1657

143. From Robert Evans, Bridewell, 3 January 1657, 821, fos 260–261.

To Henery Cromwell and Hardress Wallar, freinds.

Whereas I cane answer for demanding my pay and a discharg from thee Henery Cromwell in a miutinous and sedissous maner, it is falce, I disowen it, for I came in the feare of God to desire a discharg of thee which thou did promis me. I demanded it not in a miutinous nor sedisous manner, as that of God in thy conscience may wittness and as many peopele whoe were then present may wittness to the contrary, and when I came to thy house to looke for thy promis I was put out of doors by the shoulder. Then I came to thee again and gave thee a paper sheweing the justnes of what I desired of thee and in it demanded my wages not in a miutinous nor sedisous maner as yee falcely accus me and as that of God in all your consciences may wittness to the contrary, and to the light of Christ in all tender consciences who reads that paper I leave it to judg whether thos words be spoken in a miutinous and sedisous maner which are written in that paper.

Also to thee Hardress Wallar and the rest of thy asistence at the court marshall, soe called, from whom I receved an unjust sentence without the breath of any just law, although I desired thee and the rest to make it appier wherin I had transgrased any just law of God but yee did not. Have yee passed sentence upon me becase I could not respect your persons and soe transgras the just law of God whoe is noe respecter of persons? Which of all the holly men of God who judged for God in ages passt is your example to pass a sentence of imprisonment, make slave and banish a serven for demanding his wages when he hath don his master's worke faithfully and hath leave to depart from his service? Doth the scriptures which you say you owen justify you hearin?

Henery Cromwell, I desire thee to cause som care to be taken wherby I may have my cloths and other things of myn which is left with the compainy where I was doing thy service and the comonwelth's. Allsoe I demand a discharg in writtings of thee, being chife in the nation accordeing to man, and my wages alsoe whereby I may paye monys where I owe it as at Athlon, Balymoor[1] and other places, for

[1] Athlone and Ballymore, County Westmeath.

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things which I had need of whilst I was in the service, for which things I am free to paye before I be banished out of the land, if I may have my due, and if not upon your accounts I leave it to answer the Lord.

Written by one not knowen to any of you but by the name of Rob Evans, a prisoner for the truth' sake.[2]

144. From Edward D'Oyley,[3] Jamaica, 5 January 1657, 821, fos 262–263.

Letter of thanks for assistance in setting out his Irish lands.

145. From Francis Bolton,[4] Milford Haven, 10 January 1657, 821, fos 264–265.

Letter of apology for exceeding the length of his pass and offering to return to Ireland immediately if required, though also requesting that, in the light of his delayed departure from Ireland, a recent though unspecified alteration in his condition, and the current winter weather and dangerous seas, he be allowed a little more leave before returning.

146. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 28 January 1657, 821, fos 268–269.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of the bearer, an unnamed colonel well known to Henry Cromwell, asking that he be favoured in the allocation of Irish lands to meet his English arrears and noting that the bearer was also carrying a letter from the Protector to the Irish council directing that he have a lease of the lands currently in his hands.

[2] The tone of the letter and the repeated and pointed use of the 'thee' form of address suggest that the writer was a Quaker.

[3] Parliamentarian officer, who campaigned in Ireland in the late 1640s and went to the West Indies in 1654–1655 as an officer in Robert Venables's foot regiment. In March 1655 he was appointed commander of a new foot regiment raised in Barbados and, in the autumn of the same year, he succeeded Richard Fortesque as commander-in-chief of the forces in Jamaica. Although for a time he was displaced in favour first of Robert Sedgwick and then of William Brayne, after their deaths he was reappointed overall commander in Jamaica.

[4] Parliamentarian officer, who campaigned in England in the mid-1640s in John Okey's New Model dragoon regiment and was, in 1649, selected to serve in Ireland, in a newly formed dragoon regiment under Daniel Abbott. Later in the 1650s he was serving in Ireland in Henry Pretty's horse regiment. His apprehensions about crossing the Irish Sea proved well-founded, for he was drowned in the summer of 1659 when crossing from Ireland to England.

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147. From Richard Lawrence, Cork, 30 January 1657, 821, fos 270–271.

Letter of defence, responding to reports that Southwell and Saunders[5] *had alleged that he had been negligent in transferring provisions from the* Sapphire*; recounts in detail how bad weather had forced him to unload the* Sapphire *in Cork harbour, bringing the bread she was carrying ashore and storing it in a quayside house until another vessel arrived from Kinsale; admits that a small quantity of the bread had become damp and spoiled either while in the* Sapphire *or while being transferred to and from the store, though all possible care was taken. His work in Cork upon the accounts of the new recruits being almost complete, he intended to move on to Kinsale and then return to Dublin.*

148. From John Reynolds, Clonfert, County Galway, 30 January 1657, 823, fos 15–16.

May it please your excellency,

I meeting with this bearer, Mr Eyre, found him verry ambitious to serve your lordship in your affaires at Portumna,[6] in which I beleive verry capable to advantage your lordship's interest there. I shall presume farther to recommend him unto your lordship's favour in the letting of your bishops lands of Clonfert,[7] where he hath expended much money and setled himselfe in it so long as he hath lived in Connaght. I have hea[. . .][8] that he carried himselfe faithfully and industriously in the service wherein he was emploied and I am assured that your lordship will receive the testimony of Sir Charles Coote[9] and other worthy persons concurrent thereunto.

[5] Robert Southwell and Robert Saunders.

[6] Henry Cromwell acquired by allocation and purchase several estates in Ireland, most importantly the house, park, manor, and lands of Portumna, in County Galway, taken from the Catholic and royalist fifth Earl and first Marquess of Clanricarde and confirmed to him by the second Protectorate parliament. Although he never resided there for any length of time, instead merely visiting it on his customary late-summer tour of Ireland, Henry Cromwell undertook improvements to the estate and the main house, usually referred to as the castle but in reality a grand, rectangular, fortified mansion with corner towers, built in 1618.

[7] Also in County Galway, about twelve miles north-west of Portumna, and the site of an early medieval cathedral.

[8] Paper damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete word is probably 'heard'.

[9] Parliamentarian officer and politician, of an Irish Protestant family, who opposed Charles I's dealings with the confederate Catholics and came out for parliament in 1644. Appointed parliamentary lord president of Connaught in 1644–1645 (an office he retained throughout the period), in the later 1640s and early 1650s he was prominent in the campaigns to secure Ulster and Connaught, commanding both a horse and a foot regiment. He was a firm supporter of Henry Cromwell and the Protectoral regime in Ireland and he was, in turn, trusted and favoured by Henry Cromwell and received his warm support and recommendation, Henry praising him as one who 'hath soe eminently and successefully

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Your lordship's favourable justice to Mr Eyres will oblige him everlastingly to[10] continue your lordship's devoted servaunt, and the farther manifestation of your lordship's acceptance of my humble addresse will engage,

Your lordship's most humble servaunt,
J Reynolds

149. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghill, [January 1657], 823, fo. 336.

Lord Broghill,

I am very glad to understand to <understand> by your lordship's last, that you were so plaine with his Highness, in that matter of greatest concernement,[11] who certainly cannot bee safe unlesse he follow some such advice as your lordship gave him, but must expose these nations and his family to much calamity. I cleerely concurre with your lordship that now is the time of doing somewhat to purpose, the designes of the major generalls beeing now become visibly dangerous, and especially his Highness having so complyant and well affected a parliament to back him therein, and the sober people beeing withall generally big with hopes of seeing that good day of settlement. <And> If the Lord shall encourage him <thereto> to this worke, I dare undertake His interest here will not bee found inconsiderable towards it.

<I have always heretofore esteemed your lordship upon the> <Tis high tyme> Tis high time that his Highness should see the necessity of throwing himselfe upon men of interest and sober principles; for certainly those hee now deeleth with (I meane the major generalls) will one time or other give him the slip, as I have not long since beene bold to intimate to his Highness himselfe.[12]

I have ever heretofore much esteemed your lordship upon the account of your personall vertues, but that demonstration what your lordship has given of your principles also in these late transactions

served the publique, and doth still remayn as intirely faithfull to the present interest' (*TSP*, III, p. 691; V, p. 494). He represented Counties Galway and Mayo in all three Protectorate parliaments.

[10] Word heavily amended and possibly deleted.

[11] Possibly the militia or decimation bill, introduced into the second Protectorate parliament on 25 December 1656 and debated during January 1657, which would have regularized and continued the tax on former royalists introduced by Protector and council in 1655 to fund the new semi-militarized system of regional administration in England and Wales overseen by the major-generals. Its rejection by parliament, with Broghill prominently opposing it, effectively marked the end of that system.

[12] In early February 1657, Thurloe told Henry Cromwell that his recent letter to his father had been well received by him but that the Protector had then burnt it (*TSP*, VI, pp. 38, 53).

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<doth endeare> doth infinitely endeare your lordship unto mee, as I hope it likewise will to all good men. It troubld mee but to heare your lordship name retirement, but indeed, my lord, <I> I promise to beare you <r lordship> company in these resolutions, if things shall not in some measure stoope to your lordship's wishes and endeavours, which are not onely the wishes but the studyes of,

Your etc,

although my lord deputy has 2[. . .][13]

I <am glad> your late letters have awakend you to write so well to purpose. What you wrote of Haynes[14] was considerable. I hope those heates will ripen some wholesom fruite.

I desire you to forbeare a while those high words tell you see those have litle settled, and when you see that des.[15] desperet[16] pray study her. Wee may goe all thither, for if wee gett but to the moon the M G[17] will poursue us thither. In this crisis of affairs be criticall in your enquires. Upon which account I must bee <[. . .]>[18] endure to spare, although otherwise I could bee impatient of your stay. <I shall take care if you st> And indeed if you stay much longer I fear Platten,[19] your adventured lott will scarse afford you profit[20] but I shall endeavor to keepe you and the rest to the same of advance money as were in at your going from hence. As you see occasion <a word of> mind Portumna.

Doe but ad brimstone to the saltpeatre, etc.

150. From Oliver, Viscount Fitzwilliam,[21] Westminster, 3 February 1657, 821, fos 272–273.

My lord,

I find that your lordship's and the rest of the counsell's answer to the lords comisioners of the great seale's letter, which was directed

[13] Paper damaged with some loss of text.

[14] Major-General Hezekiah Haynes.

[15] Possibly an abbreviated form of Desborough – Major-General John Desborough introduced and strongly supported the militia bill – though the identification is uncertain.

[16] This Latin word could be translated as 'despairs'.

[17] Could be singular or plural, standing for 'major-general' or 'major-generals'.

[18] Word heavily deleted and now illegible.

[19] Possibly Platin, County Westmeath.

[20] Uncertain reading of a poorly formed and amended word. Indeed, the whole final paragraph is written in a rough and loose hand.

[21] An Irish Catholic landowner, who succeeded to the Irish title of second Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion in 1650. As an active supporter of the Irish rebellion and the king's cause during the 1640s, he had lost most of his Irish estates, although, by an ordinance of Protector and council of 1654, his wife obtained restoration of some of his Irish property (*CSPI*, pp. 808, 811, 840–841).

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to your lordships in a busines wherein I ame concernd, is retarded by alderman Edwards[22] or some others, whoe pretend to faulsefie the report made by Mr attournie-generall Bazil to your lordshipps, as allso the certeficatts of the commissioners for sequestration, whoe have all reported and certefied that the lands in dispute were sequesterd as beinge waste lands and for noe other cause. One Fugill[23] (as I take him) clearke of the commissioners for sequestration, did with the said commissioners atest the same, and now I heare that he certefies that the said lands were sequesterd for the delinquencie of one Plunket. This Fugill with all beforesaid have signd the contrarie under theire hands. Colonel Herbert, clearke to your lordships, hath signd with his hand the order made by your lordships of the councell for restoringe the possession of the said lands to the proprietor, for that they were sequesterd as wast lands. All which the said Fugill, it seemes, endevours to faulsefy, when as indeed the said lands could not, by anny law or rule made in England or Ireland, be sequesterd for the delinquencie of anny person whatsoever but of John Trevor,[24] whoe was the lessee and posessor of the land, and he was noe delinquent as I heare. It is true that the rent might have beene sequesterd if Mr <Plunket> Hulle had beene a delinquent, but not the land. But hee is an English man and was never in Ireland, nor never delinquency was laid to his chardge, as is provd heere in court. Wherefore I humbly crave that your lordships' answer to the lords comissioners' letter may not be delaid, and that the report allreddie made by the attournie-generall, Mr Bazil, to your lordships of this business may be accordingely reported by your lordships to the lords comissioners of the seale heere. In which doinge, and pardoning the presumption I take to give your lordship the trouble of these lines, your lordship will infinitly add to the manny former great obligations which you have beene pleasd to chardge me with. One thinge more I presume to begge of your lordship, that is that I may have the order of preemption made good unto me, which your lordship and the rest of the councell promist me when I was last in Ireland, which was that when the lease of Baggethrath[25] should be expird that I should have it att the same rent before anny other. The lease is expired att Easter next, and I humbly begge that you will lett

[22] Identification not certain, but possibly Jonathan Edwards, an English doctor and preacher who worked in Ireland during the 1650s, was a commissioner for setting out allotments of land in Ardee, County Louth, and was also one of the four masters in the Irish court of chancery.

[23] Again, the identification is uncertain, but possibly Thomas Fughill, a fellow-commissioner with Edwards and others in setting out allotments of land in Ardee.

[24] The common forename and surname prevent firm identification.

[25] Probably Baggetrath/Baggotrath, a manor and castle close to seventeenth-century Dublin, now absorbed within the city itself.

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my cousin Annesley[26] rent it from your lordships untill my cominge (which by God's leave wilbe att or soone after Easter) att which tyme your lordships wilbe paid a considerable sume of monny by my wife's trustees for the redemtion of it.[27]

My wife craves leave that shee may heere present hir most humble service to your lordship and your noble lady. And I shall begg leave to stile myselfe, as really I ame, my honored lord,

Your lordship's most humble and most faithfull servant,
Fitzwilliam M

If your lordship shale please to comaund me to bringe you what sort of doggs or haulkes you shall nominat this springe, your lordship shalbe obeid. I humbly crave pardon for the blotts in this letter.

151. From John Hewetson[28] to the Irish Council, Kildare, 6 February 1657, 821, fos 276–277.

May itt please your lordshipps,

In obedience unto your orders to me directed bearing date the 31st of December last,[29] and in refference to your former orders of the 17th of August and fifteenth of September last, to the former sheriffe directed, I have hereinclosed sent unto your lordships the list of such as were proprietors or in armes, according to the best of my owne knowledge or what I could learne att present, and many of them dangerous persons. Which I humbly offer to your lordshipps' grave wisdomes and remayne,

Your honours' most faithfull servant,
Jn Hewetson

[26] Sir Arthur Annesley.

[27] At this time, the trustees of Fitzwilliam's wife, Lady Eleanor Hollis, daughter of the late Earl of Clare, were seeking to recover, for the use of her and her children and in respect of her marriage portion and other interests, not only various loans but also some of the Irish lands held by her late father-in-law, the first Viscount Fitzwilliam, and mortgaged or leased out by him before the rebellion. Some of this property had been leased to people who became Irish rebels and so was now forfeit to the state and leased out to new holders. In the spring of 1657, the Protector and English council supported these claims and referred the matter to Henry Cromwell and the Irish council for favourable settlement (*CSPI*, p. 840).

[28] Son of a minister in Ireland, in November 1656 he was appointed sheriff of Kildare and Carlow.

[29] Requiring sheriffs to return to the Irish council lists of all Irish Catholics who were transplantable but who had not yet been transplanted (Dunlop, p. 648).

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152. From Vincent Gookin, Westminster, 10 February 1657, 821, fos 278–279.

Detailed letter of request, on behalf of his brother,[30] *who was pursuing a long-standing claim for payment of his debenture and whose case had been referred by the Protector and English council to Henry Cromwell and the Irish council; sets out the reasons why the suspension of the debenture was unfair and should be lifted and why allowance should now be made to his wearied, persecuted, and indebted brother, who had been pursuing this claim for the past four years.*

153. From Robert Saunders and Robert Southwell to the Irish Council, Kinsale, 16 February 1657, 821, fos 280–281.

Right honnorable,

May it please your lordshipps. Wee have thought it our duty to put your lordships in mynd that the ship Playne Dealing being now ready together with her convoy[31] and that they onely wait for a faire wynd, of which there being not at present any great likelyhood, and the 14th daie of February being past unto which tyme collonell Moore's men with the new recruits were payd off, and as yet no orders for any further pay unto them, wee doubt that the want of it may occasion some trouble amongst them and consequently obstruct the present service unles some speedy course bee taken for their weekely paie during their stay here or sum other way setled for their satisfaction, which wee humbly leave unto your lordships' graver judgment and remayne,

Your lordshipps' most humble servants,

Ro Saunders Robert Southwell

[30] Robert Gookin, parliamentarian officer, whose military record was disputed – it had been claimed he was not a member of the regular, standing army – and is obscure, but who reportedly saw action at Ross and elsewhere in Ireland. For allied claims by Robert Gookin, see *CSPI*, pp. 623–625.

[31] After months of delay, Moore's regiment, bound for the West Indies, had sailed from Carrickfergus in early October 1656, only for the commander and almost half his men to be forced back into Cork by a storm which revealed the inadequacy of their vessel, the *Two Sisters*, described by the Irish council as a 'crazy vessel' (Dunlop, p. 646) and by Henry Cromwell as 'olde and crazie', rotten, and not capable of such a voyage even if refitted (*TSP*, V, pp. 494, 570). She was presumably a sister ship to the even more ill-fated *Two Brothers* (see no. 176). The men spent the winter in 'the great islande nere Corke', running up further costs but 'prevented of running frome their colours, which I am apt to beleive they would attempt, havinge received that discouragement allreadie at sea', Henry Cromwell noted (*TSP*, V, p. 570), while the Irish council looked for an alternative vessel and sought further recruits. By early February, the *Plain Dealing* had been earmarked for the voyage, with either the *Paradox* or the *Basing* to provide an armed convoy (Dunlop, pp. 632, 646, 651). Moore and his men finally sailed in early March.

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154. From Sir Charles Wolseley, Whitehall, 18 February 1657, 821, fos 282–283.

My lord,

I received a letter some while since from your lordship concerninge Sir Hardresse Waller, which I shall most punctually obey. It gave me exceedinge much content that your lordship would please to command me in any thinge. I beseech you let me beg your leave to recommend most earnestly the bearer of this, collonell Ridgely,[32] unto you and present him as an object of your lordship's favor. He is a man of much integritye and of as great merritt from the commonwealth by his actings and sufferings for it, I thinke, as most men in this nation. I shall not troble your lordship with any thinge farther about him because he comes recommended by two hands that I know will be most prevalinge with your lordship, by his Highnesse and allsoe by the councell. I shall not venter, my lord, to give you any account of publique affayres heere because I know you receive it from much better hands, but shall conclude this troble to you with this request, that you will reckon me,

Your lordship's most affectionate, most faythfull, humble servant,
Ch Wolseley

155. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 19 February 1657, 821, fos 284–285.

Letter of recommendation in support of the bearer, Simon Rudgeley, whose case had come before, and was being supported by, the English council.

156. From Edward Whalley, Whitehall, 19 February 1657, 821, fos 286–287.

My lord,

It is to all your cordiall freinds and servants a very great rejoycing to heare that the Lord hath made you so eminently instrumentall for good to his people in Ireland. I shall pray the Lord would keepe your

[32] Simon Rudgeley, parliamentarian officer, campaigned in his native Staffordshire during the civil war and played a prominent role in the administration of that county during the 1640s, but by the 1650s he was heavily in debt. On 10 February, the Protector had written to Henry Cromwell, recommending Rudgeley to him and directing that he be given an office, military or civil, in Ireland, together with lands upon which he could settle (Abbott, IV, p. 404; *CSPI*, p. 838; D.H. Pennington and I.A. Roots (eds), *The Committee at Stafford, 1643–45* (Manchester, 1957), *passim*).

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lordship[33] in a humble frame under so great mercyes and draw you nearer to Himself by them. My lord, I must not forget my continued thankes to your lordshipp for your perculiar favours to myselfe, as also those accumulated upon my sonne,[34] who makes it[35] his ambition to serve your lordshipp, and that he might bee rendred more apt for his Highnes' and your lordshipp's service, he desires to spend some monethes in France, to which purpose his Highnesse hath bin free not onely to give him leave with the continuation of his pay but very much encouraged him to continue a yeare in France. Hee hath likewise obteyned the approbation of the lord deputie Fleetewood. And neither hee nor myselfe can in the least doubt of [. . .][36] lordshipp's concurrence in extending the like favour to him, which that you would be pleased to doe is the earnest and humble request of, my lord,

Your lordship's most faythfull and obliged servant,
Edw Whalley

157. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 22 February 1657, 821, fos 288–289.

Letter of recommendation, written at the behest of Lord Commissioner Lisle[37] *and on behalf of Lisle's kinsman, Mr Jennings,*[38] *requesting that Jennings and his servant be employed in the army in Ireland, mustered together either in the guard or in some other troop until vacancies occurred there.*

[33] Paper damaged here and after 'great' and 'Himself', though apparently with no loss of text.

[34] Probably his younger son, Richard Whalley, parliamentarian officer, who served in Ireland in the 1650s in Henry Cromwell's horse regiment. In June 1658, the Protector recommended him to Henry Cromwell, noting particularly his linguistic skills and his excellence in Latin, French, and Italian (Abbott, IV, p. 821). In April 1658, Henry Cromwell wrote to Whalley senior, praising his son's education, reporting that 'we want such men for our foreign negotiations' and giving him further leave to stay 'for his further improvement or other benefit' (*TSP*, VII, p. 73).

[35] Word amended/blotted and possibly deleted.

[36] Paper damaged with some loss of text, though the missing word is probably 'your'.

[37] John Lisle, parliamentarian politician and judge, and a regicide, supported the parliamentary cause throughout the 1640s, both as an MP and as an administrator in his native Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, and played a leading role at the king's trial, advising on legal aspects of proceedings. He was a commissioner of the great seal from 1649 and held other offices under the republic, but moved smoothly to support the Protector and Protectorate. He sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, continued as a commissioner of the great seal, became a commissioner of the exchequer, and presided over major state trials.

[38] William Jennings, whose earlier and subsequent military career appears obscure and unrecorded.

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158. From Charles Fleetwood, [24][39] February 1657, 821, fos 274–275.

Deare brother,

I must entreate you will please to excuse my making use of another's penn at this time, which is occasioned by bringing a new modle of goverment into the howse, the perticulars of which I presume you will have from other hands. It desires my Lord Protector to take upon him kingshipp and during life to declare his successor. It also setts up another howse of parliament in the nature of a howse of peeres. These are the two cheife alterations in itt. That when Charles Stewart is in preparation with a considerable army to transport himselfe into England, men's minds should now againe divide about goverment, the which, though never so good in itselfe, will aske time to gaine men's satysfaction, and therefore I doubt twill prove the more unseasonable because some things in itt have bine against our latter engagements and resolutions. The only hopes of honnest men is that the Lord will so manage his Highnes' hart in this busines, who wee know hath bine a man of great prayer and faith, and to whom the Lord hath given much of His councell in darke cases, and I trust will still owne him with a more then ordinary presence of His at this time. It will concerne you to have your forces in a readines, for it is from very good hands that Charles Stewart intends action very suddenly, and though it is pretended that England is the place intended, yet I cannot thincke Ireland to be secure. Your care of which is not doubted by,

Your most affectionate brother and most humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

159. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 24 February 1657, 822, fos 234–235.

My lord,

I know not what to present you with but my love, service and respects, for I doe verily beleeve I can send your lordship no news, for sure I am that you have it fully from better hands. Tis about a moneth since I heard from you, allthough I have written twise (as I take it) within a moneth, or neere that time. But I know you are full of busynes, therefore onely expect to heare from you at your leysure. His Highnes tells me that he heares but seldome from you. I thought good to let you understand so much. He hath, I doe perceive, a love

[39] Although Fleetwood clearly dated this letter 4 February, that must be an error as the new consistution was not presented in parliament until 23 February. It may be that this is therefore a slip of the pen – albeit a slightly strange one – for 24 February and that this is one of a clutch of letters of that date describing the events and document of the previous day.

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for you, and mentions you with a kind of delight and satisfaction. My appeareing lately against the major-generalls, and being for a change of the governement, hath made that party looke upon me as a kind of courtyer and cavileere. Dick Norton[40] hath bin lately in towne. He would not come into the house, but is returned home as grave, wise and doged as ever. He sayeth that he will keepe Portsmouth safe and lookes upon that as his onely duty. I have thoughts sometimes, but know not well whence[41] they doe arise, that I may see you ere long in England. But what to desire herein I cannot say, but if you like it I can wish for it. Our affaires here to me seeme in a kind of od condition: jealousys on all sides are great, no man knoweth well each other. My love to your wife, and let me be, my lord,

Your lordship's faithfull freind to serve you,

Franc Russell

160. From William Jephson, London, 24 February 1657, 821, fos 290–291.[42]

My deare lord,

I receyved lately the favour of your lordship's letter of the 11th instant, for which, and all the rest, I am only able to returne the gratefull tribute of my thankes. There was yesterday brought into the

[40] Richard Norton, parliamentarian officer and politician, campaigned in southern England during the civil war and was prominent in the parliamentary administration of his native Hampshire and as governor of Southampton and Portsmouth. A friend of Oliver Cromwell, he was elected to the Long Parliament in 1645 and, although political moderation led to his removal at Pride's Purge, he retook his seat in the Rump in 1651. He supported the Protectorate and was elected to all three Protectorate parliaments, but he became increasingly disenchanted by the continuing military tone of the parliamentary regimes and, although not excluded, seems rarely to have sat in the 1656–1658 parliament.

[41] Word heavily amended and could alternatively be read as 'where'.

[42] This is the first of seven letters in this collection (nos 160, 171, 191, 206, 212, 227, and 235) by William Jephson, all of them of the period February to May 1657, which are partly in a numbered code. The code is broadly similar to others in use at the time, with the lower numbers each standing for a letter of the alphabet and the higher numbers standing for prominent individuals, groups, or collective nouns. Although these letters have generally not been decoded here by their recipient and, as with Harrison's code, no key appears to be extant, the smaller numbers (standing for individual letters of the alphabet) can easily be decoded and the identities of many of the individuals and groups denoted by the higher numbers are quite clear. C.H. Firth worked through most of these letters and decoded large parts of them in his article 'Cromwell and the crown', *English Historical Review*, 18 (1903), pp. 52–80. Accordingly, in these letters those parts of the text which can reliably be decoded have been reproduced in that form and only where the meaning is uncertain or unclear has the letter been left in its original coded form and possible or probable meanings indicated in footnotes.

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parliament (by Sir Christopher Packe)[43] an humble addresse to his Highnesse desiring him to accept of the kingly office, and to declare his successour, and to constitute another house of parliament, not exceeding 70, nor under 40, and severall other thinges touching the priviledg of parliaments and libertye of the subject. It beeing ghuest what this meant, twas debated till 3 in the afternoone, before it could bee brought to a question for reading of it; but then there was to the vote 144 in the affirmative and but 54[44] in the negative, and yet they held us out untill six at night before it could bee resolv'd to resume it this daye; which was done accordingly, and the whole morning spent in debate upon the businesse in generall, and a motion to bring it into a grand committee (which wee had felt the smart of in the last parliament), but at length resolv'd to bee debated in parts in the house. 402. and 1111.[45] are the fierce sticklers against it. The more then ordinary opposition of the latter upon pretences of religion, which most men think him not much guilty of, I thinke drives on the businesse the faster. Fleetwood and general Desborough speake against it but calmlye. Those I wrote in my last continue firme, 310. and 1306.[46] pretty equally divided. In fine, my lord, in probabilitye of humane reason, wee are in good hopes of a settlement amongst ourselves. But that which gives some disturbance is our jealousye of the Dutch, who have done somthinges towards us, which looke unfriendlye, but they disowne any of those actions upon a publique account. I hope that God, who hath hitherto carryed us thorough soe many difficulties, will still bee our support. His Highnesse hath made mee one promise more, of writing to your lordship for mee concerning the 50 by captain Whaleye.[47] I shall only kisse your lordship's hands, and take leave to subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,
Wm Jephson

[43] Parliamentarian politician and London-based merchant and financier; as a rising figure in metropolitan politics and administration he strongly supported the parliamentary cause during the 1640s and 1650s, and as lord mayor in the mid-1650s he became a prominent supporter of Protector and Protectorate. He was rewarded with a string of mainly financial appointments and in 1656 was sent on a diplomatic mission to Sweden. He was elected to represent the City of London in the second Protectorate parliament and was very active within parliament, not least in presenting this proposal on 23 February 1657, though he claimed to have had no hand in its drafting.

[44] The voting figures have been heavily amended but are quite clear.

[45] Probably 'Sydenham and Lambert'.

[46] Probably 'the army and the officers'.

[47] Possibly Richard Whalley or his elder brother, John Whalley, parliamentarian officer, who was also serving in Henry Cromwell's horse regiment in Ireland.

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161. From George Monck, Dalkeith, 24 February 1657, 821, fos 292–293.

May itt please your excellencie,

Having the opportunitie of this bearer, I make bold to acquaint your excellencie with what newes I heare, which is, that Charles Stuart intends this summer (if monies doe nott fayle him) to give us some trouble both in Ireland and Scotland, and I heare the earle of Ormond is to come over into Ireland, and also Inchiqueene,[48] if they can perswade him and Middleton hither; and Mr Secretary Thurloe writes worde to mee that they intend likewise to give them trouble in England, butt itt is nott visible to mee by their preparations which way they are able to doe itt. I have a greate ambition to bee a planter under your excellencie if I could gett butt libertie to bee loose from my command heere, which I hope in a short time I shall have. I have nothing else to trouble your lordshippe withall, butt to lett you know that I am,

Your excellencie's most humble servant,

George Monck

162. From Anthony Morgan, London, 24 February 1657, 821, fos 294–295.

May it please your excellency,

Wee are now at that crisis which was expected. Yesterday a remonstrance was brought in to the house for their consent to be offered in their name to his Highness. It containes these heads, vizt: that his Highness would accept the title, stile, dignity and office of king; that he would appoint and declare his successor; that their might be 2 houses of parliament, one of which (not called lords in the remonstrance) should not exceed 70 nor be under 40 persons; that their should be trienniall parliaments not to be dissolved in 50 dais; that members legally chosen, if excepted against as not qualified, should be tried by a committee of parliament and the councell, and an appeal lye to the house; the qualification of electors and elected are sutable to those in the instrument of government; that none should be of the privy councell but such as should be approved by parliament; commanders of the armys after his Highness's death to be made by consent of parliament; that no disturbance should be given to ministers; liberty to all but in the excercise of popery, prelacy, or disturbance of the civill peace.

[48] James Butler, Marquess of Ormond, and Murrough O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin, the principal supporters of the king in Ireland during the 1640s.

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Sir Christopher Pack offered this paper to the house. The whole debate reflected upon him. In the question whether it should be admitted or not he was well backed, but gave some advantage against himselfe by privatly confessing to one satte by him that he had never read it, who charged him publiquely with it in the house. Sydnam[49] moved a committee might be appointed to find out the contrivers of this remonstrance. Captain Baines[50] moved he might be called to the barr. Many arraigned him, but upon the question whether it should be read or not the house devided; 144 were for it, 54 against it. This day wee contended hard about the manner of considering the paper, and resolved tomorrow morning to read it by parts. Lord Lambert is violently against it. Desborow, Sidnam, lord deputy, Strickland,[51] Pickering[52] and some others of the councell are against it. Lord president Lawrance, Philip Jones, Mountegue,[53] Sir Charles Wolsly, lord Fines,[54] Skippon,[55] Thurlow are highly for it. Sir Richard Onslow[56] is head of the country party for it. Sir William Strickland[57] against it. All the long robe[58] are keenly for it. The Irish all for it but Cooper, Huson

[49] William Sydenham, the Protectoral councillor.

[50] Adam Baynes, parliamentarian officer and politician, was by 1646 serving as an officer in John Lambert's horse regiment and became a protégé, trusted agent, and close colleague of Lambert. As such, he rose (and later fell) as Lambert's power waxed and waned, acquiring property and public offices during the 1650s. He sat for his home town of Leeds, where he maintained a power base, in Oliver Cromwell's two Protectorate parliaments.

[51] Walter Strickland, parliamentarian politician and diplomat, served as parliament's ambassador in the Netherlands from the early 1640s to the early 1650s. He reportedly became close to Cromwell after his return to England in 1651 and was a founder member of the Protectoral council, very active in domestic, foreign, and diplomatic affairs throughout the Protectorate. He sat in both Protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell.

[52] Sir Gilbert Pickering, parliamentarian politician, supported the parliamentary cause during the 1640s both in parliament and as an active administrator in his native Northamptonshire. He became a friend and ally of Oliver Cromwell, was a founder member of the Protectoral council, was very active in domestic, foreign, and diplomatic affairs throughout the Protectorate, became the Protector's lord chamberlain, and sat in both Protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell.

[53] Edward Montague, the Protectoral councillor.

[54] Nathaniel Fiennes, the Protectoral councillor, probably styled 'lord' because he was a commissioner of the great seal.

[55] Philip Skippon, parliamentarian officer and politician, had a long and distinguished military career, fighting on the continent in the pre-war years and then as parliament's principal commander in London during the 1640s and 1650s, including his service as major-general for London in 1655–1657. He was a founder member of the Protectoral council and sat in both Protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell.

[56] Parliamentarian politician who had been prominent in the parliamentary administration of his native Surrey during the 1640s and sat for that county in both Protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell.

[57] Parliamentarian politician, and elder brother of councillor Walter Strickland, he represented his native Yorkshire in both Protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell.

[58] Those MPs who were judges or practising lawyers.

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and Sanky.[59] All the Yorkshiremen are against it but Charles Howard.[60] Last night some of the major-generalls were with his Highness; tarried a quarter of an hower in the roome before one word pased from either. At length they began and complained of the parliament. His Highness answered hastily: What would you have me doe? Are not they of your own garbling? Did not you admit whom you pleased and keep out whom you pleased? And now doe you complain to me? Did I meddle with it? And so withdrew without further declaring.

Pray satisfie Gorge that the act about Portum[61] will not be offered to his Highness till severall other acts are ready to offer with it, which may be worth the troble of an interview twixt his Highness and parliament, but that tis safe enough. I thinke tis a great advantage tis so long passing since you are sure what will pass in terminis,[62] because before you can take publique notice of it many orders for setting out lands may purposly pass or be stopped, to make things fitt against the execution, if he means to be guilty of contrivance. Pardon me that I abuse him before your lordship's face; I goe to my country lodging tonight and have not time to doe it to his face.

I remain your lordship's faithfull servant,
A Morgan

163. From John Reynolds, London, 24 February 1657, 821, fos 296–297.

May it please your excellency,

I have delivered your lordship's letters according to direction, and that excellent draught to the lord Whitelocke[63] was with much deserved respect received. We are againe engaged in a long debate which will necessarily postpone our other busines, as well as that of Ireland. I

[59] Irish in the sense of having seen military service in the English army in Ireland. Thomas Cooper represented the Irish constituency of Counties Down, Antrim, and Armagh, but John Hewson and Hierome Sankey represented English constituencies in this parliament, sitting for Guildford and Marlborough respectively.

[60] He sat for Cumberland.

[61] During the winter of 1656–1657, parliament debated a bill that included a provision confirming the Portumna estate to Henry Cromwell (*TSP*, VI, pp. 7–8; *Burton*, I, pp. 223, 259).

[62] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'in the end' or 'finally'.

[63] Bulstrode Whitelocke, parliamentarian politician, lawyer, and diplomat, supported the parliamentary cause during the 1640s, though with some misgivings, and, while he was active in parliament and in negotiations for settlement, he played little part in military affairs and held aloof from the regicide. He served as ambassador to Sweden in 1653–1654 and generally supported the Protectorate, though with reservations, which led to his dismissal as a commissioner of the great seal in 1655, but he retained his role as a treasury commissioner and was consulted by the Protector on key issues. He sat in both Protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell.

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suppose your lordshipp will receive it from other hands, and indeede I wish it were so carried as that common fame did not carry abroade our debates in parliament. But the disengenious of some men professing higher principles is such that, although we have the major vote, nothing can be concluded, not so[64] much in 2 dayes' debate as to debate it in the house and not in a grand committeee. I observe wonderfull h l t e f a h a u t n in 4 (and which is more straunge in 3 and 22, and in most 39, except 37) towards 1.[65] I beseech your lordship have good espialls upon the army there, least we be prevented of the good of settlement by disturbances amongst the instruments of peace who manage those of warre. It is hoped that all these heates will end in a calme, but I promise nothing but a constant readines to obey your lordship's commands, and whether I change my stile of addresse or no, yet I will never vary in the substanciall parts of affection and fidelity. The business is so raw at present as it will endure onely gentle handling. The other house or ballance goes heavily on. That of single person is greately approved in the company attending it, being liberty and property regulated and secured. I hope to give your lordship some account of things done as wel as saide. In the meane time I remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servaunt,

J Reynolds

164. From Henry Ingoldsby, Limerick, 28 February 1657, 821, fos 298–299.

My lord,

Haveinge by the last poast received your commands for the dispose off the £300, which was put into my hands the last summer, accordinge to the first intentions off itt, which was to buy provisions for that division off the feild forces att Kylmallocke[66] and heare abouts, I am enforced to give this account to your lordship in answeare theareunto: that accordinge to your directions, I have gon on in that necessary

[64] Word amended/blotted and possibly deleted.

[65] This curious code or cypher, partly in letters as well as the more usual numbered system, is only very rarely employed by Reynolds in his surviving correspondence of this period and no key appears to be extant. Accordingly, nothing more than unsubstantiated guesses can be offered. The figure 1 may represent the Protector and the other low numerals, including 3 and 4, senior figures in the Protectorate such as Lambert, Fleetwood, or Desborough. 39 appears to represent a group – the major-generals, perhaps – and 37 a single individual within that group who was the only one to adopt a different line towards 1. The letters could represent a single word, apparently a feeling or attitude – positive or negative – taken by 4 towards 1. Beyond that, however, little can be said with any certainty.

[66] Kilmallock, County Limerick.

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worke about the greate castle in Lymbr,[67] which thow tis the most considerable fronteere cyttadell in Ireland for Clare and Connaught, being the cheife inlett to both and grand magazeene for thes parts, yett till now itt had not accommodation anuffe within itt for the quarteringe off above three fyles off men for the defence off itt. Neither did itt take in Thomd[68] Bridge, which now by the pullinge downe a slight gatehous and makeinge up a lusty tower in the roome off itt, itt doth soe absolutely command that thear's noe seemeinge possibility for an enemy on that side to prajudice itt, or within much to hurt to itt. The work is but in the midle and not yett finished. I had noe other mony but the provision mony in my hands to doe itt with all, most off which is spent and contracted to bee spent about itt. Therfore I hope your lordship and the councell will take speedy care to supply this place with £300 more for provisions. Uppon which expectation I'le venture to see and cause uppon my score the provisions to bee made by the last off March att furthest, which I suppose is the time intended for itt, beinge confident that I shall not bee left in the lyrch thearein. I must entreate your lordship to take care that this garrison bee supplyed with 2 or 300 barrells off bulletts, theare beinge att present noe plenty off them heere. I shall (God willinge) cause and see that the forces in these parts shall bee in a readinesse and fittnesse to march against the time your lordship shall command them into the feild. Leiutenant-colonel Purefoy[69] shall have speedy notice off your lordship's pleasure to his desiers by, my lord,

Your excellency'se most humble and obleidged servant,
H Ingoldesby

165. From Bulstrode Whitelocke, London, 2 March 1657, 821, fos 300–301.

My lorde,

You are pleased to make so noble and free a returne, expressing your good acceptation of that little piece of service, which I was farre more willing then capable to performe, relating to the buisnes of your

[67] An abbreviated form of Limerick, whose Norman, riverside castle, known as King John's Castle, fell to the Catholic rebels in 1641 and to Ireton in 1651.

[68] An abbreviated form of Thomond. Thomond Bridge, crossing the Shannon in the centre of Limerick, lay adjacent to, but beyond the defensive circuit of, the castle.

[69] William Purefoy, parliamentarian officer and politician, served in Ireland from 1647 in the foot regiment successively commanded by James Castle, Henry Slade, and Edward Leigh; although that regiment was largely disbanded in 1653, Purefoy probably retained links with Ireland, showing up again in active service in 1659 in Robert Barrow's foot regiment there. He sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, representing Limerick and Kilmallock in the first.

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excellence in parliament,[70] that therby my experience is inlarged, that it is much more gratefull to serve one perticular person of honnour then many. I cann only assure your excellence that this act of mine was with unfeigned affection to your service, and butt an earnest of my desires to be commaunded by you.

We are now very buisy in parliament uppon the great point concerning governement, wherin is difference of opinion, as uppon the former great point. I hope it will please the Lorde so to direct us, that our resolutions may be pleasing to Him and for the security of His people. To me, nothing is more satisfactory then a free debate, and I shall hope that the best reason will find best approbation.

My lorde, I have not bin so happy as to have a neerer relation to Ireland, butt my affections to it and to your lordship's commaunds doe sufficiently oblige me to contribute the uttmost of my smalle ability to promote those affaires and bills which doe concerne that countrey. Wherin I shall be very carefull and ready to joine with those worthy gentlemen who serve for Ireland, and who are pleased to doe me the honnour sometimes to conferre with me about those matters.

I feare I may be troublesome to your lordship's more serious affaires. This is only to present my very humble thankes for the favour of your letters, and to take the opportunity to expresse myselfe what I really am, my lorde,

Your excellencye's most faithfull and most humble servant,

B Whitelocke

166. From Nicholas Bernard,[71] Gray's Inn, London, 3 March 1657, 821, fos 302–303.

May it please your lordship,

I have wrott thrise in obedience to your lordship's comands in relation to the lord primat's lybrary,[72] but have not as yet heard of their receipt. I hope there was nothing in either of them any waies

[70] Probably the Portumna bill, which Whitelocke had moved in parliament in late December 1656.

[71] Church of Ireland minister, he was a protégé of James Ussher, ordained by him, serving as his chaplain and through him scooping up a number of positions within the Church of Ireland. He stayed in Ireland after the rebellion, not least to protect Ussher's library in Drogheda. He was imprisoned on a brief trip to London in 1647 but returned to Ireland as minister in Drogheda for 1649–1650. He spent the 1650s in London as preacher at Gray's Inn and also served as one of Oliver Cromwell's chaplains and almoners. Still close to Ussher, he oversaw the archbishop's funeral in the spring of 1656 and the disposal of his possessions, and then worked to protect his late master's reputation.

[72] Henry Cromwell was keen to acquire the celebrated library of the late archbishop of Armagh, perhaps intending it for a second university college that he hoped to establish in Dublin.

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displeasing to your lordship. As soone as Sir Tymothy Tyrrell[73] hath concluded with those your lordship hath appointed to treate with them, I shall not faile to see the bookes delivered accordingly, and I observe these other comands received in your lordship's letter to me, and what else shall be comitted to the care of,

Your lordship's most humble and devoted servant,
N Bernard

167. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 3 March 1657, 821, fos 304–305.

Deare brother,

Ther hath bine very litle done this last weeke in the great buysnes, only this day the howse hath past that part that his Highnes doe nominate and declare who shall be his successor. What the Lord will doe with us I canot tell or own. Divisions I much dreade, though I must tell you our common enimy are very active and vigorously dilligent to watch with the 1st oppurtunity to rise, and it is beleived they will suddenly attempt an insurrection if the Lord prevents it not, and that very suddenly. The declaration which they purpose to put forth we have hade a sight of it, which is very short, much upon the usuall theames of liberty to the people and to deliver them from the tyranny, as they are pleased to call it, which they conceive us to be under.[74] This insurrection with that barbarous design against his Highnes' person is yet carying on, but the Lord, I trust, hath in so great and wonderfull mercy discovered a great part of the designes, which through the same gracious presance, we trust, will still be whitnessed against and blasted. The king of Scotts hath a considerable force with him, which if he can lande upon English shoare he hopes to have a great accession of forces from his own party heare, but the Lord who hath owned us still will[75] against all such designes. I know you have an account of all thes things from the Secretary and therefor I shall not further trouble you. Major Owen, having it seemes received his Highnes' comission for Maryborow,[76] hath sollicited me for to have it under the great seale of Ireland. I have consented to a fiat but not to take effect without

[73] The late archbishop's son-in-law, husband of the archbishop's only child.

[74] The plot to assassinate the Protector, led by Miles Sindercombe, had collapsed in January, but further royalist attempts against the regime were feared.

[75] Word apparently omitted.

[76] Henry Owen, parliamentarian officer, serving in Ireland in John Reynolds's horse regiment but currently in London sitting in parliament for Counties Westmeath, Longford, and King's, was governor of Maryborough (now Port Laois), Queen's County.

