1659

453. From Gilbert Mabbott, 4 January 1659, 823, fos 195–196.[1]

May it please your excellency,

The last weeke Mr Secretary Thurlowe and Doctor Slater were chosen for Cambridge and for other parts Mr Charles Rich, Mr Turner (of Greys Inn), Mr Barrington (one of his Highnes' bedchamber), Mr Brewster, collonel Matthews, Mr Herbert (earle of Pembroke's brother), major Ludlow, Mr Hill, Sir John Carter and Mr Manley.[2] Wednesday last his Highnes conferred the honour of knighthood upon collonel Hugh Bethell.[3] Such of our fleet lately returned from the Sound and not prejudiced by the ice are ordered to remaine in the Downes and the rest to come into harbour. A booke entytuled Breife Directions how fitt a popular Governement may bee made, referred to a comittee to finde out the author thereof. Upon complaint of the Dutch embassador against 2 books, entytuled Mercurius Anglicus and The Dutch Charactarized, referred likewise. The king of Sweden intends to leave a sufficient leaguer before Coppenhagen and to joyne with 10,000 of generall Wrangell's forces intrenched neere Fredericks Ode[4] and in order thereunto 5,000 men are marching to him out of Pomerania. Sir George Aiscue is certainely gott into the Sound with his 2 shipps. A flood hath lately happened which hath overrunn 3 villages in the north of Holland. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obedient servant,

Gilb Mabbott

[1] Another version of part of this newsletter, with some variations in the text, is found in a newsletter by Mabbott, dated 1 January, which survives amongst the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, Oxford, and which is printed in *Clarke Papers*, III, p. 172.

[2] John Thurloe and Thomas Slater, MPs for Cambridge University; Charles Rich for Essex and probably Edward Turner, also for Essex; John Barrington and Robert Brewster for Dunwich; Joachim Matthews for Maldon; either John Herbert for Wilton or his brother James Herbert for Queenborough; William Ludlow and Richard Hill for Old Sarum; Sir John Carter for Denbighshire; and either Thomas Manley for Bedwin or John Manley for Denbigh.

[3] Parliamentarian officer and politician, he campaigned under the Fairfaxes in Yorkshire during the opening stages of the civil war and remained active in northern England, commanding a regiment of northern horse during the last year of the war and again in the renewed fighting of 1648. He sat for Yorkshire in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments. According to this report, he was knighted on 29 December.

[4] Perhaps Fredrikshald.

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454. From William Lockhart, Dunkirk, 7 January 1659, 823, fos 197–198.

Letter of courtesy, praising Henry Cromwell and expressing affection for him.

455. From John Lockhart, London, 18 January 1659, 823, fos 199–200.

Letter of courtesy, expressing regret that he would be unable to visit Henry Cromwell in Ireland that winter because he was required in London both to serve the Protector and to sit in the forthcoming parliament; and of request, seeking the renewal of his existing lease on unspecified lands in Ireland or, if some of those lands be disposed of to others, some land elsewhere to restore his holding; both Dr Petty and an unnamed friend of his, known to Dr Petty, had been briefed on this business and could give Henry Cromwell full details if necessary.

456. From Vincent Gookin, Kinsale, 21 January 1659, 823, fo. 201.[5]

May it please your excellency,

Having your excellencye's free leave to attend this parliament or chuse another in my place, I picht upon Doctor Petty upon these grounds: 1st hee is a person of excellent parts; 2ly noe person I thinke in the 3 nations can doe more to the setlement [. . .][6] the army and adventurers than hee; thirdly the good the army will[7] certainely receive by his management of their affayres in the house will convince them that they can not harme him without injuring themselves and possibly that they doe ill if they love him not; 4ly hee is (I humbly conceive) fit for such a worke and will goe through with it, which is too hard for such as I am and many others noe wiser than myselfe to deale with; 5ly his abillity and honesty, joyned with the good will and honesty of the other two parliament men chosen for this county and the citty of Corke, will contribute much to the good of these places and make us love him who, I conceive, deserves it.

When I came to Corke, I found my lord Broghill had engaged some of the wisest of Corke corporation, without the consent of the brethren and the freemen of the citty, to chuse lieutenant colonel Foulkes; and that Bandon and Kinsale had in their owne courts chosen mee. Those of Corke and Youghall, upon my propounding desire to keepe themselves free till they had consulted with the other townes about

[5] This letter is now very badly foxed, making some sections of the text little more than semi-legible. However, it has been reproduced, with other documents relating to this election dispute, and the whole dispute analysed, by T. C. Barnard in 'Lord Broghill, Vincent Gookin and the Cork elections of 1659', *English Historical Review*, 88 (1973), pp. 352–365.

[6] Paper damaged with some loss of text, although the missing word is apparently 'of'.

[7] Paper damaged at this point and the word is only semi-legible.

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their members, bemoaned the losse of their liberty, but however those that were bound gave those that were not encouragment to keepe their liberty till they heard more from mee. From Corke I went to my lord Broghill, desired his assistance that Corke might be perswaded to chuse Doctor Petty, and Kinsale and Bandon to chus Pen. The last he consented to; the first hee refused, alleadging it could not be done without dishonouring him, though I made noe question but to get lieutenant colonel Foulkes his consent to it, which if lieutenant colonel Foulkes should grant, his lordship sayd hee would take very ill from him. Therupon I gave of thinking to doe anything in Corke and repayred to Kinsale and Bandon, propounded Doctor Petty to them, shewing them that their election of mee obliged them to mee and their chusing Doctor Petty at my request obliged him too; to which, upon the arguments used by mee and their confidence in mee, they consented, provided yf Corke and Youghall would chuse mee, I would serve them; to which purpose they wrote a lettre to those of Corke and Youghall, which I delivered them, and in open court told them that in performance of my engagment I would serve them if they thought fit to chuse mee, but withall advized them to consider of their engagment and that I desired it not from them unless they thought fitt; and untill that time I never told them or any of them, or any other, that I had any purpose to propound myselfe to their election.

This was Tuesday last in the morning.[8] It was the Thursday before that I was with my lord Broghil, who in the meane nigted[9] about 2 dozen of his to Corke to engage them for Foulkes, and had apointed particular agents to consult with every freeman in the citty, which they did at the law offices and other such like eminent places. All this while I was not [. . .]hought[10] of; but when I came to be thus offered such a distinction [. . .]en[11] that greeted mee,[12] his lordship upon this alarme came soe frighted to Corke that hee prevented mee in shewing him how I intended his lordship noe harme in it, and that his speaking but one word to Kinsale and Bandon people, to have quited mee of my engagment to stand for Corke and Youghall, had absolutely removed mee out of his way, who was as much afrayd of goeing to the parliament as his lordship was of my election. His lordship, as soone as hee came

[8] 18 January.

[9] Uncertain reading of a very poorly formed and semi-legible word. Barnard transcribes this phrase as 'in the meane wrote about 2 dozen of l[ette]rs to Corke'.

[10] Paper damaged with minor loss of text at the start of this word, which apparently read 'thought'.

[11] Uncertain reading of a poorly formed and incomplete word, the first part of which has been lost because the paper is damaged.

[12] Barnard transcribes this phrase as 'when I came to be thus opposed, such a distraction grew that grieved mee'.

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to Corke and the solemnityes of his comeing performed, went to the court and there rayled upon mee and magnified his owne services. Wheather his lordship did himselfe any good in it or mee hurt, others more indifferent to judge will ere long informe your lordship.

