace,[133] which is [. . .]eeding[134] pleasing to all the good partie. This day the judges and severall divines from both universities and other parts of the nation mett att White Hall to advise with his Highness and councill about the propositions tendred unto his Highness by Manasseth Ben Isreael on the behalfe of the nation of the Jewes, who desire in great numbers to come and live within the dominions of this commonwealth. If they may be permitted to trade and to have the free exercise of their religion, they propose to have publique sinagogs for their worship, and some other particulars. But it's supposed they will moderate their demands, having submitted them to the consideration of his Highness and councill. What wilbe the result of this consultation I suppose we shall know in a few dayes. Many good people doe hope that this may be a dawning to the day of the delivarye and restoration of that poore, afflicted people, who through the just judgment of God upon them for their sinns have been soe long in captivity and tossed to and fro; and who knowes but the promises and prophecies concerning them doe draw nigh and doe begin to lay hold of their spirits; and who knowes but that the time, yea, the sett time of their deliverance drawes nigh, seing God doth draw forth the hearts of His people in kindnes towards them.[135] I am, my lord,

Your most humble and obleiged servant,
Will Malyn

[133] The instructions and commissions for the major-generals and their county-based commissioners were issued in October 1655, effectively marking the beginning of this new tier of semi-military regional government in England and Wales.

[134] Paper slightly damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete word is apparently 'exceeding'.

[135] A commission of councillors, judges, City officials, and divines, convened by the Protector, met during December to hear submissions from Menasseh Ben Israel, an Amsterdam-based Jew, and others, urging that the Jews be formally readmitted and granted commercial and other rights. The very favourable and enlightened views expressed by Malyn may reflect the Protector's opinions, because he was clearly sympathetic to the Jews and, although the weight of opinion prevented their formal readmission, thenceforth the Protector unofficially allowed many Jews to settle in England.

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30. From Hierome Sankey, London, 4 December 1655, 821, fos 52–53.

May it please your lordship,

This weeke I receyved your lordship's lettre[136] and your calling. I will not fayle to hast to you. My lord deputy went in to the counsell this day. Yesterday the Protector told me the Irish affaires shuld be considered out of bounds, and I shuld be gone within two or 3 daies. I question not but to gett a dispatch this weeke or the beginning of the next. I am sorry you have had no readier a supply of money, but I hope the accompt I presented last weeke will be in some good measure satisfactory. I am glad with all my heart Blackwood[137] is so discreet and sober. You did yourselfe much right in supressing the petition that was going through the army. His Highnes was excedingly satisfied therewith; and though you did not att all countenance, yett if there had bene more a discountenance of the mayor and aldermen's petition, I thinke it would have done well. We must be true to our principalls, which is equally to countenance and encorage all truly godly; and indeed I never knew that the Anabaptists attayned any such thing or anything like it. His Highnes likes it not, but prefyres they shall be as soone putt into benefices, if they will, as any other. Impartiality is of singular worth, and I am confident the Lord hath spirited you much with a paine of that, which indeed is fitt for this day. I shall take care of the busines committed to me by colonel Herbert. I desire your lordship will not write any more. I hope I shall satisfie you as to my too long stay. I shall hope the product will be some litle advantage to your Irish affaires. If the Lord saw it good, I wish there were not that occasion of truble given to your lordship. I committ you and yours and your affaires to the good hande of the Lord and rest,

Your most humble servant,

Hie Sankey

[136] Perhaps the letter that Henry Cromwell initially sent to Thurloe, asking him to peruse it before forwarding it to Sankey (*TSP*, IV, pp. 254–255).

[137] Christopher Blackwood, minister in Kent and Sussex during the 1630s and in New England in the early 1640s, brought his Baptist faith to Ireland in 1652–1653, initially as minister at Kilkenny. Supported by Daniel Axtell, Blackwood strongly encouraged the spread of Baptism amongst the English army in Ireland, moving to Dublin in 1655 and taking over Thomas Patient's congregation. An active Baptist, in October 1655 described by Thomas Harrison as 'the oracle of the anabaptists in Ireland' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 90–91), he appears to have lost his official, government salary in 1656, though he did not oppose Henry Cromwell's religious policies as strongly as some of his fellow Baptists.

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31. From William Stane, London, 4 December 1655, 821, fos 54–55.

My lord,

My lady Elizabeth continues ill, but wee hope mending; her Highnesse is recovred, twas much greife; his Highnesse and the rest well. Here are severall ministers and others meet to debate the reception and liberty of the Jews.