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your consent, ther being nothing which relates to Ireland that I would willingly doe with your dislike. My haste must pleade the excuse of,

Your most affectionate brother,

Charles Fleetwood

168. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 3 March 1657, 821, fos 306–307.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of colonel John Fawke,[77] *requesting he be allocated 500 acres in and around Laughlinstowne*[78] *in satisfaction of his arrears.*

169. From Vincent Gookin, Westminster, 3 March 1657, 821, fos 308–309.

My deare lord,

I had the hapiness to receive your lordship's in answer to 3 of mine formerly sent. This is only to give your lordship my humble thankes for that lettre of your lordship, and your advice in it. Tis possible my affection and the strength of my desires after what I would have may make mee judge things tending therto more probable to attaine the wished end than indeed they are, but this I am sure of, that I have not misrelated matter of fact, and my conjectures have soe often hit, that a litle presumption I hope may be the better borne with. My lord Broghill, Sir Charles Woosly and colonel Philip Jones, upon my aquainting them of my sudden departure, were much against it, and told mee that his Highness would be pleased to write to the councell to dispence with mine and colonel Merkham's stay heere for a moneth,[79] and that none might be put in our places till wee came by their direction. I wrote a lettre to that purpose, which the Secretary promised to have signed and sent by this post. And truely, my lord, I

[77] Parliamentarian officer and politician, he campaigned in England during the civil war but, in 1647, went to Ireland as lieutenant-colonel of Anthony Hungerford's newly raised foot regiment. He became governor of his home town of Drogheda but had to surrender it to royalist forces in June 1649. Soon after, he returned to England, where he raised a foot regiment of his own. By 1651 he was back in Ireland as governor of Drogheda; he held a string of civil and military offices in Ireland during the 1650s, was particularly active in the land settlement, and was returned for Counties Meath and Louth to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments. In part, this note draws upon an unpublished article on John Fowke of Drogheda, County Louth, written by Dr Patrick Little for the 1640–1660 section of the History of Parliament. I am grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see this article in draft.

[78] Loughlinstown, County Dublin.

[79] On 7 January 1657, the Irish council had written to Markham and Gookin, requesting them to seek leave of absence from parliament and to return to Ireland to oversee the letting of state land (Dunlop, pp. 648–649).

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humbly conceive that the worke of setting 21 yeare leases cannot be put in execution yet for the preparations to it will take up more than a moneth, and I humbly conceive that one generall order of the councell that all tenants who last yeare tooke lands of the state shall continue in their holdings at the same rents this yeare, except such as complaine of their bargaines, canne be noe losse to the state because the lands were well set last yeare, neither can it be any hindrance to setting the same lands within that yeare for 21 yeares. And for this worke, and setting tythes and excise, Mr King[80] and alderman Hooke,[81] I humbly conceive, will doe it faythfully and effectually.[82] I doubt not but your lordship is fully aquainted with the remonstrance offered the house touching the setlement of the govement in a king and 2 states, and what entertainement the dissatisfied officers of the army had at White Hall. Though I heard it not, I may safely say it was good because it did much good, for the next day they were much quieter and very willing and desirous to be satisfied. The debate of the remonstrance in the house is like to be long, but I hope will receive a good end, most of the good people of the nation and all the rest being for it.

I once more pray your lordship to declare to mee your pleasure wheather I shall hasten over. If soe I will not, God willing, stay heere 3 dayes after I have received your comands. The copie of that lettre to the northerne classis is dayly expected. As soone as I receive it I shall send it to your lordship. One minister had his approbation by the tryers last weeke and will be suddenly in Munster. Hee is a good man. If hee were not my brother I would say more. That which hinders many able men from going into Ireland is the uncertainty of the mayntenance, which our bill for maintenance of ministers will provide against. I am, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,
Vin Gookin

[80] Ralph King, alderman of Londonderry, returned for that constituency to the second Protectorate parliament.

[81] Thomas Hooke, merchant and influential alderman of Dublin, who supported the English regimes in Ireland and lent money and supplied provisions to the English army there, and who held various financial and judicial offices in Ireland during the 1650s. In the summer of 1657 he was praised by Henry Cromwell as 'constant to the parlament's interest', 'well affected [. . .] to his highnes's person and governement', 'active in bringing others also to the same persuasion', 'of good repute for godlines and sobrietie, and withal faithfull and industrious' (*TSP*, VI, p. 405).

[82] Eventually, in July 1657, the Irish council commissioned Markham, Gookin, King, and Hooke, as well as Richard Lawrence, to undertake the business (Dunlop, pp. 665–666).

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170. From Thomas Herbert, Warb[83] Street, Dublin, 3 March 1657, 821, fos 310–311.

May it please your excellencie,

Itt is not without much anguish of mind that I have been thus long from attending my duty, but am taught to submitt to God's will in all things. I have been lamintably troubled with a difluxion of rheghume[84] and sorenes of throate, which I every day hoped would quallifie. Dr Petty[85] gave mee, from time to time, your lordshipp's leave to attend the cure, and humbly crave one daye's absence or two more, when I trust my payne will be asswaged and that I may comfetably returne to serve your lordshipps as becomes,

Your excellencie's most faithfull and obedient servant,

Tho Herbert

171. From William Jephson, London, 3 March 1657, 821, fos 312–313.

My deare lord,

I gave notice in my last of a remonstrance brought into the parliament to desyre his Highnesse to accept of the title of king etc and divers other particulars, which I doubt not your lordship hath receyv'd from other hands. This hath beene very severely oppos'd, both in the parliament and without doores, by many officers of the armye, who made an addresse of that nature to his Highnesse and receyv'd from him a rounder awnswer then I believe they expected. Many particulars of his Highnesse' speech to them I have written to Munne Temple (which I thought too long to trouble your lordship withall) who will acquaint your lordship with them, if you have them not more exactly from other hands; from honest Downing[86] I had

[83] Probably an abbreviated form of Werburgh Street.

[84] Apparently a variant of 'rheum'.

[85] William Petty, physician, natural philosopher, academic, and administrator, was, by the early 1650s, professor of anatomy at Oxford and vice-principal of Brasenose. He went to Ireland in 1652 as physician to the English army there. In the mid-1650s he was employed in surveying or resurveying the forfeited lands in Ireland, the so-called 'down survey', preparatory to their allotment to English soldiers and investors. A strong supporter of Henry Cromwell, and employed by him as one of his secretaries, he therefore became a target for the more radical opponents of Henry Cromwell, including those – such as Benjamin Worsley – employed under Fleetwood in earlier surveys but displaced, sidelined, and often criticized by Petty.

[86] George Downing, parliamentarian officer, politician, and diplomat, served as chaplain to several parliamentary regiments during the mid- and late 1640s and as scoutmaster-general to the English army in Scotland from 1649. By the mid-1650s he held other, mainly financial offices, and in 1655 was sent on a diplomatic mission to the continent in the wake of the Piedmont massacre. He sat in all three Protectorate parliaments.

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them, who was by and heard them. At his house wee had a meeting of most of the officers here of your armye, my lord Howard, colonel Inglesbye[87] and others of this armye, in order to have lett his Highnesse see all his officers were not enemies to this remonstrance; but finding the heate of the others abated, I heare noe more of that. The first part of the first paragraph of the remonstrance (concerning kingship) is for the present layd asyde untill the rules bee agreed upon whereby hee is to governe. This was done by the consent of the Protector (as I have heard from very good hands) for the satisfaction of Fleetwood and 2007,[88] who I thinke will bee now very firme and indeavour to convert their brethren. Whaley, Gof,[89] Butler[90] and divers others begin to come in, and indeed wee had this day but very little opposition in passing a vote to desyre that his Highnesse would bee pleased to nominate and decleare, during his life, who should succeed him in the government of these nations. Lambert hath beene silent, both Saturnsday, yesterday and this day; I suppose hee hath now given up the bucklers.[91] Truly, I hope the time is come when God of his mercye will give us a happy settlement in these nations, that at least amongst ourselves wee may bee free from probabilitye of new warres. I shall add noe more to your

[87] Richard Ingoldsby, parliamentarian officer and politician, a regicide, and a cousin of Oliver Cromwell, supported the parliamentary cause from the outbreak of war, succeeding John Hampden as commander of a foot regiment incorporated into the New Model Army in 1645. He was elected to the Long Parliament in 1647 and supported the regicide. In 1655 he succeeded Howard as commander of a horse regiment then serving in Scotland, but Ingoldsby appears to have remained in England at this period, representing his native Buckinghamshire in both Protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell.

[88] Probably Desborough, though it is curious that, in his previous letter (no. 160), Jephson has used individual encoded letters to spell out his name, rather than using a single, high-number code for him.

[89] William Goffe, parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide, fought for parliament from the outbreak of the civil war and was, from 1645, an officer in the New Model foot regiment of Edward Harley and then Thomas Pride. Around the time of the regicide, he transferred to the foot regiment commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax and then by Oliver Cromwell; in 1651, having served as Cromwell's lieutentant-colonel in Scotland, Goffe was promoted to command that regiment. He strongly supported Oliver Cromwell and the Protectorate, sat in both Protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell, and, from 1655 to 1657, served as major-general of central southern England. Although his loyalty was tested by the offer of the crown, which clearly made him uneasy, he remained a firm Cromwellian.

[90] William Butler/Boteler, parliamentarian officer and politician, though prior to his appointment as a major-general in 1655 his military record was surprisingly slight, and he did not gain command of a regiment until much later, in 1659, and then only briefly. As major-general for a group of East Midlands counties, including his native Northamptonshire, his energetic and uncompromising approach won him a few friends but many enemies. He represented Northamptonshire in the second Protectorate parliament, the only parliament in which he sat.

[91] Buckler: a shield or small piece of armour, often carried or worn on the arm, or occasionally a lance or spear.

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lordship's trouble, which you constantly receyve, only as a testimony of the obedience of, my lord,

Your lordship's most faythfull and affectionate, humble servant,
Wm Jephson

172. From Anthony Morgan, London, 3 March 1657, 821, fos 314–315.

May it please your excellency,

Last weeke I gave you some account of the remonstrance, which is proposed to the house for them to offer to his Highness. Since, the house kept a day of humiliation.[92] The same day some officers of the army did the like, and having gotten a coppy of the remonstrance, presented it to his Highness with their dissatisfactions to it. Collonell Mills[93] was their mouth. His Highness told them that what they now so much startled at was a thing to which they were formerly reconciled so farr that when they made him dissolve the Long Parliament (for twas done against his judgment) they would have made him king. When he had refused that, they would have had him choose 10 persons to assist him in the government, but because he might be suspected to have too much influence upon them he proposed 140, and those were nominated by themselvs; not an officer of the degree of a captain but named more then he himselfe did.[94] These 140 honest men could not governe; the ministry and propriety were like to be destroyed. Then 7 of them made an instrument of government, brought it to him with the name of king in it, and there was not much counsell or consideration had in the making it, and accordingly it proved an imperfect thing which will neither preserve our religious or civill rights.[95] His opinion was last parliament that it must be mended, but the parliament must not touch it; they must be sent home with no good report of the goverment; it was against his mind.[96] Then you would be mending it yourselvs, when you know I am sworne not to suffer it to be altered but by parliament, and then you might have given me a kick on the breech and turne me going. Then you would have this parliament

[92] On 27 February.

[93] John Mill/Mills, parliamentarian officer, who served in Richard Ingoldsby's foot regiment and succeeded him as its colonel in 1655.

[94] The ejection of the Rump in April 1653 and the establishment of the Nominated Assembly, which opened in July 1653.

[95] The resignation of the Nominated Assembly and the establishment of the Protectorate under a written constitution, the Instrument of Government, in December 1653.

[96] The first Protectorate parliament was abruptly dissolved in January 1655, in large part to kill off its still incomplete Government Bill, a revised constitution designed to replace the Instrument.

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called; it was against my judgment, but I could have no quietness till[97] was done; when they were chosen you garbled them, kept out and put in whom you pleased by the instrument, and I am sworne to make good all you doe, right or wrong, and because 120 are excluded I must thinke them malignants or scandalous whether they are so or not.[98] Yet now you complain of those[99] are admitted. I have no designe upon them or you. I never courted you nor never will. I have a sure refuge; if they doe good things I must and will stand by them. They are honest men and have done good things; I know not what you can blame them for unless because they love me too well. You are offended at a house of lords.[100] I tell you that unless you have some such thing as a balance you can not be safe, but either you will grow upon the civill liberties by secluding such as are elected to sitt in parliament (next time for ought I know you may exclud 400); or they will grow upon your liberty in religion. I abhor James Nailer's principle, yet interposed. You see what my lettre signified.[101] This instrument of government will not doe your worke. Choose 6 or 7 out of your number to come and speake with me and[102] will give them further satisfaction, and so good night.

You may easily judge that this hath given occasion to many heady people to consider. I am well asured wee shall have no tumults. Sidnam hath absented himselfe from the house of late, who was most furious. Many others comply and wee goe soberly but slowly on. Wee have postponed the 1st paragraphe about the name of king to be last considered. I have written to Dr Gorge about Sir Timothy Terrell's books. I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient and most faithfull servant,

Ant Morgan

[97] Word – perhaps 'it' – apparently omitted.

[98] In fact, in line with the Instrument, the exclusion of over one hundred MPs deemed hostile to the regime at the start of the second Protectorate parliament had been undertaken by the council.

[99] Word – perhaps 'who' – apparently omitted.

[100] The restoration of a second and unelected parliamentary chamber, as envisaged by the recently proposed constitution.

[101] James Naylor, a former parliamentarian soldier and a very active Quaker preacher and writer, had, in the autumn of 1656, ridden into Bristol with adoring female followers in support, allegedly in blasphemous imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, though Naylor vigorously denied this. In December 1656, the second Protectorate parliament tried Naylor, found him guilty, and, although narrowly voting against the death penalty, condemned Naylor to be whipped, pilloried, bored through the tongue, branded, and indefinitely imprisoned, in the process brushing aside the Protector's questioning of parliament's legal or constitutional right to act in this way. While distancing himself from Naylor's actions, Oliver Cromwell was clearly worried that an unrestrained parliament could act in this way and might unleash further religious persecution and so narrow or undermine liberty of conscience.

[102] Word – perhaps 'I' – apparently omitted.

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173. From John Reynolds, 3 March 1657, 821, fos 316–317.

May it please your excellency,

I have lesse to write because I have received no commands from your lordshipp for some time, and the publique busines of the new moddell of governement (with some private bills) take up the whole time, and no roome for Ireland in the thoughts of any untill this be dispatched. I shall not write much, but can, I hope, assure your lordshipp of a good settlement by meanes of the unanimity of parliament to adhere to his Highnes, and his Highness' gracious and reciprocall kindnes to them expressed in a speech to the officers, who are united and wel satisfyed. This day the house resolved that the clause of desiring his Highnes to nominate and declare his successour be part of the remonstrance now under debate, and it passed without division or opposition. 39.[103] agreede to the resolve. I went out of the house before the question. I have beene advised not to write many particulars, and I suppose that a copy is sent unto your lordshipp of the whole remonstrance or paper. I shall conclude with an humble suite unto your lordshipp that if major Fox,[104] who hath a peice of my land in his lott, shall apply for a reprizall, that he may[105] have a grant thereof, because I can make my title cleare to what he had before; and having my grant so much short of the first order and intention, I hope this small parcell, which lyes within pistoll shot of Carickhouse, will not be taken from me. Your lordship's favour and justice herein will oblige,

Your excellencye's humble and faithfull servaunt,

J Reynolds

174. From John Bridges, London, 3 March 1657, 823, fos 19–20.

May it please your lordshipp,

By the inclosed, though very rude and crude, your lordshipp will discerne and bee able to make a judgmente not only of the present condition of our affaires but alsoe of the event of the greate businesse that lyes before us. Wee that are uppon the place are of opinion that our worke is more then halfe done, and the rather because the opposite party either lay downe the cudgells or leave the feild, and many (and those not of least consideration) come over to us. That (wee feare) will most stick with us is the ballance, or house of lords as some

[103]Assuming that Reynolds is employing the same code as that used by him in no. 163, 39 is a collective noun, designating a group, perhaps the major-generals.

[104]Perhaps the Joseph Fox serving in Ireland in Anthony Hungerford's foot regiment in the late 1640s, though the identification is uncertain.

[105]The sense of the entire sentence suggests that the word 'not' may have been omitted in error at this point.

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call it, of which wee hope to see an yssue within 4 dayes. Wee have had notable contending, both in publique and private, but having spent our powder wee now growe very calme and growe towards a reconcilemente.

The schoolemaster is nowe ready to goe over. If your lordshipp finde him not a person extraordinarly qualifyed for that employmente, never lett mee bee trusted in a business of your nature more. Dr Harrison wilbee able to give your lordshipp some present accompt of his abilities for that worke. I shall ever accompt it my greate honour to bee estemed as, my lord,

Your lordshipp's most humble and most faithfull servant,
Jo Bridges

175. From John Galland,[106] Coleraine, 6 March 1657, 821, fos 318–319.

May it please your exelency,

I have seene an order dated the 17 of February last sined by Doctor Gorge, by order from your exelency, lisensing one Hillman Cary Church and others to shew and implead mee, my leuitenant and ensin, or any of us att the shutts of the said Hillman Cary Church and others, or any of them. But, my lord, I dow not know any reason at all for their said desier, other ways then that I have said to them and others that their is sevrall lands falen to my company by lott in the county of Londonderry, and given to me and them by the commissoners for that purpose, to which lands the said persons dow clam an intrest by virtew of a lease or leases from the earle of Antrim.[107] Yet notwithstanding the said lands are given out to me as befor, which lands I have possessed on that accompt, and dow humbly conseve that the said possion should be in use or any of us till the comonwelth's intrest to the said lands should bee knowen. And therfor humbly intreat that the said order may bee revokd,[108] and if your exelency shall thinck fitt to lisense me I shall with much fredom and redines permit the state's titell to any of the said lands the next teerm, or when your excelency shall give me librty. I humbly intret your exelency to excuse me,

I rest your[109] lordshipp's unworthy servant,
Jo Galland

[106]Parliamentarian officer, serving in Ireland in the foot regiment commanded first by Henry Ireton and then by Fleetwood.

[107]Randal MacDonnell, second Earl and first Marquess of Antrim, was one of the most prominent Irish Catholic royalists of the 1640s. His tentative attempts during the 1650s to build bridges with the English parliamentary regimes in Ireland did not prevent the forfeiture of his extensive estates in Ulster.

[108]Word poorly formed and could alternatively be read as 'resolvd'.

[109]Word repeated in error.

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176. From Robert Saunders and Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 6 March 1657, 821, fos 320–321.

Right honnorable,

May it please your excellency. At this instant wee are retourned from on board the Playne Dealing, which wee left under sayle without the harbour. Collonell More being on board with all his men, the wynd being exceeding fayre, and the Basing friggott alongst with him, they left this harbour a little after fowre a clock this afternone, and wee beeseech the Lord to give them a safe and speedy passage. Wee shall not be able by this post to give your lordship and the councell the account our proceedings in this bussines, but by the next, God willing, wee shall. Wee have adventured to pay collonell More for the 14 late recruits, and the six men that lost their cloathes in the Two Brothers,[110] rather then to give any discouragement unto them at their shiping. Wee indeavoured the best wee could get the musters of the men taken, but could not possibly effect it by reason of the great hast in shiping them, but gave a guess very neere the number, yet were forced to depend upon the certificat of collonell More, which wee hereinclosed send your lordship. Two or three were slipt asyde, but others received in their romes. Wee shall make what inquiry wee can after them and get them apprehended if they may bee found. And this much wee humbly beseech your lordship to acquaint the councell with for the present, and so take our leaves to remayne,

Your lordship's most faithfull and humble servants,

Ro Saunders Robert Southwell

177. From Robert Saunders and Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 6 March 1657, 821, fos 322–323.

Right honourable,

May it please your lordshipp. We thought it our duty to give your lordshipps account of fower men of collonell Moore's number at this instant, beinge ten of clock at night, come ashore in a smale boate, which fales out by this occasion. Collonell Moore (when the shipp was saleinge downe with the tyde) sent his marshall on shoare to fetch

[110] After being delayed by want of ships and bad weather at Ayr, the 500 men drawn from Scottish regiments and earmarked for the West Indies (to provide the bulk of a new foot regiment under William Brayne) set sail from Scotland in October 1656. Roughly half the men and a number of officers, including lieutenant-colonel John Bramstone, though not Brayne himself, sailed on the *Two Brothers*, but she was wrecked on the Irish coast in Timoleague Bay near Kinsale with the loss of over 200 lives; there were around 40 survivors. Henry Cromwell relayed the sad news to Thurloe in a letter of 5 November 1656, alleging that the vessel had been 'olde and crazie' (*TSP*, V, pp. 558–559, 570).

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out of the towne prizon three men, that lay theire for leaveinge theire colours, one of them haveinge robd a towne's man of some mony, whome he had forgotten untill then. Which the marshall did, and when he had them on board his boate made after the shipp, and rowed as far as the Old Head, but the night cominge on and they beinge out of hopes to fetch them up and in much danger to goe any further, the boatemen turned backe againe. And we have committeed the three men to the marshalcey of this towne untill wee receive your lordshipp's orders concerninge them, as also about theire releife whilest they are heere, both for the marshall and the three prizoners. The marshall's name is Thomas Terrick; the prizoners' names, Phillip Patten, James Robbinson and Gerratt Murren. At theire comminge ashoare we were castinge about what might possibly bee done, and sent for captaine Sherlands, commander of the Kinsale friggot, and would have sent him with them to try, if he might with this night and tomorrowe's saylinge, fetch them up and deliver the men to collonel Moore. But he had not halfe a daye's provission on board him, and withall answered that it was a very greate uncertaintey wheather he might steere the direct cource after them or not, and made it (as we judged it) very unsea<son>able[111] to be done. Then we spoke with the owners of the Playne Dealinge, whoe had a shipp behind and neere ready to goe to Saint Christopher's, and would have had them to take them in and to deliver them to the governor of that island to be kept untill an oportunity served to send them to Jemayca. But this they refused unless we would contract anew for them, and withall we must have sent mayntanance for them there untill they might be sent, soe that we seinge noe way left to send them we have disposed of them as formerly, untill we heere from your lordshipps, alowing the marshall sufficient mayntanance untill then, and to the three prizoners twelve pence a day. Humbly desireinge your lordshipp's directions heerein we take leave, and remayne,

Your lordship's most humble servants,
Ro Saunders Robert Southwell

178. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 7 March 1657, 821, fos 324–325.

Deare brother,

Those things that might be whisperred ought not to be committed to paper, and therefore it is my greate unhappynesse that there should be alwayes such a distance and difficulty of coming to eache other.

[111] Originally written 'unseasonable', but the third syllable has then clearly been deleted.

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Though there is a barre to my penn in state affaires, yet I know noe law against brotherly affection, and to testify that is necessary and is a duty I only make now a returne, having lately received one from you, which was full fraughted with kindenesse. And to be wanting at this time would be a double sinn; the single one is too heavy, and the lighter the burthens of unkindenesse are made, the more eassyer and with the more comforte shall I passe through this peevish world. I can say you are some what more happy then others youre relations, for that you are oute of the spatterring dirte which is throwen aboute here; yet with some comforte, it is not soe much this weeke as it was 10 dayes agoe. I know noe newes beinge by reason of some debates in the howse shut oute for a rangler. Only I heare that the howse hath made themselves the commons by voting another howse; they are affraide of tytles; the feather in the cap is allowed to none but such gallants that waites upon ladyes. Robert Riche, my lady Frances' gallant, flyes with his plumes in Whitehall. Dr Owen hath been very angry and went in great haste oute of London. The Irish officers stand to your principles, which is your honour, to send such that are steddy and selfe denyall, preferring the publique good before any private. I know you have better intelligence then I can or dare to expresse, and therefore I shall desire you to be confident of my affections and service, and that you will doe me the favour to present my humble service to my sister. Having nothing more to trouble your more serious thoughts I rest,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

179. From John Bridges, London, 10 March 1657, 821, fos 326–327.

May it please your lordshipp,

I shall only presume to give you an accompt of the vote that passed the parliament on Thursday[112] – that his Highness will for the future bee pleased to call parliaments consisting of 2 howses (in such manner and way as shall bee more particulerly afterward agreed and declared in this remonstrance) once in 3 yeares. And since which tyme wee have beene taken upp for the most part in setlinge the people's libertyes, priviledges of parliament and qualifications of the members. The boysterous season is nowe over and there seemes to bee greate hopes of a serenity. Heere was a rumour as if the Anabaptist churches would publish a manifesto expressinge theire dislike of present proceedings, but wee heare little of it att present. My lord of Broghill hath gained to himselfe much honour by his prudent and dexterous deportments in

[112] 5 March.

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the house. Since wee are not able to see to the end of this parliament, itt is much desired that the rest of our fellowe members would come and take our places, for many of our Irish members growe weary of theire seates and talke resolutely of theire returne.[113] The weaknes and ymportunity of my poore wife, the greate concernements of my family and my particuler fortunes, doe soe presse uppon mee that I hope your lordshipp will pardon my returne, especially nowe that wee are gotten over greatest difficultyes of the remonstrance. I am in a straight: itt's scarce fitt for mee to come away, yet it's too hard for mee to stay. But where ever I am, I shall esteeme it as a duty to ymprove all occations to manifest myself, my lord,

Your excellencye's most faithfull and most humble servant,
Jo Bridges

180. From Henry Markham, Westminster, 10 March 1657, 821, fos 328–329.

May it please your excellencie,

I did formerly, by other hands, make my humble excuse that I have not yett left this place in order to your further service at Dublin. I have kept my horses five weekes in London still in hopes to have come away, but my wive's weakness hath detayned mee, and indeed yet shee is very weake and her phisitians advise her to try a litle fresh aire before shee undertake a greater jorney, soe as I hope your lordship will pardon mee that I doe not yett attend you. Mr Gookin informes mee that his Highness hath commanded both our stay, and that his Highness will signifie his pleasure to your lordship and the councill. However, I am willing to serve you anywhere, and submitt that to your judgement as you shall appointe. I am, my lord,

Your excellencie's very faithfull and humble servant,
H Markham

181. From Anthony Morgan, London, 10 March 1657, 821, fos 330–331.

May it please your excellency,

I am sorry my wife can comment no better upon my letters. Your lordship made a better guess when you thought my greife melancholly, and if I could give you any reason for it, it were not truly soe.

Nothing hath this week fallen under my observation which I thinke worth your knowledge. All is smooth and faire and looks towards

[113] Although thirty MPs were returned for Irish seats to the second Protectorate parliament, around half a dozen of them – mainly serving officers holding key posts – had been chosen by Henry Cromwell to remain in Ireland on active duty (*TSP*, V, pp. 398–399, 424, 443).

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settlement, one party in the house having thrown down the cudgells. I have one earnest sute to your lordship, that you will be pleased to make my reverend good frend, Dr Harison, beleive that I doe not love or honor him the less because I doe not write to him. What I write to others is as if to him, and I hope hee'l abate me the formality. Pray, my lord, excuse this sauciness and thinke the esteem I have of his frendship makes me use my best interest to preserve it. I remain,

Your excellency's most faithfull and most obedient servant,
Ant Morgan

Alderman Tighe[114] is afraid wee shall be boxed out of our farmes where our stocks are in our absence, and, because he could not make me beleive it, desires me to write his fears and address his prayers to your lordship for protection.

182. From Walter Waller,[115] London, 10 March 1657, 821, fos 332–333.

Letter of courtesy, expressing his respect for Henry Cromwell and desire to serve him.

183. From John Reynolds, London, 11 March 1657, 821, fos 334–335.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of Mr Burgh, the husband of the bearer, an unnamed kinswoman of Reynolds, seeking an office and encouragement in Ireland for Burgh, who practised law and who also had Whitelocke's support.

184. From William Moore, aboard the *Plain Dealing*, latitude 1: 48, 11 March 1657, 821, fos 336–337.

May it please your excellency,

It hath pleased the Lord to blesse us with fayre weather since our seting to sea. Since the first day untill this afternoone wee have had the winde westerly, but now wee[116] in hopes that the winde will continew fayre.

[114] Richard Tighe, parliamentarian politician, merchant and alderman of Dublin, and its mayor in 1655–1656. A firm supporter of the parliamentary cause in Ireland, to which he had lent money, and of Henry Cromwell's regime, he represented Dublin town in the second Protectorate parliament. He was excluded at the start of the session, but Henry Cromwell's protests quickly led to a change of heart and Tighe had taken his seat by late September 1656 (*TSP*, V, pp. 477–478).

[115] Parliamentarian politician and son of Sir Hardress Waller; he sat for Limerick and Kilmallock in the second Protectorate parliament.

[116] Word – probably 'are' – apparently omitted.

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At my comeing from Kinsale, when we wer reddy to set sayle, I sent our martiall for the 3 prisoners, which had runne from theyr cullers and wer apprehended, with direction to returne in an hower. But upon the master's protestation that if wee stayd soe long for them wee should loose the tyde and probably our passage, wee set sayle and left him beehinde. I humbly beg your excellency's favour towarde him in provideing for him untill he can come to us.

Ther is one sargentt Austen, who the cheurgiane judge unfitt to goe the voyage, who I have returned by captain Hadgesse. He is a stowte soldier and was ever very vigilent, carefull and industriouse in his place. I doe humbly beg your excellency's favour towards him.

Some parte of the bread which was baked in Kinsale, which could not bee put in the bread roome, was stawed in the hauld, and by the commissioners the owners wer to spend the same and to deliver the like quantity of theyr owne bread when they cam to Jamaca. The bread hath bin delivered out to us, and wee finde it allreddy mouldy in the inside. The seamen say that it was of the same sorte which was put into the bread roome, and if soe it will not only bee spoyled beefore our comeing to Jamaca, but it will spoyle the other bread which is sownd and was taken out of the other shipp. I have shewed of the bread to captain Hadgesse who can further informe your excellency thereof.

I did accoumpt it my duty to acquainte your excellency heere with. I shall ever bee a supplycant unto the Lord for your excellency's happynesse and as in duety bounde shall ever remayne, my lord,

Your excellency's most obliged, humble servant,

Wm Moore

185. From George Dillon, 13 March 1657, 821, fos 338–339.

May it please your excellency,

I formerly made bold to acquaint your lordships how my lord Broghill's troope was put by there lands in the county of Limbrick, and since had there lott by order in the county of Kerry and the barrony of Glannarough,[117] which wee are now possest of and have subdevided and disposed of it to our severall uses. Since which tim, I understand that major Ormesby[118] and sum others of the lord Coot's devition are indeavouring to disposess us, which will bee the utter undoeing of the officers and souldiers of the troope, who humbly

[117] Probably Glanarough, an alternative name for the townlands of Glenera in the Bere peninsula, County Kerry.

[118] Robert Ormsby, parliamentarian officer, was major in Sir Charles Coote's horse regiment in Ireland.

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desire your lordships would bee pleased to take notis of the injourey dun us. And what rightfull favour may bee dun herein, wee beeseech your lordships to afford it to the troop and to,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
George Dillon

186. From James Berry, Westminster, 14 March 1657, 821, fos 340–341.

Letter of request, on behalf of his good friend Mr Eddowes, who had been treated unjustly in respect of an estate he had bought in Ireland.

187. From Alexander Brayfield[119] to Thomas Herbert, Athlone, 14 March 1657, 821, fos 342–343.

Sir,

I have here inclosed sent you three letters which were sent to me from cornett Thomson, together with the man with whome they were found, who is here in prison. I desire, after you have read them, to sheow them unto my lord and to lett me have his lordship's further pleasure what shall be don with prisoner. Of the letters he will not confess anithing, onely they were given unto him by a poore woman to deliver as directed where he was to goe at his cominge out of Dublin. If I be not in the begininge of Aprill in the barroni of Carberri[120] to sett my land, I shall be a great sufferer. That I may not loose the oppertuniti I humbli intreat the favour that you would gett me leave from my lord. Att present not anythinge further to trouble you with, I remaine, sir,

Yours humbly to serve,
Alex Brafield

As I understand som of those lands that I put in for in barroni of Ballrederri were taken by collonel Barrow. I prai if you can speake with him and perswade him out of it and what chardges he hath beene att for improvements if you thinke good, I will make him satisfaction.

[119] Parliamentarian officer, who went to Ireland in 1649 in Hewson's horse regiment. By the early 1650s, he was lieutenant-colonel of Axtell's foot regiment and, by 1657, was lieutenant-colonel in Henry Cromwell's foot regiment. Henry Cromwell distrusted him, viewing him as a religious radical and an ally of Hewson and his group in stirring up disaffection within the army. Later in 1657 – to the Protector's dismay and ignoring other intercessions on his behalf – Henry had him court martialled and cashiered, condemning him as a 'busie and a turbulent person' and a promoter of 'seditious papers' and for keeping 'correspondence with all others of the like temper' (*TSP*, VI, pp. 505, 526–527, 552, 563–564, 568–569, 599; Abbott, IV, pp. 646–647).

[120] There were several baronies of Carbury (and alternative spellings) in Ireland: in County Kildare, County Sligo, and elsewhere.

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188. From Daniel Redman, Kilkenny, 15 March 1657, 821, fos 344–345.

May itt please your excellencie,

Captain Frankes and myselfe weare att Watterford, acordeing to your order, wheare theare mett aboute 100 Quakers and more, besides the parties off them that weare goeing thither, being ten or twelve in a companie, which I ordered our parties off horse and foote that weare aboute thre miles from the towne, on each side the watter, to turne backe againe, which otherwise would, I judge, have increased their number to above 200. There was nott any disturbance att all, onely they mett all in a greate barne wheare justice Cooke,[121] colonel Leigh and severall others spent att least two houres indeavoring to convince them off theire follyes, but too litle purpose. They all dispersed the next day, theire meeteing being onely to take leave off Humphrey Nowtton,[122] theire cheife champion, who was returneing for England; and some reportes there weare that one off theire number was to be sent to Tuarky.[123] Cornett Cooke was very jealous amongst them to defend theire opinions. Our partie off horse and foote weare beateing off boggs and woods and onely suposed to be akcedentally there. I advised colonel Leigh nott to permitt any more such consederable numbers, either off them or any off their adherents, to meete within that cytty. Mr Allen, Mr Vernon[124] and Mr Dayly[125] went to Waterford the day befor this meeteing, but did nott stirr out all that day. Itt was reported both heare and there that my goeing was onely to watch them. They returne by Wexford and soe to Dubline. I have nothing more to troubl your lordshipp with, onely humbly to begg your remembrance of Mr Parrie. I heare Mr Carey is either deade

[121] John Cook/Cooke, parliamentarian lawyer and judge and deemed a regicide, was first connected with Ireland in the 1630s, practising law in Dublin. From the mid-1640s he was employed by the Long Parliament as the state's representative in various legal cases, most notably as chief prosecutor at the trial of Charles I. Later in 1649, he accompanied Oliver Cromwell to Ireland and became an influential and reformist chief justice of Munster. In 1655, he declined a post in the newly restored four courts and, although he continued to sit in Ireland for a time, he returned to England later in 1657.

[122] Humphrey Norton, Quaker missionary, was briefly imprisoned in northern England in 1655. After a period in London, he crossed to Ireland by the summer of 1656 and spent the next few months touring the country, preaching, and seeking converts. In the face of increasing official harassment in Ireland, he returned to England in the spring of 1657 and sailed for New England on 1 June.

[123] Uncertain reading of a poorly formed word.

[124] That is, William Allen and John Vernon, formerly parliamentarian officers, who had resigned from the army towards the end of 1656. In April 1657, Henry Cromwell reported to Thurloe that Allen, Vernon, and their supporters were holding meetings and stirring up trouble in Ireland, though he felt it was still better they were in Ireland than in England at that time (*TSP*, VI, pp. 222–223).

[125] In a letter of December 1656, Henry Cromwell referred to meeting a Mr Doyley, a Baptist, who had been sent from Allen, Vernon, Barrow, and Axtell to arrange the meeting with Henry Cromwell at which they offered their resignations (*TSP*, V, pp. 670–672).

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or verry neare dieing. And your lordshipp was pleased to tell me that you would endeavour to helpe Mr Parrie to that imployment, which I begg your lordshipps to remember; and alsoe your pardon for this troubl, remaineing,

Your excellencie's faithfull, humble servant,
Dan Redman

189. From Philip Skippon, Mews, London, 16 March 1657, 821, fos 346–347.

May it please your excellency,

This worthy gentleman, my very loving friend (judge advocate Whalley),[126] being willing at my request to put himselfe to the trouble of bringing a Turkish semiter from mee to be presented unto you, upon noe other accompt but to testify the very great heart affectionate service that I owe unto you; be pleased favourably to accept thereof, though neither the giver nor the guift be worthy of soe much.

Not to flatter but to encourage you, I rejoice, with thankfullnes to the Lord, for what I and other good men heare your excellency labours after, for the publique safety, peace and comfort of honest men; and it is, and shall be through the grace of God, my daily earnest prayer that Hee would please still to stand by you, to be your guide and strength, and good successe is soe reall a worthy way.

I have of late bin very weake by reason of a very sudden and sore visitation my God pleased (though in much mercy) to lay upon mee, that I have not bin abroad about any publique businesse in a moneth's time; and am in noe very good condition at present to indite or write unto your excellency, which I humbly pray you to excuse.[127] And further to accept of the tender of my very humble and hearty service to your right honourable lady; and, if I durst presume, my kind love to Mr Brewster. And soe the Lord God, our heavenly Father, watch over you and yours allwayes, and in all thinges for good, which is the very humble and earnest prayer of,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servant,
Ph Skippon

[126] Henry Whalley, parliamentarian judge and administrator, and the younger brother of the parliamentarian officer and major-general Edward Whalley. During the 1650s, his legal career focused on Scotland, initially as a judge in the Scottish admiralty court and then as judge advocate of the army in Scotland. He was currently in London sitting for a Scottish seat in the second Protectorate parliament. In November 1656 he had petitioned for confirmation of a grant of land in Ireland (*CSPI*, pp. 614–615).

[127] Skippon's attendance at council meetings declined very markedly during the first half of 1657: he was present at just five meetings between January and June inclusive, and was entirely absent from 12 February to 26 May.

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190. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 17 March 1657, 821, fos 348–349.

Thes 2 last posts have not com, I suppose by reason of contrary winds. His Highnes hath latly received a letter from lieutenant-generall Brayn of his safe arivall at Jameicah with his men, and his very well liking of that island, and hopes of making good improvement to publicke advantage. Severall planters are gon and going; thos from Meins setled ther; divers allso intending from Barbadoes and this nation, ther being great incouragment to plantations. The Lord may yet smile upon that poore place and give a return to thos prayers and supplications which have bine put up for that design, which I trust hath more in the bowells of it then what the Lord hath by any vissible demonstration as yet borne a whitnes unto. But I am perswaded the Lord hath a designe of great glory against that state, and after all our humblings if we can but by faith live more upon Him, we shall see all our clowdings to make way for the more eminent appearances of Himselfe. The parliament is still going on in the busynes of the settlement. The Lord doth quicken up a spirit of prayer, which is a good pledg of mercy, and will, I hope, prove a strengthening unto his Highnes in what may concern him in this buysnes. The order of councell concerning your armes hath not that effect as it will by reason of the want which is therof in the stores, but I hope that will be shortly supplyed. We are and shall be in wants by reason of the long delay of the monyes intended to be raysed by parliment. The busynes which the howse is now upon takes up so much of time that all other affayres are retarded. One weeke longer will probably give some periodde as to give way for other buysnes, and then I hope what concerns Ireland will have its dispatch. Ther are some endeavors to engage the state of Venice to transport some of the Irish for their service, which I presume will be very wellcom to you, but it is very uncerteine and we have bine so many times disapoynted that I can give credit to nothing till don. The French have no minde to any of them, they being so well affected to the Spanyard and Charles Stuart. I shall not further adde then with our humble services to your deare lady, I am,

Your most affectionate brother.

191. From William Jephson, London, 17 March 1657, 821, fos 350–351.

My deare lord,

Wee have recyv'd noe letters out of Ireland since yesterday was fortnight, which wee much wonder at; for allthough the wind hath hung much easterlye, yett the weather here hath beene soe fayre and calme, as it hath not seemed to us impossible for the post

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barque to make a passadge. Wee now sit very close, both morning and afternoone, upon the remonstrance, in hope to finish it, eyther this weeke or the beginning of the next; for there is now very little opposition, neyther Lambert, 504. or 403.[128] having appear'd this fortnight; and Desborough, 3005., his brother commissioner of England,[129] and many of the officers of the armye beeing now for it. There came lately (as I am inform'd by 1558., but tis known to very few) to 441. his hands, a letter from 700. to a friend of his in Ireland, highly extolling Lambert, 505., 402. etc of that opinion, and on the contrarye debasing 404., 502., 1557., 2010., and the rest of that judgment as persons not faythfull to the interest of the good people, and giving greate incouradgments to 1224. to hold fast to his principles, and much stuff to that purpose. Hereupon Fleetwood was sent for and 700., and the letter shew'd to them both. Fleetwood was extreamly out of countenance; 700. lept and made greate protestations of better behaviour, but yett flew out in the parliament the next day as much as ever. This makes well for 3013. whom yett 1224. ceases not to maligne.[130] There was latelye a proposition made by some of the chiefe of them to sell 3002.;[131] that is to say that if Fleetwood might bee sent into Ireland, they would all submitt to whatsoever hee would commaund, but I hope the old saying is remembred: The divell was sicke and etc.[132] Wee are now gone through the remonstrance (excepting that of kingship layd by untill last by consent) unto the beginning of the tenth article concerning religion, which, though the difficult point, yett I ghuesse by the beginning of a debate wee had upon it this afternoone, that wee shall get well and quickly thorough it. The blanke in the 7th article (for I take it for graunted your lordship hath a copy sent you), for the summe of the revenue to bee settled, is fil'd up with 13 hundred thousand pounds, whereof one million for maintenance of the navy

[128] Final figure heavily amended. Either 504 or 403 probably stands for Sydenham, another prominent opponent who had largely withdrawn from the fray by this stage.

[129] So 3005 and his unnamed colleague are probably the two commissioners of the great seal, John Lisle and Nathaniel Fiennes.

[130] Alas, most of the encoded protagonists in this section cannot now be identified with any certainty, though the overall drift of the passage is fairly clear – that a colleague of Jephson had recently informed him of an inflammatory letter sent by 700 (who was a sitting MP) to Ireland, praising key members of the anti-kingship/republican group and condemning the supporters of the new constitution as working against the people's interests, whereupon Fleetwood and (his ally or agent?) 700 were sent for (by whom is not clear) and confronted, though promises of better behaviour proved worthless and divisions and personal animosities were continuing.

[131] Unknown.

[132] 'The devil was sick, the devil a saint would be; the devil was well, the devil a saint was he' was an early modern proverb warning that promises and good intentions made in times of adversity might not be kept once the adversity had passed.

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and army, and £300,000 for support of the government. With one part of that vote, I confesse, your servant was not well satisfyed, as not liking the parliament should declare soe much as the supposition of the perpetuitye of an army here, though I can not see to the end of its necessarye use. I shall not give your lordship any farther trouble at present, fearing lest I may grow burthensome by my constant tedious letters, but humbly begg pardon for this, and remaine, my lord,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Wm Jephson

192. From Benjamin Worsley,[133] London, 17 March 1657, 821, fos 352–353·

May it please your excellency,

Considering I had no expresse leave from your excellency to stay heere so long as I have done, I have the lesse reason to appeare before your lordship with any confidence; and the rather because I am convinced that no reason of my owne ought to be allowed for reason, in this case, as long as I am a person under comand; and this being case (my lord), I shall not presume to produce any excuses to your excellency, or to extenuate my owne blame, but rather to submitt myselfe, with that duty which doth become me, to your lordship's and the councell's pardon.

The things which did indeed, somewhat plausibly, perswade me into this error were, that I apprehended, without some settlement or other were made heere of the interest of the adventurers and souldiors, I should be able to propound very litle settlement to myselfe, or at least very litle understanding in the nature of my service when I returned backe to my duty there. That there would be such a settlement suddenly made, I had not only the incouragement of many, whose indeavours for it I conceived to be sufficiently ingaged by their owne interest, but some inducement further to beleeve it, in regard that I saw severall acts were prepared and actually given into the house in order to it. Beside which (my lord) observing very little union betweene the adventurers and souldiors in this busynesse and not much agreement even among the adventurers themselves, the interest of those who were

[133] Parliamentarian administrator and entrepreneur, he was in Ireland in the early and mid-1640s, working as physician to the army there and scheming to improve saltpetre production. After a spell on the continent he returned first to England, advising the Rump on its commercial policies, and then to Ireland, as secretary to the Irish commissioners and commissioner general for the revenue. In 1653, he became surveyor general for forfeited estates in Ireland but, although he retained that post until 1658, by the mid-1650s he found himself eclipsed by Petty and his survey.

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gott into their land being one thing, and the interest of such who were deficient being another, and being imployed, by the councell's order heere, in many meetings with the adventurers, I was somewhat the more prompted to stay to see the yssue of this busynesse. Especially in regard it was the opinion of some that when so many interests should appeare to thwart one another in the house, a right and impartiall information of things would not then be unseasonable. It was also (my lord) not without ground beleeved, that some of those different interests might possibly finde out expedients to accomodate each other, so that the comonwealth's interest were excluded. All which things (my lord) I take the boldnesse to alleadge, not as any sufficient plea for my stay, but rather ingenuusly to lett your excellency see my weakenesse.