Upon the coming of Bandon and Kinsale people to Corke, I desired them for quietnes sake to free mee from my engagment, which they (unspeakably kind to mee in every way) granted, and therupon I signified soe much to the citty, all which notwithstanding I assure your lordship that in the towne hall at the election of lieutenant colonel Foulkes, his lordship had not with him but one alderman upon the bench and one in the crowd, and not above 30 of 400 freeholders in the citty at the election, but his lordship's owne people cryed up lieutenant colonel Foulkes; and I doe profess to your lordship that I did not in all that time by myselfe or any other in the least measure interpose in the election or speake to one person on my behalfe, though his lordship doubting mee, sent to his owne lodgings for more than 100 of the freeholders, man by man, and engaged some; others refused. This much I have presumed to aquaint your excellency with because I know his lordship will endeavour to prejudice mee. There are many particular passages in the carying on this business by which, when I have the honour to waite on your excellency, I shall make it apeare that I designed the election of Doctor Petty without offering in the least to prejudice his lordship's honour or thwart his purpose, unless against Doctor Petty, which I confess I should have done and did and doe hope I have not done amisse in it. I know, my lord, I have not bin in my lord Broghill's favour these many yeares. Hee now tells the people but what I knew before: that hee is my enemy.[13] I beseech your

[13] Although some parts of this letter are now damaged with loss of text and much of the surviving text is now very difficult to read, permitting alternative readings of some words and phrases, the overall situation described in the letter is clear and is fully discussed by Barnard in his article. Lord Broghill was active in the County Cork elections, seeking to ensure that his relations, allies, and clients were returned for all three seats – Maurice Fenton for the county seat, Francis Foulkes for Cork and Youghal towns, and William Penn for Bandon and Kinsale towns. On 22 January, he wrote to Thurloe, reporting that he had the previous evening attended the elections for County Cork and for Cork and Youghal towns, where 'There were greate endeavors to have had som chosen, that I was not very sure of; but their designe was defeated, and thos two I propounded, without six negatives, chosen' – for the county 'my owne cosen german' and for the towns 'a gentleman [. . .] always bred with me; and for both thes I ingage' (*TSP*, VII, p. 597). Broghill had clearly been angered to find Gookin intervening, claiming support from Henry Cromwell, in order to have himself elected at Cork and Youghal and to promote William Petty at Bandon and Kinsale. Gookin may have acted thus because he genuinely believed he had Henry Cromwell's blessing or active support, although he may also have been trying to protect himself – he was probably aware that Hierome Sankey and Benjamin Worsley were preparing an attack on Petty concerning his involvement in the Irish land settlement and may have believed that, if the assault upon Petty succeeded, he, as surveyor general, might be next in the firing line, and

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lordship to suspend your judgment of this difference till you heare mee speake for myselfe, who am, my lord,

Your lordship's obedient and faythfull servant,

Vin Gookin

457. From Maurice Fenton,[14] Cork, 21 January 1659, 823, fos 202–203.

Letter of request, seeking permission to travel to England to sit in parliament as MP for County Cork, noting that, because of his recent appointment as an officer in the army in Ireland, he required such permission before he can go; also enquires whether, if permission was granted, Henry Cromwell had any commands for him and promises obedience to them.

458. From Matthew Tomlinson, 1 February 1659, 823, fos 204–205.

May it please your excellency,

Upon Thurday last,[15] after a sermon preacht by Doctor Goodwyn, both the houses mett. His[16] made a very substantiall discourse to them, after which the house of commons withdrew and beinge assembled chose Mr Chute[17] the lawyer theire speaker. There hath not yet anythinge beene done considerable in either house, the time only giveinge oppertunity to appoint comittees for priviledges

so was strongly supporting Petty and trying to ensure that they both won parliamentary seats. But the electoral clash was not primarily about policies or political principles, since all the candidates were drawn from the old Protestants in Ireland and all of them broadly or strongly supported Henry Cromwell in Ireland and the Protectoral regime. Instead, this dispute mainly sprang from a squabble over status in Irish provincial society, because Broghill was angered that someone well below him on the social scale was effectively challenging his position in County Cork and questioning his electoral and political control. In the end, Fenton was returned without challenge for the county seat, Foulkes for Cork and Youghal, and Gookin for Bandon and Kinsale. Petty was returned for another Irish constituency, and for West Looe in Cornwall, and chose to sit for the latter.

[14] Parliamentarian officer and politician, he was the son-in-law of Sir Hardress Waller and a cousin and ally of Broghill, whose influence was probably vital in his return for the County Cork constituency.

[15] 27 January.

[16] Word apparently omitted. Clearly 'His Highness' is intended, since the Protector made a brief but effective opening speech, which was widely praised at the time.

[17] Chaloner Chute, parliamentarian politician and lawyer, acted as defence counsel for several royalists prosecuted by the Long Parliament during the 1640s, although he also broadly supported or at least acquiesced with the parliamentarian cause, and was several times considered as a possible commissioner of the great seal, though that post was apparently offered to but declined by him in 1653. He was elected to, but excluded from, the second Protectorate parliament. Returned to serve for Middlesex in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament, he was elected speaker at the outset, but his health soon broke down; he effectively resigned the speakership in early March and died on 14 April.

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and elections. The other house of lords hath indeed apointed a comittee to consider the defects in the lawes for punishinge drunkenes and swearinge and profaninge the saboth; and yesterday an act for recognition of his Highnes was first read, and this day upon the second readinge was comitted accordinge to usuall forme; the like bill for recognition was this day read in the house of commons. Some question yesterday in that house concerninge admittinge Scotsh and Irish members, but upon debate, though I doe not heare there was a vote, yet the generall sence rann for the affirmation. My lord, I cannot but give your excellency this account, that havinge receaved a summons[18] I durst not withstand my appearance thereupon, though indeed with very much hesitation in referrence to my owne unfittnes. But if in this station I may be anywayes serviceable to your excellency or the affaires of the countrye under your goverment, I shall account it greatly my duty to improve all oppertunityes for these ends. My lord, I begge your pardon for this trouble and humbly remaine,

Your excellency's very faithfull and humble servant,

Math Thomlinson

459. From Henry Ingoldsby,[19] Beaumaris, 7 February 1659, 823, fos 206–207.

My lord,

Throw mercy wee landed safe yeasterday att this place, beinge transported and convoyed heither by your excelency'se favors in the Paradoxe frygott which, beinge againe returninge for Dublin, I could not deny myselfe the satisfaction off acknowledging the honour and kindnesse you placed on my wife and selfe thearein with thankfulnesse. Wee are with the most speed wee can for London, wheare those commands you entrusted mee with to his Highnesse shall bee faythfully remembred and communicated to him by, my lord,

Your excelencye'se most thankfull, obleidged and very humble servant,

H Ingoldesby

460. From Richard Norton, 7 February 1659, 823, fos 208–209.

My deare lord,

Though I have not trobled you with my pen, many heere can beare wittnesse of my affection and respects to your lordship. I know what

[18] Tomlinson had been summoned to sit in the nominated second chamber.

[19] Ingoldsby had been returned to Richard Cromwell's parliament as MP for Counties Kerry, Limerick, and Clare.

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I can say must be impertenent when I have noething of businesse and that makes me forbeare, choosing rather to deny myselfe the honnor then to bee troblesome. The occasion of my boldnesse at this time is that I may performe my promise to your lordship's affectionate servant and my deere freind, Will Jephson, who as he was a faithfull friend to your family while he lived, thought he would doe something to expresse his great affection to and confidence in your lordship at his death, as his last act; with the greatest satisfaction that ever I saw, desired to bequeath the care of his sonne and heire to your lordship's wisdome, goodnesse and protection, hopeing (and truly on good ground from the youth's ingenuity) that he cannot miscarry under your advice. I know not how pleasing this troble may be to your lordship and therfore had it not been the request of a dying friend, I should have first made enquiry into your lordship's inclination to it, but it is that we his friends are tyed thereto, therfore I am the more bold to importune throu that friendship you bare to his person that is gone, and, my lord, throu that score of friendship your lordship hath been pleased to expresse to me, your unworthy servant, that you will be pleased to accept of it. His Highnesse told me he would write to you to presse you to it, but I know there is soe much goodnesse and noblenesse in your owne nature that I rely on that confidence and assureance rather then that I will troble his Highnesse in it further. And now, my lord, being assured that you will owne him (who truly, I must say, is well worth the owneing, being a very ingenious youth) I must lett your lordship know that it is the desire of his grandmother and all his friends that he may be continued in Oxford yet for one yeare. We cannot but with great sence of your lordship's goodnesse take notice of what you have done already for him in bestowing the troope on him. He will soone be ready for it. And if I may not be to bold, poore Will's relations and friends would looke on it as an act of charity, soe a great obligation on us, if your lordship would conferr on his uncle, John Jephson,[20] the foot company. And we hope your lordship will owne collonel Temple in all his undertakings for the family, perticulerly for Mr Jephson's arrears, as alsoe in the wine office, and that he may have the remaining part of it by lease on reasonable termes that the other part may be usefull to my young cosins.