A Spanish ship upon a leek was forced to put in to Tore Bay in the west. It was laden with 30 bays[138] of cloth and 200 seamen provided for their fleet.

I was mistaken in my last; although my lady Russell and her son went down, yet Sir Francis continues in London still.

General Disborrow went down to the west this day to presente his instructions as major generall.[139] His wife's sicknes kept him here till this tyme. The other major-generalls proced in their circuits and have help enough for any part, I heare, and the commissioners hold.

The Lord give in unto you of His presence if in perticular warfares[140] wee are unsafe without it. How can publique employments proced happily without His bare arme, which makes every burden easye?

My affectionate service to my lady. I remaine, my lord,

Your faithfull servant,

W Stane

My services to colonel Tomlinson and all our frinds.

I gave your lordship an account in my last of the late discoverye by takeing of Henshaw,[141] the late king of Scots' agent. It seemes his friends, Charles Stewart and Middleton, sent into Scotland, were conversing and gave encouragement to their freinds there for another day, designeing also against the persons of some in that place.[142]

[138] Possibly a slip for 'bayls', but 'bays' could indicated a number of portions of the ship's hold.

[139] He was major-general of the whole of the south-west region, comprising Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire.

[140] Word seems a little strange in this context but is quite clearly written thus.

[141] Thomas Henshaw, spy and conspirator, had been employed by the English republican government in the early 1650s, but by the mid-1650s was supporting the royalist cause on the continent. He had returned to England in the spring of 1654 to support John Gerard's failed plot to assassinate the Protector, but had then managed to escape abroad.

[142] There were persistent rumours of royalist plots at this time, many of them supposedly focused on Scotland, including suggestions that John Middleton, a royalist general, who had been one of the leading lights of the Glencairn rising in Scotland in 1653–1654, but who had slipped away to the continent on the suppression of that revolt in spring 1655, might return to Scotland.

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32. From Nathaniel Waterhouse,[143] Whitehall, 4 December 1655, 821, fos 56–57.

May it please your lordshipp,

I received your lordshipp's lettre, wherein you are pleased to say that you thinke you are forgotten of all your frends here. Truely, my lord, I must confess I have been very much too blame, that I have not in all this tyme written unto your lordshipp, but I hope your honor will be pleased to pardon it when you doe truely understand the reason, the which I shall now acquint your honour with, (which is this) wee are now upon some establishment in the family, wherein wee have sett downe a thousand pounds per annum for your lordshipp, the which if his Highness be pleased to pass (as I hop hee will) then I shall proceed to the payment of those bills I have. And then I doubt not but I shall give your lordshipp a very just accompt of my reall affection to serve your honour in whatever I shall bee able, and in the meanewhile shall make bould to subscribe myselfe,

Your lordshipp's most humble servant,

Nat Waterhouse

33. William Stane, London, 10 December 1655, 821, fos 58–59.

My lord,

Just now my lady Elizabeth (wee hope) is fallen into her labour.[144] Truly, if the Lord had not bin so kinde to us, wee do not know what might have bin the issue. Dr Goddard[145] and I have sate up againe each night. I never saw 2 parents so affected (or more) then my Lord Protector and her Highnesse. Truly my lady hath given a sweet testimony in this sicknes if the Lord continue His love further.

All well at Wallingford.

[143] One of two stewards of the Protectoral household, Waterhouse later served as master of the greencloth within the Protectoral household and as an MP in the second and third Protectorate parliaments.

[144] Possibly suggesting that a difficult pregnancy was thus coming towards its natural conclusion, though 'labour' could have other medical meanings, relating to fighting afflictions, and other correspondents who noted Elizabeth Claypole's poor health during the autumn and early winter of 1655 tended to ascribe it to an illness from which she might recover, rather than to complications arising from pregnancy.

[145] Jonathan Goddard, physician, academic, and administrator, had found favour with parliament in general and Oliver Cromwell in particular, accompanying him on his campaigns in Ireland and Scotland in 1649–1651, and was appointed physician in chief to the parliamentarian army, as well as warden of Merton College, Oxford, from 1651. He acquired several academic and administrative positions during the Protectorate, including a professorship at Gresham College in 1655, and served as one of the Protector's physicians.

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I have not tyme for news or the enquirie of it. I wish all goe well with you. There are rumors upon those petitions. The Lord guide you; trulye His leadings are best; and surely Hee doth expect from those whom Hee hath brought into power, by signes and wordes, more then ordinary; and a Christian ought to approve themselfs so in every state, publique as well as particular, in all capacities.

I hope your lordship takes care of my lady in that strange land. My service to her ladyship.