This neverthelesse I have really and truly to pleade (my lord), that I have not beene moved to stay heere out of any base or covetuous ends. Upon the truth of which, as also, that I have not at any time beene hasty to grow rich, or (since my first being entertained into publick service) cunningly sought to make advantages to myselfe by my imployment (beyond what was my just due and right), and upon the cleare consciousnesse I have to myselfe that in this no man can reproach me. I am bold, though I cannot any way challenge a merritt to myselfe, humbly to preferre a request to your lordship, and which I hope your excellency will not judge any impudence in me. I had, my lord, about two yeare and halfe since a custodium granted me, by the councell, of the estate of one Gerard Fitz-Gyrald,[134] a rebell in the Queene's county, which estate was wholly waste and without any tennant save a very few cabbins of Irish. The councell being then pleased further to give me an expectation that, in regard the said estate was not land of inheritance but only a forfeyted lease of twenty odd yeares still to come (the right of inheritance being in the earle of Kyldare),[135] they would write in my behalfe to his Highnesse that I might have leave to buy or compound for the said lease with the comonwealth. My lord, I did upon this hope enter upon the land and turne off those Irish that were upon it, and did with a friend putt in a plough and some litle stocke upon it, but have hitherto beene so farre from making any benefitt of it, that what with the deceitfullnesse of some bailiffs that were intrusted, and what with other casualtyes, we are both, my lord, in truth hitherto loosers by it. Fearing therfore, my lord, that this may be canted[136] away from me, to my yet greater

[134] Son of an illegitimate son of the Earl of Kildare, as an active supporter of the Catholic rebellion his estates had been forfeited.

[135] The earldom then rested with George Fitzgerald as sixteenth earl (*CSPI*, pp. 244, 289).

[136] Canted: sold by auction.

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dammage, I could not but take the courage to addresse myselfe to your excellency in it, as hoping that by your lordship's intermediation with the councell, I might eyther have leave from their lordships (or be recomended hither) to compound for it at such rates as shall be thought fitt by your excellency and their lordships. Or if this were not sutable to your excellencye's and their lordships' pleasure, yet that at least I might, by your excellency's favor, have an order to continue tennant in it for senven[137] yeares at the rent I now pay. I obleiging myselfe to bestow within that time so much in buylding and other improvement, as your lordship and the councell shall thinke fitt to appoynt me.

My lord, I shall crave your excellency's leave to add that I am the more animated, and indeed constreyned to presse this request to your lordship, because there is hitherto no manner of settlement made for me; and that if your lordship, therefore, should please in this to declyne my humble suyt, I have really very litle, my lord, that I can propound to myselfe in Ireland, having hitherto, as I declared before to your lordship, made no advantages to myselfe during all the time of my service there.

And though I shall presume to wayte heere for your excellency's answer to this, my petition, yet I shall no sooner receive your commands for my returne, but all other things sett aside, I shall forthwith comport myselfe to that duty which doth become, my lord,

Your excellencye's humble servant,

B Worsley

193. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 19 March 1657, 821, fos 354–355.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of the bearer, captain Peter Whitty, relating to lands he claimed in Ireland; Protector and council were supporting his claim.

194. From John Reynolds, London, 19 March 1657, 821, fos 356–357.

May it please your excellency,

I am not yet enabled to present unto your lordshipp a full account of the publique settlement, and therefore Ireland is still in arreare with its 4 bills.[138] The parliament goes on verry unanimously, having past the 9 first articles, and entred this day upon the 10th, which relateth

[137] Apparently a slip for 'seven'.

[138] At least four public bills relating to Ireland – removing wardships and tenures in Ireland, uniting Ireland with England, attainting Irish rebels, and settling Irish adventurers – had been introduced or were pending.

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to the religion to be asserted in these nations. The succeeding two will have lesse opposition, whereof the one confirmes the sales and dispositions of lands, and the other disableth cavaleires to beare office and imposeth a fine annuall upon such as will not abjure Charles Stuart. It is now 3 weekes since any letters came from Ireland, and therefore I have the lesse to write unto your lordshipp, but I can assure your lordshipp of some late combinations detected, and seasonably prevented, whereof I suppose your excellency will receive an account by a secret hand, how farre your lordshipp was (excepting one who will alwayes judge himselfe honoured in the meanest share of difficultyes wherein your lordshipp is involved) most aimed at in some late councells. For my owne part, whether I bee continued neere your lordshipp or otherwise disposed, I shall hope not to diminish my true loyalty to his Highnes, and affections to his person redoubled upon your lordshipp. I have proposed your lordship's company to be sent over, and have hastned lieutenant-colonel Floure,[139] and shall hope to follow after. If not, I do rely upon your lordshipp's undeserved freindship, and the gracious favour of his Highnes, that I bee not so commanded as may give occasion to any to conceive that I am removed to gratify any, or that I am as little in the ey of others, as I desire to be in mine owne. This, I suppose, is to be unfolded by your lordship's present and former packet. I, therefore, humbly conclude and remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servaunt,
J Reynolds

195. From Thomas Rawlins,[140] Belturbet, [County Cavan], 21 March 1657, 821, fos 358–359.

May it please your excellency,

There is parte of the earthworke of the forte of this towne[141] fallen, and more is like to fall if timely care be not taken for the makeing up that already down and repairing that ready to fall. If it be speedily done it will not cost much, which I humbly offer to your excellency's

[139] Henry Flower, parliamentarian officer, first shows up in 1647 in Thomas Rainborowe's New Model foot regiment. He went to Ireland in 1649 in Oliver Cromwell's foot regiment and by 1652 was lieutenant-colonel of Fleetwood's foot regiment.

[140] Parliamentarian officer, who campaigned in England and Scotland from the mid-1640s in the New Model horse regiment commanded by Robert Pye and then by Matthew Tomlinson. Sometime in the early 1650s he moved to Ireland and served both as major in an unidentified horse regiment and as a commissioner for setting out lands in County Kilkenny.

[141] Belturbet, on the River Erne in County Cavan.

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consideration, that you may bee pleased to give such order therein as you shall thinke meete, and am,

Your excellency's most obedient and faithfull servante,
T Rawlins

196. From Gualter Frost,[142] Whitehall, 23 March 1657, 821, fos 360–361.

Letter of thanks for Henry Cromwell's favour in appointing his brother John Frost to be deputy clerk of the council in Ireland.

197. From William Webb, Carrickfergus, 23 March 1657, 821, fos 362–363.

May it please your excellency,

This morneing I acquainted captain Richard Down, deputy governor here, that your excellencys have comanded mee to vew and to give orders for the finishing the cittadells of London Derry and Colraine, and the repaireing of the castle of Carrickfargus. I shewed the said captain your excellency's and the councell's warrant (derected unto Mr Samuell Hill, receivor of his Highness' revenue at London-Derry) for 500 pound, to bee by him issued out, for and towards the finishing and repaireing the said garrissons. After the said captain had read the said warrant, before officers hee said unto mee that he would not suffer mee to see, nor to goe in to, the castle of Carickfergus untill hee had your excellency's order to that purpose, which I leave to your excellency's considerration. By his so doeing my labour is lost in comeing hither. I will hasten with all speed unto the other garrisons, where I hope that I shall not find officers that will leape over a block and stumble at a straw. I am,

Your excellency's most humble servant to command,
Wm Webb

198. From John Bridges, 24 March 1657, 821, fos 364–365.

May it please your lordshipp,

I was somewhat confident in the morning, that wee should have laid the topp stone of that greate and noble structure wee have beene soe longe in framinge before this tyme, but wee have not beene able to bringe it to an yssue, notwithstanding wee spent the fore and

[142] Parliamentarian administrator and bureaucrat, throughout the 1650s he served a succession of executive councils, most notably the Protectoral council, in various administrative capacities, including clerk and treasurer of council contingencies.

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afternoone uppon the debate of the tytle, which is the first article of the remonstrance, all the rest being finisht on Friday last.[143] The major-generalls and theire party oppose it vehemently, but I doubt not the yssue. Itt is whispered that the lord deputy does ymportunately presse to returne to _____[144]; it will not be assented to, but_____[145] is to bee lord lieutenant soe soone as this businesse is finisht. If there bee truth in this I doubt not but your lordshipp will receave it from some better hand, yet I have good reason to beleive it. I feare the rest will not stay the sealing of my letters. My lord,

Your lordshipp's most humble and most faithfull servant,
J Bridges

199. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 24 March 1657, 822, fos 1–2.

Deare brother,

I have bine so late at the howse that I canot wright anything of satisfaction as to any buysnes. The howse hath bine all this day upon that part which concerns kingshippe; a great division ther is about it. Tomorrow will probably determine it and that in the affirmative, which will be a sadde greife to the hearts of good people whose hopes are only in his Highnes. Ther being a designe for which 6,000 men have bine and are to be raysed,[146] of which I presume you have hade some hints from other hands. Thes men's raysing hath occasiond a delay in sending your armes, but I have agayne moved the counsell, and, after this present service is answerd, they have orderd the sending your armes. My haste must pleade the excuse of,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,
Charles Fleetwood

200. From John Reynolds, London, 24 March 1657, 822, fos 3–4.

May it please your excellency,

I received the honour of 2 letters from your lordship's owne hand, of the 4 and 11th instant. In the former your lordshipp was pleased to mention that of your castle[147] which was wholy left to your lordshipp long since; in the latter your lordshipp mentions the quiet frame of Ireland, which causeth his Highness joy and the nation's wonder.

[143] 20 March.

[144] Line drawn in letter where a word – perhaps 'Ireland' – has been deliberately omitted.

[145] Line drawn in letter where a word or words – perhaps 'Henry Cromwell' or possibly 'Fleetwood' (albeit required to continue to act in absentia) – have been deliberately omitted.

[146] For the projected Anglo-French campaign in Flanders.

[147] Portumna.

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I could equalise the expressions of the most moderne and auncient flatterers, yet relate the truth of those good reports, which are generally in this nation concerning your lordship's carriage in that land. I am satisfyed many a hearty prayer is put up for you and yours by such as have not the happines of knowing you. This day hath beene spent in a pitcht battell, wherein the postponed clause of the first article, viz: the title and office of king, was debated; nine of a side tooke up morning and afternoone; the names of these worthyes I esteeme too much to insert: the first was lord commissioner Lisle, answered by general Deisborough, replied upon by lords Broghill and Whitelocke. The major-generalls are much averse; onely honest Whaley and Goffe were moderate opposers, almost indifferent; tomorrow will surely end the debate. I conjecture about 60 will dissent and no more.[148] The busines of the mint will be speedily dispatched; the Secretary hath taken it wholy upon himselfe.[149] I hope one or two bills will be the guerdon[150] of your servaunts heere, whose diligence is taken notice of, and also unanimity. Except two persons, all those of Ireland are of one mind. Sir Paule Davis is not yet come in, he hath beene delaied at the councell, but will make his entrance tomorrow.[151] I hope ere long to attend your lordshipp, and if the lord Broghill be in earnest he will visit Ireland this summer, but I beleive his lordshipp will like England for a chaunge, although Scotland be inferiour to Ireland. He hath carried things verry worthily.

Your excellencye's humblest servaunt,
J Reynolds

201. From George Monck, Dalkeith, 25 March 1657, 822, fos 5–6.

May itt please your excellencie,

I received your letter of the 17th of March for which I returne your excellencie most humble thankes; and if your excellencie have att any time any commands to lay uppon mee, if you please to send your letters to the governor of Carickfergus and to direct him to send them to the governor of Ayre – there are posts setled between Ayre and

[148] When the house formally divided, 62 voted against and 123 for.

[149] Henry Cromwell had long been pressing for power to establish a mint in Ireland, in part to make good the shortage of coins in Ireland, in part to begin the process of removing the debased, foreign, and adulterated coinage that circulated there (*TSP*, IV, pp. 307–308, 711–712; VI, pp. 96, 650; Dunlop, pp. 557, 592–594, 657, 665).

[150] Guerdon: a reward or recompense.

[151] Irish politician, from an established Protestant family in Ireland, he was elected to the second Protectorate as MP for Counties Kildare and Wicklow in a by-election but – much to Henry Cromwell's annoyance – was then excluded from parliament by the Protectoral council (*TSP*, VI, p. 71).

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this – which letters will come with speede att any time unto mee. I hope by the blessing of God I shall indeavour to keepe all thinges quiett in this country, and I prayse God wee have noe unquiett spiritts as yett amongst us, and I hope that thinges will continue soe. I returne your excellencie and the rest of the councill most humble thankes for your care of my businesse I made bold to recommend to you concerning some lands I came short for my arreares, and if I may bee able to doe your excellencie any service you shall finde noe freind you have in the world more ready to serve you then myselfe. I have one thinge more to trouble your excellencie withall, which is, I understand by a gentleman I imployed to looke after my lands in Ireland, that there is a passage betweene Wexford and my land of Balytramon,[152] and there is a Scotchman hath hired the passage boate though hee gives butt 40s a yeare to the state for itt, and has built a key uppon the land, yett hee does soe exact uppon the tenants that belonge to my land uppon their passage to Wexford that truly I have had some quitt the land, and itt is a great discouragement to any others to take any land of mee. And if your excellencie and the councill please to doe mee that favour as that I may have the grant of the keeping the passage boate there, I should bee very well content to take soe much land short of my arreares as that will come to, being that I may give incouragement to those that may have a desire to plant uppon my land. Which favour, if your excellencie and the councill will please to grant, you will very much oblige,

Your most faithfull freind and servant,
George Monck

202. From Anthony Morgan, London, 30[153] March 1657, 822, fos 7–8.

May it please your excellency,

This day the parliament presented their petition and humble advice to his Highness. He hath taken time to consider of his answer. Captain Franklin[154] tooke his speech verbatim and is transcribing it for your excellency, but Harry Owen will have the honor to send it enclosed to Dr Gorge.

[152] Ballytramon, County Wexford, a small settlement with a castle, across the River Slanes from Wexford and south of Castlebridge.

[153] Apparently an error by Morgan, since the new constitution was presented to the Protector on 31 March.

[154] Possibly the Captain Richard Franklin who served in Ireland during the 1650s in the New Model horse regiment of Henry Ireton and then Fleetwood. Morgan was a fellow-officer in that regiment.

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I perceive your lordship dares be just and regulate disorders in your army.

Wee are resolved to prepare all the coches if wee gett seasonable notice to meet them at Tiburne.

Poore Sir Paul Davis is yet in suspence, but I advised him not to complain to your excellency till he is at an issue upon the application you have already made. He thinks he shall be hurt to wound you, but though that may goe farr, yet I think twill be because he hath been hurt already. Qui facit injuriam nunquam condonat.[155] If he be qualified to sitt in parliament they may feare hee'l produce a patent to be clerke of the councell.[156] Wee have agreed for the bookes, and this weeke shall sett hands to worke to catalogue and packe them up in order to be sent for Chester. Wee have undertaken the £2,000 shall be paid before the bookes goe out of town. If the bill be sent, I shall see it be not made use of till performance of conditions. It seemes it is not thought convenient to leave such bookes here to be exchanged for others as you have already there. In this or whatsoever else your lordship shall thinke fitt to use me, I shall to my best power approve myselfe,

Your excellency's most obedient and most faithfull servant,
Ant Morgan

My wife chides me and tells me I am too saucy with your lordship, but I am nere the less fitt to be yours, for you keep groomes and footmen as well as gentlemen.

203. From John Bridges, 31 March 1657, 822, fos 11–12.

May it please your lordshipp,

On Friday night[157] last the parliament finished the greate busines, nowe named the petition of advice, having sate morning and afternoone almost the whole weeke. On Satturday a committee was appointed to acquaint his Highness that they had a businesse of very greate importance to impart to him, and to desire him to appoint a tyme and place for theire attendance. He tolde us that, in respect of our adjournement, it could not bee sooner then Tuesday, and the place appointed itselfe since noe roome in White Hall was capable of our receipt but the Banquetting Howse. Accordingly this day the speaker[158]

[155] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'let nobody condone him who does harm'.

[156] He had been clerk to the Irish privy council in the early 1630s.

[157] 27 March.

[158] Sir Thomas Widdrington, parliamentarian politician and lawyer, was an active and prominent member of the Long Parliament and the Rump, though – like his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Fairfax – he held aloof from the regicide. He supported the Protectorate and, in 1654, was appointed a treasury commissioner and a commissioner of the great seal. With

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(attended by the howse) att eleaven of the clock came thither and, after hee had animadverted uppon the severall heads of that instrument, caused Mr Schobell[159] to reade it; which done, his Highness, having first receaved it, declared the greate sense hee had of the weightines of the subject, and tolde us before hee could give an answeare hee must begg advice from heaven, and deliberate of the severall particulers with himselfe, but withall intimateing itt should not bee longe before wee should heare from him. Most of the major-generalls and that party that most violently opposed it absented themselves, yet I am informed from a good hand, that 6 of them went to his Highness the last night, and tolde him that although whilst it was in debate they opposed it, yet nowe observing a series of providence in it, they weare sattisfyed, and withall that it was his duty to accept it; not withstanding they made use of his non acceptance as a greate argument against it. I should have told your lordshipp that the debate touching the title tooke upp two whole dayes,[160] but uppon the question the affirmatives weare 123 and the negatives 62. I intend to waite for the first opportunity of taking my leave of his Highness the second tyme. I seldome come to him but hee takes occasion to complayne of your backbiters. I beseech you give mee leave to say that your lordshipp's patience and moderation hath wrought wonders, which I doubt not will be a greate encouradgment to your lordshipp to persevere in that way.

My lord, I confesse myselfe of the nomber of those that are least capable of serving you, yet I hope my honest zeale for your lordshipp's service will give mee a right to underwrite myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencye's faithfull and humble servant,

Jo Bridges

204. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 31 March 1657, 822, fos 15–16.

Deare brother,

I have received yours concerning captain Sancky.[161] I hope I neade not speake my readynes to observe any commands of yours, but really

his colleague Whitelocke he lost the commissionership of the great seal in 1655 for refusing to implement fully the chancery ordinance, but he retained office and favour under the Protector and was shortly after appointed chancellor of the county palatine of Durham. He sat for York in the first Protectorate parliament and for his native Northumberland in the second, and was appointed speaker at the start of the session.

[159] Henry Scobell, parliamentarian administrator and bureaucrat, by 1643 was an under clerk to the House of Commons and, having held other administrative posts during the 1640s, in 1649 he became clerk of the commons, a post he retained until 1659; from 1654 he also served as an assistant secretary to the Protectoral council.

[160] 24–25 March.

[161] Identification uncertain. Possibly the Captain Richard Sankey, parliamentarian officer, who served in Fleetwood's New Model horse regiment, though he reportedly left that

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thos poore honest men who by your consent wer put into places in the civill judicatoryes have bine so mollested by the former officers and the places proved so unprofitable that I confesse if you aprove therof I am not free to bring in new officers till those of them allready brought in, who are truly deserving persons, are either setled or better provided for. This I presume to offer as my opinion, which if concurrent with yours, I shall offer you of them 3 or 4 names for your aprobation. I would not willingly give you any offence or exception in puting in any offensive to you, in which I hope I shall aprove myselfe carefull to doe nothing justly greivous to you. As for our affayres heare you will, I doubt not, receive a full account that the buysnes of settlement is now befor his Highnes, who, I trust, will be so directed by the Lord as to make it appeare how much it lyes upon his heart the carefull minding of the interest of the saints. It is a great tryall and I hope the measure of strength will be proportionable. Ther is one poore man, Dr Harding,[162] who hath longe bin in the state's service, and it seemes is very poore. He hath a good gift of preaching. I showld wish and intreat he might have maintenance to preach in som places wheare ther is a want. I confesse I have known him allmost from my being a child, and if som subsistance one way or other might be allowed him, I canot think it will otherwise be then a very charitable action. I have heard him somtimes preach very well, and if he would give up himself to preaching I hope he may be an instrument of good. I have not hade a line from him since I cam into England, but I confesse I have a respect for him, hoping in the maine he is one the Lord loves. We are preparing for the expedition for which thes new men are raysed. If the Lord gives His blessing it will prove a choyce mercy. Excuse my hast, who am,

Your most affectionate brother, servant,
Charles Fleetwood

205. From Henry Ingoldsby, Limerick, 31 March 1657, 822, fos 17–18.

My lord,

Heeringe that captain Holmes, a discontented Quaker, has petition'd your lordship and the councell against mee for my actings

regiment in the early 1650s; or possibly the captain Henry Sankey who was employed by parliamentary commanders in Ireland in the early 1650s to negotiate with the native Irish and who, in 1652, was tried for, but acquitted of, the murder of an Irishman.

[162] Possibly the John Harding, pre-war fellow and vice-provost of Trinity College, Dublin, who, by 1653, was a Baptist and who both preached and debated his beliefs in Cork. In 1654–1655, during Fleetwood's governance of Ireland, he was employed on several government committees, including those seeking concealed church lands and setting out procedures for appointing ministers to towns.

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towards him and the rest off that fraternity (that once gave to dandgerouse a disturbance to this place), I thought itt my duty for your lordship's satisfaction and my owne vindication to give this ensueinge account off my procedings with those wild, yett subtill and designeinge generation off people.

For the Quakers that are the growth off the towne – vipers bred in our bosomes – they have the liberty quietly to meete amonge themselvs without disturbance, but iff any strandgers crowd in with them and gett crowdes about them, then I thinke myselfe concerned in order to the security off the place to turne the disturbers out off itt, beinge:

1. To answeare the safety off the place with the hazard off my life, which I would not undertake should I not have the liberty to secure the garrison from hudles off discontend spiritts.

2. For those that are strandge Quakers that come from incognita terra,[163] (since I have bin back'd by the councell's authority, which I divulge not) as soone as they come in att one gate I send them out att an other, neaver letting them rest a minute in the garrison after I know off them till they are convayd out off the lybertyse of Lymbr. Some have come late to prevent that course, but I have venturd them in the darke rather then fayle, by which meanes wee are very quiett and are troubled with them very seldome.

3. A proclamation is put out by mee that those inhabitants that entertayne strandge Quakers or Irish papists a night in theire houses with out first acquaynteinge the present governor thearewith shall be turn'd, they and theire familyse, out off the garrison.

4. Those souldiers that weare Quakers, I chasheird them by a court martiall out off the army, not barely for beinge Quakers but for theire disobedience to theire officers, and things off that nature, which has cur'd more then a hundred off that aguish distemper they ware inclinginge to.

5. Those that abus'd the ministers and disturb'd the congregations (before I had notice off them from your councell) I imprison'd for a time, and then sent them from whence they came.

6. A sarjeant, that was chasheird the army about Waterford for abuseinge the cuntry, gave mee such base languadge in a letter, beinge a Quaker, that I was forc'd to beate him into better manners; another fellow I servd soe that brought mee base letters, which has given mee freedome from that trouble ever since.

7ly. On a sabbath day, when I was att sermon, the officer off the guard acquaynteinge mee that att captain Holmese's house theare was a greate number off strandgers and discontented persons togeather, I gave him an order under my hand to goe into the house and see what

[163]This Latin phrase could be translated as 'an unknown land'.

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the matter was, and iff that hee found any strandge Quakers theare that hee should secure them on the guard till further orders from mee; but when the officer off the guard came with my order to see the occation off such a meetinge in the garrison, the dore was kept against him, till hee broake itt up with his guard. Phelps, an inhabitant off this towne, kept the dore shutt, and for his offence I clap'd him up in the martiall's for 24 howers or lesse. Leiutenant Waller was amongst that company that resisted the guard, and thow hee pleaded his excuse, yett I thought convenient to suspend him from his imployment for a while to make him sencible off his folly. This is a passadge that fell out 3 monthes agoe, butt beinge assurd that a complaynt is made against mee about itt, I have given this account, as likewise off that off the sarjeant Quaker that I banged for giveinge mee base languadge. The cheife Quakers that wee have inhabitants off this towne are captain Holmes, Mr Phelps and Mr Peirce, that are starke mad att mee that I give not all Quakers, strandgers as well as others, liberty to meete in this garrison, which shall neaver bee suffered whilst I have to doe with itt, since I know them to well to trust them. My thinks iff theire devotion weare soe hott for that which I dare not call a religion, the cuntry att lardge should serve there turne to bee in for the exercise off itt, but noe place will please them but this.

8ly. Perhaps tis chardg'd as a crime against mee for makeing Peirce's wife, a Quaker, (in the absence off her husband) pay 20s for entertayneinge a strandge Quaker in her house a night without giveinge notice, contrary to the proclamation. The money was given to the poore.

My lord, I know not any thinge that I have done that I have not heere acquaynted your lordshipp with. Iff they are faults I have told them you all, but that your lordship has a better judgement then to beeleive them to bee soe is the opinion off, my lord,

Your excellency'se most obleidged, most faythfull, humble servant,
H Ingoldsby

206. From William Jephson, London, 31 March 1657, 822, fos 19–20.

My deare lord,

Though I had the honour the last weeke to receyve two letters from your lordship, yett I was soe unfortunate as to want both matter and time to make any sutable returne. Truely, my lord, as I am unwilling to write anything to your lordship (though I am sure they would bee reall expressions of gratitude) which might looke like complement, soe am I soe unable to expresse how much I thinke myselfe oblidgd to your lordship for all your favours, as I thinke it much better to passe it by in

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silence, and rather indeavour to expresse it more livelye in my actions. I were unworthy of your lordship's favour (if for nothing else, at least for that) if I did not preferre the kindnesse your lordship hath beene pleas'd to expresse in this businesse of the butleradge, before the thing itselfe, though very considerable. The newes now is of greate importance, but very short. The last weeke hath beene chiefely spent in compleating (that which was at first cald the remonstrance, now) the petition and advice of the parliament to his Highnesse, to assume the name, title, dignitye and office of kinge, etc, which was this day presented by the speaker in the Banqueting House, who introduc't it with a long speech to all the particulars, but spake most copiouslye to that of kingship. His Highnesse made a short replye, that the weyght and length of the businesse did both require time of deliberation, but that hee would take as little as the matter would possibly permitt, but that hee would seeke God for his direction and hop't hee should soe receyve it in an unbiast heart, as that neyther the vaine fancyes of some, nor the lusts of others might divert him from giving an awnswer sutable to the mind of God. The temper of the officers begins to mend in order to that concernment. Lambert, 504.[164] and Desborough still stand out upon the sullen posture. Fleetwood does not mutinye, but lament. Whaley, Butler, Goffe and divers others grown good natur'd, but 1567.[165] as obstinate as could bee imagen'd or wisht. General Mountague caryed the sword before his Highnesse today, hee beeing not there who hath done it most usually.[166] But, my lord, I feare whilst I am about to make up my last weeke's omission I may committ a greater fault by being tedious, I shall therefore only kisse your lordship's hands and remaine, my lord,

Your most humble and affectionate servant,
Wm Jephson

207. From John Reynolds, London, 31 March 1657, 822, fos 21–22.

May it please your excellency,

I am verry much honoured in your lordship's vouchafed correspondency, wherein I am glad to find no more variety; in our times no newes is good newes, and I hope it will still so continue there. The parliament this day attended his Highnes and presented their petition and humble advice in eighteene proposals, which (after a copious speech made by our speaker) was reade publiquely in the

[164]Perhaps 'Sydenham'.
[165]Unknown.
[166]Lambert.

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Banquetting House, and than his Highnes was pleased to expresse himselfe with so greate freedome and tender sense of the dealings of God towards these nations as moved many there into teares, and concluded with a promise to take the same into most serious consideration. I do suppose that your lordshipp hath heard of the intended designe in which possibly I may be engaged by his Highnes' orders, but whither I know not, neither can dispute when the highest duty and greatest affection call at once for my submission. I shall most humbly and earnestly beseech your lordshipp, by all your former afforded promises, favours and your lordship's sence of my fidelity to your family, that you be pleased to deale with those in power with his Highnes, that if I be commanded it may bee in a condition and emploiment whereby it may be cleared to all that it is a token of favour and not a willingnes to have me removed from Ireland. On this condition I shall resigne myselfe wholy, and do desire to ly at the feete of the Lord and of his Highnes. I am, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servant,

J Reynolds

208. From Robert Stapylton, Charing Cross, 31 March 1657, 822, fos 23–24.

Letter of recommendation, taking up an offer which Henry Cromwell had made sometime before while in England, that he would help the unnamed bearer and his wife, who once lived in a high condition but who were now distressed and destitute.

209. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghill, [March 1657], 823, fos 329–330.

But I find that there appeares no new fires but onely new fuell added to the old, which rather smokes then burnes. But for your old Protestants, they are so <tindere drye> hot upon the buisnes, that unless Gorges had happily throwne some water on them <zeale> Dublin had blazed out all into bonefires <at the news of the proposition>.[167] But to bee serious, the sober both of new and old, as I heare, expresse much satisfaction in what has beene done, and <are fearefull> seeme to dread the spirits of some who opposed it. <I wish you wrote> I wish you could <say which> returne mee the like newes from England.

[167] Presumably the proposal for Oliver Cromwell to become king. The phrases used by Henry Cromwell here are similar to those employed by Thurloe in a letter to him of 31 March, where the Secretary notes of 'the persons you mention [. . .] comeinge over', 'I doubt they will finde too much fuel for the fire they will bringe with them' (*TSP*, VI, pp. 156–157).

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I have taken (as I hope) sufficient course to keepe things here, so as you shall not need to fear interuptions from home. The resolve you intimated of sinking or swiming in this worke, I like well, and hold it necessary for you know when[168] you have provoked. You will doe well to make his Highness thoroughly sensible of the danger of sleighting this offer; parlaments are not every day so compliant upon these occasions <necessary to gratify those who have deserved well of them>. And I understand that <ther beene> some late passages from his Highness have so wrought upon some of the major-generalls etc, as that it[169] will bee unsafe for his him <Highness> to rely upon their affections, at least not so safe as to cast himselfe upon the better disposed party.

If things proceed, it will follow that both the councill and army in England will need to bee rectified. Upon which consideration I begin to thinke that your stay in England will better answer all the intention that are propounded concerning you then to remove thither.

210. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghill, [March 1657], 823, fos 331–332.

Having been long in my last, and having little new here, I shall bee breife now. I approve your prudence in postponing the first paragraph.[170] I see the opinions of some of the major-generalls are not so unalterable, but that one may see they act as much by humor as judgment or conscience; as it appears in Bery, so easy sliding out of heptarchy[171] into somewhat else; as in Desborough <compliance with> forwardnes in the same. It is much the officers should bee so concerned in directing the goverment, whom it would better become to execute then appoint; but things beeing so, and they having beene so long used to this trade, I am as glad <the old man> the brave old blade did so well instruct his pupill, and I admire their excellent capacityes to understand him so quickly. By all which wee may gather this much is serious, that things which are done upon good ground and resolution doe not find so stubborne opposition as wee are apt to feare. Wherefore I also believe that the worke will grow every day more and more easy. Nor doe I doubt of the exercise of your courage proportionably therein. I am glad his Highness is so fixt upon this

[168]Word poorly formed and could alternatively be read as 'who'.

[169]Phrase 'as that it' appears at the bottom of the first page but is repeated in error at the top of the second.

[170]The decision to postpone consideration of the kingship clause was taken on 2 March.

[171]In a letter to Thurloe of 4 March 1657, Henry Cromwell reported rumours that 'some of the great ones' had been 'talkeing of an heptarchy, and of cantonizing the countrey' (*TSP*, VI, pp. 93–94).

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necessary worke, and that hee hath rested upon the effectuall remedy you mention. I hope hee <pitch upon> take the right <persons> sow by the eare. Things are very quiett and likely to bee compliant here with anything which it shall please God to produce.

211. From Edward Feake, Prim,[172] 1 April 1657, 822, fos 25–26.

Letter of thanks, noting that Henry Cromwell and his council had repeatedly confirmed their earlier decision to give him preferency in leasing out 700 acres around Bishappslogh[173] *and had directed the commissioners accordingly, even though their earlier orders to admit him had been wilfully ignored and the commissioners had instead leased the property to Major Redman.*

212. From William Jephson, London, 6 April 1657, 822, fos 27–28.

My deare lord,

Tis noe small trouble for mee that my newes of this last weeke's transactions are likely to bee as litle satifactorye to your lordship as they are to my selfe, and most of those who (in mine opinion) are the most hearty well wishers to his Highnesse's familye and the publike interest of the 3 nations. This griefe is occasion'd amongst us by his Highnesse's demurre (for an absolute nor a parliamentary denyall it cannot bee cal'd, beeing given to a committee and not in full parliament) to the humble petition and advice presented in the Banqueting House upon Tuesday last.[174] The copy of the speech I doubt not but your lordship will have from better hands, therefore I presume not to give your lordship the trouble of it, but have sent it to Munne Temple, who will produce it if you have it not otherwise. Upon the report thereof to the parliament, a vote was past to adhere to the former resolutions, a second addresse to his Highnesse resolv'd upon, and a committee appointed to draw up reasons to inforce their former desyre of a speedy concurrence. Those were this day reported, which were only in generall that the parliament did conceyve (and his Highnesse did acknowledge) that the petition and advice had very well provyded for the settlement of these nations, both in spirituall and civill matters; that twas the advice given him by the representatives of three nations; and that, therefore, there was a greate duty incumbent on him to give his assent. This day a committee was sent to desyre his Highnesse to appoint a time to receyve their addresse, and tomorrow at 3 a

[172] Perhaps an abbreviated form of Primasland, Primaswood, or Primattstowne, all in County Meath.

[173] Bishopslogh, between Bennettsbridge and Tulleherin, County Kilkenny.

[174] Presented on Tuesday 31 March, demurred on Friday 3 April.

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clocke is appointed accordinglye;[175] and the house placeth soe much value upon this businesse as that they adjourne and proceed in noe other in the interim. Though his Highnesse excepts against nothing but the title, I doubt there is something more in their view who are soe zealous against this petition. I suspect Lambert may thinke it not for his advantadge that 432.[176] may apointeing[177] and that the army and the officers may looke upon all agreement betwixt the Protector and 439.[178] as daungerous to their interest. In fine, I thinke to many persons anything that lookes like a civil 460.[179] seemes contrary to their interest and principles. Fleetwood did this day professe himselfe to mee to bee a greate enemye to arbitrary government and manifested his unwillingnesse to a totall breach, and perswaded rather to quit the title and accept of the rest. Your lordship cannot imadgine how greate a damp fell upon the spirits of those who were most earnest in promoting this businesse when his Highness demurred to it. I thinke I may without vanitye say I was the chiefe instrument in holding them up to what hath beene since undertaken. What the successe will prove, God knowes. That it may bee such as may tend to the glory of God, the honour of his Highnesse, and the good of these nations, both in their spirituall and temporall concernments, shall bee the constant and earnest prayer of, my lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,
Wm Jephson

213. From John Bridges, London, 7 April 1657, 822, fos 29–30.

May it please your lordshipp,

In my last I gave your lordshipp an accompt of the parliament's addresse to his Highness. On Friday hee directed his letter to the speaker, desireing a committee might attend him, which went to White Hall the same day. I have inclosed sent your excellency a coppy of his speech taken from his mouth and reported to the parliament the next day, which as it gave occation to the major-generalls and that party to triumph, soe was it a very greate trouble to others and caused many of our best freinds to absent themselves from the <said> howse, as lord

[175] As the committee met the Protector on 7 April to arrange a meeting for 8 April, Jephson may have misdated this letter.

[176] Unknown.

[177] Word in code with a number for each letter and decoded thus by comparison with other correspondence in this collection, but Jephson had apparently garbled the code – possibly 'apointe' was intended.

[178] Perhaps 'parliament'.

[179] Perhaps 'power' or 'settlement' or 'regime'.

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Broghill, Sir Charles Wooseley, lord cheife justice[180] and others, which was noe small discouradgement to us that attended. Wee fell uppon the debate whether the parliament should adheere to theire former vote. The debate was earnest, the whole party of dissenters came in and would ravell in to the whole business, but the other stood stoute to make good theire ground. Betweene one and two of the clock it came to a question, whether wee should adheere. The affirmatives weare but 78 and the negatives 65.[181] Yesterday wee fell to it againe, and the absentees perceiving the dainger the whole was put into by theire seduction, came in to our ayde, and after some strugling itt was carryed that the whole howse should attend his Highness with reasons why they could not recede and a committee appointed to drawe them upp, which done the parliament ordered that noe other busines should bee taken nor proceeded uppon till yt weare brought to an yssue. I should have told your lordshipp that the greate argument insisted uppon was howe unreasonable it was (that since his Highness had declared that it was against his conscience to accept of the title) to impose uppon his conscience, and indeede it was taken for graunted by all that hee had soe expressed, but providence haveing soe ordered it that I, having a coppy of the report and carefully observing his Highness' answeare, found it otherwise, and thereuppon sattisfyed the howse to the contrary, which put noe small life into the businesse.

This[182] day the reasons weare brought into the howse by the committee and, the question beinge carryed for an agreemente with the committee, there was another committee appointed immediately to attende his Highness, to lett him knowe that the parliament being desirous to attend him with some businesse of greate importance, and to intreate him to appoint tyme and place for that purpose. Which done they adjourned till two of the clock uppon this consideration, that his Highness might order a meeting this afternoone, but wee found his Highness in his bed chamber under some indisposition, and in that regard the meeting was deferred till tomorrowe 3 of the clock, and

[180] John Glynne, parliamentarian judge and politician, who quickly became prominent in parliament in the early 1640s as a critic of the king's government, though his attempts in the later 1640s to reach a settlement with the king, and his stance against the parliamentarian army, led to a fall from favour and loss of office. He returned to office early in the Protectorate as a prosecutor and judge and, in 1655, was appointed chief justice of the upper bench. He was returned to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, representing constituencies in his native north Wales, and, in 1657, was a leading supporter both of the new constitution and of the proposal to revive kingship.

[181] Division of 4 April.

[182] The second paragraph of this letter is written in the same hand as the first, but in a smaller and more compact style, perhaps indicating that Bridges wrote the first paragraph and then attended to other – perhaps parliamentary – matters, before returning to complete the letter.

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the place the Banquetting Howse. I have inclosed sent his Highness' speech as alsoe the reasons agreed to bee presented for parliament's adheerence. My lord,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

Jo Bridges

214. From Anthony Morgan, London, [7 April 1657], 822, fos 9–10.

May it please your excellency,

On Friday the articles were signed twixt yourselfe (by your commissioners Sir Theophilus Jones,[183] John Grant and myselfe) on the on part and Sir Timothy Tyrrell on the other part. Your excellency hath at the sealing and signing paid him £500 by the bill you sent to me, and you are to pay £2,000 more 3 months hence. He is to allow £50 towards the charge of making new cataloges and comparing them with the old (that wee may see what is wanting, which he is to make good) and packing and sending them down to Chester. The books are not to be carried out of this town till the £2,000 be paid, so that I conceive tis good to pay it as soon as wee have received the books into our custody, though but one month of the 3 should be elapsed, that they may the sooner arrive at Dublin. I send inclosed in this or Dr Gorge's lettre a copy of the articles, and submitt this and myselfe to your lordship's pleasure, and remaine,

Your excellency's most obedient and most faithfull servant,

Ant Morgan

His Highness hath denied to accept of the government, though he highly approves all but the title king. The house resolved to adhere to their first advice and to doe noe other busines till they had an answer. Therupon wee adjorned as soon as wee mett on Saturday, Munday and this day.[184] Tomorrow the whole house attends his Highnes with a fresh desire he would hearken to the advice of his parliament, and that he would call to mind what duty lay upon him in that case.

[183]Army officer and politician and an Irish Protestant, he broadly supported the royalist cause in Ireland in the early and mid-1640s, but thereafter served the parliamentarians, becoming governor of Dublin under Oliver Cromwell. He commanded a horse regiment in the mopping-up operations of the early 1650s and, although his regiment was disbanded in 1655, he retained military command in Ireland. A loyal Cromwellian and supporter of the Protectorate, he commanded Henry Cromwell's lifeguard and was returned for Irish constituencies to all three Protectorate parliaments. He was a nephew of the late archbishop and thus took an interest in the disposal of Ussher's library.

[184]This report provides a firm date for this otherwise undated letter.

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215. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 7 April [1657],[185] 821, fos 115–116.

Deare brother,

I have received yours whearin you are pleased to give me an account of what major Jones hath don[186] in reference to his keeping in the musters, of which I am a stranger, and as to his commission allso, and therfor I hope you think me innocent in the buysnes. I am sorry he showld doe any thing to offende you. I am perswaded he did not doe it willingly, but it may be tooke some incouragment from what others have in reference to their payes, though then reduced, and received lands for their satisfaction, which it is sayde he hath not don, his satisfaction being recovered against him by a tryall at law. He is a good man, though he may be weake in some things. You having given a whitnes against his irregularity, a return of your favor may be the greater obligation. I presume you have a full account of all things in parliment, his Highnes refusing to accept of the kingly goverment. The howse upon consideration hade therof have voted to adheare to their former resolves, and accordingly they attend upon his Highnes tomorrow with the same. His Highnes hath a great tryall, but I trust the Lord will well carry him through it. I am sure thus farre his Highnes hath very much gayned in the opinion and affections of good people. What the issue will be a short time will manifest; in the mean while it concerns all praying freinds to be earnest with the Lord for direction. I doubt not but Sir John Reynolds hath given you an account of his new expedition so farre as he knowes therof, the full of which I think is not known to him, the design being under secrecy. If the Lord prospers it, we may have a nationall mercy therin, which, that we may have hearts affected to seake the Lord for, is the desire of,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

Charles Fleetwood

[185]Wrongly endorsed '1656'.

[186]On 25 March 1657, Henry Cromwell wrote to his father about 'the present suspention of major Jones', an important issue because 'this business may bee interpreted to concern a whole party'. Jones (his forename is not recorded) had allegedly been listed as a major both for ten months prior to his commission and from after his reduction to captain's rank and his receipt of his full military arrears 'in speciall landes'. He had thus received both unauthorized and unjustified army pay for ten months and later 'whole satisfaction' of arrears, as if completely disbanded 'which otherwise had not belonged unto him'. Henry Cromwell had suspended his salary 'for, besides the manifest injury (I may say cheat) to the state, I see noe reason why soe many worthy persons should be either disbanded wholly or reduced from colonells to privat captaines, whilst this man (whoe never saw any service, nor was ever taken notice of, either for his usefullness in any kind, or for his affection to your highnes or government)' should act thus (*TSP*, VI, p. 142).

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I understand my lord Moore's[187] time for paying in his composition is neere elapsed. His bill to inable him to sell lands for the discharging thereof hath bine once read in the howse, and will suddenly be passed, and therefore shall desire the continuuance of your favour to him in getting his time inlarged.

Charles Fleetwood

216. From John Reynolds, London, 7 April 1657, 822, fos 31–32.

May it please your excellency,

I am not able to expresse much certainty in this weeke's intelligence because of the suspence of affaires heere. The parliament hath put of all busines untill his Highnes' pleasure be declared concerning our advice and petition, which will be reinforced with the parliament's finall addresse (as is supposed) tomorrow in the Banketing House. The Lord dispose to a good settlement. I was bold in my last to acquaint your lordshipp with an emploiment of a forraine nature,[188] to which his Highnes hath designed me, but I, wanting your lordshipp's advice and commands, am in some perplexity not being able to decline so sacred authority, nor yet to go on without reluctancy, having few freinds on whom I dare rely except your lordshipp. And indeede if I be not understood as a true lover of your person, family, cause, interest, and not to be adventured but as such, I am verry unhappy having given some testimonyes of all these, but verbum sat.[189] I shall humbly importune your lordshipp's answer to my disturbed lines, and what your lordship's sence is of this busines, and whether you find it agreeable to your lordship's interest and affaires, that I leave your lordshipp. I suppose your lordshipp knowes more of secrets than I do. And I would sooner perish than expose Ireland to a relapse by weakening your lordship's interest and renewed opportunityes to continue the good which the Lord hath wrought by you. I shall

[187]Henry Moore, Viscount Moore of Drogheda, an Irish Protestant royalist, had, after long negotiations, compounded with the English regime in 1653 for almost £7,000. A bill to permit him to sell part of the estate to help meet the fine was given two readings during the first session of the second Protectorate parliament (Dunlop, p. 24; *CSPI*, pp. 543, 668–670; *Burton*, II, p. 170).

[188]The Protector had asked Reynolds to help command the 6,000 parliamentary foot which, in line with the Anglo-French treaty, he had agreed to send to Flanders to support the French campaign there. On 22 April 1657, Henry Cromwell wrote to his father, supporting both Reynolds – 'faithfull and industrious' and of 'good affection' – and this appointment and recommending that it be presented as 'suteable to his merit, and [. . .] rather a preferment to him than otherwaies, with respect, and in comparison to his present condition here' (*TSP*, VI, pp. 222–223).

[189]This Latin phrase could be translated as 'the word is enough'.

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conclude with my hearty desires and prayers for your lordshipp's encrease in favour with God and men, and remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servant,

J Reynolds

217. From Randal MacDonnell, Marquess of Antrim, Eden, 11 April 1657, 822, fos 33–34.

May it please your lordship,

I am now reduced to such a condition that I can not forbeare to make a complaint to your lordship, and to begge that you will commiserat and releeve me from the continuall persecution of my creditors, who are now so violent that they doe daylie imploye baliffes and soldiars to arreast me. Wherof a considerable number lye daylie in waight by six or seven in a companie to surprise me, which has kept me for a longe time in the nature of a prisoner, that I dare not looke out of dores; and they threaten withall to force the house and carie me to prison, and have disturbed us some nights, which necessitats me to keepe a continuall watch. Wherby I see I must be forever a prisoner, either at home or in a gaole, unlesse your lordship will out of your noblenes and justice finde some certaine meanes to secure my person or to satisfie my debts, which is a grace I heare his Highnes has been pleased to grant to the nobilitie of Scotland; and I presume I may challendge the like as well as others, beinge for ever made uncapable to satisfie them myselfe. And till your lordship has seriouslie considered of this, my humble request, I beseach you to grant a positive order to all soldiers to forbeare to execut anie writts against me by warrants from the civil magistrats, which will be a meanes to give some litle ease from ther perpetuall allarms, and will be a new addition to all your favours, which have tyed my inclination and my dutie to avowe myselfe, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

Antrim

218. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 11 April 1657, 822, fos 35–36.