My lord, I hope I have said enough on this subject, beleeveing soe much in your noblenesse that I might have spared most of it. My lord, we are heere lanched into the ocean and when we shall come to land I know not. Noe man can give any certaine guesse at our composure in the house; but if I can guesse any thing, we are not like to incline

[20] Younger brother of the late William Jephson, his military career (if any) is obscure and poorly recorded.

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to republicans, nor truly to the new house, and that I can gather yet noe otherwise but by a gentleman's speaking this day when, in the midst of his speech, he was sharpe against that fagge end of the Long Parliament and spake for the old lords. The house gave a humme. We are but this day entred into the debate of the governement and I see noe doubt of their owneing his Highnesse, but I know not what to say to the other house, soe that I beleeve Sir Mathew Tomlinson and had best stick to that title. What they will doe abroad or how we shall relish with the army I know not yet. Give me leave, my lord, on this remainder of paper to expresse my affections to your lordship and my deere lady. Although I have not made any returnes, yet the expressions of kindnesse I have heard of from your lordship towards me have filled me soe full that I am ready to burst out and shall in thankfullnesse, on any occasion wherein I may, manifest that I am your true servant,

Rich Norton

461. From Nathaniel Brewster, Norwich, 8 February 1659, 823, fos 210–211.

Letter of apology for his long stay in England, held up by the requests of people for him to remain, but he now intended to return to Ireland and to wait upon Henry Cromwell there.

462. From Gilbert Mabbott, 8 February 1659, 823, fos 212–213.

May it please your excellencie,

The last week a recognition or bill for owening his Highness and the present government as it is now constituted was read the first time. Wednesday[21] the election of Mr Henrey Nevill[22] was approved and other elections decided. Thursday they comitted Major Audley[23] to

[21] 2 February.

[22] Henry Neville, parliamentarian politician, spent the war years abroad, returning to England in the mid-1640s. He was elected to the Rump as MP for Abingdon in the spring of 1649 and soon proved himself to be an active and radical member. His republican sympathies led him to oppose the Protectorate. He failed to secure election in 1654 or 1656, but he was returned to Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament as MP for Reading. His election was questioned but confirmed, although, soon after, he also faced accusations of blasphemy and atheism.

[23] Lewis Audley, parliamentarian officer, first shows up as a captain in Sir Thomas Fairfax's New Model foot regiment in 1647. By 1648, he was a major, active in suppressing royalism in Surrey, and in 1650–1651 he was working on the Anglo-Scottish border, helping to raise and deliver recruits for the Scottish campaign. As unsuccessful parliamentary candidate for Gatton in Surrey in 1658, he was condemned and briefly imprisoned by parliament for abusing his successful opponents and trying to provoke one or both of them to a duel.

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the Tower for villifying Mr Bish,[24] a member of their howse. They ordered collonel Overton's[25] person to be brought by the governor of Jersey to the parliament with the cawse of his comittment. Every Monday in the afternoone sitts a grand comittee for religion; every Wednesday for grievances and courts of justice; and every Friday for trade. Friday was kept a day of humiliation. The ministers had thankes given them. Saterday they remitted the fine of £3,000 formerly imposed upon lieutenant-collonel Lilburne's[26] estate. They comitted one King,[27] a vintner in London, for sitting 3 dayes in parlament, hee beeing no member thereof. A comittee was named to examine how the revenuw in North Wales, South Wales and Monmouth for maintenance of the ministry there (for which major general Harrison was formerly questioned) is expended and in whose hands it remaines. Yesterday Sir Arthur Hesilrig[28] spake 2 houres together, Mr Scott

[24] Edward Bysshe/Bishe, parliamentarian politician, was MP for Bletchingley in the Long Parliament, although he absented himself in the wake of Pride's Purge. He sat in the first and third Protectorate parliaments for Reigate and Gatton respectively.

[25] Robert Overton, parliamentarian officer, campaigned under Sir Thomas Fairfax in northern England in the early and mid-1640s. In 1647, he became colonel of a foot regiment and, from 1648, he was governor of Hull. He campaigned in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell in 1650, staying on there both as governor of Edinburgh and to help mop up the highlands and islands in 1651–1652. His loyalty to the Protectorate was uncertain, however, and in late 1654 he was drawn into a circle of military insubordination and possible conspiracy. He was arrested and imprisoned, and, although no charges were brought or trial held, he spent over four years in captivity in the Tower and then on Jersey. Given a hearing by Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament, his release was ordered in mid-March 1659.

[26] John Lilburne, parliamentarian officer, political radical, and prominent Leveller, had been charged with treason by the Rump, condemned in absentia in January 1652, fined £7,000 – £3,000 of which was to be paid to the state, the remaining £4,000 to various individuals – and banished. Upon returning to England in 1653, he was arrested and tried for, but acquitted of, treason, though he spent parts of his last years in prison. He died while on parole in Kent in August 1657.

[27] William King, who was agitating against the Protectoral regime and in support of the Rump.

[28] Parliamentarian officer and politician, he campaigned from the outset of the civil war, initially in southern England in Sir William Waller's army. In 1647, he became governor of Newcastle and, during the late 1640s and early 1650s, he was almost regional governor of north-east England, dominating military affairs in that area, raising and commanding regiments there, and giving strong support to the English campaign in Scotland. Although absent from London during the winter of 1648–1649, and so playing no part in the regicide, he took his seat in the Rump in the early 1650s and became very prominent in that parliament. He condemned Oliver Cromwell's ejection of the Rump and became a fierce republican opponent of Cromwell and the Protectorate. He was elected to all three Protectorate parliaments for his native Leicestershire and, although he was excluded from the house at or soon after the opening of the first two, he was very prominent in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament as a leading opponent of the Protectoral regime.

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above an houre and collonel White[29] about halfe an howre against the recognition, and were briefly and fully answeared by Mr Bunckley,[30] major Beake[31] and sergeant Maynard.[32] At this rate the howse cannot come to a question in a fortnight's time, but it will bee this day endeavoured to perswade the members to speake thereunto without circumlocation and keepe close to the matter in question, that other business of publique concernment may bee heared likewise. This was the first day of the lord Falkeland's[33] and Sir Henry Vane's[34] sitting in the howse. The dangerous petition from some thowsands in the city so much spoken of here was yesterday expected but came nott. This day Mr Samwell Moyer[35] (law chaireman of the comittee of Haberdashers Hall) with about 20 more citizens came downe with the said petition, but the howse being very busie in debating the recognition, there was no opportunity to present the same. The house sat till 3 of clocke upon

[29] Probably William White, parliamentarian politician, elected for Pontefract in 1645, who sat in the Long Parliament and Rump and resumed his seat in the restored Rump in 1659, playing a prominent role in financial business. He appears to have sat, perhaps for Clitheroe, in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament, strongly opposing the Protectorate. I am most grateful to Dr Patrick Little for his help in identifying this MP.

[30] John Bulkeley, parliamentarian politician, MP for Christchurch, and a very experienced parliamentarian, elected to every parliament of the period 1640–1661.

[31] Robert Beake, parliamentarian officer and politician, MP for Coventry.

[32] Sir John Maynard, parliamentarian politician and lawyer, was elected to both parliaments of 1640 and was active in the house and as a prosecutor in state trials, but he withdrew from parliament during 1648 and took no part in the regicide. He was created a serjeant at law in 1654 and Protector's serjeant in 1658. He sat in the second and third Protectorate parliaments, for Plymouth and Newtown, Isle of Wight, respectively.

[33] Henry Carey, fourth Viscount Falkland, was returned as MP for Oxfordshire and, although the election was disputed, a proposal in early February to rerun the election won little support and his return was confirmed; this was his first parliament.

[34] Sir Henry Vane, junior, parliamentarian politician, one of the leading and most committed parliamentarians of the 1640s, played a prominent political role in the Long Parliament and, even though he held aloof from the regicide, he retained his position as a leading member of the Rump. His radical and republican principles led him to break with Oliver Cromwell over the latter's ejection of the Rump and he became a strong opponent of Cromwell and the Protectorate. Out of office and viewed with suspicion during Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate, he was returned to Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament as MP for Whitchurch, Hampshire and became a leading opponent of the regime.