No news yet from Jamaica. It's whispered that forreigne states are doeing somwhat.

The major-generalls succeed, and the commissioners in all counties stand and assist.

But I am in great hast. I remaine, my lord,

Your affectionate servant,

W Stane

My lord deputy did not act in the councell till last week.

34. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 11 December 1655, 821, fos 60–61.

Deare brother,

The illness of sister Claypoole is so very great that both there Highnesses are under a great triall. You know the dearenes they have unto her and though wee know not how the Lord will deale with her, yet her recoverye is much doubted. This afternoone hath given very great cause of feare. The Lord teach us all by such dispensations our dayes and times are very uncertaine. The Lord knowes when our periods shalbe put, and therefore to improve time whilest it's ours is a great dutie; to worke while tis day least the night overtake us before wee are aware. It is not youth of dayes that can secure us. Happy are those who have Christ in there harte and shalbe found and doing there Master's will.

You must excuse my not inlargeing at this time; both the occasion and my time must pleade for me. The greate success that still it pleaseth God to give the king of Sweeden doth very much alarum forraigne states. I am not without hope but that the Lord may make my Lord Protector an instrument of great good upon this occasion to the whole Protestant interest. He hath, I am perswaded, a very large hart above any for such a worke. The councell, it seemes, lately made an order for part of that money which was intended for Ireland for the use of the navy. But I hope notwithstanding that order, wee shall keepe it for Ireland. Our old freinds the tresurers sticke to us.[146] I hope you will not

[146]Treasurers-at-war, Richard Deane and John Blackwell.

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lett honnest captaine Blackwell suffer though a returne be not made in his busines.[147] With my humble service to my sister I remaine,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

Charles Fleetwood

I must entreate you will take care that captain Shawe[148] may have no prejudice concerning his clayme. His Highness intends him favour. In the meane time I desire your kindnes to him.

My brother Sankey desires you would please to order a man-of-warr to be at Hollyhead about the 28th instant to transport him for Ireland.

Since the writing hearof, my sister Claypoole is fallen into travill and so hir condition very hopefull.[149]

35. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 24 December 1655, 821, fos 62–63.

Deare brother,

This worthy good person, colonel Cooper,[150] his Highnes hath commanded me to give him a commission for generall Venables' regiment as also to command in cheife all the forces in Ulster under you, which accordingly I have done. He is to continue both his regiment and pay for them untill there can be some way thought off as an addition to his pay in Ireland, or till he can come to a certaine resolution whether to continnue in Ireland or not. What of

[147] With Oliver Cromwell's support, in 1653 Blackwell had been allocated land in County Dublin and elsewhere (Dunlop, pp. 358–359), but difficulties arose and in 1655 he appealed to the Protector for assistance. Eventually, in May 1657, the second Protectorate parliament passed an act settling upon him land in Counties Dublin and Kildare.

[148] Probably the captain Shaw (his forename not recorded) who arrested Edmund Ludlow at Beaumaris in October 1655 (*TSP*, IV, pp. 87–88), when the latter suddenly left Ireland in defiance of an order from the Protector (Dunlop, p. 538). Shaw reputedly became rich through various offices he held in the Irish administration, especially as receiver of rents for Irish lands set out to soldiers in 1655.

[149] Sentence added at the end of the letter, in the left margin and along the edge of the paper, in a hurried hand.

[150] Thomas Cooper, parliamentarian officer and politician, had commanded a regiment of foot raised in London in 1650–1651, which campaigned in Scotland for much of the 1650s. He was appointed to the Scottish council in the spring of 1655, though that body did not begin work until September 1655. Although he continued in nominal command of his Scottish regiment for some time after his departure, in practice he was superseded in Scotland by Roger Sawrey, and instead, in December 1655, Cooper left Scotland to take over the foot regiment in Ireland formerly commanded by the disgraced Robert Venables. He soon proved himself an able, active, but conciliatory, commander in Ulster and, despite his Baptist faith, loyal to and respected by Henry Cromwell (*TSP*, III, p. 744, and IV, pp. 343, 376, 407–408, 422–423, 433, 551). He was returned for Counties Down, Antrim, and Armagh to the second Protectorate parliament.

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kindnes and respect you can show him, I doubt not off. I hope he will prove a person as a healing mercy, which indeed is the great busines wee should mind this day wherein our divisions are like to produce such sad effects, as to lay us naked and bare to a common enemy and there continnuall designes. What there is now on worke by the cavaliere partie colonel Cooper will informe you. His Highness thinckes it convenient you should have more horse in Ulster, which is all at present from,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

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