My lord,

I doe suppose that you will have it from all manner of hands how great a defeat your father hath giveen to the wise and ambitious part of this world. He is at present in a notable, powerfull spirit; tramples this world and the outward majesty of it under his feet. He tells me, and I doe beleeve so much, that he is in great peace and quiet, this worke being over. Many are pleased and very many troubleed with what he hath done, so that there is a new face upon all sorts of people,

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and likely to be upon all our counsells and actions. Among the news of this world I must needs tell your lordship that your faithfull freind and servant, Sir John Reynolds, is this day gone to Chippenham and myselfe with him. The issue of our journey I shall give you an account of by my next. What this parliment will doe or what will become of them is yet, I think, unknowne, but some change in the governement tis probable they will make before they rise. Here are some jealousys of the Dutch; they and wee are provideing apace, and it may be that will hinder a war. My love to your wife, and if the providence of God brings not you back into England, I hope to see you in Ireland. I must allways be, my lord,

Your lordship's in all love and faithfullnes,
Franc Russell

The treaty with my lord viscount Lisle,[190] about my neece Bodvill,[191] goes on as if it were likely to come to a good issue.

219. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 13 April 1657, 822, fos 39–40.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of the bearer, Mr Course, who had long attended London about legislation related to Ireland, but other parliamentary business had prevented those bills being passed; recommends that, as an able and faithful servant, he be given better employment.

220. From John Bridges, London, 13 April 1657, 822, fos 37–38.

May it please your lordshipp,

I have inclosed sent you a coppy of the petition and advice presented to his Highness by the parliament. The only businesse of the parliament at present is to prevaile with his Highness to accept of the title, for that is the only ingredient whereat hee heesitates. But the parliament is soe fixed uppon it, that they have not thought fitt to proceede in any other busines till his Highness shall give them

[190] Philip Sidney, parliamentarian officer and politician, held the courtesy title of Viscount Lisle as heir to the earldom of Leicester. He campaigned against the Irish Catholic rebels in Ireland in 1642–1643, displaying clear sympathies for the parliamentary cause, and quit Ireland after the cessation, returning there briefly in 1647 as parliament's lord lieutenant. Although not a regicide, he actively supported the Rump and the republic. He strongly supported Oliver Cromwell and the Protectorate and held office during the Protectorate as a member of the Protectoral council, though he did not seek election to the Protectorate parliaments.

[191] Daughter of Russell's sister Anne and her estranged husband, John Bodvill/Bodville/Bodvel, MP for Anglesey in the opening years of the Long Parliament, until he was expelled in 1645 for his war-time royalism.

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sattisfaction in that particuler; and to that end, as your lordshipp hath beene formerly advertised, a committee was appointed[192] for a free conference with his Highness to sattisfy him of the reason and necessity of theire demaunds, and they have severall tymes attended his Highness uppon that occasion, laid downe theire reasons, and yesterday his Highness gave answeare to them, which was to this effect:[193] that for his part hee values not one name more then another; that hee had rather have any name from this parliament then any name without it, soe much doth hee value the authority of parliament; but in respect many godly men that have hazarded theire lives in this cause are dissattisfyed with it, and providence haveing with the old family eradicated the old title, hee thinks it his duty to beg of the parliament not to put that uppon those good men which they cannot swallowe, though it may bee theire weakenes. But though men are divided in theire judgments what his Highness will resolve uppon, yet it seemes to mee that since hee allowes an indifferency in the thinge, his greate reason will not permitt him to ballance the resolves of parliament made uppon soe greate a debate and consideration, with the humour of persons without, that can give little of reason besides this, that godly men are dissattisfyed. I beleeve his Highness is jealous there may bee some distemper in the army. The 5th Monarchy men had appointed a rendezvous att Mile End Greene, but the most forwardes, with some considerable quantiti of armes and theire standard, weare surprized before they could gett to horse.[194] Butt that being alsoe in the last pamphlet, I shall not give your excellency the trouble of the relation in this paper. I have sent Dr Gorge the 2 last pamphletts, which give an accompt of our proceedings.

My lord, I am under an obligation and therefore may not give your lordshipp an account of what I knowe, yet in this greate businesse I mai tell your lordshipp my opinion, that notwithstandinge the different judgements and the confidence of our antagonists, I hope his Highness will in a fewe dayes accept of the advice of his parliament. This afternoone wee weare att White Hall to attend his Highness, but by reason of some indisposition uppon him our meeting was put off till tomorrowe. Our antagonists weare in some hope to have surprized us this day in the howse by reason of the absence of a greate part of our freinds, but wee held them upp soe longe till more helpe came. I hope

[192] On 9 April.

[193] The following is a summary of a speech given by the Protector on 13 April (Abbott, IV, pp. 467–474), suggesting that Bridges may have misdated this letter and that it was really written, or at least completed, on 14 April.

[194] The Fifth Monarchist plot, led by Thomas Venner, focused on a planned general rendezvous at Mile End Green on Thursday 9 April, but the ringleaders were intercepted and arrested earlier that day.

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it will make us all more cautious hereafter. I present your lordshipp with my humblest servise, and remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble servant,

Jo Bridges

I have not tyme to correct the scrivener's faults.

221. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 14 April 1657, 822, fos 41–42.

Deare brother,

I have not hade any from you this post, which I presume is occationed by contrary winds. Litle hath past since my last, but the howse adhearing to their former vote of kingshippe, they waited upon his Highnes, who, not giving his consent, occationed the howse to choose a committee to attend his Highnes to urge reasons for his acceptance and to answer objections, and accordingly uppon Satturday last[195] they mett and offered their arguments for it. His Highnes tooke till Monday to answer them, which yeasterday was performed by his Highness with great inlargednes of spirit, a full and signall whitnes beareing to the interest of the people of God, and did acgayn expres his dissatisfaction to this title. Ther are some of us, dissenters, are to have a meeting with som of the cheife of the other opinion, to see how neare we can com to a right understanding one of another in this buysnes, whearin if the Lord please to own us that we can com to a right close, it may be of great mercy to this distracted, divided condition wherin we are. What the issue will be, you shall heare by the next. The Lord give a healing spirit. I neade not tell you what his Highnes' exercise is at this time. Till this buysnes be over nothing else will probably goe on in the howse. Sir John Reynolds will, I think, at last accept the command in this expedition, though I confesse I am not for it, nor was I when at the 1st it was moved. I heare Mr Patricke Carye's[196] widdow is left in a sadde condition. I have bine moved by my lord Broghill to wright, that you would please to let hir have a lease of lands at a small rent. Surly hir condition is sadde and calls for charity. Hir case being so well known to you, who have so much charity to distressed persons, I shall not doubt you will doe what is convenient in such a case. With both our humble services

[195] 11 April.

[196] Probably the Patrick Carey who, in January 1654, was appointed a commissioner for setting out lands at Ardee, County Louth (Dunlop, p. 394) and possibly the Mr Carey (his forename not recorded) recommended by Henry Cromwell in December 1655 for appointment as a clerk in the Irish upper bench (*TSP*, IV, pp. 307–308).

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to your deare lady and very affectionate kisses to your sweet litle ones, I remaine,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

222. From Vincent Gookin, Westminster, 14 April 1657, 822, fos 43–44.

May it please your lordships,

Not long since I presumed to pray your lordship's countenance to my petition,[197] which I apointed Mr Burniston, my agent, to offer to the councell, desiring that the councel would be pleased, in pursuance of his Highness' lettre on that behalfe, to make an abatement of the rent imposed on the lands granted mee by his Highness, more proportionable to the contribution payable thereat, than by the last order of the councell was allowed mee.

By a lettre from my agent, I am informed that before that desire of mine came to your lordship's hands, the councell had received my petition and adheared to their former order, and that your lordship was pleased to advize my agent to petition againe and to vouchsafe him the encouragment of having your lordship's favour therin. My lord, I wish I had words to express my abounding aprehensions of the greatness of your lordship's tenderness and kindness for soe inconsiderable a servant as I am to your lordship. Yet seing my petition hath bin already offered, and a judgment therin given, and that to offer the same againe is against an order of the councell justly as well as expresly forbiding the asking a second time for what hath bin once denyed, I humbly conceive I shall deale imodestly and injuriously with your lordship to desire your lordship againe to apeare for mee in that business; and therefore I have apointed my agent not to offer my petition any more but to receive the councel's order first given therin, and to transmit it to mee, hoping that his Highness, upon the sence of my service for him and expence in that service, will doe that for mee which the councell ought not to doe nor your lordship, without inconvenience apeare in there.

My lord, I never yet sought for any publique employment, nor ever yet refused to act in such place to which my governours called mee. I have sustained great losses for my adhearence to the parliament's cause, and am much lesse in my fortune than when his Highness first invited mee into publique services. And this diminution of my estate hath bin manifestly occasioned by attending those employments in which I could not have refused to act without being disobedient to my

[197] Presumably relating to the Protector's earlier grant of Irish land to Gookin (Abbott, III, p. 341).

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masters, in all those state affayres, wherin I have served. My affection for the worke and those who set mee to worke hath extended my poor abillityes to the utmost point of usefulness for the publique they could beare. Had I tooke those advantages others did to indulge those overtures made mee of profit, I might then have doubly done that for myselfe which now I am a suitour to his Highness for. When all my fellow labourers have made good voyages, I have only an empty, weather-beaten ship left mee, and must spend my income in mending her leakes and have not followed a successfull cause, which hath made others fatt, who I may modestly say have not bin soe usefull to the publique. I am soe poore that I am judged by all not to be in travelling case. I shall presume to say to his Highness, that if his Highness grants mee those lands mentioned in my grant, at a suitable rent, it will be a favour, but not without many presidents. All this, my lord, is trueth, and if your lordship shall be pleased to write to his Highness your opinion of mee, and of my desires in this thing, I beleive it will much incline him to shew kindness to mee. If your lordship shall judge it not inconvenient to mention mee thus to his Highness, I humbly beg you will give Mr Burniston leave to attend your lordship for such a lettre, to whom I have written about it.

Sir John Reynolds and major Morgan, besides what your lordship receives from the Secretary, informes your lordship of our greate affayres of settlement, that my narative will be but a repetition with the best and choycest things left out. The great business in expectation is wheather his Highness will gratifie the one party by refusing the title of king or the parliament by accepting it. At the conference with a comittee of the house Saturday[198] hee was pleased to grant that the committee's arguments were strong for the conveniency of the title; that hee would rather take any title from the parliament than keepe a title given him by anybody else; that though good people were dissatisfied with it, their dissatisfaction probably was their infirmity; that hee had soe great an aprehension of the parliament's wisdome etc that their dissatisfaction was nothing, compared to the parliament's advice; that hee did not thinke himselfe in conscience more unfree to that title than any other. Now I conceive the conclusion is soe naturall from those consessions that I cannot beleive his Highness would grant soe much if hee intended to refuse the title. The Lord be his guide, and God in all his difficultyes.

I have bin somewhat distempered of late with melancholy, for which I am in a course of physicke, and have therfore bin somewhat more a stranger to business than at other times; but if your lordship will

[198]Although Gookin is referring to the earlier meeting of Saturday 11 April, he goes on to summarize the Protector's speech of 13 April.

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vouchsafe to give mee my taske of worke in any particular affayre, I shall zealously labour to shew your lordship how much I delight in your lordship's service and shall while I am,

Vin Gookin

223. From Anthony Morgan, London, 14 April 1657, 822, fos 45–46.

May it please your excellency,

I received yours of the 1st of April and shall observe your directions about the Conaught land, though the Gloster bill, if it pass as it is now ordered to be engrossed, will engage all the land and houses in Ireland.[199]

There have been 2 conferences with his Highness; this day will be a 3rd, by a committee of parliament. I doubt not but your excellency will have all passages verbatim else I would have sent them; but upon the whole matter I make noe doubt but he will agree to the advice of his parliament, and that the house will adhere to the advice already given.

Sir John Reynolds hath a qualme upon him in the forrein expedition, hopes your excellency will interpose that he may not goe, and looks upon the bare acquainting you with it as a tryall of your regard towards him. He went to my lord deputy, told him he thought it a designe of his to be ridd of him and that therfore he was not willing to goe. Lord deputy told him he knew who had diswaded him. Sir John made no answer; but my lord persued it and told him that Morgan had done it. Sir John assured him that if he thought I had any reason to give against it, he should be the more unwilling because he valued my judgment, but said he did not so much as know my thoughts of it nor had ever spoken with me about it. Thus I escaped a faire scouring, and the retarding the service can not lye at my dore. I have not been at Wallingford House this 3 months till yesterday. My lord used me very kindly, and told me that Sir John Reynolds had been with him and charged him with a designe to send him away, where as

[199]A bill was passing through parliament to confer upon Gloucester land and property in Galway to the value of just over £1,500, recompensing the town for its expenditure and suffering in support of the parliamentary cause during the civil war. While Henry Cromwell and his government wished to encourage new investment and settlers in Galway, some in Ireland viewed this as an unsatisfactory solution, predicting that the corporation of Gloucester would do little to rebuild and repopulate the town. There were also fears that this would open the floodgates to claims from other English towns that had suffered in the civil war, further eating into the urban and rural property available in Ireland to settle the prior claims of adventurers, soldiers, and others (*TSP*, IV, pp. 483–484, 508; V, p. 494; VI, pp. 156–157, 209–210, 261–262, 683; Dunlop, pp. 432, 484, 524, 543, 545, 546–547, 548–550, 576, 647, 661, 662, 666).

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(said he) the best is I was the only person against his going, but told me nothing of the passage about myselfe. This plot of the 5th Monarchy men, and such other things as I know my lord must needs see every day amongst his wild party, I hope will undeceive him. He is a good man, and I hope will come to love those who are plain, downright honest without welt or gard, and will not be jealous without cause. The particulars of this last week's occurrences are very remarkable, but so publique that they must come so many wais to your hands that I thinke the best expression of my duty to spare you here. I remain,

Your excellency's most faithfull and most obedient servant,
Ant Morgan

224. From John Reynolds, London, 14 April 1657, 822, fos 47–48.

May it please your excellency,

Since my last wee have beene admitted to two conferences with his Highnes, in so much as some hoped for a settlement; but indeede, we are at present in suspense, that which is offered by some as an expedient not being pleasing to the house, viz, that the present settlement be established without the title of king, which the sense of the parliament doth much oppose and dislike. What the issue will be none can declare. I did hope your excellency would have represented me as a person not to be slightly disposed of but of some use, which I confesse I thinke I am not and therefore cannot presse it, but do with equall regret, as at disgracefull cashierement, exchange my command for the second command of 6,000 foote in forraine service, which is the honorable emploiment now to be conferred upon me; but I have not accepted my commission and do hope it will not be profered. I have offered to go with the title of major-generall of the saide 6,000 under your excellency, or the lord Richard, but I am not willing to serve under another nation, and a forraine,[200] or at best a generall but halfe an Englishman.[201] To this small reputation have the advises of some

[200]France.

[201]It is not entirely clear to whom Reynolds is referring here, though he is clearly stating that he was initially offered the place of second-in-command of the expedition, under someone he viewed as unsatisfactory. This might just be a reference to Thomas Morgan, who eventually accompanied Reynolds to Flanders as Reynolds's second-in-command. Morgan, a very experienced parliamentarian officer, who had seen service in England, Wales, and Scotland and had at different times commanded a foot, horse, and dragoon regiment, was a short, short-tempered, and almost illiterate Welshman, but he was also skilled, brave, respected by his men, and generally popular. Alternatively, Reynolds might here be alluding to William Lockhart, already in France as the Protector's ambassador, who was a Scot, though married into an English family (the Cromwells, since he had married the Protector's niece); in fact, he played no direct role in the ensuing military campaign,

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prevailed to bring me. My comfort is that I can defy any imputation but too much fidelity to your lordshipp, which I shall choose to dy asserting, as becomes, my lord,

Your excellencye's humble and faithfull servant,

J Reynolds

Sir Francis and the family at Chippenham are well. Just now captain Russell[202] returned thence, and alighted neere my lodging in Scotland Yard.

The inclosed[203] is the new modell of governement, and it is to be tendred with ours, and this saying, utrum horum mavis accipe.[204]

225. From Edward Whalley, Whitehall, 14 April 1657, 822, fos 49–50.

My lord,

My brother, judge advocate, having acquaynted me by his letter with your lordshipp's hie favour, in not onely owning him as your poor kinsman but vouchsafing him your very great respects, very much obliges me to present you with the returne of my humble thanks. My lord, his debt is mine, which much encreases my owne obligations you have bin pleased to lay upon me, and though noe lesse deserves them, yet none shalbee more gratefull.

The conference betwixt his Highnesse and the committee of parliament, concerning the title of king, still continues. They are to wayte upon his Highnesse this afternoone at 3 of the clocke to give him an answeare to what yesterday he alledged agaynst his assumption of that title. Did not I know you would have a more particuler account given you of all proceedings heer I should be more large. I shall therefore onely add this, that I beleeve yf the parliament continue to adhere to theyr former vote of kingshipp, his Highnes will rather accept of that title then ether revert to the instrument of governement, which is now become very odious, or leave us in confusion, which inevitably we shall runne into yf he refuses. There is onely this bad expedient left us, to dissolve into a commonwealth, which many ayme at, but I hope they[205] expectation wilbe frustrated. My lord, the times are dangerous. I knowe your lordshipp heares more then I can or dare

though he gave active diplomatic support. I am most grateful to Dr Patrick Little for sharing his thoughts on this issue.

[202]Identification uncertain, but perhaps Sir Francis Russell's eldest son, William.

[203]Presumably a handwritten or printed version of the new constitution as it stood at this point.

[204]This Latin phrase could be translated as 'accept which of the two you prefer'.

[205]Apparently a slip for 'theyr'.

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write. I shall therefore conclude with the sinceritie of this profession, that I am,

Your excellencie's most cordiall and faythfull servant,
Edw Whalley

226. From Charles Fleetwood, [latter half of April 1657],[206] 821, fos 258–259.

Deare brother,

It having pleased the Lord to vissit my deare Nancy[207] with a very sore distemper, not in the eye of man, I think, likely to recover. What such a tryall is I neade not tell you, when you remember how it was with you when the Lord vissited your sweet Betty.[208] The Lord sanctefy this tryall to us. It is that which hath a voyce in it, which if we have hearts to heare and understand, that will be our mercy. It was a child I did very much love, and if I could finde more weanednes from creature comforts and more fixednes upon that which is durable, the dispensation would not be without an answerable effect. I have not writt any letters this post except to yourselfe, and my presant condition must pleade my excuse that I am no larger, and shall only intreat you would not think of me then as one who did and doe think major Jones, as you represent his action, a great miscareag, and not that I showld excuse such an action. I am sorry he showld give you such an offence. Excuse my haste, who hope my praying freinds will be quickned up to minde our condition, wherin I intreat your incitement, and remaine,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,
Charles Fleetwood

Our humble services to your deare lady.

[206]The letter is undated. However, Fleetwood here elaborates on the case of Major Jones – the unidentified officer whose unjustified financial claims he had mentioned, apparently for the first time, in his letter of 7 April (no. 215). On the other hand, Fleetwood introduces the news of the serious and dangerous illness of his daughter Nancy – it was not mentioned in his letter of 14 April – which he talks about again in his letter of 28 April, reporting then that she had been seriously ill for four or five days (no. 231). Accordingly, this letter can be dated with a fair degree of reliability to the second half of April.

[207]The Fleetwood household at this time was full of children, including his and his wife's children by their first marriages as well as their own children. The child mentioned here may be Anne Fleetwood, Fleetwood's young daughter by his second wife, Bridget Ireton née Cromwell; Anne died during the Protectorate and was for a time interred in Westminster Abbey but her remains were exhumed and removed at the Restoration.

[208]Henry Cromwell's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1654, who died in July 1659 and was buried at Chippenham.

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227. From William Jephson, London, 21 April 1657, 822, fos 51–52.

My lord,

Our transactions here are, as the occurrences from abroad, something extraordinarye. The last weeke hath brought us the newes of the emperour's death,[209] of the Transilvanians' victorye[210] over the Polish generall, of the Portugall's taking the Holland plantation in the East Indies and a squadron of their ships (under the commaund of their admirall Rutter). But of all these thinges, I know your lordship will receyve punctuall relations from more knowing hands, as allsoe of our taking the Spanish gallionne and hir value. As to our affayres at home, wee were this day to wayte upon his Highnesse, who hath now given us all his exceptions (and some additions hee desyr'd might bee made) to the petition and advice. The most considerable were concerning the revenue, that is to say, that a sufficient maintenance for the armye and a competent provision for carying on the Spanish warre might bee by the parliament ascertained, at least for a time. Others there were concerning the election of parliament men, wherein his Highness hinted that hee thought wee had beene too gentle to the Scotch and revolting English of Ireland; another concerning the making good of the ordinances made by the counsell. Many others there were of lesser moment, wherein, I suppose, it will not bee hard to give satisfaction. In conclusion of his Highness' discourse wee made ourselves believe wee had greate reason to percyve that if satisfaction were given in the particulars, the thinges in the petition beeing soe desirable, and settlement a thing of soe absolute necessitye, that hee should hardlye know how to deny it with all its appurtenances. That this was soe generally apprehended by those that desyre it was as visible in their faces as their noses. 502. 1557.[211] etc prinkt up, the army droopt. Affayres seeme well altred since the last. Colonel Inglesbye's regiment of horse came yesterday to towne, which, mee thought, was noe ill signe. God of His mercye direct all for the good of these nations, and protect your lordship in all your undertakinges, which is the constant prayer of, my deare lord,

Your most affectionate, humble servant,

Wm Jephson

228. From Anthony Morgan, London, 21 April 1657, 822, fos 53–54.

May it please your excellency,

Wee have examined the state of the library and find very few books wanting which were in the catalouge. £5 will supply all, in stead

[209]The death of the emperor, Ferdinand III, without an adult male heir opened the possibility of a genuine contest for the throne of the Holy Roman Empire.

[210]Transylvania was acting in alliance with Sweden against Poland.

[211]Unknown.

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whereof Sir Timothy Tyrrell hath sent in severall printed books which were not in the cataloge and a chest of manuscripts, so that his dealing being so faire it is my humble opinion that it is not much worth labor to cause Sir Timothy to make good the defect of the cataloge, though the contract oblige him to it. The books are now in our custody. Sir Theophilus Jones keeps one key and Mr Grant another in trust that the books shall not be removed till the mony is payd, so that if the mony were ready tomorrow wee could then send down the books to Chester.

This day the conference with his Highness was continued. He made severall exceptions in writing, but so circumstantiall things that some conclud he will take it and that he hath strengthened our hands, because of that rule, exceptio in non exceptis firmat regulam.[212] I remain, my lord,

Your excellency's most faithfull and obedient servant,
Ant Morgan

229. From John Reynolds, London, 27 April 1657, 822, fos 55–56.

May it please your excellency,

I received the additionall favour of another letter from your lordshipp, and should bee verry ambitious of deserving your lordship's vouchafed kindnes by any undertaking, and could be content to loose myselfe in expressing devotednes to your family; but I must not aspire farther than my present station,[213] and therefore would not willingly remove out of it, thirsting after no greater glory than to be the meanest of your lordship's servaunts and of his Highnes. My former ambition will, I hope, (as in truth it was) be construed affection, which doth not alwayes consider distance, etc.

I have not so much sanguine hope as some of my companions, but do assure your lordshipp our cause is not so given up as that the blades have cause to bee jocund. But I will not be guilty of their errour by anticipation of what may possibly be. The truth is that his Highness hath more satisfyed his owne judgement and conscience than either of us, and hath since beene pleased to accept some poore advice, that we might argue before him the matter in question, which it's hoped will so dispose the minds of all that we shall be satisfyed with his refusall, or they become more willing to submit to his acceptance. The Lord direct, blesse and prosper your lordshipp, which is the prayer of, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servaunt,
J Reynolds

[212] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'the exception confirms the rule (in cases not excepted)'.

[213] The Protector's commission, appointing him commander-in-chief of the Flanders expeditionary force, was dated 25 April (Abbott, IV, pp. 504–505).

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230. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 27 April 1657, 822, fos 57–58.

My lord,

I doe in this (I think so) desire to take leave of your lordship, for my next is likely to be to the duke of Yorke.[214] Your father beginnes to come out of the cloudes, and it appeares to us that he will take the kingly power upon him. That great noyse which was make[215] about this busynes not long since is allmost over, and I cannot think there will be the least combustion about it. This day I have had some discourse with your father about this great busynes; he is very chearefull and his troubleed thoughts seeme to be over. Sometimes tis thought and sayed that my lord Henry will be sent for into England. I must confesse the very talke and report pleasees me, and I hope twill come to passe with your likeing, otherwise I would not have it so. Your faithfull freind and servant, Sir John Reynolds, is at present in some kind of trouble of mind; your father, I doe beleeve, presses him hard to goe with these new raiseed men into France. What the issue will be I cannot tell, but I rather think Sir John will not goe, unlesse his Highnes lay his absolute commands upon him, and than I suspect shrodely the knight will turne Quaker. Here hath bin some troubles about the busynes of Mr Rich and my lady Frances; they seeme to me yet to continue, and to trouble the minds both of your father and mother more than anything else. I doe not love to make any inquireey about it, so can wright you noe perticulers. My love to your wife, and give me leave to subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your lordship's in all faithfullnes,

Franc Russell

I was told the other day by colonell Pride[216] that I was for a king because I hopeed that the next would[217] Henry's turne.

[214] Traditionally, the second son of the reigning monarch was created Duke of York.

[215] Apparently a slip for 'made'.

[216] Thomas Pride, parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide, took up arms against the king from the outbreak of war and by the mid-1640s was lieutenant-colonel in Edward Harley's New Model foot regiment. He was prominent in the army politics of the later 1640s and a firm opponent of parliament's attack on the army, helping first to quell the royalist rising of 1648 and then to purge parliament in early December, a development which usually bears his name. He campaigned under Oliver Cromwell in Scotland in 1650–1651. Despite his radical and republican views, which led to some suspicions and caused him initially to oppose the offer of the crown, he was loyal to the Protectorate. The second Protectorate parliament was the only parliament to which he was elected.

[217] Word – perhaps 'be' – apparently omitted.

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231. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 28 April [1657],[218] 821, fos 123–124.

Deare brother,

The Lord's hande is still upon us in the weaknes of our deare Nancy, who hath bin looked upon both by the physitians and others thes foure or five dayes as a dying childe. Our desires to the Lord hath bine that we might have wills to resigne to His will and to be throughly taught by this sore stroake. Ther is, it semes, a litle abatment of one part of hir distemper in the feavor, which gives some reviving, but no more then to incourage still a waiting upon the Lord, who can rayse from the grave; that is hir case. I hope our praying freinds with you are mindfull of us, that the Lord may throughly sanctefy this dispensation to us. Ther is somthing the Lord would have us perticulerly learn if He please to teach us; that will be our mercy. I have not bine abroad thes seven dayes and know litle of anything, being called to this retirment, in which had I better heart I might make that improvment in soule searching, and through the grace of our Lord Jesus gayne spirituall strength against corruption and more communion with Himselfe, which will abundantly recompence my losse. Wherin that the Lord may afforde me His gratious and blessed presence is the desire of,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

I understand you have sent for collonel Cooper,[219] but it seemes his Highnes hath commanded his stay till this great busynes be fully over. I can give no account therof by reason of my retirment.

232. From Daniel Redman, Dublin, 29 April 1657, 822, fos 59–60.

May itt please your excellencie,

Feareing I shall not have any opertunitie to waite uppon your excellencie to speeke aboute some businesse, and judgeing that my adresse in writeing may be lesse troubl to your lordship att this tyme, made me asume the bouldnesse to aquaint you with an opertunitie that I mett with, which may be off some advauntage to my kinsman, Mr Henary Parrie, iff the consent off Sir John Temple could be prokured, viz, one Mr William Deane, who is one off the clerques in chauncery,

[218]Wrongly endorsed '1656'.

[219]He was in London, serving as MP for Counties Down, Antrim, and Armagh. Worried about the security of Ulster, on 25 March, Henry Cromwell requested the Protector to order Cooper's return to Ireland (*TSP*, VI, p. 143); Cooper himself replied to Henry Cromwell on 21 April, reporting that the Protector had directed him to stay (*TSP*, VI, p. 219).

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not getting a livelyhood out off that imployment, has petitioned the lord chauncelor and Sir John Temple to have libertie to sell itt to a person that may be better versed in itt. And myselfe, Mr Charnocke and Mr Baines[220] waited uppon Sir John this day and aquainted hym that your lordshipp would willingly doe Mr Parrie a favour iff an opertunitie weare offred. Sir John was pleased to tell us that he would waite uppon your lordshipp about itt iff he weare so comaunded. I humbly begg your lordshipp would please to apoint either Dockter Gordges or some other to goe to Sir John Temple with your lordship's carakter and recomendation off Mr Parrie, otherwise Sir John intends the favour to one Mr Brewerton. But Mr Deane had rather treate with me aboute itt for Mr Parrie then with any, inregard I shall give hym more then any other person iff Sir John may but be satisfied, whose alone consent we want and can noe way obtaine except your lordshipp be favourably pleased to interpose in his behalfe, which must either be done within a day or two, iff not this night, or elce itt's gone. And being goeing out of towne tomorrow, I humbly begg your lordship's pleasure in this and what other comaunds you have for me, which will be carefully observed by,

Your excellencie's very humble and faithfull servant,
Dan Redman

233. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghill, [April 1657],[221] 823, fo. 335.

I am fuller of expectation then of matter to write, wherefore I shall not trouble you needesly, unless the scene of affaires were on this side. Pray consider that if names and titles onely bee changed, things may easily slide back againe, either where they are, or to a worse condition. Remember that tis not names or words that governe the world, but

[220]Stephen Charnock, an Independent minister, served as an army chaplain in the late 1640s and early 1650s before resuming his studies at Oxford. In 1655 he crossed to Ireland and took up a salaried position as a regular preacher in Dublin and as chaplain to Henry Cromwell. Edward Baines, another Independent minister serving in Ireland, also preached regularly in Dublin.

[221]The dating of this and the following letter is far from certain, but both seem to relate to a period when the Protector's hesitancy and opposition towards the title of king had become apparent but perhaps before his firm and final refusal of the crown had become known. Moreover, in surviving letters, dated 8 and 22 April, Henry Cromwell contrasted the limited importance of the proposed change of title with the real value of some of the political, constitutional, and religious proposals contained within the new constitution (*TSP*, VI, pp. 182–183, 222–223), something which is alluded to here. Accordingly, both letters have been assigned to April 1657. I am most grateful to Dr Patrick Little for sharing his thoughts on the dating of this letter.

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things. I wish the constitution of the councill and army may bee tuned to the change, <what> if any bee. I say, I expect from you at present, wherefore pardon this brevity in your etc.

234. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghill, [April 1657], 823, fo. 333.

Having received nothing from you by the last, and observing <the carriage> the unusuall and manifest brashnes of some here (<who> who never approved of mee nor I of them), and with all the clowdines of honeste men, I collect from the whole some grounds to thinke things are not like to be so well as I could wish and as once I hoped. Concerning the title, and the weight of it compared with the other proposalls <that joyned with it> in the parlament's advice, I shall say no more, having deliverd myselfe thereupon at large in my last. <And> For indeed I feare <I> I use to say too much upon the small matter I have to worke upon, beeing, for want of that light which I ought to receive from England, not only putt to guesse and grope at the way of my proceedings, and <rather> also to spin what I write rather out of my owne imaginations, then to deduce any inferences from that particular knowledge of persons and things upon <all> occasions <wherewith I am> which if his Highness thought fitt were necessary for mee. Wherefore whether I shall actually doe his Highness more or lesse service here, I hope I shall have alwayes comfort within myselfe that I have <not wrapt up the one talent <d d> entrusted with me in a napkin but have> done as much as I could out of the small helpe I have received.

235. From William Jephson, London, 5 May 1657, 822, fos 61–62.

My deare lord,

I am very sory to heare the indisposition in your throate still followes you, though I am very glad to receyve the newes of your soe speedy recoverye. Wee are yett gotten but little farther then wee were in our businesse. Wee hopt for a day to have beene appointed for his Highnesse to give his positive answer to the parliament, but hee hath appointed another conference with the committee. I must confesse I am one of those that hope well, for I can not imagine that his Highness would have held the parliament thus long in treaty with a resolution to breake with them at last. Though I find some men very doubtfull that hee may still sticke at the title and offer to accept of all the rest under that which hee now hath. I hope God will prevent that, for I find many men very violentlye bent to leave all to confusion if that bee

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denyde, and I really am afrayd that if it should soe fall out, the house will bee left soe thynne as that 115.[222] will cary what they please. I am extreame sory to heare your lordship hath, and is likely to receyve, soe much trouble in my businesse, but really, my lord, I find I am both in that and divers other thinges soe pusht at in my absence that without your lordship's support I am like to bee ruin'd, soe that I hope your lordship will pardon mee if necessitye inforce mee somtimes to seeme troublesom. I heare they have now admeasur'd some parcells of my land to give out to the souldiers. All the favour I begg is only that I may not bee condemn'd before I bee heard. I have one humble sute to your lordship, that you would remember mee this yeare for a goshawke, which I have written to colonel Busbridge to take care of if it bee needfull before I come. My lord, I have noe considerable newes to impart this weeke, therefore shall only tender my most humble service to your lordship and your noble lady, and my hearty thankes for the honour you were pleas'd to doe my wife in sending to see her, and begg the favour to bee esteem'd as I shall indeavour in all my actions to approve myselfe, my lord,

Your most affectionate and faythfull, humble servant,
Wm Jephson

236. From John Reynolds, London, 5 May 1657, 822, fos 63–64.

May it please your excellency,

I have beene so exceedingly disturbed by my little perplexityes that I have not so minded the publique this weeke as formerly, but the whole represented by any hand will amount to no more than this, that we yet waite upon God and upon his Highnes to establish governement by a lawfull authority, and that necessity may bee laide aside. Since my last, his Highnes hath againe beene pleased to renew and reiterate his former commands, and although I much urged want of freedome as at other times, and that it might answer his first intention to present those forces being raised and transported and than leave them, yet he hath since altred his resolution, and hath beene lately verry expresse and positive in his commands, which I would obey although I knew my returne would never be, and I judge it to be my duty and do hope to find comfort in this whatsoever the suceese be, which I leave unto the Lord. The parliament do still meete and adjourne; onely a small petition croudes in for an engrosment or reading, but nothing of consequence is admitted untill his Highnes hath returned his answer, which is expected tomorrow. I entreate your lordship to excuse my

[222]Perhaps 'the commonwealthsmen'.

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late troubling you, which is now finished by my going into France,[223] and therefore I shall desire to be excused for wrighting weekely unto your lordship. My next must be with the additionall postscript of stylo novo,[224] but I shall hope to have the title of an old servant, and will endeavour to merit (although with greate obstructions to be removed) the title of the faithfullest and not least usefull of your servaunts. Committing your lordshipp to the Almighty' protection, I remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servaunt,
J Reynolds

My most devoted service to my lady.

237. From G. Gregorye, Rathcoursey, [County Cork], 9 May 1657, 822, fos 65–66.

Letter of request, seeking permission to travel to England to pay his respects to the Protector, and also asking that an estate of 1,000 acres that he had held in County Tipperary for the previous three years and which had not been allocated to the adventurers should now be confirmed to him in lieu of his arrears of £500; once confirmed in possession, he would invest in improving the land and repairing an old ruined castle standing there, on which he had already spent nearly £100; he would much rather settle there than on the remote, dangerous, desolate estate recently allocated to him.

238. From William Jephson, London, 12 May 1657, 822, fos 69–70.

My deare lord,

This can pretend to noe other businesse but to prevent the interruption of my constant respects to your lordship, for really his Highnesse's refusall of the parliament's petition and advise[225] hath soe amaz'd his most reall servants, as I know not what to write or say concerning it; I am sure tis not a discourse fitt for a letter. What resolution will bee taken upon the report of it to the parliament is not yett knowne, for it hath beene differ'd from day to day untill tomorrow. The counsell I find most inclind to is to rayse money for this summer's service and to adjourne the parliament for some monthes. God direct us to something which may preserve these nations from totall ruin. I hope I shall kisse your lordship's hands shortly in Ireland.

[223]He left London on 6 May and sailed from Dover on 18 May.

[224]This Latin phrase could be translated as 'new style', indicating the reformed calendar used on the continent.

[225]On 8 May.

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Wheresoever I am, or whatsoever becomes of mee, I shall allwayes indeavour to approve myselfe, my lord,

Your most faythfull and affectionate, humble servant,

Wm Jephson

239. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 12 May 1657, 822, fos 67–68.

Deare brother,

It pleased the Lord upon Fryday last to incline his Highnes' heart to give a positive denyall to the buysnes of kingshippe. The debate about the answer was defferred till this day, but by reason of the speaker's indisposition it is put off till tomorrow. I presume you will heare of a petition from a party of the army; I shall therfor acquaint you how it was.[226] His Highnes having given severall denyalls, they conceived it did becom them to own his Highnes in what he did, and that the howse would please no further to presse him therin. Their intentions, I am confydent, was honest, though the thing was in itselfe very unseasonable, and was, I finde upon examination, a very sudden resolution. When I knew of what they wer about I went and acquainted his Highnes with it, who desired it might be suppresst, which accordingly I made all the haste I could, but I cam a quarter of an houre too late, and they being gon to the howse to deliver, I did then hasten thither, wheare I found the debate was wither it showld be reade or not. I moved the howse against the reading of it, and so it was layde aside and nothing was don therin. I confesse I like not armye's interposings, and I think you have don well to keepe off anything in Ireland, and thes honest men who wer engaged in this buysnes I doe beleive did intend well, and had they throughly considerd all circumstances would not have don it, for I am confydent never any army so loved a generall as this poore army doth. The Lord, I trust, will arise and appeare and give us a further clearing what the worke of our day is, which I think all good people showld be very earnest with the Lord to direct us in, for surely none except the Israelites wer ever ledde in such darke paths and wayes as we hitherunto have bine, and yet that to be called a straight way of theirs, and if the Lord make ours so to be at last, what matter of amasing mercy will it be unto

[226]A petition of early May, allegedly initiated by Pride with the acquiescence of Desborough, drafted by John Owen, and signed by over two dozen officers then in and around London, which was presented to parliament by a small deputation of officers, headed by John Mason, lieutenant-colonel of Pride's regiment, early on 8 May, before the Protector made his speech firmly and finally declining the crown. The petition requested that, in the light of the Protector's earlier speeches expressing clear reservations about the offer of the constitution with the title of king in it, parliament should not press the Protector any further.

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us. Which, that we may be more ledde in the spirit of faith, and to understand and know, is the desire of,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant.

My wife's very affectionate salutes to yourselfe and lady, with my humble service to hir.

Their Highnesses are at Hampton Court and will, I think, stay ther this weeke.

240. From Anthony Morgan, London, 12 May 1657, 822, fos 71–72.

May it please your excellency,

That morning his Highness gave his deniall to accept the title, lieutenant-collonel Mason (an Anabaptist) with 3 or 4 more, in the name of some 20 more, offered a petition to the house to desire them not to press his Highness to accept the title of king. The house would not read their petition but were ready to call it a breach of priviledge, but moderation was pressed and the petition layd aside. Tis said his Highness knew nothing of the petition, but when he heard of it was extream angry; cald it a high breach of priviledge and the greatest injury they could have offered to him next cutting his throat; and indeed comming in as it did makes people abroad say he is afraid of his army. This day the report of his Highness's denyall was made to the house. Mr Bodarda[227] moved the house would vindicate their priviledge in respect of the above petition. Mr Goodwin[228] said that wee were concerned to take notice of evill councellors who advised his Highness without dores not to hearken to the advice of his parliament; said it was the quarrell in the beginning with the late king. These things were passed over and the debate about his Highness's answer adjourned till tomorrow morning. Upon a division of the house, on halfe being in the lobby, Sir Thomas Pride exprest much anger against Mr Goodwin and said he should be called to the barr. Harry Owen replied, twere fitter to call you to the barr for killing the beares,[229] for which he was applauded by the crowd about him. Thus your lordship

[227]Griffith Bodurda, parliamentarian politician, was MP for Anglesey in the second Protectorate parliament and for Beaumaris in the third, and held a variety of military and civilian administrative offices in his native north-west Wales and in London.

[228]John Goodwin, MP for East Grinstead, an experienced parliamentarian who sat in all the parliaments elected between 1640 and 1659.

[229]In 1656, as a commissioner for securing the peace of London, Pride had ordered that the bears used in bear-baiting shows and the cocks employed in cock fighting should be destroyed, thus removing an opportunity for disorderly and possibly seditious public gatherings.

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sees wee have an Irish champion considerable heer.[230] Lord Fines tells me your lordship is much envied for governing better there then wee can doe heer. In our great business tis resolved by some not to be angry nor recede, but lay the consideration of it aside for a time till wee hope his Highness may have time to be better informed; in the mean time goe on and raise money and doe what other good things wee can, and then if wee can by his Highness's consent adjorne for the sommer.

I am your excellency's most faithfull and most obedient servant,
Ant Morgan

241. From Thomas Rawlins, Belturbet, [County Cavan], 21 May 1657, 822, fos 73–74.

May it please your excellency,

The lady Buttler and Mr Phillpott are come to the towne and affirme that it is your verball order to them to live in the forte. And that wee might not erre either by denying of them that benefitt if it be your excellencie's intentions, or in permitting of them to live there contrary to your order or knowledge, I thought it my duty to give you this accoumpt; and that by what I can learne the buildings and workes of that forte cost the commonwealth no less than five hundred pounds. I have formerly written to your excellency more particularly in this busines, and truely mye intention, both in the former and this, have been only to discharge my duty therein to his Highnes and the commonwealth, and that if they should be damnifyed by their living there, the blame might not ly upon mee. I have heard that some have informed your excellency that what I have written to you about it hath been out of selfe respect. If any have soe don, it hath been without the least ground or reason, for if I had any assureance of continuing heere I should rather desire to live in any other place than that. If it be your excellencye's pleasure that shee shall not live there bee pleased to signify your commaunds therin to,

Your excellencye's most truely faithfull servant,
T Rawlins

242. From Francis Russell, Chippenham, 25 May 1657, 822, fos 75–76.

My lord,

If I doe understand at all my owne temper and complection, I am as much flegmatick as sanguine, and I find it a hard match betweene

[230]Owen was MP for Counties Westmeath, Longford, and King's.

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them, yet I am so wise as I care not much which hath the better, for when I am to wise than I am to flegmatick, when to fooleish than I am as much to sanguine; but I am very glad that I know myselfe so well in both my weaknesses. At that time when I writ to your lordship I had pretty good reason to be sanguine, for the little Secretary was so, and he twas that infected so many of us, but I hope I have pretty well recovered that infection, allthough it hath allmost killed divers others. I am glad your lordship is so steadey minded as not to be concerned with any outward glory, for indeed he who is inwardly truely great cares not for shaddows, which are onely the cheifest happynesses of all weake men and minds. And now I could be a little merry with your father and his temper and complection. Suppose I should tell you he often knows not his owne mind, twere but to affirme he is but a man, and like unto many of his freinds and servants who truely love him. William Perepoint and generall Montague will never trust to politicks any more, and the little Secretary tells me that he seeth now that nothing is so considerable in any busynes as simplicity. The truth is your father hath of late made more wise men fooles than ever; he laughs and is merry, but they hang downe theyre heads and are pittyfully out of countenance. All the lawyers are turned Quakers, who before boasted they would make penknifes of the soldyers' swords. My distance from London will not give me leave to make any observations of our present affaires, but withall doubt the army and sectarys are trump and have a notable game in theyre hands, if they can but play it wisely and with modesty, but I feare they are headdy, rash gamesters, which I suppose you well understand. Little Hampden, Sir John Hubbart and Jack Treavor[231] I doubt are very angerey; they had strong dreames of being lords, but now they are awake find themselves but country gentlemen. My lord, I doe beleeve that Ireland is glad of your company, and so would England be to, but whether at[232] yet to wish you there or here I know not. The little Secretary is much in love with you, commends you much to me, but what that meanes I care not to imagine or guesse. My love to your wife; the Lord blesse you both. I am, my lord,

Your lordship's faithfully and in all true love,
Franc Russell

I hope this letter will overtake my last unto your lordship.

[231] Richard Hampden, MP for Buckinghamshire, Sir John Hobart, MP for Norfolk and Hampden's brother-in-law, and probably John Trevor (junior), MP for Flintshire (though his father, Sir John Trevor, also sat in this parliament as MP for Arundel).

[232] Apparently a slip for 'as'.

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243. From John Nelson[233] to Robert Gorges, Ross, 26 May 1657, 822, fos 77–78.

Honnourd sir,

Upon the last Lord's day, whilest the minister wass in sermon, the drummer to major Hadden's[234] late companie, by name Robert Whetstone, come in and give publicke disturbance with much bitterness of spiritt and revillings. I have committed him, being a soldier. I desire to know my lord's pleasure concerneing him. Hee is the first Qaker that hath given disturbance heere. It's good to nipp such spirrits in the budd. I am under some distemper and can not inlarg and crave a word from you as to this and the presenting my faithfull service to my lord, with my harty acknowlidgment for his favor in admitting tow files of my men to goe to my lott. Which favor, with those many I have received, I hope hee will not find misplacd. Pardon my trobleing of you and doe that right as to believe mee to be cordially,

Your faithfull, affectionate, humble servant,

John Nelsonn

244. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghill, [May 1657], 823, fo. 328.