[35] Samuel Moyer, parliamentarian financier, merchant, and politician, strongly supported the parliamentary cause during the 1640s and early 1650s and sat on many, mainly financial, commissions over those years. A political and religious radical, he became disillusioned with the Rump, welcomed its ejection, and sat in the Nominated Assembly as a radical member for London. He strongly opposed the Protectorate, seeing it as betraying the radical cause. He was a leading light in reviving and presenting to the third Protectorate parliament a radical, subversive petition, originally drawn up in January 1658, aimed at bringing together the army and radical religious groups to remove the Protectorate and to restore either the Long Parliament or some other republican regime.

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the said debate but when they come to a question thereupon is very uncertaine. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obedient servant,
G Mabbott

463. From Hierome Sankey, Wallingford House, [8] February 1659, 823, fos 231–232.

May it please your excellencie,

I hope my wife hath excused my rude departure from your excellencie, occasioned by the sudennes of my resolution upon Wednesday was se'nnight, incited therto by a faire gale and an appearance of setled wether. I blesse God we had an easy and speedy passeage and I came hither betimes on the Tuesday following.[36] On Wednesday I waited on his Highnes, to whom (according to your commands) I presented your excellencie's service and communicated your desires. He was glad to heare that your excellencie was in any measure recovering in your health, and cannot but be desirous to see you, but is confident that your deare father's example, who wore out himselfe for the serving of others, will be a patterne to him and your excellence to prize that service above health or anything that is dearest to you rather then the publique affaires should suffer any damage. My lord, I am most confident of his Highnes' willingnes to comply with you in your desires as to your intended or desired journey hither as soone as the season can be inviting to such a busines. Next day[37] was a solemne fast in the house. Dr Owen preached first and very seriously asserted and pressed the whole cause and interest. Dr Reynolds[38] followed; pressed hard to unity. Mr Calamy[39] followed.

[36] The subsequent details of parliamentary developments date this undated letter to 8 February. Thus this would appear to be Tuesday 1 February.

[37] In fact, this occurred on Friday 4 February.

[38] Edward Reynolds, parliamentarian minister, frequently preached before parliament and its councils during the 1640s. In 1648, he was appointed dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and vice-chancellor of Oxford University, but he lost both offices in 1650–1651, in the wake of his opposition to the regicide and his ambivalent attitude towards the republican regime. A moderate Presbyterian, he became prominent once more during the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, attempting to reach an accommodation with that regime.

[39] Edmund Calamy, parliamentarian minister and one of the most popular and influential preachers of the period. During the 1640s and early 1650s, he frequently preached before parliament and its councils, was appointed to various religious bodies and committees, and became a leading light of Sion College and one of the most prominent London Presbyterians. His opposition to the regicide, and more particularly to Oliver Cromwell's ejection of the Rump, led him to keep slightly more distant from the regimes of the 1650s, but he retained influence during the Protectorate.

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Those two were very moderate. Mr Manton[40] concluded, who was the most earnest of them as to church worke. On Saturday I waited on her Highnes dowager, who was very glad to heare from you and indeed most earnestly desires to see you. My lady and the children making many particular enquiryes after you all and would needs know what answer his Highness made as to your coming over and whether he doe not intend that it shuld be speedy. All the rest of your relations through mercy are in good health and would be glad to see you. Last weeke produced not much in the house, save settling comittees and some small busines about the members that were dubiously returned, about which there are the greatest number of controversies that I beleeve have ever hapned in any parliament.

Yesterday the recognition act for recognizing his Highness was read the 2d time. The commonwealthmen were for laying it aside; others some for mending it att the table; others for committing of it, some to a grande committee, others to a particular one. This day the 1 question was more particularly stated (viz) whether his Highness shuld be declared to be the rightfull and undoubted lord protector of this commonwealth etc and prest that this might particularly passe and then the bill might be committed. And after some houres' debate it was propounded with the expedient that in the parliament 54, after 7 daies' debate, judge Hale propounded under the gallery (if your lordship remember) viz that his Highness shuld be declared to be the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and teritoryes thereto belonging, to be qualified with such limitations and authorityes as shuld be agreed on by this house.[41] The former was urged by Mr Trevor, Birch, Swinfen,[42] with many lawyers and a great many others. The expedient brought in by Mr Weaver[43] and spake to

[40] Thomas Manton, parliamentarian minister, was, from the mid-1640s, a prominent, London-based preacher, who frequently preached before parliament and its councils. He opposed the regicide and was largely out of favour during the early 1650s, but he supported the Protectorate, advised both Oliver and Richard Cromwell on religious matters, and was favoured by them. He, too, is best described as a moderate Presbyterian.

[41] This had been proposed by Hale during the early days of the first Protectorate parliament, in which Henry Cromwell had sat. He made the proposal on 11 September 1654 (*Burton*, I, xxxii), after the opening, divisive week, during which republican MPs had bitterly attacked the Protectorate and its constitution. Although it seemed to gain some support, it was not enough to head off the looming crisis, for, on 12 September, the Protector briefly closed the house and imposed a new test on members.

[42] John Trevor, MP for Flintshire; John Birch, MP for Leominster; and John Swinfen, MP for Tamworth.

[43] John Weaver, MP for Stamford. He supported the parliamentarian cause in the civil war in an administrative role, serving as treasurer of the Eastern Association, and in 1645 he was elected as MP for Stamford, sitting in the Long Parliament and its Rump (though he held aloof from the regicide), and in 1649 he was appointed a parliamentary commissioner

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by Godfrey, Brinkley, Groves, Nevil[44] and many others. The difference is wholly de modo,[45] his Highness having the hearts of all; Sir Arthur[46] himselfe having excedingly commended him, looking upon him as a person of great worth and according to his owne expression, without guile or galle. The debate held till about 3 a clock and is now adj'rnd till tomorrow morning. The house is exceeding full, there being above 400 in it and many more members then can sitt downe. The elections for Ireland and Scotland, I am perswaded, will stand, but there will be a consideration had speedily of them, and your lordship will do well to hast away your members. I wonder Sir Anthony Morgan and Mr Anesley stay so long.[47] We have had no post thence this fortnight. Most part of Saturday was spent about lieutenant-general Ludlow, who sitts in the house without the oath prescribed;[48] and after 2 or 3 houres spent in the debate there was a madman (but had the appearance of a sober man) discovered by the sargeant to be no member, having sate 3 daies in the house, was call'd to the barre and adjudged to Newgate, but it tooke up so much time that it was too late to reassume the debate. But I am perswaded it will not <att present> for some time be reassumed in regard Godfrey, Bamfeild, Sir George Booth, Ned Cooke[49] and others are in upon the same accompt and ther's none of them but have some freinds or other who will be tender of them; besides it was much prest that they had much more right to sitt than the members for Ireland and Scotland, and therfore desired that might be first insisted upon.

And now, my lord, I thinke I have wearyed you out. Tis the Lord above who must manage those counsells for His people's and the nation's good. Lett our eyes be upon Him and our hearts lifted up to Him. I have presumed upon this freedome with you in regard you know the persons and things. Me thinks I see the wisedome and expectation even of the wisest man failing as to the result of their wisest contrivances. Ther's much lesse of boysterousnes in this house hath appeared as yett then used to be upon such debates. We find a

for the government of Ireland. His republican sympathies led to his estrangement from the Protectorate and, although he was returned for Stamford to Oliver Cromwell's two Protectorate parliaments, he was excluded from both at or soon after the start of the session.

[44] Lambert Godfrey, MP for Romney; John Bulkeley; Thomas Grove, MP for Marlborough; and, probably, Henry Neville.

[45] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'about form', 'manner', 'measure', or 'extent'.

[46] Hesilrige.

[47] Morgan, MP for Meath and Louth, and Arthur Annesley, MP for the city of Dublin.

[48] Edmund Ludlow, MP for Hindon, had slipped quietly into the house without taking the oath required by the 1657 constitution, in which MPs swore to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and not attempt anything against his person or powers.

[49] Godfrey; Thomas Bampfield, MP for Exeter; Sir George Booth, MP for Lancashire; and Edward Cooke, MP for Tewkesbury.