My deare lord,

I neither know what to doe or say upon this issue of affaires. Certanly, as you said, the Lord hath yet a further controversy to decide with this poore nation. All honest men here beeing at a stand and a losse both in their private and publiq concernements. I have nothing to support my hopes but that forces,[235] much as his Highness declared his willingnes to comply to severall, and hath not been much pleased since with his diswaders, and had the highest force put upon him that ever was by the 3 grandees,[236] etc. I say, for all these reasons I hope his Highness does but waite a better opportunity to shew his affections to the publiq and his particular freinds. Neither am I a little

[233]Parliamentarian officer, who went to Ireland in 1649 in Robert Phaier's foot regiment and then became lieutenant-colonel of William Reeves's foot regiment there. He was governor of Kilmallock in the early 1650s and of Ross from 1652, in which capacity he became involved, in 1652–1653, in a scheme to transport Irishmen to Spain, allegedly losing at least £2,700 in the business, for which he later sought and – with a letter of support from the Protector of July 1658 bolstering his claim – obtained grants of Irish land in compensation (Abbott, IV, p. 853; *CSPI*, pp. 671, 830, 861).

[234]Richard Hodden, governor of Kinsale.

[235]Word slightly blotted/amended, but it does seem to read thus.

[236]Perhaps Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough, who all opposed the offer of the crown.

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strengthend in this persuasion that you have yet heart enough not to quitt all, which I desire you and all honest men not to doe, least the predomenant gentlemen obtrude whatsoever they please upon us. My lord, I must and will steere your course, wherefore have a care how you lay it, (besides your owne) for the sake of,

Your etc.

245. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to John Thurloe, [May 1657], 823, fo. 334.

As to the title, I alwayes doubted his Highness' refusall, and therefore was troubled to see the parlament so peremptary therein, fearing lest a stifnes on both sides might produce a breach <betweene> the consequences whereof would be very sad. Wherefor if it bee not too late, I could wish our freinds would consider well of it, whether the matter of a title, either one way or other, ought to bee putt in the ballance with the necessary consequences of such a breach. <For if the parlament rise without providing monyes, his Highness must raise it some other way, which certainly can never bee well taken <of> by these whise advice in parlament hee hath neglected. B> Which, as your lordshipp well observes, would not only ruine his Highness and family, but also leave the liberties and other blessing of this nation, so long contended for, in a very forlorne and remediless condition. I cannot tell what intelligence thes buisy-bodies here have gotten, but they creep abroad like snakes in the warme sun; and indeed this and the drowsines which I find upon the spirits of our better freinds is that which <use> touches mee most, for they are apt to interpret this act of his Highness <rather> prejudiciall unto them; not so much <by refusing> for that his Highness is without the title, as <by thereby> that by refusing it hee seemed preferring <those> that gang before <such> a far better and more solid interest.

246. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghill, [May 1657], 823, fos 337–338.

I am glad in order to <the> dispatch and progresse in other publick buisnes that his Highnes has given his answer,

that it was such as by the parlament's industry and patience may serve at present; and I blesse God that they so truly understood his Highnes' refusal, and were not so distasted at that which might have been gastly resented as an indignity put upon them, but <were> could condisend to patch up the desires of their opposers by putting themselves to the trouble of limitting and circumstantating the present

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title of protector, so as to make it in some degree consonant to the or titles in office which the law better knowes[237]

and that althought it were not what was propounded by honest men, yett <it that <...>[238] it was as much as the parlament may make equivalent thereunto by declaring the two termes or titles in controversie to signifie but one and the same thing>. <But> Now if this expedient satisfie those who opposed the title king, I shall conclude them sleight persons to contend so much about words, or rather sounds; and if it doe not <satisfie them> I shall <conclude> esteeme of them <juglers to> as pretenders to the contrary of what they mean, and shall <thinke> beleive what you well hinted of them, viz, that there beeing many things in the advice which they <snarled at> disliked equally with that title king, <that those gentlemen> they would have destroyed the whole by pulling downe that one parte, <which they hoped would appeare> supposing it most obnoxious to the men in power. The petition[239] and postscript you sent mee doth very well explaine those dark doings of <theirs> some, who for without the tumultuous forme of a commonwealth will find the way to their ends <would bee> too narrow.

I doubt whether those officers who signed this petition durst attempt such a worke without other props then what appeared, or had not other aimes then what they avow.[240]

I hope the fellow souldiers, whom they so confidently invoke in England and Scotland, will <turne a deafe> give little eare to such seditious alarmums; however, I dare presume those of Ireland doe better understand their duty and interest then to follow them. Here are lately come among us a few, whom I may thinke incendiaries, yett I hope the matter they would enflame is nott <combustible enough> apt to take <such> fire. I am the more pleased with these proceedings because they seeme graduall, and not like those late sudden <flushings, which makes the face of our former projects blush, and certainely> changes, <whereof a small> whose inconveniences a little experience hath detected for having proceeded thus far. I suppose that when men have <had some experience> upon tryall approved of the thing, they will then more easily admitt the same <or see> if necessary, or otherwise bee better content without it <then> then when humor and prejudice onely explodes it.

[237]This block of text – from 'that it was such' to 'which the law better knowes' – which seems to close in a rather garbled way, has been added in the left margin at this point.

[238]Word or words too heavily deleted to be legible.

[239]Probably the army officers' petition presented to parliament on 8 May.

[240]This sentence has been added in the left margin at this point.

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I hope his Highness will at length bee convinced of the spiritt which raignes in many at this day, and that the discovery of so many horrid plotts and seditious purposes vouchsafed by the Lord for his information will not prove in vaine. It is cleere many are full of rage and envy against his Highness, who cannot beare that God should exalt him thus eminently above his brethren, and will therefore leave no meanes unattempted to levell him with themselves and the whole nation with confusion. I need say no more, for it seemes to mee all things speeke alowd to this purpose. I have given order to all my well affected officers to have an eye to the <spawnings> progresse of this petition and postscript. I cannot tell what some few may imprudently and usurpingly forge in the name of the rest; but that anything like the army of Ireland should abett it would bee as much the wonder as the greife and trouble of.

I am unwilling to trouble his Highness at this time with matters when I conceive him otherwise taken up. All his freinds need to pray earnestly for him, and <to> strengthen his hands <in the daily difficultyes hee meetes with, I shall (as I have already) doe what's best to checq this petition here and what also I can for the publick and his privacy and to aquaint his Highness that I hope effectually to doe it> that the Lord would mightily at this juncture support his spiritt, and that they would in there severall places as I shall doe in my station; and as for this petition, you may, if you thinke fitt, acquaint his Highness that I shall have a due concerning it <hoping the army her is> [. . .][241]

I feare lest 103, 104 and 106[242] and their forwardnes have not given rise to the insolent fellowes, and that some <others> of them have not <a finger in the py> done more. I hope his Highness will at length distinguish his true freinds from others, and by degrees wind out power and armes out of the hands of those your lordship mentioned. Pray stand fast, not onely in the howse, but also improve your interest with his Highness to keepe him in mind of those excellent things you hinted; nor lett the humor of our ill-willers grow past cure. Bee not quite discouraged till things grow desperate, for as long as there is life there is hope.

[241] There follow several further words too heavily deleted to be legible. Indeed, this whole paragraph, squeezed in along the side of the page at this point, is heavily amended.

[242] As Henry Cromwell only rarely uses this code in his letters and as no key appears to survive, it is impossible to decode these with certainty, but the most obvious and most plausible explanation is that the numbers stand for Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough.

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247. From Daniel Redman, Kilkenny, 2 June 1657, 822, fos 79–80.

May it please your excellencie,

Leiutenant Teuch being about a moneth since discharged from prosekuteing the tories with that partie which your lordshipp ordered hym when you weare heare, his business is to petition your lordshipp and the councell for the pay which was ordered hym, he haveing neaver received any thing either for hymselfe or his four horseman but onely ten pounds, which Docktor Gorges paid hym att Kilkenny. I have onely this to trouble your lordship with on his behalfe, that dureing the tyme he was imployed and that any torries remained abroad, he was as acktive and laborious in prosekuteing off them as was possible for any man to be, though his endeavours had nott that successe that both he and others wished. I humbly desire your lordship's assistance that he may have the areares off what was promised hym. There was two off Rian's men that came lately outt off Connaught, and since are turned torries on horse backe in this county, but major Palmer and some off the countrie getting notice off them, in the reare pursued them soe close, both by day and night, that they made them quitt theire horses and tooke one off them, and both theire armes and horses, pistolls and swoords. He that was taken is now in this goaile, and I would wish we had an order to trie hym presently and hang hym out off the way, which I thinke would be off good advauntage to the state. For he tells me that iff he be hanged he will make a hundred more off his country be hanged with hym, but I cannott yett gett out his meaneing (in this businesse). Dermot Rian[243] hymselfe was nott onely the first intelligencer but led that party that prosekuted them untill they weare taken. I humbly begg your lordshipp's assistance that the country may have some small encouragement for this they light uppon though they brought hym in alive, and itt will encourage them to be more aktive. Rian's apeareing in this businesse makes mee to forbeare presseing hym to find out any aditionall securitie as yett, which I feare he cannott well gett. And iff he should be seized prisoner itt's feared by the country that itt will drive out many off his men, but I intend to send for hym and speake with hym speedilie. I humbly

[243]Dermot Ryan, along with Donnogh O'Derrick and others, was held responsible for attacking and murdering a group of Petty's surveyors and, in October 1655, the Irish council had put a price on their heads – £30 for O'Derrick, £20 for Ryan. O'Derrick was taken shortly afterwards but Ryan eluded capture and instead, in January 1657, he surrendered himself to the English regime on terms, offering to answer any accusations of murder which might be laid against him (Dunlop, pp. 542, 649–650). According to this report, he was at this time actively co-operating with the security forces and assisting them in their pursuit of Irish renegades.

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begg your lordship's pardon for this trouble, and iff possible leave to goe for Enegland, an[. . .]aine.[244]

Your excellencie's humble and faithfull servant,
Dan Redman

248. From John Lisle, Chelsea, 5 June 1657, 822, fos 81–82.

May it please your excellency,

The bearer heereof, William Jennings, doth humbly acknowledge your goodnesse and favour towards him. His neere relation to mee made mee a suitor to my lord deputy for his letter to your excellency on his behalfe and now to joyne with this bearer in his petition and most humble thanks for what you have already vouchsafed him. He hath beene in some sea services formerly under generall Blake and was in the late service when some of the Spanish plate fleete was taken. I hope he will alwayes pray for your excellency and soe shall,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obliged servant,
John Lisle

249. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 7 June 1657, 822, fo. 83.

Deare and honored lord,

I did receive your last letter and hope you have received tow latly from me, for my true love and respects towards your lordship doeth increase dayly. The Lord make me faithfull in it. Your freinds here increase I find dayly. Your enemys, I suppose, know not what to say unto it. Tis true wisedome, I beleeve, and hope, that giveeth you this victory and so good a place in the affections of so many, and thus shall you be blessed if you feare the Lord truely and wait on Him for wisedome, which is pure and powerfull. True humility is the onely greatnes with which if you be but once enlightned you shall not need to feare in all your wayes, but be as bold as a lyon. Therefore feare the Lord onely; be single and simple harted; abhore all craftynes and the crooked devyces of the subtle of hart; tast fully of the good, plaine, old way of honesty and therein fill and delight yourselfe, that your life, wisedome and strenght may be from above, than will God blesse you and yours and this present generation shall praise God for you. Oh my deare lord, love the Lord of all beings with your whole hart, magnifie His name in all your actions, give Him the honor and glory onely for He is good and mercyfull, full of true sweetnes and wisedome. I hope God

[244]Paper damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete words may be 'and remaine'.

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intends you some outward blessing and helpe by your new relation to Sir John Reynolds.[245] If it displeaseth any, theyre harts, I doubt, are not right in true love. Many wonder at this match and are troubleed to guesse what it meaneeth. You know well my temper and fooleish, carelesse wisedome in all things of this nature. If God hath made it wisedome I shall not boast, but be still in thankfullnes and praise His name that He can act for me and mine above all my owne forecastings or thoughtfullnes. Your father loves you truely. God conquers his hart by those good reports which he heares of you, for a wise sonne cannot be but a joy to his father. In love and duty answer him againe that his age may be renewed and strengthened thereby, than will God honer you, and wisedome shall be plaine and easy to you. You shall not need to seeke after hir, but she shall find you out and delight in and with you, makeing you hir companion and familier freind; and what shall part you asunder? You shall than be able to teach the wise, allthough your elders, and instruct the fooleish, for onely wisedome and a constant delight in hir can make you powerfull. Thus, my lord, have I pouered forth my love and those instructions I have learned (by God's grace) from hir. The Lord make us both faithfull to hir, and to manifest hir pleasant doctrines in all our ways. My love to your wife, and that the blesseing of wisedome and rightyous understanding may posses both your soules is the dayly constant prayer of, my lord,

Your faithfull freind and servant in the love that never faileeth and knoweth no end of her service,

Franc Russell

My lord Lambert, I doe beleeve, is inwardly at some distance with Whitehall.

250. From Anthony Morgan, London, 9 June 1657, 822, fos 84–85.

May it please your excellency,

This day the house waited upon his Highness in the Painted Chamber where he passed 39 bills, one of which was for the confirmation of the divisions of land made to the soldiery. Another was that in which Portumna is named. I will advise what is to be done further about it in order to comming to some effect thereupon. His Highness refused to pass the bill for chatechizing in the usuall way, (which is) he would advise upon it.

[245]Probably indicating that a marriage contract had been agreed between Reynolds and Sarah, daughter of Francis Russell. They were married later in the summer.

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There was besides many private bills for disposition of land in Ireland. One ugly bill, which was a taxe of £20,000 paiable in 3 months.[246]

Yesterday, by advise of my lord Lambert and others, I moved the house in behalfe of my lord deputy that they would bestow some marks of their favor upon him. Others particularized and propounded £1,500 per annum in Ireland,[247] but contrary to the expectation of all who were privy to the motion, it occasioned a very great debate. Generall Desborow opposed it with vehemence, as he said out of kindness to him. I can not tell whether Bampfeild, Godfrey, Grove[248] and their gang did it upon that account. At last it came to a question, and was carried by one vote[249] that a bill should be brought in to that purpose, but some threaten very much to meet with the bill, so that I suppose it will not be received this sessions least it prove a blemish instead of a favor to my lord. I am sorry I moved it since it occasioned so much stirr, but I thought it reasonable that at parting wee should shew kindness, for I must alwais hope (though I love him well) his commission will never be renewed. I have been extreamly chidden by many for moving it, who say they will not easily forgive me. I am sure I meant honestly. I am, my lord,

Your excellency's most faithfull and most obedient servant,
Ant Morgan

251. From Ruben Eastthorpe,[250] Galway, 11 June 1657, 822, fos 86–87.

Right honorable,

Our Anabaptists in Galway ar now as high as if all Ireland was theirs. Collonell Sadler's lady[251] is dipped for certayne, and they glory therein and ar become most insolent. I suppose neither I nor any minister must live in Galway unlesse he can submit and comply with that party. The governor out of his respecte to his wife is wholly theirs.

[246]An additional levy, over and above the regular monthly assessments, designed to contribute towards the costs of the war against Spain.

[247]The parliamentary diary suggests that Whitelocke and Strickland were the chief supporters of this proposal (*Burton*, II, p. 197).

[248]Thomas Bampfield, MP for Exeter, Lambert Godfrey, MP for Kent, and Thomas Grove, MP for Wiltshire, had all recently expressed opposition to the Protector's veto of the catechizing bill or to the oath required of MPs under the new, written constitution.

[249]The *Commons Journal* records that it was carried by two votes, 45 to 43, in a very thinly attended house (*Journal of the House of Commons: volume 7: 1651–1660* (London, 1802), p. 550).

[250]Minister who held livings in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire before the civil war and was preaching in northern England in the early 1650s. He was in Ireland by the mid-1650s, serving as a minister in Galway, and was still there in 1659, by which time he was receiving a government salary.

[251]Wife of Thomas Sadleir, governor of Galway.

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I never gave hym or any of that party one passionat word. In two things I only have offended. First, I did refuse to let the Anabaptists to preach in the publique church, at which the collonel was so offended that he reaproched me in high tearmes and threatned to lay down his commission unlesse he might have his desire; secondly, I have baptized some children, which doth so offend hym that he saith if I baptize children in the church he will go out of it, and threatneth to lay down his commission rather then to live under my ministry. The inhabitants of the town do give me all encoragement, but all such as testify their affections to me or my ministry are taken notice of and frouned at, and I do beeleive will be wearied out of the towne. Some ar allready gone, and Mr Clark[252] (our great archbishop) gave sentence that such as were not of his opinion were as bad as Irish Papists. Sir, I know the state doth give much liberty to this faction, but will they give liberty unto them to tread all others under their feet and to get upp their Fiff Monarchy to rule the world, in regard they affirm that they only ar the saints which must judg the earth? Sir, I do beeleive that all the encoragments which the state can give will be little enough to invite honest men to come out of England to plant the empty houses in Gallway, but if the government of the place be given upp to this party, I do beeleive men will as soon chuse to live under the Turks as under the power of these. And by the same favour our Quakers do get ground, and a hundred soldyers and others meet together at a tyme at their assemblies. It is Mrs Sadler's pleasure, and it must be so. And it is a maxime that magistrates have nothing to do with religion (I suppose they mean with their religion), but if any governor or any in the least command become Anabaptists they become most cruel tyrants and will give liberty to none: witnesse John of Leyden, Knipperdoling, Cretinch[253] and the rest of that crew in Germany. Sir, we all long to see you at Gallway. If you uppon strict examination shall fynd that I have not discharged my duty, I will submit to your censure to leave the town. Otherwise I humbly beg your protection, for neither I nor others can sibsist here long if things go on as they now do. Tis pitty that this place, which hath been so eminent, should be given upp to the will of a few mechanick barbers and taylors, and to be destroyed by them. Sir, I forbore to write this fully to yow

[252]Robert Clarke, Baptist minister in Ireland, was a revenue commissioner and a preacher in Connaught in the early 1650s and by 1652 was a minister in Galway, where he was very firm in his promotion of Baptist principles. In 1657–1658 he appeared on an official list of salaried ministers deemed tainted by scandal or insufficiency, and during 1658 he was moved to Offerlane in Queen's County.

[253]Jan Beuckelson van Leyden, Barnhard Knipperdollinck, and Henry and Bernt Krechtinch were leaders of the Anabaptists who briefly gained control of Münster in the Holy Roman Empire in the 1530s.

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till now expecting your comming, but I can forbear no longer. My heart bleedeth to consider the confusion hanging over this place. Your presence may yeild seasonable helpe. I hope the state will authorize you to give assistance without noise or klamor. Thus desiring the Lord to make you a happy instrument of much good to this nation, I rest,

Your humble servant,

R Eastthorp

252. From Henry Lawrence, Whitehall, 11 June 1657, 822, fos 88–89.

Letter of recommendation, on behalf of the bearer, Lord Barrymore,[254] *and of religious exhortation.*

253. From Hugh Peters, London, 13 June 1657, 821, fos 266–267.

My lord,

These are to second also the letters of my lord deputy in the behalfe of Mr Dell's[255] kinsman, that hee may gayne some preferment there. Indeed in such things you may doe old frends curtesyes. For other things I am only to write my constant incouragement to your lordshipp in the wayes and things of God, and for the good of that poore nation. I trust yet here wee shall goe beyond the feare of good men and the hope of bad. Your brother, Sir John Reynolds, wee expect back from France,[256] where as yet there is nothing done of note. The king of Sweden prospers, and who can tell but that the Pope is upon a dismall shake at this tyme. Judge Cooke[257] is now with mee and presents his service unto your lordshipp, and so most hartily doth,

Your lordshipp's,

Hu Peters

[254]Richard Barry, second Earl of Barrymore, had, in November 1656, married Lawrence's daughter Martha. In April 1658, Thomas Herbert wrote to Thurloe, urging caution in dealing with Barrymore's claim to land in County Cork (*TSP*, VII, p. 73).

[255]Possibly William Dell, minister, theologian, and educationalist, who was chaplain to Sir Thomas Fairfax and the New Model Army in the mid- and late 1640s and officiated at the marriage of Henry Ireton to Oliver Cromwell's daughter Bridget in 1646. From 1649, he was master of Gonville and Caius, Cambridge, and put forward schemes to expand greatly the number of schools and universities.

[256]Not least in order to prepare for his wedding.

[257]John Cook/Cooke.

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254. From John Allin, Arckin Fort,[258] 16 June 1657, 822, fos 90–91.

May itt please your excellencie,

I have sent by the bearer, Lewis Williams, who is imploied by your excellencie to receave and take chardge of the hawkes taken heere, two cast and a halfe of hawkes. Wee usually had heere but one eiry, and this season accidentally there was found another eiry in the iland. For the more secure carryadge of which hawkes and such as came from Boffin, I have sent a boat with him to Gallway and a mann to assist him in the carryadge of them to Dublin. There is nothing of danger as yett apeares in theise parts. In case any such thing happen, itt shalbee comunicated to your excellencie by him whoe remaines,

Your excellencie's faithfull servant to use,

John Allin

255. From Anthony Morgan, London, 16 June 1657, 822, fos 92–93.

May it please your excellency,

I have herwith sent you an act of parliament,[259] attested by the clerke of the parliament. I suppose this the quickest way and it may be as much as need be done. Judge advocate Whaley, I thinke, indends to enrole it in chancery and pass it under the broad seal. If he doe it, you will have the benifitt of it. If he doe it not I thinke you need not put yourselfe to so much unnessessary charge. Your lordship receivs herewith a lettre to the councell. If you judge it of no use pray teare it.

I have received the supplementall bill for Sir Timothy. Wee are packing the books as fast as wee can.

It is yet questionable whether the house will adjorne on Saterday next. I feare wee shall not by that time have dispatched our bills for mony.

The assessment on Ireland for 3 years is £9,000 per mensem. It was moved that the members serving for Ireland might be sent to the Tower for their contest about the proportioning the assesment twixt England and Ireland. There is alsoe an extraordinary taxe of £20,000. This, I suppose, will prevent your issuing orders for the £13,000 per mensem, which otherwise would have soon grown due.[260] I am,

Your lordship's most faithfull and most obedient servant,

Ant Morgan

[258]The principal stronghold on the Aran Isles, County Galway, surrendered to the English parliamentary forces in January 1653 (Dunlop, pp. 311–312).

[259]The act settling the Portumna estate upon Henry Cromwell.

[260]On the assumption that the Irish economy would steadily grow, in 1654 the regular monthly assessments in Ireland had been set at £10,000 per month for 1654–1656, rising

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256. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 16 June 1657, 822, fos 96–97.

Letter of request, on behalf of the bearer, an unnamed old soldier in Ireland related to Mr Pell, that he be given a place in one of Henry Cromwell's horse troops.

257. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 17 June 1657, 822, fos 98–99.

Deare brother,

Wee are now drawing neare to a periodde of our presant sessions, but much feare we shall not be able to give a dispatch to all that is befor us necessary to be don befor our rising. The mony buysnes takes up the full of our time. We have litle of publicke transactions worth your notice. I am sorry to understand ther is any occation for a misunderstanding twixt yourselfe and collonel Hewson. He wrights to me that the letter containing what it did and it being to be sent to myselfe and but from a few, he did conceive it might be don without offence.[261] The Lord teach us all in our severall places to walke with more and more inoffensivenes. Ther are thos who waite for all our haltings, and therfor had neade of often exercising and putting into practise that scripture of being wise as serpents and harmlesse as doves. I neade not tell you the faithfullnes and integrity of that person. Your gentlenes towards him, considering his services and age,[262] I hope will not be evilly returned. I shall endevor the dispatch of what you wright in reference to the affayres of Ireland. When the parliament is up we shall get a perfecting of what the counsell can doe without

to £12,000 per month in 1656, and then going up again to £13,000 per month in 1657. In fact, that proved far too optimistic and, in the course of lengthy debates during June 1657, the second Protectorate parliament first suggested that Irish assessments be set at £10,000 per month and then, after pleas from MPs with interests in Ireland that this figure was still too high – some of them poorly received by the majority of MPs, especially an attempt by several Irish MPs to petition parliament to reduce assessments to just £7,000 per month – Irish assessments were finally set at £9,000 per month.

[261]Hewson's return to Ireland on private business had worried Henry Cromwell from the outset, who feared that he would contact various former colleagues in the army there and foment renewed dissension. His fears were confirmed when Hewson, with Richard Lawrence, promoted a letter from the army in Ireland addressed to Fleetwood, expressing relief and joy at news of the Protector's rejection of the crown. The letter eventually garnered the signatures of fifteen officers serving in Ireland, some of them tricked into signing (or so Henry Cromwell alleged in a letter to the Protector of 5 June), and it was then forwarded by Hewson to Fleetwood via a third party 'in so secret a way that I would not hear of it until it was on shippe boarde', even while Hewson was making 'loving expressions towards me and [. . .] much applauding my management of affaires' (British Library, Additional MS 4157, fo. 182). On 16 June, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell, confirming that he had received the papers about Hewson 'and judge them to be of a very strange nature, as savouringe of an unquiet and devideing spirit' (*TSP*, VI, pp. 352–353).

[262]Hewson's date of birth is not recorded and his age at this time is therefore unknown, though he probably died of natural causes in the early 1660s.

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the legislative power. I did desire a perticu[263] of the revenue, which now will be past, I doubt, befor any use can be made therof. The treasurers heare complayn much for want of monyes, and yet bills are charged upon them. I think it would not be amisse if the counsell did wright a letter to his Highnes' counsell heare to presse the necessity of your condition. I have laboured to take off an order they made to suspend the payment of some monyes due for Ireland and to convert it unto another use. I have gott a report from a committee, which will helpe us, but the counsell's not sitting hath hinderd its perfecting.[264] The army heare are all in arreare. I hope we shall suddenly be out of thes difficultyes. I am not unsensible of your condition, and whearin you are concerned you will finde me,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

I have procured his Highnes' order for installing of rents.

I must intreat you will give leave that Mr Clarke,[265] the apothecary, may passe his accounts to me. He being heare I have concerment in what he is to account, but he is a very faithfull person and being heare canot doe it in Ireland. Captain Briggs desires, and captain Franklin, that their passes may be inlarged for sixe weeks to each of them upon extraordinary occations, as allso Mr Fugill, who it seemes had but for 7 weekes, and one weeke was spent before he cam, and hath no strong body to travell. Excuse this trouble of,

Yours,
CF

As to what you please to wright concerning collonel Saunders, his having a commission for Kinsayle, he hath none, nor his Highnes hath not, that I know of, bine moved therin.[266]

258. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 18 June 1657, 822, fos 100–101.

Deare brother,

Your laste letter I received, which takes notice of one from me to you that pleased you. I know not any thing but affectionate expressions that is worthy the glance of an ey, and for them I dare afferme are more in

[263]Word broken at the end of line, but the writer has forgotten to complete it on the next line. Apparently 'perticular' was intended.

[264]The Protectoral council held just one formal and minuted meeting during the month, on 13 June.

[265]John Clarke served as apothecary general to the army in Ireland and later held the same position with the English army in Flanders.

[266]Though Robert Saunders had become governor of Kinsale by 1659.

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my hearte then in my utterance. I will not now launche into that subject, being already in the deepe seas, where I saile in full contemplation withoute either feare of rock or sandes. I finde that your intentions leades towards a more learge information of your sense and thoughts of things, which you promise to my exspectation att the next poste or convenient opportunity. Withoute doubte your experience and distance, with your very good intelligence, knowes how to state matter of fact. We that are soe neare see not soe well as those that are att an advantadgious perspecti;[267] and besides youre owne affaires in the entring into them gave you some sight of persons, whose designe hath been for a long time layed to take roote for the hindring nationall advantadges in settlement, where it might occation difficulty to there getting into the saddle, respecting there owne ambitious mindes and advantadges before religion, peace, or what else that may stand in there way. I dare not be plainer as to particulerrize persons or things, nor need I, you having knowledge of the foxe by his smell. I could fill sheets of observations, and truly were it not to discomposse, knowing your ingenuity cannot but be sencible, I should relate how things are here, and how the publique peace is tumbled and tossed as if it were nothing to breath the veines of one another to a deadly gasping. Physsick is good for the health, but not as meate. But poore nation, what is it we would have? Surely our sicknesses are very greate and our distemper almost incurable. There is noe parte sounde, sick of plenty, madd with liberty; from the head to the foote noe freind, noe soundnesse. Wisdome hath tooken the wings of the morning and hath, I feare, left us. I know your time is pretious, and therefore it is fitt for me first to appologize the hasty scrible of my penn, and then to present myne and my wyfe's affectionate services to yourselfe and deare sister, we boeth praying for your happynesses. And lastly I conclude in this assurance, that I am,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

259. From William Pierrepont, 20 June 1657, 822, fos 102–103.

Letter of thanks for the favour bestowed on his cousin Cressy.

260. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 20 June 1657, 822, fos 104–105.

My deare lord,

I shall onely by this tell your lordship that I received your last, and that I am makeing hast downe into the country where I shall have

[267]Word probably incomplete or curiously abbreviated – apparently 'perspective' was intended.

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better leisure and more freedome of thoughts to give an answer to your lordship's than this place will afford me. Besides I am somewhat tyreed in my spirits for want of country ayre and a little retyrement from sitting in the parliment house. This weeke, I hope, will somewhat satisfie my desire and bid me be gone to that place from whence I came, for the parliment is likely to adjourne till towards Michlemas tearme. The news of this place, allthough not considerable for ought that I know, I suppose you will have from better hands. I cannot observe any thing that makes me to think but that all things are likely to goe well. His Highnes seemes to be very soberly cheerefull, a temper that I like very well. God, I think and hope, is purgeing us all by fire and His spirit. I wish we may be vessells fitly prepareed for His use in a true humility of mind, for I cannot distrust the goodnes of God if we can but ly low enough. Tis veryly thought that the match betweene your sister and Mr Rich is upon the point concludeed on. Yesterday Mr William Perepoint and Sir Gilbert Gerard[268] were with his Highnes, I doe beleeve in order to that busynes, and this day my lord of Warwick[269] and the earle of Manchester,[270] a great strangeer at Whitehall. My lord Lisle pretends strong affections still to my neece Bodvell, and I cannot think but that match will be concludeed ere long. This inclosed,[271] my lord, comes from your brother, my lord Richard, who is in good health, onely at present in a course of phisick. My love

[268]Parliamentarian politician, who was close to several of the most prominent parliamentarians of the opening phase of the conflict and was distantly related to Oliver Cromwell. Although he retained minor office during the 1650s, he neither sat in the Protectorate parliaments nor played an active role at this time, perhaps because of his age – he was seventy in 1657.

[269]Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, courtier, parliamentarian officer and admiral, politician, and colonialist, supported the parliamentarian cause from the outset and, although he played a minor role commanding land forces, his real value to the war effort was as lord admiral of the parliamentarian fleet. As a political moderate, his influence waned in the later 1640s, he had no part in the regicide, and the abolition of the House of Lords in 1649 deprived him of a platform in national politics. The negotiations for his grandson's marriage brought him closer to the Protector and, although he declined to take a seat in the new Protectoral second chamber, he played a prominent role in the reinauguration ceremony of 26 June 1657.

[270]Edward Montague, second Earl of Manchester, courtier, and parliamentarian officer and politician, supported the parliamentary cause from the outset, commanding the Eastern Association army from 1643 until he lost his command in the spring of 1645. Although he remained active in parliamentary circles during the later 1640s, eventually supporting the army against parliament in 1647, his opposition to the regicide led to loss of influence and this, combined with the abolition of the House of Lords, caused his virtual retirement from public office and public life until the Restoration.

[271] Probably letter no. 258.

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to your wife. The Lord blesse you both and all yours. I have reason, my lord, to be,

Your lordshipe's in all that true love can require,
Franc Russell

261. From John Vernon, Waterford, 22 June 1657, 822, fos 106–107.

Letter of request, reminding Henry Cromwell of an earlier promise to allow Vernon to take his family to England, crossing from Kinsale to Barnstaple or Minehead in one of the state's frigates, so protecting them from pirates; thanks Henry Cromwell for past favours and praises his record in Ireland.

262. From John Jones, Chelsea, 23 June 1657, 822, fos 108–109.

Letter of courtesy, sending his own and his wife's good wishes; hearing that there was smallpox within Henry Cromwell's household, he also offered him the use of his own house during the summer.

263. From Edward Montague, Whitehall, 23 June 1657, 822, fos 110–111.

Letter of thanks for the recent letter he had received and of courtesy; also noting that he was about to return to sea.[272]

264. From Anthony Morgan, London, 23 June 1657, 822, fos 112–113.

May it please your excellency,

I have been so close tied to the house least I should loose an oportunity I waite for to pass the bill of attainder (which is engrossed),[273] that I have scarce time left to write least the post should be gonn. I have asked my lord deputy' leave to goe for Ireland; he sais I may when the house rises, but I doe soe much feare he should alter his mind that I can not cheerfully put my affaires in order for my jorny. I humbly begg pardon for this impertinent scrible, and remain,

Your lordshipp's most faithfull and most obedient servant,
Ant Morgan

The house sitts till Thursday.[274]

[272] He left London, en route to rejoin the fleet, in mid-July.
[273] The act of attainder of Irish rebels, passed on 25 June.
[274] In fact, it sat until Friday 26 June.

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265. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 23 [June[275] 1657], 823, fos 347–348.

Deare brother,

I understand by Mr Secretory you have sent a perticuler of what the receipts of the revenue in Ireland are, though I could not have it from you; yet I shall see wherin it differs from what was put into committee, necessitated therunto by reason that the committee could not stay for a more perfect account. But I perceive by Mr Secretor[276] this you have sent is not very perfect, which could not well be expected in so short a time. As for the retrenchment of the army's charge, when ther is occasion for it, you shall have timly notice therof; and though it is a thing which of necessity must follow the publicke incomes, being so much lesse then formerly, yet the state of affayres will not give a presant resolution therin; I meane in reference to our enimyes abroade, who though they have not power at presant, yet are continually consulting our disturbances. Through mercy we are in a very good condition of quietnes at home. The howse continues till Thursday, and I beleive canot rise this weeke. Today is brought in a desire to have an oath prepard for his Highnes' parliment and counsell,[277] which I beleive will take up some longer time then was intended; besids we want the perfecting of our money buysnesses. The members are very impatient to be gon, but the publicke will, I hope, have the preference befor their own concernments. We are so much engaged in buysnes fornoone and afternoone that I must intreat your excuse for my shortnes, and to owne me for,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

Charles Fleetwood

266. From John Duckinfield,[278] Carrickfergus, 27 June 1657, 822, fos 114–115.

May it please your excellency,

I thought it my duty to acquaint your excellency that their was one captain Wms[279] (who now belongs to this regiment) that neere

[275]The letter is actually dated 23 July, but the contents make clear that this must be a slip for 23 June.

[276]Apparently a slip for 'Secretory'.

[277]This occurred on 23 June, thus confirming the correct date of the letter.

[278]Parliamentarian officer and politician, who served in Ireland as lieutenant-colonel in the foot regiment commanded first by Robert Venables and then, from the winter of 1655–1656 onwards, by Thomas Cooper. He was, at this stage, acting governor of Carrickfergus, while his colonel was absent in England attending the parliament. Duckinfield himself sat in the third Protectorate parliament for Carrickfergus and Belfast.

[279]Word written thus, apparently as an abbreviated form of 'Williams', but the common surname and lack of a forename preclude firm identification.

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uppon twelve monthes since procured a pass for England from your excellency for 3 monthes, and returned not for Ireland till within a monthe, who landing at Dublin, and after some little stay their, tooke his journey towards the noarth to his company, and comes within fifteene miles of his chardges and their stayes till one of his officers (whom he had sent for) came to him and furished him with money; from thence he returned in all hast to Dublin, without asking any leave or comeing up to see his chardge after soe long an absence, and when he intends to returne I know not, he thinking none (heere) worthy an accountt. He yet remaines respited on the rowles for some monthes. I humbly conceave it is much contrary to the commands I received from your excellency for keeping officers with their chardge. Should officers take their liberty at their pleasure, it would be a bad example to others. Had this beene the first time he had practised this course, both by my colonel and myselfe since we were imployed by your excellency, I should not have troubled your excellency theirwith, hopeing freindly advice might have wrought uppon him. But finding him to continue his former custome in neglecting the publique service and his company soe much, made me the more bold humbly to lay this before your excellency, that the captain may for the future better behave himselfe and carry it towards your excellency and the chardge over which he is sett; which with my humble service to your excellency, I remaine,

Your excellency's most humble servant,
John Duckinfield

267. From Henry Whalley, Loughrea, [County Galway], 27 June 1657, 822, fos 116–117.

May it please your excellencie,

By the last I receaved a lettre from Mr Margets,[280] whoe writes that he hath spoake with major Morgan aboute the cerfying[281] your act of parliament[282] into the chancery, and afterwards haveing it exemplyfied under the greate seale, and that the major's opinion is it is an unnessesary charge. My lord, I know they are both in an error in this particular, soe far as it is nesessary upon all occasions to produce your title upon any question in the law or otherwise. It is therefore my humble opinion that sithense Mr Margetts hath failed me, that your

[280]Thomas Margetts, parliamentarian bureaucrat and administrator, clerk to the Irish committee in London in the 1640s, and assistant judge advocate to the army under Whalley in the 1650s.

[281]Apparently a slip for 'certifying'.

[282]About the Portumna estate.

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lord intrust some fit person to have it don for your lordship. I profes I am much trobled at this disappointment. My lord, things goe not soe current here with me as I expected, but I hope your excellencie will cleere matters as they arrise. Without your lordship's countenance I shall suffer. Besids I here, but I hope it is but a report, that alderman Smith – I rather beleeve Mr Erasmus Smith,[283] whoe was talked of to be chosen alderman of London – hath an order for greate quanteties of lands aboute Galloway. I hope your lordship will not suffer that since I wrote to your lordship of my want of very much neere 2,000 acres at Athenree.[284] My lord, I and mine stand and fall with your excellencie and we dayly pray for your excellency. Your servant humbly subscribs himselfe,

Your excellencie's most humble and faithfull servant,
Hen Whalley

268. From Bryan Smyth,[285] Londonderry, 29 June 1657, 822, fos 118–119.

May it please your excellency,

I have done my utmost indeavor in forwarding the worke of the cittidall here, and have spent my owne mony and tyme to incorage the worke men to bee speedy; but now at last it is at a stand for want of mony that is passable to cary it on, for though all the care that maybee bee taken to reseave mony from the tresury, yet cannot the poor worke men get bread or meate, for much of it and the market is spoyled alsoe, every man being left by the last proclamation to bee his owne judge what mony hee will reseave. Soe that truely, my lord, the poor wilbee undon if some very tymely remedy doe not enterpose; and for the contrybution it will not bee paid. I thought it my duty this second tyme to present it to your excellencye, who I dout not have bowells of compassion towards the poor. Besids I humbly offer as my poor judgment this Spanish mony might bee all melted downe and turned into English quine, as it is in Scotland. Otherwise the

[283]Merchant and educationalist, who supported the parliamentary cause and was a contractor to the parliamentary armies. He took a keen interest in Ireland and, both as an adventurer and as one of the principal suppliers of the English army there, he acquired extensive property in Ireland; he also bought out many soldiers and other adventurers, thus increasing his stake in Ireland. During 1657, he placed much of his Irish property in the hands of trustees, who were instructed to use the income to set up five new schools in Ireland. Around this time he was elected an alderman of London, but he paid a fine to be excused.

[284]Athenrey, County Galway.

[285]Parliamentarian officer, serving in Ireland during the 1650s in the foot regiment commanded initially by Henry Ireton and then by Fleetwood.

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trad and planting of this country wilbee wholy impeded, all sort of Spanish quine being now counterfit and debased. I shall not further troble your excellency having dischargd my duty, save only to desire your lordship in the meane tyme, tell some effectuall corse bee taken, to cause order to bee sent that the tresurer may pay unquestionable mony to the poor workmen, that the worke may goe on. The poor souldiers are put to great losse alsoe by the badnes of the mony. I rest,

Your excellency's faithfull servant,

Bry Smyth

269. From Arthur Annesley, London, 30 June 1657, 822, fos 120–121.

May it please your excellence,

Little of moment occurring since I wrote to your lordship, I directed my last to Doctor Gorge with what was of newes to be presented with my most humble service to your lordship. But Friday last being a remarkable day, as well for his Highnesse' inauguration by the parliament to the protectorship of this commonwealth in pursuance of the government lately settled by the petition and humble advice, as for the many acts then passed,[286] whereof your lordship receives inclosed a list, and the adjournment of the house. I would not omitt giveing your lordship notice thereof though the prints are full thereof and I know your lordship hath the account of particulars from better hands. For so suddain a businesse (for it was not resolved on above three dayes before) it was transacted with much magnificence and order, and had it been at Dublin I assure myselfe none there would have grudged a bonfire to see the Protector receive and owne his office from the civill powers, though there were no bonfires here; and it was observed the lord Lambert and most of the martiall list absented themselves, though I cannot beleeve but they had notice of the solemnity as well as the civill officers.

There is no newes of action yet by the English in France, and the rumors of Callais come to little. I hope to bring the next weeke's newes myselfe to your lordship, and in order to my returne doe beseech your lordship to direct Doctor Gorge that, upon my sending to him, I may have what frigott can be spared to transport me from Blewmorris, Chester or Hollyhead, which shall further ingage me to devote myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble servant,

Arthur Annesley

[286]Twenty-three were passed on the final day of the session.

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270. From Nicholas Bernard, Gray's Inn, 30 June 1657, 822, fos 122–123.

May it please your lordship,

Since I had the honnor to receive a letter from your lordship concerning the lord primat's lybrary, I have wrott five times to your lordship in relation to it, but have not understood by any of your servants of the receipt of them, and of late suspition hath bene given me of the miscarriage of them. I humbly pray your lordship that I may not lye under any misenterpretation of a neglect of any service you shall comand me, as in this particular I have not bene wanting to my uttmost, and hope there were no passages in my letters, if received, that might displease your lordship. The lybrary is upon its way, and your lordship will find it worthy of that summe. Only there are some manuscripts which the lord primat intended for the presse, which I wish had bene left here for that end, as I humbly desired your lordship would have given order for, which I was mooved unto by diverse learned men here, and I beseech your lordship to take it yet into your consideration. I rest,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
N Bernard

The former letters were sent by the ordinary post; this comes by the packett at Whitehall.

271. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 30 June 1657, 822, fos 124–125.

Deare brother,

I have no good condition of health, having not bine very well thes 2 or 3 dayes, and therfor must intreat you will pardon me that I canot inlarge. The parliment being now up, we shall after a litle time be mor at leisure. At presant the counsell hath not satt[287] that we can doe any thing about monyes, which will be the greatest difficulty we shall meet with. I feare the provission left by the parliment will scarce answer our necessityes. I think it necessary the counsell showld send a letter of desire hither to quicken up the remembrance of you. My part I shall not neglect. We are sending another supply of men into France. The affayres ther are much at a stand, litle action having past. What the Dutch will doe is uncerteine. If the Lord please to give a blessing to our presant settlement, we shall be in a better condition to encounter thos difficultyes from abroade, whear ther are very great endeavors

[287]After 13 June, the Protectoral council did not hold another formal, minuted meeting until 13 July.

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to prepare for disturbances heare. But as the Lord hath hitherunto, so I trust still will appear in discovering and preventing thos designs which our old enimyes are now preparing for. But the Lord, who hath owned us, if we may have hearts in faith to wait upon Him, wee shall not feare, and if we may doe nothing to provoake His withdrawing, we neade not care. As to what you mention concerning my former letter relating to the postscript of the officers' petition to the parliment, the postscript was looked upon as a design tending to disturbance, and in the nature of it not to be warranted, and I think very different from collonel Hewson's letter, which could not be intended by me in what I writt. But that buysnes, I hope, is fayrly over, and therfor I desire not to mention a word any more about it, but shall in all things, I hope, laboure to regayn our former dearnes, and let that intirnes be twixt as to give credit to no contrary reports each of other, and then I trust you will have no cause but to esteme me as,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant.

My lady Claypole hath another brave boye, Oliver his name.[288]

272. From Charles Fleetwood, London, [June 1657], 823, fos 5–6.

Dear brother,

His Highnes, having accepted the goverment with his old title, puts a settlement to that affayre which will give me a liberty to attend the buysnes of Ireland; and therfor shall intreat you will please to let collonel Harbert sende a perticuler of all your former commands and I shall now dilligently attend the same. It hath pleased the Lord to put a period to that good man's dayes, Sir Robert King, which hath occationed many sollicitors for the place.[289] I was endeavord to be preingaged by a person for one befor I was spoken unto for Sir Theophilus Jones, and could not well grant his desires, but I shall not put in any without your consent. Only I shall offer this to your consideration, wither it wer not better to save that charge to the state and only give an addition to Mr Dawson's[290] pay, who you know hath cheifly supplyed that place; but if you think it necessary to be continued, I think you will judg it most necessary to have a through, tryed, honest, carefull man, who may make it his buysnes to inspect that affayre. The person I am somwhat engaged unto I shall afterwards impart to you, but it shall be none whom you

[288]Oliver Claypole, the Protector's grandson, died the following year, probably shortly predeceasing both his mother and his grandfather.

[289]As commissary general of the musters in Ireland.

[290]Thomas Dawson, deputy commissary of the musters.

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think not fitt to aprove of. I have that dearnes for you as I hope you shall allwayes finde in me a readynes to comply to your satisfaction. I desire we may still make Jethroe's counsell[291] our practise, which hade thos necessary qualification for imployment: abilityes, fearing the Lord and hating covetuousnes; and surely ther being choyce of such persons qualifyed we may performe a duty in observing the same. The counsell unknown to me hade orderd £14,000 due to Ireland out of delinquents' compositions, which, I understanding, have acquainted the counsell with it, who have referred to a committee, and upon Thursday next the report shall be made. I shall endeavor to doe my part therin, which surly ought to be very tenderly considerd by us not to suffer poore Ireland to run into a condition of want and free quarter, which by orders will quickly be. I must intreat you will give leave to Mr Worsly[292] for a litle longer stay, he having a buysnes of concernment to him, and the truth is I stayd him this weeke. Our humble services to your deare lady.

I am your most affectionate brother and humble servant.

273. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 2 July 1657, 822, fos 128–129.

Deare brother,

Being willing to answer in hast the desire of this bearer, William Evans, one of your lifeguard, I shall excuse my not using my owne hand, nor inlarging more att this time then to recommend to your favour the person of the said Evans. That your lordshipp be pleased, if any opportunity is offered, to consider so farr his services done faithfully these six yeares last past, in the condition he is now in, and (as I am informed) eight more before, sometimes in a better, that he may be favoured with a more advantageous imployment for his better maintenance and of his family. And upon his further informing me of a necessity, laid upon him, to be here in England in February next for to attend a suite of concernment that he hath depending both att the common law and in chancery, I shall also inlarge my desire in this behalfe to your lordshipp that you be pleased to grant him leave for three moneth to beginne with the said next February that he may, in so doing, receive no prejudice in his private affaires or his imployment att that time. This being the occasion of this trouble to you att this

[291] Biblical story of how Jethro advised his son-in-law, Moses, that he could not directly hear and settle everyone's disputes but that he should instead appoint a number of honest, incorruptible, and godly men, instructed in God's laws and statutes, and empower them to hear and resolve all but the most difficult cases (Exodus, chapter 18).

[292] Possibly Benjamin Worsley.

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present, I shall onely add my prayers to God for the continuance of His blessings on your person and deare family, resting, deare brother,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

274. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 2 July 1657, 822, fos 130–131.

Deare brother,

The bearer hereof, captain Nathaniel Hewett, is the kinsman of Charles Hewett. Hee hath made it his suite to mee to write these unto you in the behalfe of his kinsman, who I perceive by my Lord Protector's serious letter (which with his reference to the councell will lye before you) hath beene a great sufferer. And forasmuch as hee desires noe more than what law and equity gives him, my earnest request is that you will owne him therein, and what favour you shew him shall bee acknowledged by,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

275. From Francis Russell, Chippenham, 4 July 1657, 822, fos 132–133.

My deare lord,

I am told that about this time of the yeare you are in your progresse, and I hope in time twill reach as far as Chippenham, for me thinks your father should[293] long as much as your other freinds to see you sometimes in England. We, who know nothing of state affaires, are deviseing you some other imployment for you besides that of Ireland. Sometimes we will have you generall of the English army, than lord admirall, and so to viset us once a yeare and keepe a good correspondency with all your freinds here. Something we have in our heads for you and would not have you buryed in Ireland. You must not laugh at us because we are in good earnest. If I were of your good freind Oliver's counsell, I should set his head a workeing more than the little Secretary, old Rouse[294] or Skipon, for I think they are to grave and wise for this mercuryall, quick age. But the best of it is your father is a notable man, and he

[293]Word repeated in error.

[294]Francis Rous, parliamentarian politician and religious writer, served in the parliaments of the late 1620s and in the Short and Long Parliaments, where he consistently supported the parliamentary cause and was particularly prominent in religious business. By the 1650s, he seems to have supported Independency and he found favour with Oliver Cromwell, sitting as a founder member of the Protectoral council and in both of his Protectoral parliaments. Born in 1580, he was by far the oldest Protectoral councillor and probably the oldest senior politician of the Protectorate.

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and all his counsell rides all but upon one horse; I meane, he counsells himselfe. Were it not so, I well know what would become of things. My lord Lambert lookes but sadly. He puts me in minde of a saying of old Solomon's, that there is an appointed time for all things under the sun, to hate as well as to love, to be sad as well as merry. My lord deputy and generall Disbrow beginne to grow in request at Whitehall. Disbrow made a notable speech in the parliment house in answer to one of my lord Lambert's. Twas very like him, blunt and honest. My lord, if your integrety and wisedome continues with you, you will see through all our clouds here, and it may be in time you may by your wisedome helpe to disperse them. My good opinion of you makes me to say anything, but to think much more. I wish you all happynes and true inward peace. My love to your wife. You know I am, my lord,

Your lordship's,

Franc Russell

276. From Henry Whalley, Athenry, [County Galway], 4 July 1657, 822, fos 134–135.

May it please your excellencie,

Haveing this post receaved a lettre from Mr Erasmus Smith that the councill have granted him an order to have the forfeited lands aboute Gallway, I presumed theise lines.

My lord, I am not against his haveing part of those lands, but soe it is, my lord, that the lands at Loughrea and Athenrey fall short of my proportion, and the lands forfeited next adjacent to those at Athenrey are the forfeited lands betweene Athenrey and Gallway, soe as by the act[295] I cannot have any other lands. When I have ended my survey, which I hope wilbe within a few dayes, Mr Smith may have what shal be left. My humble suite to your excellencie is that (if any such order be) it may be rectified. For how shall the commissioners of Laughreah pursue the councill's order in setting me out lands next adjacent, which are onely those neare Galway, if Mr Smith's order be for the same lands, unles they set me out the lands of Balmastoe as next adjasent to Loughreah, which I heare is leased to major Desbrow?[296] My lord, I depend your justice in this matter, and am,

Your excellencie's most humble, faithfull servant,

Hen Whalley

[295]Irish lands had been settled upon him by legislation passed by the second Protectorate parliament.

[296]John Desborough, parliamentarian officer, was major in Daniel Abbott's dragoon regiment in Ireland. He already held property in and adjoining County Galway, including Ballinasloe Castle, roughly midway between Athenry and the southern shore of Lough Ree (*CPSI*, pp. 612, 831; Dunlop, pp. 628–629).

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My lord, Mr Smith from London writ to me that he had sold his proportion to auditor-general Roberts.[297]

The rents due at May Day, which I receaved for all the lands and cabins at Laughreah, except the mill without the town, was under £15.

277. From Richard Cromwell, Hampton Court, 6 July 1657, 822, fos 136–137.

Deare brother,

I have of late troubled you with the signing towe letters, recommending the severall persons that were concerned in them. I hope you know the force of importunity and then you are able to give any suit of myne a due and proportionable measure of favour according to the merritts of the persons, which I conceive are better knowen to you then to me. I confesse myselfe guilty of your trouble, which I am alsoe now, att the request of my cosen Smithsby[298] on behalfe of his sonn. I am confident you have a kindenesse for him and his numerous famuly, because you had. And knowing there is noe reason to take offe that kindenesse, as to his continnewed readynesse to serve you in any your commands. And much more for that he is rather lower then higher in relation to the world, he having only as yet the promise of releife and consideration (as much as the present juncture will afforde his Highnesse for his freinds) for his patient waiting and supporte of his drooping spiritts for what is owned or due to him. These and many such like arguments might be used, but I know you know as much of his condition as any other (it being not altered) and therefore I need not make the like appologie for this trouble given you on his request (as for the abovementioned letters) whose request is that you would be pleased to take notice of his sonn and to give him some preferring proffitt that not knowing how the world may be to him or his in there severall fortunes (which is uncertaine to all), this favour of yours to his sonn may in some measure be a helpe and comforte, as God shall inlearge the earth. If you be desarter,[299] I will assure you there is high charity. Excuse me, for I am, deare brother,

Yours most affectionately,

R Cromwell

[297]Edward Roberts, parliamentarian administrator, was auditor general in Ireland and held a variety of other financial offices in Ireland during the 1650s. Despite his Baptist faith, he remained loyal to Henry Cromwell and continued to prosper, acquiring extensive estates in Ireland (*CSPI*, pp. 821–822).

[298]Possibly the George Smithsby, kinsman to the Protector, who was recommended by him to Admiral Penn in December 1654 for employment at sea (Abbott, IV, p. 516).

[299]Uncertain reading of a poorly formed word.

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278. From John Trevor,[300] St Martin's Lane, London, 6 July 1657, 822, fos 138–139.

Letter of request, asking that captain Pecke[301] *be given a further month's leave before returning to Ireland, to attend to both his own affairs and those of Trevor in London.*

279. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 8 July 1657, 822, fos 140–141.

Deare brother,

Youres of the 1st instant came safe to my hands, by which I finde that myne hath a good reception. It must be your goodnesse that can give them soe great an advantadge, not that there is or can be any thinge worthy in my penn. I hope I shall never want a sense of your kindnesse to me. And for giving you trouble, I neither intended it in my preceeding letter or in this. For indeed, there being soe many miscarredges of letters, that it is altogether unsafe for either of us to write anything but what the world may see, nay particulerly oure enimyes, that we are borne in our relations to help one another. You will have the worste of the bargaine, for I may receive advantadge from you, but my condition cannot returne. You will have the honour, it being more honour to give then receive. I thank God I desire to be contented with what condition He shall please to keepe me in. Things are upon the wheele, which moves as slowely as the Egiptian charriots in the Red Sea. But blessed be God we are neither Egiptians, nor enimyes to the Iseralites. Nay, hath not God tooken care for us in giving us deliverances, oute sixe and seven troubles, from the hands of open and private enimys? Indeed, that is our glory that we can boaste in the salvation of God, whoe hath been yesterday, is to-day and will be for ever unto us righteousnesse and peace (temporall and spirrituall), and to all those that live by faith for and upon Him. My wyfe and selfe present our true and faithfull

[300]Probably John Trevor (junior), parliamentarian politician, son-in-law of John Hampden and thus distantly allied to Oliver Cromwell by marriage, who was elected to the Long Parliament in the mid-1640s but who was excluded at Pride's Purge. His political career really resumed during the Protectorate, sitting for his native Flintshire in all the Protectorate parliaments, and ended as a Restoration politician, diplomat, and, from the late 1660s, junior secretary of state, being knighted in 1668. However, it is at times hard to disentangle his career from that of his father, Sir John Trevor (senior), parliamentarian politician, son-in-law of Sir Edmund Hampden, and thus very distantly allied to Oliver Cromwell by marriage, who sat in the Long Parliament (though he withdrew for a time in the wake of Pride's Purge) and in the second Protectorate parliament, and who was particularly concerned with the affairs of his native north Wales. Knighted in 1619, his political career petered out in the late 1650s and he did not play a significant role in Restoration politics. Father and son died within a few months of each other in the early 1670s.

[301]Possibly the John Peck, parliamentarian officer, who served alongside Henry Cromwell as a fellow-captain in Thomas Harrison's New Model horse regiment in the late 1640s.

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respects and services to you and our deare sister, wishinge yee bouth, with your little ones, all happynesse. I rest, deare brother,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

My sister Cleypoole, Sunday was sennight, was with easie labor brought to bead off a very lusty boye, whose name is Oliver.

280. From Adam Molyneux, Ballyroan, [Queen's County], 9 July 1657, 822, fos 142–143.

May it please your excelencie,

Accordinge to your lordshipe's commandes I make bould to give this accoumpt of my proceedinges. That this day I have, by God's blessinge, eased the country of the greate trouble it systayned by Hugh Joe Kelly[302] and five other tories in his company, whose heades are fixed upon the forte of Leixe.[303] I have latly given your lordship's secretary to understand of the breakinge of foure gaoles in this province, and one in Munster, all in a weeke's tyme, to the number of fourty prisoners. If sum extraordinary course be not taken with gaolers, my worke and the countrye's burthen are endles. For now I can confidently aferme there is not one torie abraude in Leinster, unles sum of those prisoners prove such. If any of them doe, all care shall be taken for theire suppression that leyes in the power of,

Your lordship's most obedient and faithfull servant to be comanded,

Ad Molyneux

281. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 10 July 1657, 822, fos 144–145.

Deare brother,

Objects of charity being dayly offered to me, who have no other way for their relief then to recommend them by my pen; I hope you will, upon that account, excuse my frequent troubles and this, att present, in the behalfe of these bearers, George and Robert Gradones, father and sonne, who have a neere relation to the cornett of captaine Whalley's troope and an invitation from him to repaire into Ireland for bettering their condition, which (as I am informed of, as well as of their honesty and good affection to the present government) is fallen

[302]Possibly Hugh O'Kelly, Irish rebel in Connaught, who was a signatory to a treaty of summer 1652, under which a large group of native Irish activists in that province made their peace with the English regime.

[303]The original name of the stronghold in Maryborough, now Port Laoise.

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of from a good one to need and want. My desire to you for them being that you be pleased, upon further knowledge of their said relation and fittnesse for service, to grant to each of them a trooper's place in the said captaine Whalley's troope or in any other as you shall think fitt. This being to no other intent, I shall adde no more but that I rest, deare brother,

Yours most affectionately,

R Cromwell

282. From Charles Fleetwood, 14 July 1657, 822, fos 146–147.

Deare brother,

I have received yours with the inclosed account of the state of the civill list, which I trust I did not looke so much after, upon a carnall account, as that I still desire all things which concern us both may passe with so much freedom, that as much as may be not to give occation to any to doubt of our true and hearty love, which I hope I shall be carefull to promote. The buysnes of the pay in Ireland will suddenly be setled, I hope befor this letter goes away. The counsell's not sitting hath given an obstruction to many buysneses of moment. This afternoone they are sworn,[304] which I hope will put a speedy issue to such buysneses that are at presant delayed befor us. The Lord give us hearts to answer this great trust, that we may have better hearts to improve our time to performe the worke of our day. We have a short time heare and the faithfull discharge of our duty will be the great buysnes we showld labour after. For the worke that we all are called out unto is not ordinary; I meane the great buysnes of our cause, wherin we all have reason to have a tendernes to our utmost, that so presious a cause may not suffer through our miscarriages. I doubt not you will heare his Highnes' commands to my lord Lambert;[305] such passages of providence are to be teachings to us. Mr Secretary is added one of his Highnes' counsell. I feare the provision of money is so short that ther will be a considerable retrenchment of the charge in Ireland. We must now cutt our coate to our cloath, but I shall endevor to get as much as I can for you. But I wonder that the councell's letter to his Highnes is that £67,000 is only in arreare from England, and yett in the same letter tis said there is 6 monethes and 14 dayes in arreare to the army; but I did interprett the meaning to be of the

[304]This took place on 13 July, perhaps indicating that Fleetwood misdated this letter or that he began it that day but then completed and dated it on the morrow.

[305]The Protector dismissed him from office for his continued opposition to the new constitution, signified by his refusal to take the oath as a Protectoral councillor, and required him to return his military commission.

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latter arreare, so that I have prevayled to have that £67,000 to be paid out of the assessments heere and the £20,000 extraordinary sett lately upon Ireland. I must beseech your lordship's pardon that I am forced to make use of another's penn being great hast. I am,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

283. From William Jephson, London, 14 July 1657, 822, fos 148–149.

Letter of apology, explaining that he had not written lately because he had had no news relating to Henry Cromwell or his service; also reporting that he believed that this would be his last letter to Henry Cromwell, since he expected to be with him in person shortly.[306]

284. From Nathaniel Fiennes, Derby House, London, 16 July 1657, 822, fos 150–151.

Letter apologizing for his long silence in responding to Henry Cromwell's letters and favours, expressing his desire to be of service, and requesting a favour for the unnamed bearer,[307] *his wife's youngest brother, a former Oxford student who desired employment in Ireland and whose father would pay to help secure his future there; Jephson, the writer's cousin, would provide further details.*

285. From Ruben Eastthorpe to Hardress Waller, Galway, 17 July 1657, 822, fos 156–157.

Right honorable,

I am not my owne but Christ's. I am not my owne, but I allso ow my life and all to the commonwealth of which I am a member. My comfort is that in the publique service I was the first minister in England who was sequestred by the late king's own hand and deprived of a good estate and that the remainder was put into the hands of the parliament and there left. I am herby ruined, my family brought low and I cast into much debt. However, I will hold my ferst principles and will willingly engage myselfe to the utmost in the publique service. My hart did burne within me when I considered the misery of Ireland and I thought God had a work to do for me in this place. I forsook all my preferment in England and here I am and am perswaded God hath a

[306]The expectation was unfulfilled, as Jephson was sent on a diplomatic mission to Sweden in the summer of 1657.

[307]The letter's endorsement reveals that this is John Whitehead, who gained a BA and an MA from Oxford in the early 1650s and who was the son of colonel Richard Whitehead and the brother of Frances, Fiennes's second wife.

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work for me to do. I hope God will in some measure blesse my labours. I am about a great worke which I will impart to you and humbly beg your advice. If yow approve therof, I beeseech yow to impart it to his excellency, together with the enclosed letter.[308] If I have been over bold, or if you dislike my design, I beeseech you to burn the same and pardon my boldnes. Errors of love may easily obtaine pardon.

Sir, before I came out of England Sir John Reynolds and many members of parliament did entreat me to cast about to get a plantation of rich marchants and tradesmen to inhabit Galway. I have made many attempts in vayn, but I have now at last a faire opportunity to doe publique service, yet I submit to better judgment. The busines is this. I have considered that this place is without inhabitants and few or none ar here but a few inconsiderable, mean persons, unfit to carry on the trade of soe great a porte. I have therfore sounded some wealthy marchants in Holland, men of greate estates able to plant this town and to carry on the trade for the good of this province. They ar allso good Protestants and such as will engage to be faithfull to his Highness and this commonwealth. They will bring their ships, estates and families with them. Their demands ar to have leases of houses for 31 or 40 years at an indifferent rent; 2ly to have liberty of trade as free denisons of this nation, they being subject to all laws and customs as other good people ar. They will give power to a person whom they betrust to act for them and I am chosen to impart this motion to his excellency and the councell, and if it be accepted, and that I may have but a line or two of encoragement to go on, I will be faithfull and not goe a haire bredth from the instructions given me. Though I am most unwoorthy, yet God hath given me some credit amongst these persons that I hope I may be a instrument of some good. Sir, I hope 30, 40 or 60 families, or more or lesse of these persons mixed amongst our English inhabitants, may be useful and safe and such as may repayre the desolate houses and allso bring in greater custome in one yeare then ruinous heaps can yeald rents in many. Sir, when these men ar setled, yow know what use may be made of them. I do hear the inhabitants of Glocester ar to have some houses here but understand that few of them will dwell here and few of them ar fyt to carry on trade. There will be houses enough for them all and all the Hollanders we can get, yet shall not desire any greater number then may stand with the safety of the state. These persons will buy lands in Ireland and some of them bring over ten thousand pounds a man, some more, some lesse. Sir, if the counsel think there is danger in admission of so many as I have spoken of, they may make tryall of twenty, or ten at the first, and so take in more as they please. One of the merchants who is most affectionat in this busines in Rotterdam

[308]Letter no. 286.

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and is woorth ten thousand pound; others ar of great estates whose names shall bee speedily made known if they may be accepted of.

But now let me speek as a minister of the gospel. Hath not God broken down the partition wall and made one of all nations, and why should this relation hinder our union with those of the same faith? Sir, I am informed that collonel Markham and other commissioners hath power to let leases. There is another gentleman joyned in trust with me whose bill of exchange in Holland or Rotterdam will passe for £30,000 or forty thousand pounds, and we are desired in our names to take for the merchants above said such houses in Galway and such lands adjacent as the state shall let to the use of the persons above said. And we will faithfully engage that no person shall have admittance or assynment of such houses or leases without a particuler and full approbation of the councel uppon their sufficient enquiry and that the leases made to us in trust shall be voyd in case we do not faithfully perform what is expected from us. It is desired that the councel would reserve some lands near Galway for the advancement of a plantation, for if all be passed away by special orders it will be a great prejudice to the commonwealth. Sir, I beeseech you, as soon as you know the pleasure of his excellency, send me direction what to do before houses be disposed of to others. Thus desiring the Lord to blesse you and your vertuous lady and all your family, with my true respects to my honored freind Mr Wray[309] and his sweet consort, I rest,

Your humble servant,
Ruben Eastthorpe

I hope God will blesse my endeavours to bring in divers of our ignorant Irish to His truth. I am glad of the order made by the councel to send away our Popish preists[310] who much hynder the work and keep pore souls in great fear of the curse with the bell, book and the candle.

286. From Ruben Eastthorpe, 17 July 1657, 822, fos 154–155.

Your excellency hath oft seen how God hath cast down the mighty from their seats and abased the children of pride, and hath made use of despised, weak persons in weighty affairs. Accept therfore, I beeseech you, of the endeavors of your servant, who am bound by many obligations to doe what service I can to the publique; and am much

[309]Identification uncertain, though, in November 1656, Henry Cromwell had recommended for promotion to the governorship of Beaumaris, Captain Wray (his forename not recorded), at that time apparently deputy governor of that town (*TSP*, V, p. 611).

[310]The Irish council's instructions of November 1655 to the lord president of Connaught and the governor of Galway called for the deportation of Catholic priests (Dunlop, pp. 546–547).

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encouraged therin by your special favors. Sir, I know not whether this paper may be thought woorthy to be presented to your excellency, or to be burned. However, I beeseech you accept of my honest thoughts. Pore Galway sitteth in the dust and no ey pittieth her; her merchants were princes and great among nations; but now the city, which was ful of people, is solitary and very desolate. Pitty, I beseech you, the ruines, that you may be called the repairer of the breach. Sir, I was desired by Sir John Reynolds and divers members of the parliament to perswade as many merchants of good quality as I could to adventure their estates and persons to make a plantation in Galway. And now I hope God by His providence will enable me to do service in this kynd (if your excellency will encorage me therin). A great marchant in Rotterdam of a vast estate, and divers other merchants in Holland and other provinces in Germany, being Protestants and freinds to the commonwealth of England, I hope will be perswaded to bring over their estates and families and ships to set upp a trade in Galway, desiring: ferst, leases of houses and some land (if it may be) for 30 or 40 years; secondly, to have free liberty to trade as other free denisons of Ireland. If this busines be well managed it may be for the good of this place and of the whole province. I and another gentleman now in Ireland, who is their agent, are betrusted to make these propositions to your excellency, humbly craving your directions, which I shall observe exactly. I have used my best rhetorick to perswade them and to satisfy their scruples, yet have only undertaken to acquaint your excellency with this busines, which is so far ripened that their agent and myself, as trustees, ar authorized to take houses in Galway and leases (which ar to be voyd in case the town be not planted with such honest persons of good estates as you shall approve of). If your excellency approve herof, I humbly beg your derections that I may send an answer into Holland, and other places, to the parties concerned. Sir, I desire to know whether the state will admit of any strangers; 2ly, of what number. Thus blessing the Lord for you, desiring Hym to think uppon you for good and to prosper you in all your great affaires, I humbly rest,

Your excellencye's faithful servant,

Ruben Eastthorp

287. From the Mayor and Aldermen of Gloucester, Gloucester, 24 July 1657, 822, fos 158–159.

May it please your excellency,

The parliament having beene pleased to passe an act[311] for satisfaction of the inhabitants of this city for their losses susteyned

[311] In the summer of 1657, although relating back to the royalist siege of Gloucester fourteen years before, in the summer of 1643.

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at the time of the seige by the late king's army out of lands and houses in Ireland, we humbly take leave to recommend our concerments to your lordship, which wilbe more particularly made knowne to you by Doctor Clarges[312] that waites upon your lordship with this letter, whom we have prevailed with to prosecute our desires to your lordship and the councill in Ireland because he hath beene already (out of his love to us) very instrumentall in procuring this act of parliament. And we have much reason to hope for your lordship's favour and assistance to him in this busines because you have often given a testimony, by your kindenes to this place, of your being well pleased with the interest you have in our affections, and we humbly conceive his quality and meritt will not be the least motive to induce your lordship's respect to him on the behalfe of,

Your excellencie's most humble servants,

Luke Nourse, maior	Wm Caple
James Stephens	Jas Clutterbrooke
Antho Edwards	Ed Collett

288. From Philip Jones, Swansea, 25 July 1657, 822, fos 160–161.

Letter of courtesy, apologizing for writing so infrequently and offering his services; and of request, seeking a favour for a poor man, Mr Barcroft,[313] *an honest schoolmaster in Cardiff for the past four or five years and well-respected by sober and godly people, who was moving himself and his family to Ireland and was seeking to settle there.*

289. From Richard Cromwell, 29 July 1657, 822, fos 162–163.

Deare brother,

I shall in this lettre say nothing to you of anie other subject then the recommending the concernements of our very good freind Martin Noell[314] to your especiall kindnes. It hath soe fallen out that hee is

[312] Thomas Clarges, politician, was trained as an apothecary and served in that capacity with the king's army in the civil war, but he came over to the parliamentarian cause during the 1650s, principally as a result of his sister's marriage in 1653 to another royalist-turned-parliamentarian, George Monck. He became Monck's agent in London, and also an agent and messenger for the Scottish and Irish councils, and through Monck's influence he was returned for a Scottish seat to the second Protectorate parliament.

[313] Possibly the Ambrose Barcroft who was listed in 1657 as a schoolmaster in Birr, King's County.

[314] Parliamentarian financier, merchant, and politician, by the late 1640s he held office in the financial and military administration of London and served as MP for his native Stafford in the second Protectorate parliament. However, during the 1650s he really flourished as a businessman with fingers in many pies, including shipping and the transportation of captured Irish, Scottish, and English royalist prisoners to Barbados; trade with the West

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mingled in a debt due from the state with captain Arthur,[315] who haveing deserved exceedingly well from the parliamente in all the time of publique tryall, of which many testimonies hath here bin given, obteyned an act of parliamente[316] empowering him to chuse his satisfaction in what part of Ireland hee should desire to purchase. And it seemes Mr Noell and hee, by the advice of some gentlemen of Ireland now heer, have fixed uppon Wexford; and because that town wilbe most convenient as it relates to the trade of fishing, and Mr Noell being the great salt master of England, and haveing contrived bringing people therabout, and to mannage that trade to better encrease, hee would not bee disappoynted of his aimes thereuppon. I find that his Highnes approves very well of it; and I desire you to take the patronage of it, soe that it may bee compassed with the fewer difficultyes or obstructions, and the rather because their affayres are ready for present settlement and action on that place and designe. I pray receive captain Arthur favorably, who will come himself with this lettre, and beleive you doe all the while oblige Mr Noell, and that you also shew a respect and kindnes at the same time to the mediation of,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

290. From Martin Noell, London, July 1657, 822, fos 164–165.

It shall not satisfie mee that his Highnes doth mee the grace to approve and recommend an affaire of mine to your lordshipp and the councell, and that my lord, your brother, is pleased to favor mee with his mediation, untill I also have tendered my humblest services unto your lordshipp and acknowledged your continuall countenance and condescentions towards mee at all times, of which I know not how to doubt on this or anie other good occasion, because I still beare about mee the same faithfullnes and regards to your person, and have the honnour to bee owned and lookt uppon as a devoted and perfect servant to all your lordshipp's relations. Among the manie litle dealings I have in the world, I have not found myselfe soe much out at all anie where as in Ireland, untill very lately that my lott hath cast uppon mee

and East Indies and the Levant; the joint running (with Secretary Thurloe) of the postal service; excise farming; and the production of salt. He combined the management of salt works in north-east England with the farming of the salt excise duties.

[315] Probably the Captain Arthur (his forename unrecorded), parliamentarian officer, who campaigned in Dorset during the civil war until captured by the royalists, and who petitioned the second Protectorate parliament seeking compensation for a debt of £2,000 incurred in parliament's service (*Burton*, II, pp. 123–124).

[316] Passed by the second Protectorate parliament in the summer of 1657, entitling him to Irish land to the value of nearly £3,700.

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a small seat there, and my election (to which I am empowered by an act of parliament) aimes at a settlemente in Wexford, where I would in the way of my proffesion bee concerned. To which purpose captain Arthur (one of most approved meritt and integrity to the state), with whome I am mingled, will waite uppon your lordshipp with the act of parliamente and manie recommendations in our favour, which wee hope will prevent anie disappoyntments to our bussines and designe. I shall not importune your lordshipp anie further in this, because I dare not distrust your favor in anie thinge that is just and reasonable, when it is to bee conferred uppon, my lord,

Your lordshipp's most humble and faithfull servant,
Martin Noell

291. From Richard Cromwell, 3 August 1657, 822, fos 166–167.

Deare brother,

This bearer, Mr Robert Whitehall,[317] fellow of Merton Colledge in Oxford, having been recommended to me by Doctor Owen, the vicechancelor, Doctor Wilkins,[318] Doctor Goddart and others as a person worthy of favour, and his occasions calling him into Ireland to continue there some considerable time, whereby he is made uncapable of receiving that incouradgment here in England att present, which he might if he should stay; it shall be the first trouble I'le give you upon the account of my new office of chancelor of that university[319] to recommend him to your speciall favour; and to desire that if any place or imployment there should be thought of and seeked for by him, whereof he shall be capable, you will be pleased to assist him with your favour and power for the obtaining of it; wherein you will engage more and more, deare brother,

Your affectionate brother and servant,
R Cromwell

[317] By the end of the year he was working as a schoolmaster in Limerick.

[318] John Wilkins, theologian, philosopher, and academic, was sympathetic to the parliamentarian cause and was based in London during the 1640s, acting as chaplain and preacher, appointed to preach at Gray's Inn from 1645. He was warden of Wadham College from 1648, and from 1652 was a member of a small and powerful university committee advising the chancellor, Oliver Cromwell. In 1656, he married the Protector's youngest sister, Robina, and from the summer of 1657 onwards he became one of the closest Oxford advisors of the new chancellor.

[319] Richard Cromwell succeeded his father as chancellor in July 1657, one of the signs of the increased status and greater public role he was given during the closing year of his father's Protectorate.

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292. From Hugh Peters, Whitehall, 14 August 1657, 822, fos 168–169.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of the bearer, Mr Snelling, who had claim to Irish land inherited from his late brother, Major Snelling, and who was seeking employment from Henry Cromwell, perhaps in his troop of horse.

293. From John Reynolds, camp near St Omer, 23 August/1 September 1657, 822, fos 172–173.

May it please your excellency,

I am not more unhappy in any particular of my present emploiment than that I am rendred uncapable of making frequent tenders of my service to your lordshipp, or receiving any commands from your lordshipp, not having in many months the honour of a letter from your lordshipp or any other about you, except by my worthy freind Dr Harrison.

I suppose my letter, giving an account of our notable march from beyond Vervyns into the heart of Flanders, is arrived. Since, we have beseiged and taken St Venant, a considerable passe upon the Lys, where 600 of our English behaved themselves verry stoutely in the approches, and were one greate cause of the governours not daring to abide the utmost hasard, and it was in good time rendred. The enemy being in the trench with a mine fastned to the wall of Ardre, but upon our advance to St Omer they retreated, leaving many behind, who fell into our hands. My lord, it would much please your lordshipp to see 12,000 horse with 8,000 carts and waggons marching over a countrey, and certainely a goodlier sight (except the major-generall in his gallant equipage at the late solemnity in Dublin)[320] cannot be seene. I could delight to divertise your lordshipp with some gaity d'esprit, but indeede we are heere in a poore condition, wanting clothes, foode and money. I hope your lordshipp will be pleased to mind his Highnes for my sake in the behalfe of his French army, and in due time that I may be restored, having warred heere untill 6,000 men are lesse than foure, and without fighting, which is not the fashion of the countrey. Howsoever if I must still fight on, untill my dagger, which was a sword, become an oyster knife, I am content to submit. But your lordshipp is wise thorough God's blessing and honest and will at length do what

[320]Probably a reference to the celebrations held in Dublin on 9 July to mark the formal reinauguration of the Protectorate under the revised parliamentary constitution. Reynolds had probably seen the report of the event, published in *Mercurius Politicus* in its edition of 23–30 July, which described how Sir Hardress Waller, as major-general, had a prominent place in the parade, marching 'in gallant equipage'.

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is necessary, I hope. I humbly commit your lordshipp, with my noble lady there, to the Almighty's protection. I remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's constant, devoted, poor servant,

J Reynolds

294. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghill, [July or August 1657], 822, fos 126–127.

My deare lord,

When your lordshipp did so fright mee with the news of the army's endeavours to force his Highness back into his single capacity of generall, and with that of the knott which was forming against his Highness, which that 103[321] might help to breake hee must not bee disgusted, I told your lordshipp that to save the whole from sinking <I told your lordship that> I would submitt to anything possible; not that the way of lieutenancy and deputy were of my election.[322] I told your lordship withall that 3 things were requisite to make that way possible. As first, that my lord lieutenant should not hearken immedeately to the counsells and appeals from hence, which who can prevent? 2ly, that I may have the dispose of places hapening in my time, but who can assure my time to bee one month? 3ly, <as for bettering> that the councell might bee betterd. If <any> But if some certaine member bee withdrawn it will possibly displeese my <lord deputy> brother Fleetwood, which I would not have done. On the other side, if any bee added wee cannot beare the charge of it. Now what would your lordshipp have mee doe herein? Although I could bee heartily content to act in this manner under my lord lieutenant, and should bee as tender of any honest man that loved him by himselfe; yet since hee will not believe it, and since his Highness is not at leisure to make him understand it, how can I continue in this condition? Inded, my lord, as I then told your lordship, retirement were much better for

[321] Perhaps Fleetwood.

[322] Fleetwood's three-year term as lord deputy of Ireland was due to expire on 1 September 1657, causing renewed speculation about the future government of Ireland and opening the way for renewed sniping between Henry Cromwell's supporters and those of Fleetwood. Indeed, over the summer a petition had circulated in Ireland and been sent to London urging Henry Cromwell's appointment as lord deputy; dismayed and angry, he first tried to suppress it and then distanced himself from it in a long and detailed letter (*TSP*, VI, pp. 446–447); Thurloe reassured him that the issue had done him no harm in London (*TSP*, VI, pp. 455, 493). Nevertheless, in this letter Henry Cromwell seems to be running through the possibility and practicalities of the compromise arrangement, floated in earlier petitions and letters of the winter of 1655–1656, in which he would become lord deputy and continue as governor of and in Ireland, but technically continue to serve under Fleetwood, who would become an absentee lord lieutenant of Ireland. Clearly, Henry Cromwell had serious misgivings about such an arrangement.

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mee then to labour so much in vaine as I have and am like to doe. As for him whom you meane (where you say I have employed him and may employ him againe, and one who deales with 104[323]), if hee must bee discountenanced to please 103 – I thinke if 103 knew him and mee, that were not necessary – <yet> but if things <are> bee so <[. . .]>[324] that 103 must bee wholly <humored> observed, and that hee cannot bee <humored> <so> observed otherwise, I doe not doubt but that person will suffer to bee under a cloud for the publicq good. If not I am mistaken in him. If there bee any other end of that advice I should willingly have more <reason> ground for it then that of his dealing with 104. Against the probability whereof I have many reasons. I should write to your lordship of severall other things, but to speeke the truth I am discomposed and unfitt at this time to adde more then that I am,

If his Highness troubles himselfe to read my lettres, hee cannot but know who of the councill I am weary of[325] – Mr Secretarey doth the same – and surely your lordship also knowes that disease better then the remedy, but let nature wake up.

295. From Richard Lawrence, London, [July or August] 1657, 823, fos 7–8.

May itt please your excelency,

I had longe before this presented that respeckts I owe unto you, had not some unexpeckted discouragements I mett with att my comeinge to London streaghtened mee therein. For I was in hopes when I took my leave of your lordship, that you had received sattisfacktion as to the candidness of my intention, both towards his Highness and yourselfe

[323]Perhaps Desborough or Lambert.

[324]Word deleted very heavily and now illegible.

[325]The Irish council, which had been appointed by the Protector on 17 August 1654 to serve a three-year term and which therefore dissolved itself in mid-August 1657, originally had six members: Richard Pepys, William Steele (who did not cross to Ireland until 1656), Robert Hammond, Miles Corbet, Robert Goodwin, and Matthew Tomlinson. Hammond died in October 1654, shortly after his arrival in Dublin, but William Bury was added to the council in the summer of 1656, restoring the membership to six. Of those, Tomlinson, Corbet, and Steele – who most attracted Henry Cromwell's suspicions and criticism (in June 1658, he wrote a detailed account of Steele's alleged tactless behaviour, dissent, and downright opposition (see *TSP*, VII, pp. 198–199)) – did not always support Henry Cromwell, especially over his religious policy, though in the end all three were reappointed to the new Irish council, empanelled in mid-November when the shape of the new Irish government was finally resolved. Indeed, much to Henry Cromwell's bafflement and anger and his own dismay, the only pre-1657 councillor to be dropped from the new body was the generally loyal Goodwin (*TSP*, VI, pp. 599, 647, 648, 650, 661, 683; VII, pp. 100–101, 145).

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in subscribeinge that letter.[326] Butt I since perceave, by some account his Highness had given him of wordes I shouilde speake, itt was not soe. Butt if ever I live to see your face, I hope I shall convince you I had hard measure therein. Butt my lord, your severall yeares' frindeship and kindnesses extended to mee have begotten you a greater interest in my hearte then one, nay mayny, such passadges can eate out. If I had not proffered my duty to you before my benyfitt by you, I shouilde not have run those hazzardes of your displeasure I have done, for I am perswaded you have affecktion to my person, if contrarynesse of principle did not interpose. And hee that knowes your hearte and mine knowes that you are deare to mee. And if I thought the way some takes to serve you did not tende to ruine you and the pretious cause of Christ in your handes, I shouilde rejoyce to run with the formost of them. Butt in the meane while, if I have noe other oportunity to testify the sincerity of my respeckts unto you, I shall doe itt by my earnest prayers to the Lord for you, that you may bee delivered from the danger of your owne natureall temper, your ridged, sowre principles and the flattery of pretended frindes.

I had hope before this to have waited upon your excelency in Irelande. Butt some extreordynary occaisions prevente mee, in consideration whereof his Highnesse was pleased to inlardge my furloe, which my lord deputy[327] promised to give your lordship account of, which with the tender of my effecktionate service to my good lady, I rest,

Your excelencye's sinceer servante,
Ri Lawrence

296. From Jeremy Baines,[328] 1 September 1657, 822, fos 170–171.

Letter of thanks, for Henry Cromwell's favour to him and his eldest son; recounting how his son had developed affection towards a woman of worth related to Henry Cromwell, though the writer had strong misgivings about this, arising from their

[326]The letter of summer 1657 from the army in Ireland to Fleetwood, expressing relief and joy at the news of the Protector's rejection of the crown, which Hewson and Lawrence had promoted. Hence this letter can be no earlier than mid-summer.

[327]Assuming that Lawrence was being strict and accurate in using the title, this letter can therefore be no later than 1 September 1657, because Fleetwood's appointment as lord deputy of Ireland expired on that date.

[328]On 24 June 1657, Henry Cromwell had written to Thurloe recommending for employment (and requesting that he be brought to the Protector's attention), Mr Baynes, a sober, godly minister then working in Ireland, the son of lieutenant-colonel Baynes (*TSP*, VI, pp. 367–368). This letter is probably by the father and largely about the son, probably the minister Edward Baines/Baynes, who was a preacher at St Patrick's and St John's in Dublin in 1656–1658.

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very different socio-economic standings, because he had lost heavily in parliament's service, was owed £2,000 by parliament, which he did not expect to recover, and so did not have the means to make a generous settlement upon his son; and noting how he and his wife were content with their current situation and so politely declined the invitation that Henry Cromwell had given him.

297. From Charles Fleetwood, 1 September 1657, 822, fos 174–175.

Deare brother,

The buysnes of the excise and customes, in farming thereof, being now at an issue, the committee not liking of the termes the farmers demanded, we are lik to have a considerable abatment in our revenue, which still will presse upon us the necessity of a reducment, and I doubt I shall not be able to get an addition to beare the civill and millitary lists' charge. I confesse, as I formerly writt, I am not fully satisfyed in the way you propownd for lessening the charge. You know it was formerly attempted, but still upon debate it was not found safe, and I feare in a short time would hazard our garrysons by that mixture, which such a condition would soone bring unto. I thinke the lesse force, well payde and kept strictly to duty without other dependencyes, would be found the more secure and best way.[329] We much incline heare to reduce the foote to 70 in a company, and the horse to 50 in a troope, which would bring the charge within the allowance of 25,000. I shall desire you may be satisfied befor any thing be don heare. We have lately had some successe in France by our English. 600 of them did very good service in the reducing of St Venant. But I feare the French will not performe with us in what was 1st propownded in sending our men. His Highnes hath now sent for a positive resolution, one way or others. They minde their own interests, but litle regard ours, and the designe, I feare, we cheifly intended is litle aymed at or intended by them.[330] We shall suddenly know what they will doe. We have not lately heard from my lord Richard Cromwell, but he is in a very hopefull way of

[329]During the winter and spring of 1656–1657, Henry Cromwell had been urging the establishment in Ireland of a part-time militia, not merely to supplement the regular army in Ireland but also to allow some reduction in the army's size and cost; the regime in London appeared unconvinced and unenthusiastic. By July he was pushing for an alternative scheme of remodelling the army in Ireland, with certain regiments combined and garrison troops non-regimented, thereby retaining the same number of troops but reducing the number of officers and so trimming costs that way. Again, as indicated in this letter, Fleetwood and his colleagues in London were unconvinced and insisted on keeping the existing regimental and unit structure, with the existing number of officers, instead reducing the number of men per unit to trim costs (*TSP*, V, pp. 433, 452–453, 477, 493–494, 504, 586–587; VI, pp. 404–405, 505, 527, 634–635, 647, 649, 657–658, 660–662, 665, 680).

[330]The attempted capture of Dunkirk and Mardyke.

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recovery.[331] His lady is gon to him. My cosen Rolt is very sicke of this new distempter. It is as a sickly a time as hath bine known this many a yeare. The Lord teach us to inquire and search into the true cause thereof. Their Highneses and all your relations are through mercy very well, which at this time is double mercy considering how the Lord's hand is stretched out in every country. I know none free. The Lord awaken us with a due sence of His hand and our present mercy is the desire of your most affectionat brother and humble servant.

298. From Richard Cromwell, Pinefield Lodge, New Forest, 9 September 1657, 822, fos 176–177.

Deare brother,

Though I am not at present in a very fitt posture to use my penn (by reason of the breaking my thigh with the fall of my horse), yet the sad complainte of a related ill condition of this bearer, Daniell Machona of Munster in Ireland (whoe is brother to my footeman Florrance), hath made me to give you this trouble to desire youre favourable and charritable countenance to him. He desires he may not be transplanted (according to the order of his Highnesse and councell) for that it will be the utter ruen of him and his famuly, which is now forced to flye unto thee charity of well disposed people for bread to sustaine life untell he can returne, and be continnewed as a tennant to his owne, which priviledge (he saith) he hath compounded for; and, as he informes, hath not forfeited his priviledges by any act either directly or indirectly, which he may lawfully claime upon the artickles with the lord of Musgroves[332] upon his laying downe of armes. That which he saith most troubles him, and the greatest occation of his trouble, is that severall persons comes upon him for things taken

[331] In mid-August, he fell from his horse while out hunting and broke his leg, though it was set and healed well.

[332] Identification unclear. Possibly a reference to Sir Philip Musgrave, royalist officer, who fought for the king in the north of England in 1642–1646 and 1648, and who was then royalist governor of the Isle of Man until its capture late in 1651. In the 1620s, he had succeeded a distant cousin to the barony of Musgrave, and was reported to have been offered but declined a new title from the future Charles II in exile during the 1650s; thus, he might have been referred to as 'Lord Musgrave' in the late 1650s, but he appears to have had no links with Ireland. Possibly, therefore, this is a garbled reference to Donough MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry, an Irish Catholic landowner with extensive Munster estates, who, after some hesitation, supported the Irish Catholic rebellion and played a very active military and political role in the Confederacy and in support of the royalist cause against the Cromwellian invasion of Ireland. In the summer of 1652, he and his forces surrendered on terms to the English regime and, although in 1653–1654 he was tried and acquitted of being an accessory to murder, later in 1654 it was noted that he was living quietly and abiding by the terms of the articles of surrender, which also covered the men who surrendered with him.

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away by him in the time of warre as a souldyer. I know not the course in this case in Ireland, but in Ingland noe courte or jury will allow a sattisfaction of injuryes in the heate of our warres. He tells me that he was charged for his life as a murderer (there being noe salve for those), but he was upon his tryall, and you were pleased to declare him, cleare. I confese his lamantable complaint hath moved me to pitty, that if things doe appeare to yourselfe (or any, by reason of the trouble, that you shall appoint to examine) as he hath related them to me, that then, in the first place, you would be pleased to graunt him the same favour which others hath obtained of his condition and quality. And in the second, that where a just stop may be put to the violent hands of oppressers, whoe takes the advantedges to be strickt upon such as hath acted rudely in a rude time (peradventure according to the commission of his commander). Not that I would countenance disorders of souldyers, whoe are too apt of themselves to take a liberty, but to moderate such feircenesse as will demand impossibilityes of performances, and will make such after reckonings as that the life upon artickles (though such actions, as hath been in generall hinted, were included) not at all gratefull. I must leave the man to your better information, and alsoe my desires concerning him to your conveniency, you knowing best what you are able to doe in these cases. Craving your pardon for this scrible, which my present posture doth in some measure plead, I rest with my service to my sister, deare brother,

Yours most affectionately,

R Cromwell

299. From John Owen, Christ Church College, [Oxford], 9 September 1657, 822, fos 178–179.

My lord,

I received your commands by Mr Wood, in reference unto the statutes of this university to be sent unto you. I shall with the first convenient opportunity endeavour to send or bringe them unto your lordship. I am glad to heare of your indeavour to dispose of that university[333] to the interest of piety and hearminye; and am bold to informe your lordship that our statutes, as those alsoe of the other university, beinge framed to the spirit and good of studdys in former days, will scarsly upon consideration be found to be the best expedients for the promotion of the good ends of godlinese and solid literature,

[333]Either Trinity College, Dublin, of which Henry Cromwell became chancellor in 1655 (very soon after his arrival in Ireland), or possibly the new university college that he hoped to establish in Dublin.