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necessity of waiting upon God as to every daie's result; other refuges will faile. The good Lord keepe up your spirit in dependance on Him. Thus prayes,

Your excellencie's most obliged servant,
Hie Sankey

Sir Henry Vane was up this day but hath not yett spoke, but is to begin tomorrow.

464. From William Duckenfield,[50] 14 February 1659, 823, fos 214–215.

Letter of request, noting that his company of foot in Henry Cromwell's regiment was then serving in England but was due to return to the rest of the regiment in Ireland, while a company of foot in Hewson's regiment was then serving in Ireland, though its officers were keen to return to England; thus suggests to Henry Cromwell a straight swap or exchange of companies, so that Hewson's company could stay in Ireland under the writer and his fellow-officers, while Henry Cromwell's company could remain in England under Hewson and so allow Hewson's company officers to leave Ireland and return to England.

465. From Arthur Annesley, London, 15 February 1659, 823, fos 216–217.

May it please your excellency,

I hould it my duty to give your excellency the first account of my safe comeing to London, who have deservedly the greatest interest to command my services in all places. I was here within six dayes after I tooke leave of your excellency and soone after attended his Highnesse with your excellency's letter, which he hath been pleased to promise me the fruit of and expressed himselfe very gratiously towards me, which I must acknowledge the product of your excellencye's favourable character given of me, wherewith his Highnesse was pleased to acquaint me. I was not in the house till yesterday, where we happyly put an end to six dayes' high debates with a question passed nemine contradicente,[51] whereof I send your excellency the coppy inclosed, which will give some judgment of the likelyhood there is that this parliament may be instrumentall towards our settlement. The humble petition and advice is upon the matter laid aside, and I beleeve some other acts passed at the same time will undergoe a renew

[50] Parliamentarian officer, whose military record is obscure but who was apparently an officer in Henry Cromwell's foot regiment.

[51] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'without opposition', or 'without anyone speaking' or 'voting against'.

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if not repeale. The other house is not at all owned, yet there is ground to beleeve a house of peeres will be settled. There was a meeting this day of the officers of the army at Wallingford House, but it's thought the votes passed yesterday have left them little to offer. A petition from the commonwealth party in the citty tooke up this whole morning in the house and had no other answere but that some particulars thereof were allready under consideration, that what else in it was fitt for the house to consider should be considered in due time, and that the house according to the expression in their petition did expect they should acquiesce in their resolutions. They were the more cautious in this answere to pravent multitudes of petitions which might probably be offered of different and contrary straines. Your lordship sees how free I am to open myselfe to your excellency, wherein if I receive your lordship's approbation, I shall continue my weekely service in the same kind or any other way that may most effectually expresse me, may it please your excellency,

Your excellency's most obedient servant,
Arthur Annesley

My father[52] presents his most humble service to your excellency and acknowledgment for your excellency's letter to his Highnesse in his favour.

466. From Francis Aungier, London, 15 February 1659, 823, fo. 218.

My lord,

I should verye hardly have attempted to give your lordship the trouble of a lettre amidst the many serious afayres wherein I knowe your lordship to be involved. But that I can find no other way to sapresse that gratitude and high sence which I have of your lordship's favours to me then by yeilding (as farre as I am capable) a just obedience to your lordship's commands.

This day was the first in which I was able to obteine the honour of beeing admitted to tender your lordship's lettres to his Highnesse, from whome, as also from my lord Faulconberge, I receaved so gratious, soe obligeing an acceptance that had not my addresse beene wholy grounded upon so strong a bottome as your lordship's favourable recommendation I should have tottered, nay sunke under so greate a

[52] Francis Annesley, Viscount Valencia and Baron Mountnorris, politician, attained office, reputation, and land through his work in the colonial government of Ireland in the opening decades of the seventeenth century, but he fell from favour and lost office in 1637, spending the 1640s and 1650s in semi-retirement on his estates in England and Ireland. He died shortly after the Restoration.

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loade of obligations which I there receav'd, and for which I must ever acknowledge myselfe to stand endebted unto your lordship.

Yesterday (my lord) I entered into that place[53] into which nothing but my desires to serve his Highnesse and your lordship could have carryed me and from which I should make a verye suddaine and glad retreate if my present inclinations might be countenanced by your lordship's allowance. Not that I am or ever can be wearye of endeavouring to serve so good a master. But when I find reason to suspect that my litle inconsiderable industryes will be rendered ineffectuall by the opposition of such vast forces as I perceave mustered together with a resolution to contradicte those interests to which my reason and dutye have commanded my adherence, I hope your lordship will not wonder if I say I have an aversion, since nothing can appeare more insupportable to my yeares and temper then to meete with an opposition in my affections, which I must despayre of being able to grapple with. I find (my lord) three severall compositions in this fabrick. The best is that which I feare to be the lightest, not that it is the least in bulke, but that I suspect it will prove the least in capacitye to effect what it intends. The midle region is that which will in probabilitye give the lawe to both the others. They are strong, they are adhesive to what they intend and extreamely indefatigable. The last and least is the worst; they are made up of gall and wormewood; they are industrious and vigilant but too sowre for either of the other perfectly to intermixe with. It is this which would drawe all downewards and dissolve theyr litle world into its former chaos. But these as they stand distincte are not so formidable as I heretofore apprehended. Yet I must say that this in conjunction with that which in my observation I placed in the midle spheere will totally hinder and barre those high inclinations to which the first were levelled. Nay, if they cannot compasse theyr owne sullen aymes, I perceave they will be content (in order to doeing mischeife) and take pleasure to frustrate the expectations and ruine the hopes of those against whome they are opposed. In fine, the conjunction of these twoe in this particular may be as fatall to the other as if themselves were prevalent. For if I should fall into the hands of robbers where I should find some incline to cutt my throate and others (pretending themselves more moderate) should perswade them to satisfye theyre crueltye by cutting of my hands and putting out my eyes, I should hardly be able to determine that there were a melius eligendum[54] in that condition. But it may be (and I could heartily wish the issue may prove so) I am too apprehensive in my feares and I easily grant that this passion may as well blinde me as it hath don thousands who

[53] He sat in this parliament as MP for Counties Westmeath, Longford, and King's.
[54] This Latin phrase could be translated as a 'better choice' or 'option'.

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have beene more prudent. However, if I doe erre, I cannot suspect it an unpardonable crime since it takes its rise and origen from my affections which I cannot but cherish. But while I am discoursing of this I have left no place in this narrowe paper to give your lordship an account of our parliamentarye proceedings, for which I must beg your lordship's pardon that I give them in the particuler enclosed,[55] since I am resolved that this shall have no farther or other chardge then to tender unto your lordship, my lady and Mrs Russell[56] the humblest devotion of (my lord)

Your excellencye's most humbly, faithfully, cordially devoted servant,

Franc Aungier

467. From Francis Aungier, [enclosed in letter no. 466], 823, fos 219–220.

February the 14th 1658

Resolved:

That it be parte of this bill to recognize and declare his Highnesse Richard, Lord Protector, to be Lord Protector and cheife magistrate of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the territoryes and dominions thereunto belonging.

Before this was passed, the word recognize was debated 6 howres whether it should stand in that parte of the bill and when it was putt to the question it was carryed in the affirmative by 23 voyces. The negative was headed by Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, Sir Henry Vayne, Ludlowe, Lambert, Scott, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper,[57] Nevill and all that gang. When this was pass't, the next question was whether there should be any additions to this previous vote, concerning the

[55] No. 467.

[56] Identification uncertain, but perhaps Katherine Russell, the younger sister of Henry Cromwell's wife, at this stage an unmarried eighteen-year-old.

[57] Parliamentarian officer and politician, though he initially fought for the king in and around his native Dorset; he did not join the parliamentary forces until 1644, although thereafter he was active for parliament in regaining and then running Dorset. He held local office in Dorset and Wiltshire in the late 1640s and early 1650s, but he was not an MP and had no connections with the regicide. He sat in the Nominated Assembly, allied to the moderates, and he initially attained high office during the Protectorate, as a founder member of the Protectoral council and member for Wiltshire in the first Protectorate parliament. However, for reasons that are not entirely clear he broke with the regime at the end of 1654, lost or left office, and, although again elected for Wiltshire, was excluded from the second Protectorate parliament. Returned once more for Wiltshire, he was a prominent opponent of the regime in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament and allied himself with its republican critics.

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exclusion of the militia, negative voyce, the rights and priviledges of parliament and the libertyes of the people. But this was carryed in the negative by 89 voyces, though the worse and worst (I meane the midle and last) partyes joyned in the opposition.

The last vote was, that before this bill be committed, this house doe declare such additionall clauses to be parte of the bill as may bound the powre of the cheife magistate and fully secure the rights and priviledges of parliament and the rights of the people, and that neither this nor any other previous vote that is or shall be passed in order to this bill shall be of force or binding to the people untill the whole bill be passed.

February the 15th 1658

This day there was a petition from some of the cittye, only those of Prayse God Barebones'[58] gang, sign'd by thousands of hands at least (the contents whereof was for our returne out of the state we are to a commonwealth without a supreame magistrate) and presented to the house, but it was so ill resented by the house in generall, though Sir Henry Vayne, Sir Arthur Hazellrig, Lambert and others moved that thankes might be given them for theyr good affections, that they receaved no other answere but that the house had taken notice of and read theyr petition, parte whereof they had then under theyr consideration and as much of the rest as they should thinke fitt they would in due time consider hereafter. In the meanetime the house did expect that according to theyr promise mentioned in the close of theyr petition they should acquiesce in the resolution of the parliament. This was eisdem verbis[59] the answere to the petition after it was voted that the mention of thankes and good affection should be left out of the answere. Tomorrowe we shall fall upon the other parte of the bill that relates to the militia and negative voyce, which I guesse the parliament will endeavour to engrosse to themselves.

468. From Gilbert Mabbott, 15 February 1659, 823, fos 223–224.

May it please your excellencie,

The parlament on Wednesday and Thursday last[60] was in debate of the recognition and ordered that before the committment of the bill

[58] Praisegod Barbon, parliamentarian politician and preacher, was a London-based religious radical, millenarian, and strong supporter of religious liberty, who held local office in London but who achieved wider notice in 1653 as one of the more influential radical members of the Nominated Assembly.

[59] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'of the same words' or 'almost word for word'.

[60] 9 and 10 February.

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there should bee a previous vote that his Highnes is the undoubted Lord Protector and cheife majestrate of England, Scotland and Ireland and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging. The question was whether to this question these words should bee added, vizt with such limitations and restrictions as the parlament should thincke fitt, and it was resolved in the negative. Friday the house was againe in debate of some other addition to this previous vote but came to noe resolution. Saturday they expelled Mr Villers[61] (whoe now calls himselfe D'Anvers) and Mr Jones[62] (attorney generall for North Wales) for being in armes against the parlament. Mr serjeant Glanvile[63] wrote a lettre to the speaker desireing that another may bee elected in his stead, hee being not quallified to sitt in the howse, which was ordered accordingly. The commissioners of his Highnes had a meeteing this weeke with the commissioners of the king of Sweden. That night there was a presse of watermen and mariners upon the river. The councell ordered that the commissioners of the navy should put in execution all the powers committed to them for the speedy puting forth the fleete to sea. Severall officers mett this weeke at Wallingford Howse to consider of the heads of a petition to bee presented to parlament. His Highnes was pleased to come to them and give them some cautions and admonitions in the pening the said petition, which they have since referr'd to a committee of officers. Yesterday the parlament debated againe the recognition and past there 2 votes thereupon, vizt that it bee part of this bill to recognize and declare his Highnes Richard Lord Protector to bee the Protector and cheife majestrate of this comon-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the dominions

[61] Born the illegitimate son of the wife of Viscount Purbeck, he was known or styled himself variously as Robert Wright, Howard, and Villers/Villiers, as well as second Viscount Purbeck. Raised in France as a Catholic, he returned to England in the early 1640s and fought for the royalists, although by the later 1640s he had gone over to parliament and converted to Protestantism. He claimed the surname Danvers after marrying into that family, though he renounced any claim to the Purbeck title after the death of his mother's husband in 1657. He was returned to Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament for Westbury but was expelled on the grounds of his former delinquency, although a motion to imprison him failed.

[62] Edmund Jones, parliamentarian politician, attorney-general for South Wales and returned for Breconshire to the first and third Protectorate parliaments. Despite arguing his innocence and pointing to his loyal service to parliament since the late 1640s, it emerged that, during the 1640s, he had compounded for his alleged delinquency and so was expelled from the house.

[63] Sir John Glanville, politician and lawyer, supported the king's cause in the civil war and presided over trials conducted by the royalists at Salisbury and Exeter. He surrendered to parliament in 1644 and was imprisoned until 1648; he compounded for his delinquency, was disabled from sitting as an MP and expelled from the Long Parliament. When returned to Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament for St Germans, he did not try to take his seat, was deemed unqualified, and a new election was ordered.

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and territories thereunto belonging; 2ly resolved that before this bill bee committed the house doeth declare such additionall clawses to bee part thereof as may bound the power of the cheife majestrate and fully secure the rights and priviledges of the parlament and the liberties and rights of the people and that neither this nor any other previous vote that is or shalbee passed in order to this bill shalbee of force or bindeing to the people till the whole bill bee passed. This day Mr Moyer and about 20 more came downe with the petition, signed with some thousands of disconted[64] persons. The petitioners were called in and the speaker tould them that severall of the particulers contained in the petition were now under the consideration of the howse, and others would fall in upon their further debates, and for the rest the howse did expect that they would acquiesce in the judgment of parlament. The petitioners withdrewe and were not a little troubled in that they had not the thanckes of the howse (for their petition they could not expect) for their good affections, which upon a division of the howse was carried by 100 voices in the negative. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obedient servant,
G Mabbott.

469. From Hierome Sankey, Wallingford House, 15 February 1659, 823, fos 225–226.

May it please your excellencie,

The debate which I gave you an accompt of by the last continued till last night att nine of the clock, save that Saturday was spent in throwing out cavilleers, one Jones of Wales, formerly the king's atturney, and lately his Highness' for South Wales, and Villiers that goes by the name of Danvers, and one Street[65] of Worcester to be heard on Tuesday next, his witnesses being not ready. The debate continued for six daies and most spent till 3 or 4 a clock. The 2d question was brought in by Mr Annesly and though a great member of the House contended for the conjunction of the votes, yett after it was carryed that there should be no addition to the first question, yett they that carryed the

[64] Clearly written thus, though apparently a slip for 'discontented'.

[65] Thomas Street, parliamentarian politician and lawyer, was too young to fight in the war but, having gone up to Oxford University in the spring of 1642, he remained there, and thus at the king's headquarters, during the war years, and was arrested and briefly imprisoned by parliamentary forces upon returning to his native Worcester in 1645. Elected for Worcester in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament, his first parliament, Street fought off accusations of active, wartime royalism and retained his seat.

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first question, very rigourously[66] and fairly assented to the 2d, which passed without one negative.

Truly, my lord, this is through God's mercy a comfortable beginning in the conclusion of the debate, though it was not carryed on without much heates etc that might better have been spared. Tomorrow the house goes on to the militia and to the negative voyce. I hope through God's mercy the foundation of a settlement indeed will be layd. I make bould to present your excellencie with this briefe accompt, not but that I know you have larger from other hands, but yett it becomes me to pay my tribute. And if your lordship have any commands to lay upon me, there's none shall be more ready to observe them then, my lord,

Your excellencie's most faythfull servant,

Hie Sankeye

470. Robert Beake to John Bridges, 15 February 1659, 823, fos 221–222.

Honoured sir,

The last night (at 10 of the clocke) closed the debate begunn the 7th instant, vizt a previous vote for recognizing his Highnes to be Lord Protector and cheife magistrate of England, and in order to the comittment of the bill for recognition, it was carried at last in the affirmative by 223 voices and the negatives were 133. It's wonderfull to consider with what heate this was attayned unto. That which made it sticke was a desire of haveing the rights and libertys of the people to goe hand in hand with this vote, and in this the republicans were the onely zealotts, the Presbyterians with vigor driveing t'other way. The militia and negative vote were two of the cardinal hinges upon which the people's liberty depended and these were the topicks whence they deduced al there arguments to batter downe the previous votes. To such a height were these libertynes growne that one while they would averr the ould parliament was in being, another whyle that they had the sole legislature in themselvs, another while they question whether his late Highnes had animum dispenendi[67] when he named his successors, and yet agayne whether he was compos or non compos[68] and what legal testymony was extant of the right of his Highnes' succession. And theis are soe much the more to be wonderd at if we consider the tye and obligation they layd uppon themselves at the doore in their first

[66] The first letter of this word is poorly formed because of an ink blob and attempted correction and it could alternatively be read as 'vigourously'.