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which are in your ayme. I could much rather wish that if the great employments of your lordship's servants in that place will not affoord them leasure to attend such a worke, that you would be pleased to send your commands to some of your freinds and servants in England, men of ability, wisdome and piety, to compose a body of orders and statutes suited to the present light, interest of state, and advantagious discuveryes of literature in the ways and expedients of it, which we do enjoy, that may be submitted to your lordship's judgement. It is not impossible that somethinge not unworthy your owninge might be presented unto you; and that returninge with the advantage of your accept[. . .] and approbation, it might yet esteeme here also where invetirate prejudic[. . .] beaten good customes, and in many an affection to an old interest will no[. . .][334] easily permit the most evidently usefull tendors of alteration to take place. I hope your lordship will pardon this boldnes in him, who prays for you dayly, and is, my lord,

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,
John Owen

300. From William Jephson, Hamburgh, 14 September 1657, 822, fos 180–181.

My deare lord,

Since the many favours I have receyv'd from your lordship have given mee sufficient testimonye of your kindesse, I may from thence assure myselfe that it will not bee unacceptable to your lordship to know into what place of the world providence hath led your faythfull servant,[335] which truly is all the account I can give your lordship at present. On Tuesday last I arriv'd at this towne (which is a very fine scituated place, and a very good countrey round about it), and the next day I wrote a letter to the king of Suede to give his majestye notice of my beeing here, and doe hourly expect his commaunds for my repayre to him. I heare hee is at present at a place cald Wismar, which is about 60 English miles from hence. When I have had the honour to kisse his majestye's hands and to have some discourse with him, I hope I shall bee able to ghuesse what hopes I may have of my returne; then which I desyre nothing more affectionatly that I

[334]Edge of the paper damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete words are apparently 'acceptance', 'prejudice has'/'prejudices have' and 'not'.

[335]Once the parliamentary session was over, Jephson was sent by the Protector to Sweden, to work both for peace between Sweden and Denmark and for a wider alliance of Protestant powers in northern Europe. His mission lasted a year, and he did not return until August 1658, just a few months before his death.

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might have the hapinesse to wayte on your lordship in Ireland, and the friends I have about you, which I can not sett to greate a value upon. This content is now deny'de mee, but I doubt not will in God's due time bee graunted to, my lord,

Your most really affectionate and faythfull, humble servant,
Wm Jephson

301. From Charles Fleetwood, 15 September 1657, 822, fos 182–183.

Deare brother,

I have not heard a long time from you, occationed I presume by your progresse. We are now neare a conclusion of our reducement. I having not heard since the account I gave you of my thoughts about that buysnes, we shall suddenly sende you the result of what is heare resolved upon. We are much streightned in mony, and that which hath bine propounded is that the pay, which is now to be sent, may goe to pay off thos who are to be reduced, and the standing army to forbeare their pay for a month longer, which I say they are not able to doe. Necessity puts us upon such streights, but I shall doe what I can to prevent that extremity upon you. I doe not want affection, desires and endeavors to serve your affayres. I hope we shall obviat this presant difficulty, which is the same as to the other 2 armyes in England and Scotland. Sir John Reynolds is heare arived with some proposalls from marshale Turreine in order to the reducing of Mardik, but we have bine so disapoynted in what we have don allready and the season of the yeare is so farre gon, that I doe think we shall scarce satisfye ourselves in answering the demands. Our affayres in reference to forrign parts are under presant consideration, and have their considerable difficultyes to know what to doe therin, but I trust the Lord will so direct as will be for the best preservation of the good cause we have bine contending for heare, and most answer the advancment of the Protestant cause abroade, which is truly minded by his Highnes. But of thes things you have constant intelligence from other hands. My haste still I must begge you[336] pardon in, we having more then ordinary occations which taks up our time, which otherwise might have given me the liberty of inlarging. Which now I must intreat your excusing him, who is,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

[336]Apparently a slip for 'your'.

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I heare you did refuse the acceptance of Dr Cartrett's comission,[337] which I think was very Christianlik and prudenly don. You will not in the close suffer by such tendernes.

302. From Charles Fleetwood, 22 September 1657, 822, fos 184–185.

Deare brother,

We are at presant com to no certeine resolution about the reducment, but what I formerly acquainted you with will be the proportion allotted for Ireland. That which we incline unto heare is to reduce the foote to 80 in a company (which I think is about your presant number), and the horse to 50 in a troope; the dragoones to the like number. The committee hade thoughts of reducing a regiment of horse and 3 troopes more, so as to leave the whole horse but to consist of 5 regiments, but after some debate it was rather resolved to reduce to 50 in a troope, and 3 troopes. The maner is wholly left to you, which will save me from what some will, it may be, too apt to judg me for to have a design. Some other retrenchments ther will be, but what I now offer will be the most considerable, and therfor though I canot wright authoritativly that it is so, yet probably it will be concluded this way. I offer only you will be heard befor any thing be positivly concluded; but for to save charge I did think it might not be amisse to give you this advertisment that so you might be ordering your affayre, if you think fitt, in such a way as might answer most your presant wants of money, which I feare will grow so fast upon us as to disable us to doe any more then to afforde you £8,000 per mensem from hence, which with the taxe and revenue raysed in Ireland, is the way intended for your subsistance.[338] I hope heare will never want an utmost care and endevor to helpe Ireland what we can, but our occations so much exceede our revenue that we are forced to a frugallity what we can so farre as may stand with safety. My deare wife is much troubled with

[337]Henry Cromwell had upbraided Carterett for his 'gross partiallitie' in supporting the court-martialled and cashiered Alexander Brayfield, and, in consequence, Carterett had offered to resign and to seek civil employment in England. Although tempted to accept the offer, after consulting Thurloe, Henry Cromwell decided to decline his resignation (*TSP*, VI, pp. 527–528, 552, 563–564).

[338]The current plans involved allowing Ireland either £7,000 or £8,000 per month out of the English assessments, which was to be added to the Irish assessments of £9,000 per month and the other revenues raised in Ireland, to make a grand total of either £312,000 (if receiving £7,000 per month from England) or £324,000 (if receiving £8,000 each month from English revenues) per year to cover the full (military and civil) costs of running Ireland. Henry Cromwell raised no objection in principle to the suggestion that he could run Ireland on £324,000 per year, but he argued that the revenues raised in Ireland (other than assessments) were currently running at no more than £70,000 per year and that therefore he needed at least £11,000 per month from England to cover costs (*TSP*, VI, p. 527).

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a diffluction of rhume. The Lord, I trust, hath bine pleased in some measure to abate hir distemper, which mercy, that I may have a heart more to improve, is the desire of your most affectionate brother and humble servant.

303. From Nathaniel Fiennes, Covent Garden, 26 September 1657, 822, fos 186–187.

Letter of clarification, stating that in his earlier letter of recommendation for the bearer, his brother-in-law John Whitehead, he had expected Jephson to accompany Whitehead to Ireland and speak in person on his behalf. However, because Jephson had now been sent elsewhere by the Protector, Whitehead was travelling alone, though Sir John Temple had been contacted to speak to Henry Cromwell on Whitehead's behalf.

304. From Charles Fleetwood, 29 September 1657, 822, fos 188–189.

Deare brother,

I beleive you must crave an addition for contingencyes.[339]

I doe finde that the revenue in Ireland is taken heare at a much greater value then, I feare, it will hold out: the rents of lands etc at £50,000 per annum; and the excise and customes at £70,000 per annum.[340] The later is offered heare to be given by som who would be farmers. £23,000 per mensem is intended for the army, and, as befor I told you, was not to be expected above 8,000 per mensem from hence. The perticulers of the whole buysnes of reducement will be sent you by this post if I can get a dispatch therof, and then what shall be wanting in our proposalls, which you may please to offer as amendments, will be taken, and it is much the same that I last weeke did acquaint you with. I know you will heare from other hands our possessing of Mardike. We wer in hopes the French would have attempted Dunkirke, which, by reason of the Spanyards' weaknes in force, was looked upon as very fesible, but they have no minde, we understand, to that attempt, but designe Gravlan, which is more considerable to the French but lesse to us. That place is to be given into our hands if the Lord give successe in the attempt. The French wer to sit down befor it as yeasterday. Our forces have bine of great advantage to the French affayres this

[339]This short sentence has been squeezed in between 'Dear brother' and 'I doe finde that. . .'.

[340]Making £120,000 per year. With Irish assessments at £9,000 per month and £8,000 per month allowed to Ireland out of English revenues, that would add £17,000 per month or £204,000 per year, thus reaching the grand total of £324,000 per year which the English government thought was needed to run Ireland.

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campaine, and if the Lord please to direct for the further carying on of what worke He in His providence shall leade unto, what is allready don may be of much advantage to the good cause we have bine heare engaged in. This French affayre hath taken up so much of our time that the truth is we have had litle leisure to consider our home affayres, and amongst other things the settlement of Ireland, which hath bine discoursed a litle about but no resolution taken therin, which I know must neads distract your affayres, but I hope it will not be longe ere it be brought to a conclusion. With my most humble service to your deare lady, I remain,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant.

The enclosed is what the committee have thought upon to offer as to Ireland, which is sent unto you to the ende that[341] you have to offer by way of alteration may be speedily sent, and that by the next post, wherin you will have satisfaction. £70,000 per annum is offered, and will be let for the customes and excise in Ireland. I shall be glad of your speedy thoughts therin.

305. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 29 September 1657, 822, fos 190–191.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of Mr How,[342] *a godly minister then travelling to Ireland, requesting that he be encouraged and found a place in Ireland which would comfortably provide for him and his family.*

306. From Griffith Bodurda, Inner Court of Wards, Westminster, 1 October 1657, 822, fos 192–193.

Right honourable,

The committee of parliament for improvement of the customes and excise having received proposalls from severall persons for farmeing of both the said dutyes in Ireland for seaven yeares, for which the rent of seaventy thousand pounds per annum was offered, and allthough it was not much doubted by the said committee but the preposers may advance it to one hundred thousand pounds, yet it was judged necessary before any contractt made to signify soe much unto your honour, with desire that you will with all convenyent speede send unto this committee your opinion in writing, whether will bee most for the service of his Highnes and the commonwealth to farme out the

[341] Either a slip for 'what' or a word, apparently 'what', then omitted.

[342] Two ministers of that name are shown as being ministers in Ireland in 1658 – Daniel How and Edward How.

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said dutyes or continewe them in the management of commissioners entrusted for that purpose, and to what summe you conceive the customes, as alsoe the imported and native inland excise, may bee raised and improved severally and distinctly every yeare. These beeing the commands of the committee laid upon mee (beeing in the chayre), I could doe noe lesse then in discharge of my trust communicate unto your honour; and therewith take leave to subscribe myselfe,

Your honour's very humble servant,

G Bodurda

307. From Charles Howard, Naward,[343] 2 October 1657, 822, fos 194–195.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of the unnamed bearers, countrymen of Howard's, who had an ordinance of Protector and council and an order under the privy seal for lands in Ireland as compensation for their losses in the late troubles.

308. From John Reynolds, Burbourg in Flanders, 2/12 October 1657, 822, fos 214–215.

May it please your excellency,

I have forborne to trouble your lordshipp with my letters untill I might present unto your lordshipp a probable meanes of waiting on your lordshipp in Ireland. The worke of this campagne being now over, and the designes of the French (and English consequently) being terminated within the narrow limits of securing this place and Mardyke fort, I can see no obstacle to my coming into Ireland for 4 or 5 months in the approching winter; and I am most confident, if your lordshipp be pleased to mention my attending you in your letters to his Highnes, it will be consented unto. Besides your lordshipp's major generall will be desirous of coming to the next parliament.[344] And for my owne part I shall willingly abandon the pleasures of Paris and the French court, to serve your lordshipp in Dublin. I shall hope for your lordship's mediation herein with his Highnes, and will prepare for a grant heere by meanes of the embassadour[345] (who is now heere and desired his service might be presented to your lordshipp in my

[343]Naworth in Cumberland.

[344]In fact, Sir Hardress Waller seems to have remained in Ireland and does not appear to have taken his seat in either the first session or the shortlived second session of the second Protectorate parliament.

[345]Sir William Lockhart.

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next letters), and that my master, the cardinall,[346] will deny me no reasonable suite, I have full assurance under the hand and seale of his eminence. I have heere so full a representation of Athlone, my old garrison, that I could not forget Ireland. But my devotions and true affection to your lordship's service is the attractive and sole end of my wrighting, of which I crave your lordship's good acceptance. And recommending your lordshipp, with my honoured lady and all your lordship's, to the Almighty's protection, I take my leave. My lord, I am,

Your excellency's most humble, faithfull and obliged,
J Reynolds

309. From William Hawkins,[347] Blarney, 5 October 1657, 822, fos 196–197.

May it please your eccellency,

It is now more then a yeere since your commands were layd uppon me to offer an expedient for the safe planting of Gallaway. I communicated my thoughts to divers frinds in America from whome I received this inclosed, which I humbly tender to your lordshipp's consideration, beeing assured, that if due encouragements be not wanting, your lordship's desire will be fully satisfied by those, whose principles ar more firme to the present authority then ever the Romans were to Caesar. I humbly pray I may be capable of returning an accompt hereof by December next,

Your lordshipp's most humble servant,
Will Hawkins

310. From the Justices of the Peace for County Monaghan, Monaghan, 6 October 1657, 822, fos 198–199.

May it please your excellency,

Being aboundantly sensible of the late sufferings of the despoyled Protestants of this nation, which beeing presented unto us at our generall sessions of the peace held at Monaghan, together with the enclosed petition to your excellency, wee have thought it our dutty to present unto your excellency the present condition of the Protestants

[346]Jules Mazarin, chief minister of France and effectively its ruler during the minority of Louis XIV.

[347]Parliamentarian administrator, merchant, and adventurer, for a time during the 1640s he was secretary to parliament's Irish committee and from 1648 he was active in Ireland, settling in Cork and becoming commissary general of the victuals in Ireland and, in 1654, a commissioner for the allotment of lands to the adventurers.

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in these parts, whoe have great reason to feare a second erruption of the malice of our cruell enemies if not prevented by the providence of God, and your excellencie's care in granting the request of the petitioners, and of,

Your excellencie's most humble and faithfull servants,

R Blayney Ol Hucketill
John Forster Fra Cole

311. Draft of a letter by Henry Cromwell to John Thurloe, 6 October 1657, 822, fos 200–201.

The noise which Mardyke makes in all men's mouthes must, as you say, needs drowne the cry of Ireland. The Lord prosper our forces there. I hope you deale with the French as with men having as many tricks as possible.

I like well enough of the allowance of £324,000 for defraying both the civill and millitary charge, but I say tis impossible to raise 120,000 per annum besides the assessments here. For all the revenues of Ireland, viz, customes, excise, rents of the reserve <lands> counties,[348] bishopps' lands and houses, etc, doe not exceed 70,000. As for the other 50,000, it can never bee had unlesse the quitt rents[349] bee paid by the English acre, for at the Irish[350] it will not bee full 30,000, neither will those rents bee demandable, for ought I know, these <4> 3 or <5> 4 yeares. Wherefore this computation must bee reviewed.

In the next place, I say that 300,000 bee allowed for the military; that the remayning 24,000 will never serve for the civill, for the councill will take up halfe that, neither is there anything allowed for contingencies on the military or concordatums[351] on the civill accompt, without both which there is no living here.

I have received the modell both of the reducement and also the establishment. By both which I find the contrary from what I alwayes thought both cheapest and safest, for therein the reducement is made upon the soldiers, whereas I would have had it on the officers. But supposing those who propounded these things as more able and not lesse affectionat with reference to Ireland then myselfe, I must and will submitt.

[348]Counties Cork, Carlow, Kildare, and Dublin, where land had been reserved for the government's own use and from which state income could be drawn.

[349]The rent paid by tenants in lieu of feudal or manorial service.

[350]1 Irish acre corresponded to just over 1.6 English acres; hence payments due on land in Ireland were worth far more if calculated by the English acre than by the Irish acre.

[351]Concordatum: a special payment, provision, or grant of money, land, or other property made by the state.

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As for my opinion of letting the customes and excise of Ireland to farme at £70,000 per annum, I answer in generall, I wish you had 40,000, provided the exaction of these duties become thereby no more horrible then they are at present. For since wee can make but about 25,000 nett over and above the charges of collecting them,[352] I say there must bee either far greater severity used to raise above double, nay treble including the farmers' gaynes, then now there is, although some thinke there is already too much; or else the farmers have some extraordinary presage of some miraculous increase of trade; or else by the length of the terme of their contract they hope to repaire the losses they expect at first; or else they have some device, by getting good passe from Ireland <to> into England by post cockett,[353] to defraud the customes of <Ireland> England through Ireland; or else they conceive (though amisse) that the customes and excise of Ireland yielding now 70,000 will by their better management yield that sum againe, together with an encouragement to themselves; or else they entend to wind themselves into the state's mony and then leave us in the lurch; or lastly I thinke they doe not understand the busines, and that the admitting of any man to impossible conditions will end in a clamour upon you for releife, and an obstruction and disappointement to your affaires. All this while I cannot but feare I am myselfe mistaken in my conception of this matter.

That is, I think there may bee may some <other> such conditions of desoliation propounded as may acquitt the farmers from paying part of that rent, which with the other heads I desire to heare from you, and <withall> particularly where and by whom <contrareys[354]> matter of equity arising upon this contract shall bee determined.[355]

[352]Although the slow recovery of trade in Ireland during the Protectorate probably led to a gradual increase in the customs receipts, even by 1657–1658 Irish customs were bringing in only around £29,000 per year gross. Hence Henry Cromwell's estimate here that, after deducting administrative costs, Irish customs collected in the old way would yield around £25,000 per year and his great suspicion of this offer from a consortium of customs farmers to handle Irish customs in return for a payment of £70,000 per year to the state. Henry Cromwell supported the principle of customs farming (*TSP*, VI, pp. 538–539), but felt that this offer was unrealistically high and sprang from either naivety or duplicity and would lead at least to a much heavier and unpleasant imposition of Irish customs, if not to outright failure or corruption. Despite his reservations, a contract was concluded on this basis and, through greater rigour and severity, the farmers were able greatly to boost Irish customs income, paying the treasury around £56,000 per year on average for the farm, down to the premature conclusion of their contract in the summer of 1660.

[353]Cockett: a seal belonging to a customs house and more generally an official or privileged document sealed by customs officers.

[354]Uncertain reading of poorly formed word.

[355]This sentence has been added in the margin at this point, with an asterisk to indicate where it was to sit in the main text.

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Wherefor I say in the meanetime take this my sense upon my present apprehensions of the thing, and rectify mee by your next where you find mee or the farmers to have mistaken each other, or yourselfe.

The army want their pay for want of an authority to <levy the> apportion the <assessement>.

I have not heard anything of the letres <of> from the committee of parlement as you record.

312. From Charles Fleetwood, 6 October 1657, 822, fos 202–203.

Deare brother,

I have noe more to adde in reference to reducment. I confesse that which I am most dissatisfyed in is as to the trayn and contingencyes, wherin if you please to expresse what parts of the trayn and what garrysons must of necessity be kept, about which the cheife expence of your contingencyes will be taken up, and what you offer upon thos accounts will, I hope, be complyed with heare so farre as we can possibly. The officers of the army wer of opinion as to most of the perticulers. I know some will be suspitious, but I am sure ther is no reason for it, and the whole coming under your inspection will I hpoe[356] preserve me from jealousyes. We have now the care of Mardyke upon us, the French being risen from befor Gravlin through the violence of the waters, which cam down upon them from the drawing up of the sluces. The French have promised to lye 10 dayes neare to Mardike till the lyne be enlarged to hold 2,000 foote and 500 horse, which is necessary, the fort being now very weake and I feare not able to hold out. It is a very considerable place to our affayres, if the Lord please to blesse endeavors in the securing of it. I know you have it from others what is intended in reference to the settlement of Ireland. With our humble service to your deare lady, I am,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

I am afrayde least the desire of our howsholdstuffe showld inconvenience you, and therfor be pleased to be so brotherly that what we have which may be convenient for your occations, to detaine without price, and have that confydence that what we have ther you may command.[357] Your freedom hearin will be kindnes to your most deare sister and myselfe.

[356]Word garbled – apparently 'hope' is intended.

[357]Apparently, therefore, Fleetwood had left some of his household goods in Dublin in the summer of 1655, when he returned to England, perhaps thinking that he might at some stage return to Ireland and resume residence at Dublin. This letter therefore suggests that, by early October 1657, Fleetwood was aware that a firm and final decision had been taken

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313. From Nathaniel Waterhouse, 6 October 1657, 822, fos 204–205.

May it please your excelency,

According to your order, I have hereinclosed sent your lordshipp a just accompt of all such moneys as I have received for your use; and what I have paid, as alsoe what doth remaine at this tyme in my hands. And I am alsoe bould to acquaint your honour that there is the summe of two hundred and fifty pounds due unto your honour the 29th of September last, which I have not as yett received, but I beleeve I may have it in some short tyme. My lord, this is the state of your lordshipp's accompt as it now stands betwixt your lordshipp and mee. All which I humbly submite, and begg your lordshipp's pardon. I make bould to subscribe myselfe,

Your excelency's most humble servant to comand,

Nat Waterhouse

314. From Charles Howard, Naward, 8 October 1657, 822, fos 206–207.

My lord,

I formerly made bold to trouble your lordship in the behalfe of one Meade,[358] whose sonne has relation to a neer frend of myne, concerning an estate he has in Ireland, in which he suffers much through the severity of some, who has gotten some interest in itt. Hee has no other reffuge to flye to but your lordshipp's. I earnestly beg your lordship's favour to him in his demands, as your lordship shall find them reasonable and just. And this shall add to the many favours I reiceived, and further obleidge, my lord,

Your most faithfull servant,

Howard

315. From William Webb, Galway, 9 October 1657, 822, fos 208–209.

May it please your excellency,

At the cittadle of Gallway there is great want of a gatehouse and porculles of iron, also a salley port and iron greatte for it, and two other iron greatts for the water cours, and severall other things of less moment, which should be done with all speed. Therefore I humbly pray your excellency to give orders that a warrant may bee drawne

not to reappoint him to Ireland and, with no prospect of ever returning to Dublin, he was now planning to move his remaining belongings back to England, while letting Henry Cromwell keep what he wanted in Dublin.

[358]Identification uncertain, since several adventurers bore this surname.

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up for collonel Sadler to receive sixty pounds, and to bee by him disbursh d for the aforesaid use. All at present from,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

Wm Webb

316. From John Reynolds, Calais, 9/19 October 1657, 822, fos 226–227.

May it please your excellency,

I was bold to write my mind in a letter from Burbourg 4 dayes since, which I hope will come safe. Howsoever, I shall renew the same request that your lordshipp be pleased to write unto his Highnes for my waiting on your lordshipp in Ireland this winter. And I am the more desirous of his Highnes' sence therein, because I shall thereby discover whether any do desire to render this emploiment an honourable banishment. And if that (which your lordshipp may please to write) faile, I shall make use of my interest heere to obteine leave, the cardinal having already consented to my absence for 2 months, conditionally I attend the king at Paris. Things heere are in a verry hopefull way, so farre as our designes tend, being terminated within the limits of keeping Mardyke fort, whither I am going least your lordshipp should not speake prophetically, which is the redoubt before Dunkirke mentioned in your lordship's, and there are my quarters, indeede insteade of Chippenham, Dublin or Campes Castle. It is now 14 dayes since I left my dearest, and London, at which time Sir Francis with my lady returned home. Concerning the passages of providence towards me in that affaire, I acknowledge them to be full of mercy, and that none can be more happy in a loveing and faithfull wife than I acknowledge myselfe to be in my dearest Sarah, who is at length come and gone for the present. My lord, I am exceedingly sensible of hard measure towards your excellency, and really if it continues I shall at once abandon all publique emploiments. If the sonnes be smitten what may the servaunts expect? My lord, I am,

Your excellencye's most obliged, faithfull and humble servaunt,

J Reynolds

I have wrote 3 letters to the lord Broghill, but heare not of their reception.

317. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 10 October 1657, 822, fos 210–211.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of the bearer, Sir Joseph Douglas,[359] *who desired to settle in Ireland and had some business there.*

[359]A Scottish royalist, knighted by the king in 1633 at the same time that William Douglas, Earl of Angus, was created first Marquess of Douglas, and probably therefore a kinsman

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318. From Daniel Thomas, Fort Fleetwood, alias the Bridge of Ballymoe, County Galway, 11 October 1657, 822, fos 212–213.

May it please your excellency,

When I did part with your excellency, I did aquainte you that my slaters, that was covering of collonel Richard Coote's[360] house, would by that tyme I should come downe would bee done and come away thence, which I have found soe, and are heere with mee at Belamoe. Soe that, accordinge unto my promise unto your honour, doe present both their and my owne services, whome are reddy to goe unto the quarry neere unto Portomna, or that neere Killalow,[361] where I am informed by all the workemen that well knowe them, that those at Killalow are farr better then the other neere Portomna. But I will goe with them and search them both, and folow youre honour's orders soe soone as I doe or shall understand your pleasure therein, and prevent with expedition the future danger of the house; and that youre excellency bee pleased to order that soe soone as that the slatte bee reddy, then the ferry boates may bringe them home. I will, soe soone as may bee, cause soe many to bee layd neere the chimneys as shall prevent future danger, untill the season bee to compleate the whole.

My lord, alsoe, I have some English sayers of timber at Balamoe, whoe will have within a fortnight's tyme ended theire worke with mee. Sayers, especially English, both in Dublin and all the nation over, are very rare and scarce to bee hadd, that if I showld part with them now this winter, both them and the slaters, I should not have them agayne. Nor could I gett others, they are soe hard to bee hadd. Therefore, if that I might bee soe worthy to know certainly wheather the bridge of Portomna wilbe built or not, (if built) whether of timber or stone it matter not, yett I could imploy them preparinge for it untill a contract bee made. Which a good preparation must bee had this winter in preparing of stones, raizinge and hewinge, fallinge and squaringe of timber, and drawinge them by land, and especially by water whilst water is, and layd by water in a reddynes against the water bee gon, that they may bee laied in water. Soe that if this winter be lost, which for carriadge is better then the sumer, then the summer next wilbe wholy lost in preparinge, and not soe good; and the summer after

of Douglas. He served as an agent and emissary of the Scottish royalist leaders during the later 1640s.

[360]Parliamentarian officer, and younger brother of Sir Charles and Chidley Coote, he fought in Ireland in the 1640s and early 1650s against the Irish Catholic forces and for a time he commanded a regiment of horse in Ireland, disbanded in 1653.

[361]Killaloe, County Clare, lies at the southern end of Lough Derg, Portumna at the northern end.

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may prove wett, that the worke will not bee brought above water that summer, for wee have hadd this and the last sommer very dry, and it is observable that wee may not have two dry summers more.

My lord, the people of the cuntry is soe overjoyed at youre excellency's good intentions for a bridge, that they are exeedinge reddy to answere you in any thinge your honour will desier for the settinge it forward; I doe beeleeve to the makinge of the cauceway crose the meddow from the White castle in the iland[362] unto the high way towards Birr. As I have sayd, if I could bee thought worthy to know youre honour's resolution therein, my sone havinge ended collonel Coote, his house, and beinge come away thence, I would setle him to the finnishinge of Belamoe, and mysealfe and family would speedily setle unto the buissnesse at Portomna. That by this tyme twelve mounth I would, by Gode, His good assistance, be able to give youre excellency a greate and a good an accoumpt. If soe, then I shall bringe with mee many English and good familyes to setle there, which now with mee are aboute to setle in the county of Roscoman; and more with my three sones will folow after mee. And doe then crave that youre lordshipp would bee pleased to furnish mee with Derry iland, and the lands of Lehinch[363] over against the ferry place, which youre lordshippe was pleased when I parted with you to give mee a promise of them. I would take the Derry iland, the custome of the bridge, and all those lands that are ajatient there unto, for mysealfe, my sones and oure familyes, and those that shall setle with us, for which I shall give considderable. Cravinge youre lordshipp's pardon to minde you of youre promise to mee in that behalfe, and youre lordshipp's future favoure on my dependents.

My lord, since youre excellency's beinge here, my beinge absent hence, whilest I waited on you at Portomna and at Dublin, my worke heere hath binn very much delaied and protracted by reason that every man is buildinge, and the Irish workemen are runn away from mee, for since the oath of abjuration[364] is come amoungst them they had rather doe any man's worke than build places of strength, which may subdue and keepe them in obedience, and have skattered themsealves some 10, some 20, some 40 myles from mee. Soe that it is my humble desier that your excellency wilbe pleased, after my many and humble desiers, to

[362]Perhaps the castle that stands a little south of the road running out of Portumna towards Birr, at the north end of an isthmus or small peninsula of low-lying land on the north shore of Lough Derg. On some maps this isthmus is identified as Derry Island, and a second castle, further south and closer to the water's edge, as Derry Castle.

[363]Probably Lehinch/Lahinch, on the west coast of Ireland, in County Clare.

[364]An act passed in June 1657, aimed at discovering and then clamping down upon Popish recusants, required Irish Catholics to take an oath of abjuration, denying the Pope's power, transubstantiation, and the validity of the Roman church.

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send youre orders unto the horse men that are here garrisoned with mee to assist mee in the bringinge them backe that are neere, and bringe others to worke, and houldinge them to the worke for theire pay. I am certaine that none that builds anythinge of quallity that gives soe much wadges as I doe, nor better pay. And alsoe for the better ease of the country and expedition of the worke, that 2 lynes may bee sent unto my lord president,[365] that those foote soldiers that shalbe sent heere may bee such oute of the company as are willinge and have desiered to bee sett unto laboure, which wilbe constant at theire worke and expedition in the same, and a good healpe for theire better mantainance and subsistence – I have some with mee, and might have more if theire officers were sent unto – and alsoe they wilbe redy to secure the place with theire duty as they ought. Not troublinge youre lordshipp from the more waitier afaires; takinge leave to crave youre pardon, and subscribe mysealfe in all dutifull obedience, as in all faithfullnesse shalbe found to bee,

Youre exclencey's most humble and faithfull servant at comand,
Daniell Thomas, senior

319. From Charles Fleetwood, 13 October 1657, 822, fos 216–217.

Deare brother,

It much troubles me that you showld still be disapoynted in the buysnes of Ireland, it not being setled. His Highnes indended as yeasterday to have given some resolution therin, but was prevented by other ocations. I know it must neads prove very inconvenient to your affayres that ther is no settlement. I shall be glade if it wer past. I know ther are many discourses about it, wherin I must have my share. But I have wholly declined my concerning myselfe therin to avoyde suspitions, though when I am called I shall, I hope, give my opinion with honesty and with a due respect to yourselfe. It is a buysnes of weight, and if the Lord gives a union in counsells, that nation will be happy. We have not received the return about the reducment, till which I shall endeavor that nothing be concluded heare. We have noe newes; the Lord continues us in much quietnes. We are labouring what we can to fortefy Mardyke, which surly is of great concerment to us. And if the lord embassedor Lockyer had not playde his part very well, we had bine in great danger of a baffle. But now the French army will remaine by us till that place be fortifyed. Wherin Sir John Reynolds' care and activity will, I hope, put his affayres into such a posture as to give him liberty, for some time, to return to his lady, who

[365]Sir Charles Coote, lord president of Connaught.

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indeade seemes to be a very worthy person, and in whom, I hope, he will have a great blessing. This sommer hath very much weakned the Spanyard, who will hardly be able to get an army considerable, unlesse the empire be setled. The French are to quarter upon the borders of Flanders this yeare. Ther are strong endeavors to draw off all assistance from the Sweeds, and by a conjunction of the Popish interests to engage against the Protestant, which conjunction, if the Lord prevents not, will probably bring us into new troubles. I see no state maks it their buysnes to minde that interest except his Highnes, who hath a heart inlarged with seale for them and a heart fully sensible of their condition. The lownes of our treasury will prevent doing what may be expected from us and in his Highnes' heart to doe. With our humble service to youre deare lady, I am,

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles Fleetwood

320. From Daniell Thomas, Fort Fleetwood, Ballymoe, 14 October 1657, 822, fos 218–219.

May it please your excellency,

Youre servant is wholy and altogether devoted, not in complements to present his service unto your lordshipp, but in harty desier and true reality doth tender himsealfe and services with a serious resolution to performe the same, as it shalbe by God, His grace, apeare unto you from tyme to tyme, constant and faithfull, to serve you carefully to my uttmost abillityes if once imployed. And the more (if intrusted) I cannot but minde your lordshipp, as I did in the other letter, how much overjoyed the cuntry, on both sides of the Shannon, is in hopes of your lordshipp's good intentions concerning the buildinge of the bridge of Portomna. It will not only bee the publique good, but youresealfe cannot but confesse what provabillity of a good improvment there is like to bee on your owne estate on both sides the river, which will suddenly redowne thereby. That in 4 or 5 yeares tyme the improvment will pay for the building if it bee made with stone, which wilbe for ever, and but somethinge more then duble the chardge if it shalbe built with timber, whose defects and decayes will, in some particulars, yearly after apeare. And 2,000 tunns of timber will for ever destroy the woods there, and the dammadge not perceaved if 10 bridges were there to be bee built with stone, but the grownd and land much the better for it. Therefore if I might bee thought worthy, or some other person in the behalfe of the cuntry, as is theire desier, rather then the worke shall not goe on, to petition youre excellency and the councell, as you shall thinke it meete, for the prevaylinge of it, wheather I

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shalbe the undertaker or nott; yett it is 10,000 tymes to bee pittied that soe good a worke should bee necklected for any by ends. My lord, my education and practice, from my youth untill this warr, hath binn with the best of undertakers for buildinges in London; and cann make knowne my former performances before I came thence, as the buildinge of the Inne of Chancery, called Furnifalle Inn, Holborne; South Hampton House, behinde Grey's Inn; the Lord Grey of Warcke in the Charter House yard; the Charter House itsealfe,[366] for 20 yeares together untill the warre; and severall other good buildinges of my owne undertakeinge and performinge. I doe begge of youre lordshipp's pardon, to say that in this nation there is not another that will or cann performe with all abillityes as I shall, cann or will undertake; nor in another nation that cann or will performe in some abillityes, but in all or in any abillityes. They cannot performe better and with more or soe much expedition then mysealfe, for I have built with in 2 yeares' space the castle of Termonberry,[367] this of Belamoe,[368] collonel Rich Coote's and castle Coote,[369] and all at greate distances, which if they had binn together, and that I might bee constant in my buisnes, I would have performed as much more. And lett this my hand come in judgement against mee when I shall not performe in every particular as I have specified. And bee very well assured that, if I shalbe incurraged and finde favoure for the doinge of it, the slattinge of the house, the repairinge of the whole stable inwardly and other things which I know need full to bee done there, they shalbe expeditiously done. And as for the chardge, youre excelency shall not have occasion to take notice thereof. And what I have here specified, or shall here after doe, shee that lieth in my bosome, or any other

[366]All major properties in London, built or rebuilt in the early to mid-seventeenth century. Furnival's Inn, an inn of chancery attached to Lincoln's Inn, on the north side of Holborn, was taken down in 1640 and rebuilt to a design of Inigo Jones; Southampton House, on the east side of Chancery Lane, was built in 1639–1640 on a patch of previously open ground called Southampton Gardens; the Charterhouse, a medieval monastic foundation standing just outside the City of London, was partly demolished and substantially rebuilt in the period after the dissolution, especially after it passed into the Sutton family in the early seventeenth century and was altered to serve as a school, hospital, and chapel; and the adjoining Charterhouse Yard or Square, immediately to the south, contained a number of notable and elite residences by this time, including a property owned by William Grey, first Baron Grey of Warke, parliamentarian politician and briefly a rather ineffective officer in eastern England during the opening year of the civil war, who largely withdrew from public affairs at the approach of the regicide and played no part in national politics during the 1650s.

[367]Termonbarry, in County Roscommon.

[368]Ballymoe, in County Galway.

[369]The seat of the Coote family in County Roscommon, above the River Suck – a late-sixteenth-century fortified house acquired, improved, and strengthened by the Coote family in the opening decades of the seventeenth century.

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person under the sunn shall ever know. Noe, nor my left hand shall know what my right hand doth. Cravinge your lordshipp's asistance in what youre lordshipp shall thinke meete, and two lines in answere to this particular together with your lordshipp's pardon, most humbly subscribinge mysealfe to bee,

Your excelency's most humble and faithfull servant in all dutyfull obedience,

Daniell Thomas, senior

321. From Robert Phaier, Rostelane, County Cork,[370] 15 October 1657, 822, fos 220–221.

My lord,

This is only to accquainte your excellencie that sicknes and windes hindred my returne out of England, within your excellencie's passe. His Highness (at my takeing leave) comaunded his love to be remembered to your excellencie and my ladie, which I make bold to doe in this paper, being not able soe soone to attend you. I intend sudainly for the county of Waxford and Carloe.[371] Theare, heare or any wheare, I am,

Your excellencie's most humble servant to commaund,

Robt Phaire

322. From Edward Whalley, Westminster, 15 October 1657, 822, fos 222–223.

Letter of request, noting that, while the Protector had given his son leave to go to France for a year, the period of leave granted by Henry Cromwell or Fleetwood was for just six months and was therefore about to expire; requests that the leave be extended to a full year, so that his son could remain in France and acquire the language until the following spring.

323. From John Godsnuffe, Kinsale, 16 October 1657, 822, fos 224–225.

Letter of request, recounting how, around 1651, he had married the widow of an officer killed at Drogheda who had lost her estate in Ireland to the native Irish but had preserved the record of arrears due to her late husband – Phaire Becher[372] *– and his debentures; requests that, having spent over £150 moving his family from*

[370] Rostellan, on the east side of Cork harbour and south of Midleton.

[371] Wexford and Carlow.

[372] Parliamentarian officer, though little is known about his military career other than that, in 1648, when he held the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he was appointed an assistant assessment collector in London and was dispatched to deliver letters to Ireland. He

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England to Ireland and now rendered utterly ruined and destitute, he be allotted some poor land at Collonaloing in Baunrish parish, west Carberry, which had not been allotted to the army.

324. From Charles Fleetwood, 20 October 1657, 822, fos 228–229.

Deare brother,

I have received your letter with the abstract of musters, and canot understand what parts of the proposalls you most except against, and shall be very unwilling it showld be don contrary to your judgment. And as to that you mention concerning the revenue of Ireland, it is a great mistake the tythes[373] wer not in the least thought upon to be included, but the 50,000 per annum was of the rest of the revenue in Ireland. Which computation was not of mine, but of others, and from the notes you sent up hither. Therfor I am not to be blamed further then in my endeavoring to let others understand they have overvalued the revenue with you. And though I am for a full maintenance to all who give up themselves to the ministration of the gosple, yet if ther was as certeine a way as this of tithes I own it I showld, in my opinion, think it wer beter then in a way of such controversy. However, in this tithes was not in the least in intended. I am satisfyed in a full maintenance for a gosple ministery, which I think my duty to incourage and preserve, though in the way of tithes I confesse I showld be satisfyed if it could be put into another beter way. I know few of my actions passe without censure, yet from yourselfe I hope for a candid acceptation, and in this buysnes I was farre from such a design. We have don nothing as

presumably perished in the successful Cromwellian attack upon Drogheda in the autumn of 1649.

[373]After 1649, many tithes and other church lands in Ireland were forfeited to the state and the income therefrom became part of the overall state income, out of which state-appointed ministers and schoolmasters in Ireland were to receive salaries from the Irish treasury. In the course of 1657, these accounting procedures were changed and ecclesiastical income was kept separate and not included with the other general sources of income in Ireland – from secular land and property, customs, and excise. The change revealed that no more than half the cost of employing ministers and schoolmasters in Ireland was being covered by ecclesiastical income forfeited to the state and this, in turn, encouraged moves to return to the traditional system of parochial tithes in Ireland, thus reducing the financial burden on the central treasury. Henry Cromwell broadly supported these moves but Fleetwood, holding more radical religious views, was hostile to the traditional tithe system. When a meeting of ministers, convened in Dublin in the spring of 1658, proposed a return to traditional tithes in Ireland, Henry Cromwell supported the plans, writing to Fleetwood to allay his fears and defending the proposal as the best or only way properly to fund ministers already in Ireland and to encourage more ministers to come to Ireland to fill vacancies; he hoped it would 'not be lookt upon as an evil design, thus to settle the ministers, having regard [. . .] to those that do soberly, and not wantonly, scruple that way' (*TSP*, VII, pp. 129–130).

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to the reducment since you cam. Our want of money will put us to great streigh[. . .][374] and our not sooner retrenching the charge will put us unto great necessityes. Since my last, my lord embassador Lockyer is com, by whom we understand a doubtfullnes what the issue of the buysnes of Mardike will be.[375] Though I hope we shall keepe it, the difficulty will be considerable, by reason of the stronge garysons which are on either side of it – Gravlin and Dunkirke. His lordshippe is suddenly to return, who is a very gallant person and hath managed his buysnes very handsomly. Mr Secretary gives you, I doubt not, an account hearof, and I shall not further adde then with what I am,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

325. From Edmund Temple, London, 20 October 1657, 822, fos 230–231.

Letter of apology, reporting that he had outstayed his leave in order to attend his brother, Purbaikes,[376] *who had been dangerously ill, but, in the light of his recovery, he was now making haste to return.*

326. From James Murray, Earl of Annandale,[377] Scone, 22 October 1657, 822, fos 232–233.

Letter of thanks for favours granted over the past year or more, since taking leave of Henry Cromwell in Dublin in 1655; also expresses a hope of visiting Henry Cromwell in Ireland the following summer.

327. From Charles Fleetwood, 26 October 1657, 822, fos 236–237.

Deare brother,

I have not much to wright but know ere this time you will receive a full account of what is intended heare to be don, especially this night

[374] Edge of paper slightly damaged with possible loss of text, though the incomplete word is apparently 'streight' or 'streights'.

[375] Lockhart was carrying news of French proposals to abandon and demolish Mardyke, plans which were strongly opposed by the Protectoral regime and which the French dropped.

[376] Perbeck Temple, who had campaigned in Ireland in the late 1640s, held minor ecclesiastical and financial offices in England in the 1640s and 1650s.

[377] Scottish royalist peer and sometime supporter of Montrose, in 1652–1653 he was one of the Scottish representatives negotiating terms of a possible union with England and, in November 1654, Protector and council wrote to Fleetwood and the Irish council in his support, referring to him as a person of credit and worth and directing that, so that his Irish properties should not suffer, the native Irish tenants on his estates should not be subject to transplantation (Dunlop, p. 456).

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being the concluding time as to the presant buysnes of settlement in Ireland, wherin, as the Lord pleases to make use of you as an instrument of good to the people of God, that will be your crown and glory. And be sure to let that interest you will stand and fall with be that of the people of God, and you will prosper. Your father hearin is an example. I meane it not as to any sort of such men, but as they are considered upon that generall and best account of union with our Lord Jesus. Let nothing prejudice against any of that number. I have hade late discourse with Allen and Vernon, who report very much your candidnes and favor towards them. I confesse I have found something as I thought of tartnes to myselfe, but I am sure they seeme very gratefull to you; and in that, I desire to rejoyce to finde your tendernes to good men, and though weaknes may appeare in some, yet to forbeare in that wherin publick prejudice is not, I think, that kind of tendernes will not return with losse to any who show it. I have nothing considerable to trouble you with, more then what you will have from another hand, only I think fit to let you know that the enimy, the cavileire, is at worke and their design very generall. The more carefull your men the better. The Secretary will give you a more full advertisment hearof, but I am sure this hint will be sufficient to put you upon the strictest orders to be carefull of their duty; which is all at presant from,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

328. From the Commissioners[378] of Loughrea, Loughrea, [County Galway], 26 October 1657, 822, fos 238–239.

May it please your excellency,

Wee have now disposed of all the landes which wee were authorized to give out, although we could not soe farre finish that worke within the tyme limited by the councell, but that wee were necessitated to signe many orders since the expiration of our commission for possession of land sett out before. The transcription and perfecting of the bookes (for such use as your excellencie and the state shall direct), according to the former intimation of the councell, will take up some tyme, wherein wee cannot avoid the imploying of the clarkes, although we have no expresse warrant to incourage their attendance, which wee held it our duty to acquaint your excellency with. Humbly

[378]Commissioners, originally appointed in January 1654, for setting out land in Connaught and Clare for the native Irish and others who had been transplanted there (Dunlop, pp. 387–389, 521–523, 544, 571–572, 608–609).

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expecting the signification of your lordshipp's further pleasure, wee are,

Your excellency's most humble servants,

Hen Greneway Will Edwards Char Holcroft

329. From Richard Hampden and William Barton, London, 27 October 1657, 822, fos 240–241.

May it please your excellency,

The reduceing of that brutish part of Monaghan (which wee have taken) into a compleate English plantation emboldens us to become your most humble suitors, that wee may be admitted tennants to those nineteene tates[379] of land mentioned in a petition, a copy whereof wee have presumed herein to inclose. We shalbe willing to improve the rent for the benefit of the publique. And if wee may be admitted tennants, it will preserve our owne just right, vizt, the fee farme rent which is unjustly detained, and wee feare is not to be obteyned without a suite in law, which to us at this distance would be very prejudiciall. Wee have sent the petition to colonell Tomlinson, who wee hope will present it to the right honourable the councell. Wee dare not farther trouble your honour, only are bold to subscribe ourselves,

Your excellencie's most humble and oblidged servants,

Richard Hampden William Barton

330. From Thomas Harrison, Dublin, 27 October 1657, 822, fos 242–243.

May it please your excellencie,

The same good God who hath in mercy gone along with your excellency hath also afforded His gracious presence to your family in their remove to their winter quarters.[380] My lady and the little ones are well and chearfull. We have yet no pacquet from England, through the want of a boate on the other side. Do what I can, I still finde myselfe like a weather-glasse, suffering my spirit, hopes and joyes to rise or fall according to the aire of newes and intelligence. Though I know it were an advantage as great as the duty to have our hopes (like the life of the saints) hid with God in Christ, sometimes I am troubled to see things coming on a little, and then seming to go as

[379]Tate: a measure of land in Ireland, equal to sixty Irish acres.

[380]The Cromwell family generally spent the summer at Phoenix House outside the city, returning to Cork House in Dublin for the rest of the year. Henry Cromwell was clearly still on his late summer and early autumn tour of Ireland, since this letter was addressed to him at Kilkenny.

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farre backe againe. But I remember that I have bene upon the shore at low-water, observing the coming in of the tyde, and I have sene a little wave creeping forward, and then as fast and as farre retreating presently, and so another and another, so that I could not thinke the flood did at all increase, but upon setting a marke or standing neare the wash of the waves it was easy to see and feele that it was flowing water, and ere long insensibly it would be full sea. Thus it is with us in spiritualls; thus in temporalls.

I begge your lordship's pardon for this trouble, and am encouraged to hope for it because none can more fervently wish well to your lordship's person, and therin to the publique, then,

Your excellencie's most faithfull, poore servant,

Tho Harrison

331. From John Gorges,[381] Taunton, October 1657, 822, fos 244–245.

May it please your excellencie,

Your unvalluable favoures have soe perpetually ingaged my harte to your service that I professe I want expression to demonstrate my thainkefullnes and my syncere devotions to your comaunds. But truly, my lord, what I want in outard declaration I make up in most cordiall affection, and my weake braines are dayly, nay I may truly say howerly, contrivinge how I may give a testimony thereof. And that I may tender your lordshipp som account of my endeavours this way, I shall presume to acquaint you that I have presented the condition of Irland for want of godly ministers to the association of ministers in this county, att theire generall meetinge, where I informed them how much glory to God, and good to His church, one able, godly and discreet minester might bringe, havinge such countinance and incouragment from your lordshipp, which I assured was generally to all truly godly minesters given by you. The discourse I had with them and the arguments I used are too many to trouble your lordship with, but I hope the Lord will soe order thinges that I shall obtayne that favoure from them as to send you over as godly, learned, wise and moderate a divine as most in England, and as fitt for the worke of God in Dublin as any man. He hath bine the maine instrument in a very prudent manner to joyne the ministry of this county in such a firme bond of union that the name of Presbiteriane or Independant are not mentioned here.

[381] Parliamentarian politician and officer, probably a kinsman of Thomas Gorges, Henry Cromwell's secretary. He sat in all three Protectorate parliaments, in the first two for his native Taunton and Somerset, but in 1659 for an Irish seat – Counties Londonderry, Donegal, and Tyrone – by which time he was also lieutenant-colonel of Henry Cromwell's foot regiment in Ireland.

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But I shall say noe more of his worth, but assure your lordship that if I either know your lordship or him, he is as highly qualified for your worke as can be imagined. I did perceive all the minesters att that meetinge soe senseable of your want, and soe expressive joyfull for your pious endeavoure, that I am sure hath bine since the occation of much prayer and many prayers to God. Wherefore I hope I need not doubt but this worthy devin will accompany mee to waite on your excellencie. For I must professe in this busines I playnly saw that text fullfilled: them that honor Mee, I will honor. For certaynly, my lord, if the effectuall fervent prayer of one rightious man avayleth soe much, your lordshipp will be incouraged on the consideration of thos many that I am confident are dayly put up for you: that God would carry you through thos great and waighty affaires that lies on you tendinge soe much to His glory. I shall attempt other asossiations of thes westerne parts, and shall give your excellencie an account of my proseedinges. But I now beginninge to blush at my tediousnes, and therefore cravinge pardon I humbly rest,

Your excellency's most humble, faythfull and cordiall servant,
Jo Gorges

I have incloased presented your lordshipp with the Somersett association, with theire adresse to his Highnes. I have allsoe sent coppyes of the same to the Scots minesters about Derry.

332. From John Reynolds, 2/12 November 1657, 822, fos 268–269.

May it please your excellency,

I cannot omit to acquaint your lordshipp with the late providence of God towards this place, into which I put myselfe for the mainetenance of his Highnes' interest therein.[382] It pleased the Lord to disappoint the enemy in his late attempt, wherein they lost severall officers of quality. The lord of Ormond had his horse killed under him by a greate shot. They threaten another assault, but our hope is that He who hath delivered us will farther owne His owne worke. In a little skermish neere this fort there was killed, by an English musketeir, Don Fernand Solis' brother, a considerable Spaniard. Our workes are in some forwardnes, and I trust the Lord will enable us to finish them contrary to the expectations of England or France. The latter councelled the demolishing it. My humble suite is that this garrison may not be made my prison this winter, but that I may leave it in a terible posture under the command of major-general Morgan or some other fit person, and have admission to attend your lordshipp in

[382]Under pressure from the Protector, Reynolds had accepted command of Mardyke.

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Ireland. If this be denied I shall be enforced, like the rest of my fellow vagrants of this world, to returne to the place from whence I came, viz, Castle Campes, being the place of my birth. But I am neither willing to decline his Highnes' nor your lordship's services unlesse necessity requireth, being however resolved not to leave my wife to command Mardyke. I remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most obliged, faithfull and humble servaunt,
J Reynolds

333. From Charles Fleetwood, 3 November 1657, 822, fos 246–247.

Deare brother,

I shall still continue the freedom of that expression, notwithstanding what additionall honor the providence of God hath cast upon you in your being made deputy of Ireland, wherin I desire the Lord may still own you and make you a choyce instrument of much good to that nation, and especially to be as a nursing father to the people of God, your tenderness to whom the more you exercise it and as to such, the greater will be your mercy and that will return with a double blessing into your bosom. Your pattent and the counsell's instructions will suddenly be sent. The Lord unite your counsells and make you as a terror to evill doers and a prayse to them that doe well. I must desire you will please not to dispose of my 2 regiments. His Highnes, I presume, will have me continue the same for some reasons not so fitt for paper. I know you are constantly supplyed with all things from hence by another hand, and therfor shall only conclude with what I am,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

I must intreat your forbearance of Mr Clarke for som time.

334. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 3 November 1657, 822, fos 248–249.

Letter of recommendation, reporting that Protector and council had repeated their earlier order of 1656 (not at that time implemented by Henry Cromwell and the Irish council), and, in line with a bill considered but not completed by the second Protectorate parliament, they had directed that Major Walters[383] *be allocated land in Connaught or elsewhere in Ireland to satisfy his debt of £5,638 2s 3d incurred*

[383]George Walters, parliamentarian officer, was awarded land in County Cork and worked to establish an English settlement at Bantry (Dunlop, p. 366).

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in public service, including the transportation of Irish recruits to serve in the Spanish army on the continent; since Walters had been pursuing this matter for two and a half years and since he and his family were now heavily in debt, land should speedily be provided for him and also some employment, so that Walters might be encouraged to carry over English families to settle in Ireland.

335. From Thomas Harrison, Dublin, 3 November 1657, 822, fos 250–251.

May it please your excellency,

I returne my most humble and hearty aknowledgments for the favour of your lordship's last letter. My lady hath of late bene somewhat indisposed by a cold, but (through mercy) recovers her freedome from it againe. My little lord[384] begins to stand better then ever, and little madam's[385] pleasant wit is the mirth and delight both of the family and strangers. About Thursday last[386] I was told that a gentleman came from Chester (when there wanted a boate to bring the pacquet), who affirmed that he came directly from London and that he was assured the settlement of Ireland had passed the councill, and that it was discussed there what the title should be and was fixed by one voice, but whether lord leiutenant or lord deputy was kept private.

I hope this pacquet, which we expect hourely, may put an end to these surmisings and suspenses; and though your lordship as to your owne particular may be but little (and desirous to be lesse) carefull about these things, yet the great concernment of the publique lying herein, God hath made it the duty of your place and condition to be concerned in it. I have often resembled the settlement of this nation to Daniell's vision, whereof the Holy Ghost saith that the thinge was true, but the time appointed was long (chapter 10: 1); and methinkes God still saith to us as to Israell of old (Isiah 7: 9): If ye will not beleive, surely ye shall not be established. God will never trust that which distrusts Him, I meane unbeleife. Tis good indeed often to sitt downe, to commune with our owne hearts, and to prepare for the worst, but still we must honour our good God by beleiving and waiting for the best. We say we doubt not His power, and we have as little reason to doubt His will. He whome God hath already received, on whome His love hath broken forth, how weake soever, shall be holden up, because God is able to make him stand (Romans 14: 1, 3, 4), and faith may and must be acted as well for temporalls as for spiritualls, according to

[384]Henry Cromwell's son Oliver, born in 1656.
[385]Henry Cromwell's daughter Elizabeth, born in 1654, before he went to Ireland.
[386]29 October.

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the generall grounds and incouragements in the scripture. That God is at hand, not to punish but heale our unbeleife by the convincing evidence of His fatherly care and love, is the fervent expectation of,

Your excellencie's poore servant,
Tho Harrison

My lady even now commands me to assure your lordship (with the tender of her love) that nothing but a cold hinders her ladyship from answering your lordship's letter. The pacquet is come this evening, but nothing with it publikely to put an end to our waitings.

336. From T. Billingsley, Whitehall, 7 November 1657, 822, fos 254–255.

Letter of request on behalf of his unnamed brother, reminding Henry Cromwell of an earlier order from the Protector that his brother be given employment in the service of the state.

337. From Henry Ingoldsby, Limerick, 7 November 1657, 822, fos 256–257.

My lord,

Yeasterday I received your commands that the forces in this precinct should bee putt uppon a watchfull posture and guard, which to the uttmost off my power I shall endeavor to effect and neglect nothinge off care to prevent all mischeivouse designes and attempts in these parts. But in order theareunto I must earnestly entreate that some course bee taken to supplye mee with one hundred pound contingent mony for the repayre off our severall cittadells, mountinge the gunns, provideinge lodgeings for the souldiers in them, and for severall other uses that I shall have necessary occations to disburse mony about. Tis counted indiscretion in a cuntriman to loose a sheepe for a halfe penny worth off tar. I hope those that steere the affayres off this nation will use theare thrift on a better account. I am sure itt concernes your lordshipp to prevent nigardly humors in such cases. The sooner I am answeared in these desiers, the sooner and surer expectations may bee answeared, thearefore I hope your lordship will speedily remember to order the supply that is heare sollicited for by, my lord,

Your excelency'se most firmely affectionate, humble servant,
H Ingoldesby

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338. From George Monck, Dalkeith, 7 November 1657, 822, fos 258–259.

I have had intimation latelie of the vacancie of the clarke of the pels place[387] in Ireland by the death of that ingenious gentleman, Mr Cary, that has putt a great distresse uppon his wife and children, which is the occasion of the addresse I make att this time to your excellencie, to intreate you to bestowe that place uppon this bearer, Henry Monck,[388] a kinsman of mine, who is fatherlesse and one uppon whose familie the calamities of Ireland have had a great influence. But I shall nott desire your excellencie's favour in his behalf butt uppon condition that hee allow the salary of the office to the widdow for her support and content himself with such profitte as shall arise by the execution of itt, nor should I att this distance interpose in a businesse of this nature if I were nott well assured of his abilities and honesty, a character whereof your excellency may have of him from many in Dublin, besides my relation of him, for which I desire your excellencie's pardon to, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble servant,
George Monck

339. From William Penn,[389] Macroom, County Cork, 9 November 1657, 822, fos 260–261.

May it please your excellency,

Haveinge received information that your excellency hath beene pleased to appoynt commissioners for setting his Highness his lands in those parts for some tearme of yeares, and for as much as seaverall parcells thereof are not onely contigious but (as I may say) interwoven with those (of that little interest) I have at Macrompe and Killcrea,[390] which should they bee lett unto any other would certainely bee my very great inconvenience and probably my discomfort, the prevention

[387]In the Irish exchequer.

[388]Parliamentarian officer and nephew of George Monck, by 1658 he was a cornet in Henry Cromwell's horse regiment in Ireland.

[389]Parliamentarian naval officer and admiral, in the mid- and late 1640s he campaigned mainly in and around the Irish Sea, with the title vice-admiral of Ireland, and from 1650 further afield, with a distinguished record in the Anglo-Dutch War. Loyal to the Protectoral regime, he had joint command of the 1654–1655 expedition to the West Indies. Following the initial failure of that expedition and his disgrace and the resignation of his commission in the autumn of 1655, he retired to Ireland. In 1644, he had married the widow of a Dutchman with property in County Clare and, in the early 1650s, he was allocated further Irish land in lieu of his wife's losses during the Irish rebellion. At this stage his main seat was at Macroom in County Cork.

[390]Kilcrea, County Cork.

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whereof, with the hopes I have to tennant them with English (for which a former foundation hath beene layd) is the great advantage that I doe eye, for the obtayneinge whereof is heerewith very humbly presented the prayer of,

Your excellency's most faithfull and ever obedient servant,
Wm Penn

340. From Francis Bacon, Whitehall, 10 November 1657, 822, fos 262–263.

Right honourable,

Attending lately upon his Highnes, according to the dutye of my place,[391] I receyved directions for a new title to be added to your lordship of lorde deputye. How welcome the newes was to your lordship I know not, but I am suer it was very acceptable to the best affected heere, I meane the best affected to your lordship and the best affected to the peace of this nation and the setlement of this government, and to none more then to myselfe. For indeede, my lorde, your government is often represented heere and spoken of as wholye leading to the advancement of lerning, religion and government, which makes me whoe have ever bin in a greate part your lordship's now to be wholye yours. And I make it my humble sute to your lordship that you wold reckon me in the number of your faythfull servants amongst those that attend at Whitehall, in the number of which none shalbe more redy to obey your comands then, my lord,

Your most humble servant,
Fr Bacon

341. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 10 November 1657, 822, fos 264–265.

Deare brother,

I presume your being at Killkenny was the occation of this week's silence. Your pattent and instructions will, I hope, be sent you this weeke. The instructions are much the same as formerly. If you finde any defect in them, or the desire of an additionall supply, we shall readily grant the same, so farre as we have power. Your affayres have bine, I beleive, much put backwards by your want of settlement, wherin I have not bine guilty. But it being now setled so much to satisfaction will, I hope, alleviat the former omission. We have nothing of moment

[391] As master of requests.

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to trouble you with, only our old enimyes are hard at worke, but through the timeous[392] discovery, I trust, will soone be prevent befor the hazard and danger appeares. Only they show their good wills, which I think we must never expect better. The Lord keepe us close to Himselfe, that we may not by any provocations of ours cause Him to withdraw, and we are well ynough. I suppose you heare of my lady Marye's marriage to my lord Faulkonbridg, which is now concluded on.[393] My lady Frances is tomorrow marryed.[394] The Lord grant that by this addition ther may be sutable blessings to the whole family; which that it may is the desires of,

Your most affectionate brother and most humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

I beseach you cleare me in one thing which you know I am not guilty of, but am blamed by major Walker[395] as one who hath hinderd his preferment to be leiutenant-collonel to collonel Sadler. You know I never writt one word of it unto. My portion is much to suffer on all hands.

342. From Henry Greenway,[396] Loughrea, [County Galway], 12 November 1657, 822, fos 266–267.

May it please your excellency,

I thinke it my dutye to acquaint your excellency concerning the Irish in this province, who behave themselves very strangely towards us of the English on a sudden. They are growen very reserved in their discourse, and when they speake it savors much of discontent. Wee conceive they are much trobled about the oath which is to bee imposed upon them. Neither are they spareing to declare the cause, for in open sessions held lately in this place they declared that they would never take the said oath, but that they would loose all that they had first. I cannot heare of one person that is inclineing to it, soe powerfull are their preists amongst them to perswade them to the contrary. Here are many preists questionles in this province, and soe long as they can escape (when they are taken) with ymprisonment or banishment, they will not forbeare comeing into and resideing within this nation. There were good lawes formerly in force in England against preists

[392]Timeous: coming in due time; suitable or proper in respect of time.

[393]Mary Cromwell married Lord Fauconberg at Hampton Court on 19 November.

[394]Frances Cromwell married Robert Rich at Whitehall on 11 November.

[395]William Walker, parliamentarian officer, held this rank in Sadleir's regiment by 1659.

[396]Administrator in Ireland during the 1650s, in January 1654 he was appointed a commissioner for the allocation of land in Connaught to the transplanted native Irish and in due course he acquired property for himself in Connaught.

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(especially in Queene Elizabeth's reigne) where it was treason for any preist to reside within the nation. Twas alsoe treason for any person to receive a bull or any autority from the Pope, or for any person whatsoever to perswade another to be a Papist. Now if those lawes were in force in Ireland the preists would presently withdraw themselves. And this would bee a meanes to procure obedience from this obstinate and perverse generation, who are soe hard to be brought into subjection to the English goverment, and to follow the English fashion and manners, that it is even as hatefull as death itselfe unto them. All which wee find by dayly experience that are magistrates and live amongst them. Another thing is humbly offered unto your excellency, that is concerning the saftetye of this towne of Loughreah,[397] which lyeth open, the walls being broken downe in many places, the gates whereof are not att all shutt in the night. Soe that if the Irish should attempt anything in these parts they might easily sett fire of our office and soe burne and spoyle all the records that concernes the transplantation. The generall greivance of the Irish is not the transplantation, for now they account sending into Conought and looseing their estates nothing in comparison of this oath, but yet they seeme to have some hopes by sending an agent into England to his Highnes and the parliament to suspend the oath. Thus craveing pardon for this boldnes in giving your excellency this short relation; humbly leaveing it to your excellence's consideration; committing you and yours to Him that is able to keepe you from the traps and snares of this wicked world; I take leave and rest,

Your excellense's most devoted and affectionate servant,
Hen Greneway

343. From Jane Fowke, 13 November 1657, 822, fos 270–271.

Right honourable,

I humbly returne you thankes (the poore widdowe's mite) for your remembrance of my deceased sonne in your ownings and actings for my grandchild. It was a greate presumption in the deceased person to tender what hee did. It is a far greater condescention in your honour to imbrace the tender.

My grandchild informes mee that you inquired whether I were in Dublin. My lord, I left freindes and cuntrie to enjoy my sonn, and nowe, being full of dayes, humblie desire that I may end them where hee left mee, and I knowe with that intent. As for the disposall of my grandchild, though his companie bee verie desireable in mine old age

[397] In County Galway, roughly midway between Portumna and Galway town.

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(and I am informed by some that hee is fitter for a countrie life then otherwise), yet your and our noble freinds' better judgments muste bee submitted unto. My lord, an ould freind of my sonn's and mine explaines to mee, by an expresse from major Aston,[398] that there is order for sale of my sonn's goods att Chester, for discharge of funerall expences. I have the inventorie, and findinge the greatest part of the goods either to have beene used, or intended to bee used as apparell, which cannot bee sold att Chester butt at inconsiderable values, and not without much disparagement to the deceased person and his survivinge freindes, never anie of his kindred that I have heard of havinge had theirs sold uppon such account, I humblie begg that that order may bee altered, and some other course thought uppon (though to our greater prejudice) for the discharge of that debte. My lord, my sonn being a person whoe would have ventured life and fortune in and for your service makes mee thus bold, for which pardon beinge craved, I render myself,

Your honour's moste humble servant,

Jane Fowke

If your honour bee pleased to demand of Mr Adshed of Simon's Court, hee can sufficientlie informe you of our present condition att Ardee.

344. From James Sharland to the Irish Council, from on board the Kinsale frigate in Kinsale harbour, 13 November 1657, 822, fos 252–253.

Letter of enquiry, stating that he had sailed from Plymouth and now put into Kinsale harbour, to shelter from the weather, with fifteen days' provisions on board; asking whether he should come to Dublin to wait on Henry Cromwell or put to sea to give convoy to and protect six merchant vessels now at Kinsale bound for Bristol and the west of England.

[398]Probably William Aston, parliamentarian officer, who was major in Anthony Hungerford's foot regiment serving in Ireland from the late 1640s. This may suggest that the deceased man was a kinsman of the John Fowke, parliamentarian officer and politician, and MP for Counties Meath and Louth in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, who served alongside Aston as an officer in Hungerford's regiment in England and Ireland in the mid- and late 1640s. The deceased was certainly neither John Fowke himself (as he remained active in Ireland up to and beyond the Restoration) nor a brother of his, since John Fowke's mother was called Patience. In part, this note draws upon an unpublished article on John Fowke of Drogheda, County Louth, written by Dr Patrick Little for the 1640–1660 section of the History of Parliament. I am grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see this article in draft.

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345. From Henry Lawrence, Whitehall, 17 November 1657, 822, fos 272–273.

My lord,

The counsell were this day enformed that a committee of themselves, to whom it is referred to consider how the publique charge of the commonwealth may be apportioned to the publique income of revenew, have heretofore sent your lordship some proposalls about the retrenching of some of the forces in Ireland, and have thereupon thought fitt hereby to desire your lordship to conforme to the wayes and proportions mentioned in the said proposall for retrenchment of some part of the said forces; or in case your lordship shall see cause to vary in your opinion from any of the rules thereby offered, then your lordship is desired to represent the same to the counsell, with your reasons.

Signed in the name and by order of his Highnes and the counsell,

He Lawrence, president[399]

346. From Charles Fleetwood, 18 November 1657, 822, fos 274–275.

Deare brother,

This bearer will bring you the pattent and instructions,[400] whearin I desire the Lord may appeare in owning of you and make you an eminent instrument of much good to that poore nation and His people in it. My time hath bine much prevented this day by an extraordinary occasion, which makes me lesse in a condition of wrighting what otherwise I might. Only shall acquaint you that the paper, which I sent you in order to a reducment, the counsell hath orderd a letter for the observing of what by me cam from the committee, so farre as

[399]Some rough notes have been jotted on the back of this letter, arranged as points numbered 1–5 and 7–8 (there is no 6), apparently thoughts by Henry Cromwell and/or the Irish council on how to respond to the English government's request to reduce the number of soldiers serving in Ireland:

'1st. Lookeing upon them were to be rather matters under consultation then of resolution

'2. Upon so slender a warrant as these unsigned papers were

'3. I received from other hands given in the late instruction received from your lordshipps the sum for our future maintenance for the safety of this place. If their bee anything in the noise about the caveleers stiring in England, withall considering the great distruction here occasioned by the oath of abjuration

'4. Disbandeing in 55

'5. So often does the postur of affaires change, that which was offered 3 m since may now require a new consideration

'7. Meddles with retrenchment, such matters from your lordshipps

'8. To object against them'

[400]The patent and instructions (Abbott, IV, pp. 665–667; Dunlop, pp. 672–673) were carried to Dublin by George Walters (*TSP*, VI, p. 628).

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you are satisfyed in the reason of it; but whearin you differ from us you have a liberty left to make what proposalls you please in order to a better way of lessening the publick charge, which our necessityes inforce unto, the horse heare being 18 weekes in arreare and the foote 14 weekes, which you know canot but be a great inconveniency to us, the army not being suffered to live upon free quarter, but the officers are forced to ingage for their men and I doubt their credit is neare spent. And besids all this we are in want of £60,000 for the paying off our fleet, which we call in, and have no mony to defray thes charges; as allso the necessity that we shall be forced to run into by reason that our taxes will litle more then halfe reach our monthly charge. All of which I mention that you may rightly understand our condition, and endeavor the lessening of your charge so farre as may stand with safety, which at this time requires consideration, the common enimy being so hard at worke to make disturbance, which surly the Lord hath showed great mercy in its timely discovery, and will, I hope, be prevented in its consequence, though they are very confydent. Their disapoyntment will be our mercy; which that we may have hearts to wait upon the Lord for is the desire of,

Your most affectionate brother.

I shall beseach you that the place which I conferred upon alderman Preston[401] and Mr Allden may be now setled by you, which had bine don sooner but that Mr Scudamore was not provided for as intended; but now, I think, they are reasonable[402] well satisfyed. He showld be the 3d person for Ulster.

My lady Mary is to be marryed upon Thursday next.

347. From Richard Stephens,[403] Grange,[404] 18 November 1657, 822, fos 276–277.

Letter of request, asking that he be considered for service in the unit of 500 horse that the Protector had ordered to be selected from the army in Ireland for service in Flanders; sees service in Ireland and Flanders as equally godly, helping to destroy the power of Rome and the antichrist and enlarging the kingdom of God.

[401]John Preston, a prominent alderman of Dublin, who also served a term as mayor during the 1650s, had settled in Ireland in the late 1640s. A member of Winter's Independent group and a strong Cromwellian, he acquired substantial property and commercial interests in Ireland.

[402]Apparently a slip for 'reasonably'.

[403]Possibly the parliamentarian officer who, in January 1654, as a lieutenant-colonel, was appointed a commissioner for allocating land to the soldiers in County Kilkenny. The identification is unclear because there was an officer of that name who, by 1657, was serving as a major in Edward Doyley's foot regiment in the West Indies and so clearly cannot have been the author of this letter.

[404]A common place name in Ireland as in England.

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348. From R. Preston, Athy, County Kildare, 23 November 1657, 822, fos 278–279.

May it please your excellency,

I have conferred with the soveraigne and others of this corporation touching this gentleman[405] and doe finde them soe sensible of your excellency's favour and care of them that they doe in all humility returne theire hearty thanks and they doubt not but (upon your excellency's recommendation) he is a person fitly quallified to discharg that great worke. But yet for the confirmation of theire judgments they humbly intreat that he may come hither againe to dispence his guifts for theire further satisfaction that they may with more maturity give their approbation to what they earnestly desire, which at present is all the account which can be given by, my lord, your excellency's most humble servant,

R Preston

349. From Martin Noell, London, 24 November 1657, 822, fos 280–281.

Letter of courtesy, praising Henry Cromwell and his record in Ireland, especially now that he had been raised to higher office in Ireland; and of request, reminding Henry Cromwell of the business that he had already put before him and about which both the Protector and Richard Cromwell had written letters of support; asks that captain Arthur and Mr Booth be admitted to confer with Henry Cromwell about his business.

350. From Robert Saunders, Youghal, 28 November 1657, 822, fos 282–283.

May it please your excellency,

Your excellency may remember that when I had the faviour of waytinge upon you att Dublin, I acquaynted your lordshipp that I had two letters from his Highness directed to your lordship and counsell for a lease of Ballindtor lands; butt I could not then present them because there was no counsell sittinge, only your lordshipp was pleased to promise to be my fren[. . .][406] in that behalfe.

[405]Possibly James Mace, who, in 1657, was listed as the salaried minister at Athy and Kilcullen, County Kildare.

[406]Paper slightly damaged with minor loss of text, though the incomplete word is apparently 'frend'.

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And now, if your lordshipp stand not by me, I shall be putt outt of it by the lord of Broughall. I have bin a longe tyme designed agaynst by the cavalears of this county, and now theye have an opportunity to discover themselves, by prevaylinge with the lord of Broughall, to take from me the castell of Ballindtor with all the choyce lands thereto belonginge, notwithstanding I have had posession of it this seaven yeres. And this night the lord of Broughall tould me that he was resolvd uppon it, allthough his orders runs butt for two thousand plantation acars contigous to Ballamaloo,[407] which is as choyece a seate as Ballindtor; butt out of a designe to disposesse me, he takes butt halfe a plow land of Ballamaloo and coms with a narrow lane (it beinge three myles distance from Ballindtor) and takes in Ballindtor with all the choyce lands, the rest beinge butt of littell worth. This designe will not only be ruenous to me butt prejuditiall to the commonwelth, as also crosing his Highness' intended favour towards me, which your lordshipp will see to be very great att the perusall of the letters, it beinge granted me sence the parlament. I humbly intreate your lordshipp to owne my case herein, and if anythinge of this nature coms before your lordshipp and counsell, that your lordship would be pleased to stand my frend, for I have no other place in the country to remove my family and stock upon. The lord of Broughall tould me that he could take his proportion of land wherr it might be more adventagious for himselfe, only he pretened that it was not for his health, which is his only argument, which I humbly supposs will not be judged of wayt to com in competition with my undoeing.

I humbly conseave it may be prevented if your lordshipp please (in my behalfe) to request the lord Broughall to alter his course upon the formentioned grounds. I humbly intreat your lordshipp to excuse this, my great bouldness. I take leave to remayne,

Your excelency's faythfull, humble servant,

Ro Saunders

[407]Under legislation passed by the second Protectorate parliament in the summer of 1657, Broghill's precarious financial position was alleviated by a grant of £1,000-worth of forfeited land and an additional 2,000 acres in County Cork. This included the estate and house of Ballymaloe, a seventeenth-century mansion incorporating parts of a medieval castle, in south-east County Cork, roughly halfway between the town of Midleton and the coast at Ballycotton Bay.

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351. From Thomas Belasyse, Viscount Fauconberg,[408] Whitehall, 30 November 1657, 822, fos 284–285.

My lord,

I am now humbly to entreate your pardon for not being more diligent in the tender of my service to your lordshipp, as well in respect of that immerited honor I was lately by his Highnesse's favour assumed to (in promoteing mee to the neerest degree of alliance with your lordshipp's famuly) as the reall vallue and esteeme I ever had for that personall merritt your lordshipp has so highly evidenced to all the world, boath which considerations thus happily united become a stricter tye upon me to employ what remaynes of my lyfe without the least reservation in your lordshipp's service, as becomes, my lord,

Your lordshipp's most reall, faithfull and obedient servant,
Fauconberg

352. From Mary Belasyse, Viscountess Fauconberg, Whitehall, 1 December 1657, 822, fos 286–287.

Dear brother,

I am in such a condision at present that I know not what to say for myself in that I have neglected making you aqueinted with my grat consern, which truly, dear brother, was not for want of that due sens I hav of your kindnes to me, but the love I hav her. In us you must neds excus, it being so sudenly concluded, as this busnes hath, has put me into so grat a confusion as that truly I could not tel how nor what to writ to any frend; and giv me lev to asur you, as you ar the person that I value abov any of my frinds, so also you ar the ferst that I hav writen to sens this afaer of min was known to me. You hav a great deal of resoon, I must confes, to think I ded not put that esetem upon you which I ought, if the sudenes of my maareg ded not spek for me, and therfor shal be selent, knowing you canot but pardon me, who I am sur hath as grat a respect for you as any of your relations; and gev me leav to tel you that my lord has as grat an estem also, and I wil asur

[408]Although from a royalist family – his grandfather, from whom he inherited the title in 1653, had fled to the continent after the battle of Marston Moor and converted to Catholicism – Fauconberg/Falconbridge convinced the Protector of his political and religious loyalty and won favour both before and after his marriage into the Cromwell family. He succeeded Lambert as commander of a horse regiment and, in the winter of 1657–1658, was nominated to and sat in the new second parliamentary chamber, one of the few members of the traditional nobility willing to do so. In 1658, he was also employed as ambassador extraordinary to France.

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you, if ocation serv, you wil find him as mouh your frind and servant as I am, which you canot but be asurd is thus, which is frely yours, dear brother. As you hav a kindnes for me, let my consern for my lord beg also the sam for him, who I am asuurd if you knew – you ar a person of that understanding and worth – you nedd not my intretyes for it; and I hop Him which gives us an asurans of al things will let you se how much he merits the kindnes of al my relations, one in pertecular, yourself, who I can asur you he hath a pertecular kindnes for. I hop that God that hath by His provedens broat him and I into this near relation, and bles us and kep us in His own fear, that we shal not er but walk in the way He shal tech us. Dear brother, the grat thing that I hav to beg of you is your prayers for us, that God wil bles us and tech us our duty to ech other, so that we may live in lov and serv Him with our hart. I canot but hop God hath given me this as a blessing, in that He has ben peleased to despos of my hart so as that I have ben obedgent to my parents. In earnest, dear brother, he is a sober person, and on that desires after the best things, and God hath geven him a larg portion in the knowledg of them. The Lord mak him senseble of the improvement that his is to mak of so grat a talent, which I canot but hop that he wil. I shal beg your pardon for this troble, which I hav geven you, and belev that ther is non mor your afectionat sester and sarvant then,

M Foulconbridge

Dear brother, beg my pardon of my sester for not writing to her this post, and bee pleased to let her know that I intend next wek, if poseble I can, to gev her a pertecular account of this buisnes. I was maryed on Thursday next com fortneight, and truly, dear brother, to a person that hath a greater kindnes to me then ever I could and have expected. The Lord contenue it.

353. From William Lockhart, Paris, 1 December 1657, 822, fos 288–289.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of an unnamed brother,[409] *who had gone to Ireland to take up a grant made to him by the Protector.*

[409]Probably John Lockhart, parliamentarian politician, who sat for a Scottish seat in the second Protectorate parliament and who, upon the recommendation of the Protector to Henry Cromwell and the Irish council, was, in December 1657, admitted to the lease of a townhouse in Armagh and of nearly 2,500 acres of land in County Armagh (Dunlop, pp. 681–682).

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354. From Robert Shapcote,[410] 1 December 1657, 822, fos 290–291.

May it please your excellency,

Beinge informed by Dr Gorges that you are pleased to have me in your thoughts as for my beinge in Ireland, and particularly as to the solicitor's place, soe I cannot but with all humble thankefallnesse accept of your favour and doe account it a very great happinesse that there is an opportunity given unto me wherby I may more really serve your excellency then hitherto I have bene capable off. Did not the meetinge of the parliament command my attendance here, beinge an unworthy member thereof, I should forthwith attend your commands, but this I hope will begge your excellency's excuse for some time, untill the end of the parliament; that beinge done, I shall make all possible speede to give my attendance and wayte your excellency's commands. In the meane I shall humbly take my leave, remayning,

Your excellency's most faythfull and very humble servant,

Rob Shapcote

355. From Edward Montague, Hinchingbrooke, [Huntingdon], 5 December 1657, 822, fos 292–293.

May it please your excellencye,

It hath beene my greate ambition to retaine that place in your esteeme, which your favor hath of longe tyme given mee the honor to hold, and havinge noe other matter (worth givinge you the trouble) but the presentinge my most humble dutye and service and constant assurance of my faithfull affection unto you, I have divers tymes begged the favor of my lord Broghill to doe it for mee, which I hope he hath performed. Att this tyme I find myselfe oblidged to give you the trouble thereoff by my owne pen, together with rendringe you my most humble thankes for your letter of the 18th of November, wherein I read such extraordinarye expressions of love towards mee that I dare not adventure by words to sett forth my recentments, but beseech you to expect more then cann be couched in them from my future actions (such as my poore, inconsiderable spheare may enable mee to offer unto you). None here would more heartily have rejoyced to have seene your person safe in England, nor could promise to themselves more particular advantage therebye; but the occasion of your stay beinge of greate publique concernement, and I hope of noe prejudice unto

[410] Parliamentarian politician, who sat for his native Tiverton from 1646 until his exclusion at Pride's Purge, and represented the town again in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments. Although suspected of royalist sympathies, he became a firm supporter of the Protectorate, held local office in Devon, and, in 1657, was appointed solicitor-general for Ireland.

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yourselfe (as my lord Broghill can better then I make out unto you), I can freelye denye myselfe therein, and am glad to find your lordshipp's resolution condiscendinge thereunto. Scince my cominge from sea,[411] I have obtained leave to see my sickly familye in the countrye, where I yett remaine, and therebye cann give your lordshipp little account of matters above, only I heare the list of the other house[412] is every day expected, but heare nothinge of the persons designed for it, but I make noe doubt your lordshipp will have a list of them as soone as this letter. Truly, the consequence of that affaire is very greate and what the constitution will proove I cannot imagine, unlesse my melancholy feares should make mee suspect the worst, because I doubt divers whom I could (and I beleeve your lordshipp also) wish were of it will not meddle, and noe doubt divers others will readily supply theire places. I heartily wish it otherwise. My opportunityes with his Highnesse are not manye, nor is my judgement fitt to advise him, but I have not spared to speake as occasion hath beene offered unto mee, and herein only I can boast that I have a hart true to the interest of the publique and his Highnesse' person and familye, nor shall cease to promote the same to my power. Your lordshipp will be pleased to excuse mee in this place for writinge of noe more matters; other, better hands will noe doubt plentifully supply you. And thus I here humble[413] take leave to subscribe, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble, faithfull, affectionate, and obedient servant,

E Mountagu

The letter your lordshipp was pleased to command mee to convey, I have taken all care imaginable to have safely delivered, and I hope by my next to give your lordshipp an account of the receipt thereoff. If it be not too greate presumption, I begg the favor to have my most humble service presented to my lady.

356. From George Monck, Dalkeith, 15 December 1657, 822, fos 294–295.

May it please your excellencie,

I received your excellencie's lettre dated the 18th of November, and returne your excellencie most humble thankes for your kinde

[411] In October. He attended council meetings between 24 October and 17 November, but then was absent – this letter suggests he was with his family in the country – until reappearing in council on 14 January 1658.

[412] The new second parliamentary chamber, established under the revised constitution, whose founder members were being selected by the Protector.

[413] Apparently a slip for 'humbly'.

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remembrance of mee, which I doe nott know how otherwise to expresse, butt shall bee alwayes ready in anythinge I may to serve your excellencie, wherin you shall nott finde mee to fayle uppon any occasion. Whensoever your excellencie hath any commands for mee, if you please butt to send your letter to colonel Cooper or to any one that commands in his absence, with a direction to send them to the governor of Ayre, they will soone come to my hands. Sir Arthur Forbes[414] was heere, butt hee seem'd to bee very much inclin'd to bee setled towards peace, and is now return'd againe into Ireland. I have very good caution for his peaceable living, and truly hee was very free in his expressions to mee that hee would live peaceablie, and soe I hope hee will. I looke uppon him as a man of honour, and I thinke hee will nott wronge his freinds that are bound for him, and breake his promises that hee hath made to mee. I returne your excellencie most hearty thankes for your respect to Dr Clarges. I have a great ambition to bee a planter under your excellencie if I could see his Highnesse a little better setled in his affaires, which, when I see done, I shall make bold to desire his leave to waite uppon your excellencie in Ireland; which is all att present from,

Your excellencie's most humble servant,
George Monck

357. From Charles Fleetwood, 22 December 1657, 822, fos 296–297.

Deare brother,

Since my last, we have considerd of the whole arreare which the 3 armyes are in, and it is found that you are lesse in arreare then what you wer in at the last parlament, and that now when you have received your assignations allready granted you will be about £70 or 80,000, which proportionably to the rest of the armyes are now wilbe lesse in ar[. . .]eare.[415] However, ther will <not> be any endevors <wanting heare> to answer your necessityes,[416] which I know are great; but you have lesse cause to complaine in that you are made equall with the

[414]Scottish royalist, who inherited from his father estates in Counties Leitrim and Longford and, in the wake of the 1641 rebellion, fought to protect them from the Irish Catholics. He campaigned for the king in Scotland under Montrose, was captured in 1645, and imprisoned for two years; after his release he continued to support the royalist cause in Scotland until captured by Monck in August 1654. Under the terms of his capitulation and release in 1655, he was allowed to return to his estates in Ireland.

[415]Paper slightly damaged with minor loss of text, though the incomplete word is apparently 'arreare'.

[416]Phrase originally read 'However, there will not be any endeavors wanting heare to answer your necessityes', but it has been amended thus, with 'not' clearly deleted and 'wanting heare' probably deleted.

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rest. And if you showld not I think it would be very hard measure, and I hope my affection to your own person, as well as the desire I have to serve the publicke, will not suffer me to decline or neclect any thing which may be in my power to serve you or your affayres. If you did but know what a condition our forces wer in Scotland, as well as in England, you would see lesse reason of complaint. In Scotland they are forced to pay off thos they reduce with what moneys showld pay their standing forces, and to let it run in arreare upon the standing forces. We are preparing an account of the armye's and navye's arreares against the parliment's sitting, and therefor if you will please to have the full state of your arreare send up, ther shall be at least an equall care taken of you with the rest of the armyes; for be confydent of this, you shall not be in a worse condition then others. As for the reducment, the offence you tooke against me therin makes me I shall <not> very unwillingly meddle therin.[417] I have not seen the letter you writt to the counsell about it; I presume Mr Secretary hath it. The old enimy, the cavileire, is still at worke upon their former design, but the Lord is very gratious in the timous[418] discoveryes therof. His presance is our strength and will be still our preserver. Your care in Ireland will be answerable to what your danger may be, though I think the designe is at presant for England. We have continuall occation to see how litle probability ther is to gayn this sort of men, therfor the greater duty to be cautious of any thing which may give them the advantage lyes upon us. Which that we may be carefull to prevent is the desire of,

Your most affectionate brother and servant.

Charles Fleetwood

358. From Archibald Sproull, Raphoe, 24 December 1657, 822, fo. 298.

Letter of request, recounting how he had suffered in the service of England, as attested by certificates signed by Sir Bryce Coghran,[419] *Sir Charles Coote, and*

[417] Phrase originally read 'the offence you tooke against me therin I shall not very unwillingly meddle therin', but it has been amended thus, with 'makes mee' added and 'not' apparently deleted. The amended sentence appears garbled.

[418] Timeous: coming in due time; suitable or proper in respect of time.

[419] Bryce Cochrane, a Scottish officer, fought for the king in Ireland in the late 1640s but then came over to the parliamentarian cause, persuaded to do so by another royalist-turned-parliamentarian, George Monck, and admitted parliamentary forces into Carrickfergus in September 1648. However, he briefly flirted with royalism again, fighting for the future Charles II in Scotland in 1650. By 1657, he was in sufficiently good standing with the Protector to be given command of a foot regiment in Flanders and he probably campaigned there with his regiment until 1659.

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Mr Harte,[420] *and had been promised by Henry Cromwell both land in Ireland for himself and £9 per year to fund his son's education; he is enormously grateful for this, but explains that he could not afford to support his son and that £9 was not enough to maintain his son, and thus requests an additional £12 per year to be paid out of tithe income appointed for charitable uses to help see his son through education; also requests from Henry Cromwell a clearer and firmer order to the commissioners for setting out land, directing them to allocate him land in Ireland.*

359. From Nathaniel Fiennes, Covent Garden, 28 December 1657, 822, fos 299–300.

My lord,

I have received severall letters from my brother, John Whithed, whereby I understand the greate favour your lordshipp is pleased to show unto him, which I must take in greate measure upon my accountt, saveing what doth flowe from your owne proper goodnes, which is verie comunicative to all that in any sort endeavour to render themselves worthy thereof. My lord, I have noe other buisines but what your lordshipp maketh me by the continuall obligations you are pleased to lay upon me and my relations, which we shall be most readdy to acknowledge upon all occasions that shall call us to account for the same. Wee have sent your lordshipp a writt of sommons to the other house of parliament, where though we shall want you much, yet we should want you more in Ireland;[421] and the benefitt which the commonwealth will receive by your service there will recompence the want that we shall have of your councell and company here, which would be most usefull and acceptable to all your friends, and very perticularly to, my lord,

Your lordshipp's most humble servant,

Nath Fiennes

360. From Philip Jones, December 1657, 823, fos 3–4.

May it please your excellency,

I had the honour this weeke to receive two of your lordshipp's,[422] the contents whereof I communicated according to your lordshipp's

[420]Identification uncertain, but perhaps the John Hart who was salaried Presbyterian minister at Taboyne, within the barony of Raphoe, County Donegal.

[421]Henry Cromwell did not, in fact, take his seat in the new second parliamentary chamber, either in the brief second session of the second Protectorate parliament in January–February 1658 or in the Protectorate parliament of his brother Richard in January–April 1659; instead, he remained in Ireland throughout the period.

[422]Almost certainly those at *TSP*, VI, pp. 651, 661–662.

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commands.[423] I had hoped that the instruction sent your lordshipp and counsell impowering your retrenchmente of forces had taken off all expectation here of any such account upon the former order as you have bene pleased to mention. The referring to which instruction will on all such occations be the faithfull endeavours of your servants here. For your want of mony, I am sencible it must be very great, and must exceedingly add to your other great burthen, which hath bene doubtlesse greatly increased by the delayes of the settlement of that nation. I heartily wish I were in a better capacity to serve your lordshipp in that perticular; our wants here rendering mee lesse able then willing. But noe faithfullnes nor dilligence shall be wanting in mee to doe therein the best service I can.

I shall not wast your tyme with any account of our affaires here because Mr Secretary presents your lordshipp therewith weekely more fully then I can, which is the reason I have not the confidence to trouble your lordshipp oftner with impertinent letters. For when there is nothing left mee but the profession of my readines to serve you, I rather chuse to trust your noble charity for a beleife of that then to be soe injurious as to make such a thing the bussines of papers to interrupt your more weighty affaires, and begg your lordshipp's pardon that I have troubled you with soe many words as here I have donne to assure yow of a thing of soe litle vallue as my service. But as it is none shall be more sincere in it then, my good lord,

Your excellency's most humble and most faithfull servant.

[423]To his fellow-councillors Montague and Wolseley.

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