[67] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'a mind', 'passion', or 'feeling to dispose' or 'to order'.

[68] These two Latin phrases could be translated as 'sound', 'sane', 'in possession' or 'in control'; and 'not sound', 'not sane', 'not in possession' or 'not in control'.

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entrance and yet some ventured without the oath to take their places: Sir Henry Vaine, lieutenant generall Ludlow, Sir George Booth, Mr Bamfeild and others of such perswasion, and because the excepting against the first would involve the other, therefore they are all winked at. The other house doe litle, nor doe wee take notice of them. The commonwealths men are against the thing itselfe, the Presbyterians are for addition of some lords. It's talked as if the army would stirr, but his Highnes has a severe eye upon them and is resolved he wil not interupt the parliament. After the previous vote, last night passd another to secure the people's rights and the priviledges of parliament and this was mooved by your freinds when (upon the carieing of the other question) the tribunes of the people would not (because of their doggednes) aske that in the second place which they could not gayne in the first. This vote speakes men true patriots, as the other (the party that caried it) truly desirous of peace and setlement. There was not a negative in it. Sir, I am,

Your affectionat servant,

Rob Beake

471. From Thomas Gorges to Robert Gorges, the Speaker's Chamber, 15 February 1659, 823, fos 227–228.

Good brother,

I have sent you yesterday by collonel Temple a few lines and but few because he is able at large to inform you. Our 6 days' debate came last night neer 9 of the clock to a resolution, which is to recognize his Highness Richard, Lord Protector, to be the Lord Protector and cheif magistrate of the commonwealth of England etc. This as part of the bill

Resolved: That before this bill be committed, this howse doe declare such additionall clauses to be part of the bill as may binde the power of the cheif magistrate and fully secure the rights and priviledges of parliament and the rights and liberties of the people, and that neither this nor any other previous vote that is or shalbe passed in order to this bill shalbe of force or bindinge to the people untill the whole bill be passed.

This day the petition formerly tendred and put off was agayn presented. The petition was ushered in by Mr Samuel Moyer, commonwealths men, Leveller, 5th Monarchs attending them, and the same petition which was intended for the last parliament a short tyme befor theyr dissolution. It is very high, cajolinge the army, owning noe power but the representatives in parliament, which created this vote as the answer to the petition:

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That this house have read the petition, that some of the particulars this house hath already taken into consideration, and such others as are fit for the howse to take into consideration they will in due tyme consider of, and doe expect you shall acquiesce in the determination of this howse accordinge to your own expressions.

This petition was in the name of divers cittizens and inhabitants of the Citty of London.[69]

That you see this answer is parliamentary and wheras it was added that the howse did approve of the petitioners' good affection, it was layd aside by a vote of 100 and odd voyces difference. By this you may somwhat judge of the sence of the howse which, notwithstandinge as much of craft and specious designs are used imaginable, yet we shalbe safe within doors and I hope we have not much reason to fear abroad, for the army is (after much workinge uppon) resolved to own the 2 howses with the single person, and wilbe satisfyed with some negatives as to the constitution and probably to religion, and in other bills only some days or weeks of advise and then to pass for laws, a coordination in the militia, sittinge a parliament, in him and the parliament, and in the intervalls in him and the councill. Those things may secure all partyes and settle his Highness better then much struglinge may. I give you not my sence now on these things. I am glad we can reach anythinge that hath safty in it, and we must observe seasons and tymes as well as things and persons. I pray acquaynt Shapcote[70] with the contents of this, and assure him he hath many frends here and I presume he may be shortly intitled to the attorney generall's place.[71] I am now attendinge about his Tiverten buisness[72] and as far as I can look into the thinge, it will beget a new writ and then he may rest assurd.

My collonel Cook and your good frind tells me he writ formerly unto you concerninge his cosen german Mr Walter Scudamore,[73] formerly related to the lord chief justice Pepis. His desyers are yours and Shapcot's assistance accordinge to the merits of the gentleman and Hoppar[74] and applications he makes unto you. The collonell

[69] Sentence added in the margin at this point.

[70] Robert Shapcote had sat for Tiverton in the first two Protectorate parliaments and was seeking to represent the town again in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament, though his return was being disputed.

[71] He was already solicitor-general and was seeking the attorney-generalship of Ireland (*TSP*, VII, p. 627).

[72] In early March, the privileges committee finished considering the disputed election for Tiverton, and, on 10 March, the house supported the committee's final report, which found against Shapcote.

[73] Fleetwood had written to Henry Cromwell at the beginning of February on Scudamore's behalf (*TSP*, VII, p. 604).

[74] Uncertain reading of a poorly formed word.

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would have written to Shapcote and soe would I, but we want tyme. I must hasten into the howse wher the committee of priveledges sit to hearken after my comrade's commands. I am,

Yours,

T G

I heer shall send you the bond. My comrade's buisness is not likely to come on this night.

My last tould you of payinge captain Owen and that hee sent you Mr Maund's letter, which tells you that he hath returned the monyes for Ireland, soe I have but £50 towards our excellency's £100 and you owe some somes here fitting to be payd.

472. From Arthur Annesley, London, 22 February 1659, 823, fos 229–230.

May it please your excellency,

Though there occurres little to write since my last, yet that my dutyfull observance of your excellencye's commands may appeare, I shall acquaint your lordship that the last weeke the house of commons resolved that it be part of the bill of recognition to declare the parliament to consist of two houses and to state the bounds and powers of another house; and this day we were in further debate thereof, but have adjourned the debate till Thursday next. I beleeve no house will passe but with admittance of the ancient peeres that have not forfeited. How farre the army will approve thereof I may question in a letter, though we abhorre the thought of it in our house. We have another great businesse tomorrow, which was entred upon yesterday and adjurned. Tis concerning the sending a fleet to the Sound, which is like very shortly to be disputed betweene the two crownes of Denmark and Swede and their confederates. The Hollanders have a 100 large shipps ready; we fifty. My opinion is we shall recommend it to his Highnesse' care to send a strong fleet with caution to endeavour peace betweene those crownes and to avoid any breach with our friends and allyes as they both are.

Letters are sent to your lordship by our speaker for the state of the revenue and charge in Ireland. It will be good that a returne be hastned, that we may make the best use we can for a supply hence. Wherein and in what else your excellency shall command my service, I will ever manifest myself, may it please your excellency,

Your excellencye's most humble servant,

Arthur Annesley

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473. From Daniel Abbott, Kilkenny, 1 March 1659, 823, fos 233–234.

May it please your excellency,

Just as I was coming forth of Dublin, I had notice given me by one belonging to colonell Pritty[75] that the said colonell intended a triall at Clonmell the next assizes for the 200 acres of land belonging to the silver mynes. And upon a serious consideration had thereof, I humbly conceive that if colonell Pritty gaine this particular plott of land by a triall at the common law, it wilbe impossible to recover it for the use of the said mynes and without which the state will never have benefitt thereof, though upon a readmeasurement the said colonell Prittye's lott be found to be an overplus of neare double what he ought to have. The judge before whom this triall wilbe is the recorder of Dublin,[76] who hath bin his only councell to putt him forward in going to law and most pleaded his cause at the late triall before the lord cheife barron.[77] My lord, wee have nothing to plead against his recovering this land but that it was not admeasured and given out unto him according to rule, and that it was so is an undenyable truth. And though the attourney generall and solicitor generall[78] both pleaded it, the lord cheife barron seemed to take little notice thereof, but decreed the land to colonell Pritty. And no doubt the recorder will doe the like if something be not done by your lordship or the councell to prevent the present tryall (which wilbe the 10th or 11th of March) by letting the recorder know that you are credibly informed the particular lott of colonell Pritty hath neare double its proportion of acres that of right belonges to the said colonell and that it is your lordship's and the councell's intent to have it admeasured and sett out unto him according to rule and till then there can be no legall proceedings in law. If this or any other way by your excellency shalbe thought fitt at present for the stopp of the said triall, it's like that the said colonell Pritty may be brought to some reasonable composition and so the state's interest in some measure preserved and the pattentees encouraged to proceed in carrying on the works, which otherwise wilbe wholly left to colonell Prittye's mercy

[75] Henry Pretty, parliamentarian officer, went to Ireland in 1649 as a captain in Henry Ireton's New Model horse regiment, though soon after he was promoted to be major of Oliver Cromwell's horse regiment in Ireland. When that double regiment was divided into two new regiments, Pretty was an officer in the regiment initially commanded by Henry Shelburne, but, on Shelburne's death in 1651, Pretty became its colonel; around the same time he also became governor of Carlow.

[76] Probably John Bisse/Bysse, who, claiming Henry Cromwell's support, had been returned by the city of Dublin to the second Protectorate parliament and who, after there had been initial thoughts of excluding him, had been admitted and played an active role in that parliament (*TSP*, V, p. 477).

[77] Miles Corbet.

[78] William Basil and Robert Shapcote respectively.

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to their damage, neare £1,500 already expended, besides they and the state being debarred of any future profitt to be expected from the said mynes. After this triall the pattentees wilbe putt out of possession of their smelting mills, the poore workmen out of their howses which they have lately built, and so be necessitated to returne for England, from whence it cost us very deare to gett them over, and so the whole worke rendred uselesse and the undertakers remedilesse. If what is proposed or any other way shalbe thought meet by your lordship or the councell to be done by way of prevention for the aforesaid reasons, some one or other must be speedily dispatched away to be at Clonmell by the 10th of March to make affidavit in the court of what shalbe tendred, otherwise it wilbe of none effect in the court. Thus humbly craving your lordship's pardon for this trouble, being urged thereunto in discharge of my duty as employed in the behalfe of the pattentees, as also the concernment of above £500 to myselfe, I take leave and remayne,

Your excellencye's most humble servant,
D Abott

Being thus surprized in matter of time, I am perswaded there will not be one councell that goes that circuit but is already retained for colonell Pritty.

474. From Thomas Gorges, 1 March 1659, 823, fos 235–236.

May it please your excellency,

The encouragements I have receaved by the hands of your servant, my brother, not only gives me this boldness but an assurance of pardon for all other errors that may escape my pen, and seinge you will accept of the trouble, I shalbe constant in it and in those slender collections I present your excellency, withall I shall only state matter of fact and the reasons on which they are grounded, rarely intreposinge my own thoughts.

I need not tell your excellency that we are met with as many divisions naturally planted in us as our particular interest leads unto, and wher ther are such fundamentall contradictions it is noe wonder if debates are longe and dubious. We have past one great mountayn, the owninge the single person, but doubtless shall exceedingly dispute the bounds and soe far endeavour to restrayn him that he shall have vox praeterea nihil[79] and the duke of Venice shall prove more absolute then our English Protector. Noe negative, noe title to the militia, less to the army (as divided from the militia) is what some aym at. Others are

[79] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'a voice (and) nothing more'.

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for a negative as to the constitution, revenew when setled and matters of religion, others to the powers admitted in the petition and advice, and some for larger; but as farther debates arise, soe I shall give your excellency the result of them. The consideration of the present state of affayrs in the Baltick Sea hath taken up some tym, and indeed will call for more. If the English loose theyr interest ther they must expect laws from the Dutch, who court with us the same mistress trade, and cannot but be jealous of us, as well as bearinge a revenge unto us. The gentlemen whose principles are for a commonwealth oppose very strongly our interposinge ther, especially as a frend to Sweden. Theyr reasons are: the tenderness of blood, wastinge of treasure, dissatisfaction on the Swede's cause especially his last invasion of Zealand, and his swellinge power in case he becomes absolute in the Sound, wherby he may impose what terms he please on Christendom, whereas if it remayns in divided or weaker hands, our interest is safer and our terms better. This debate on Wensday last[80] begot this resolution: that a very considerable navy be forthwith provided and put to sea for the safty of this commonwealth and for the preservation of the trade and commerce therof. On Thursday the debate ran in whose hands the managment of this fleet shalbe, and beinge prest to be in his Highness and councill, it was highly opposed, first because it tacitely gave him the right of the militia, 2dly it gave him the power of peace and war, 3dly it owned his councill and imployed them, and at 11 that night it was resolved that it be referd to his Highness to put the vote of the house in execution for the preparinge and puttinge to sea a considerable navy etc, savinge the right and interest of this howse to the militia and to the makeinge of peace and war. What his Highness will doe by virtue of this vote I know not, for it signifyes litle, and yet I hope he will not omitt this seasonable opportunity in appearinge at least as a powerfull mediator for peace between those princes. The Dutch have provided 100 noble ships of war with 10 fier ships and 10 advisoes[81] and have 16 more on the stocks almost ready. The howse adjourned till Saterday.

Saterday the howse discharged one Portman,[82] beinge committed to the Tower on his late Highness' warrant as beinge a principall actor in the insurrection amonge the 5th Monarchy men. This imprisonment is voted illegal and unjust. Thus your excellency sees that the indulgence

[80] 23 February.

[81] Adviso: a dispatch boat.

[82] John Portman, a Fifth Monarchist or Fifth Monarchist sympathizer, was arrested and questioned several times during the Protectorate. Imprisoned since February 1658, in February 1659 he petitioned parliament for his release and, having heard him, on 22 February, parliament declared his imprisonment illegal and, following a further debate, ordered his release on 26 February.

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of your renowned father hath another interpretation uppon it. Had his Highness proceeded with that sort of men as he did with another generation, he had better secured the nation from those vipers that gnaw his blessed memory with the most poysoned teeth of design and mallice.

Yesterday we reassumed the debate of the other howse. Many questions started as to the bounds of them, but much prest to know the persons first and then declare theyr powers, but answered if the persons be concluded to be the ould nobillity, it will after that prove too late to bound them, for they beinge restored to theyr primitive rights are sole judges of it themselves. Much debate whither by the petition and advice ther is any power given to the successor to call another howse, but the 8th paragraph and the explanation on the 5th and the oath to be taken by both howses satisfyes that it was soe intended; but in the meantyme that poor petition suffers more tortures then Lawrence Sabastean or any of the martyrs in the Romesh legend ever did, it beinge severall tymes sayd, had Alexander the 6th, Ceasar Borgia and Matchiavill met to have created a platform of tyranny they could not have paralleled this peece. The howrly objection that it was made by a forced parliament, because many were kept out, is allmost dispelled, because it must be a parliament to declare the force and retorted on the[83] those gentlemen that used it because it will anull all the acts made from December 1647[84] till 1653, they then sittinge under a greater force. But I trouble your excellency with my undigested and hasty lines. At 3 of the clock this afternoon (we haveinge shot all day at rowens),[85] it was resolved that tomorrow the debate shalbe whither this howse will transact with the other howse now sittinge as an howse of parliament, which indeed will in a short tyme bringe us a consistency or dissolution, and I humbly conceave it better to break heer then on any other poynt.

The armye, we hope, sit down quiett and resolve soe to doe; if otherwise we rejoyce in that union that is under your excellencye's government which wilbe able to ballance any disordered passions heer. I am now to beg your excellencye's pardon for my ill pen, worse method and longe tryall of your patience to read both, and your opinion that I am,

Your excellencye's most humble servant,

Tho Gorges

[83] Superfluous word or word then omitted.

[84] Presumably Pride's Purge of December 1648 is intended.

[85] Rowen: a second crop or an aftermath.

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475. From Thomas Grove, Westminster, 1 March 1659, 823, fos 237–238.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of his unnamed brother, a poor man with many children to support, who intended to seek a new life in Ireland; requests that his brother, a godly and sober man, be given a place or office which would yield him a reasonable income; praises Henry Cromwell for his good and godly work in Ireland.

476. From Arthur Annesley, London, 8 March 1659, 823, fos 239–240.

May it please your excellency,

I received the honour of your lordship's letter, which warrants me to continue this weekely information of what passeth here, which I once apprehended I should not have been able to doe this poast, but the speaker falling so ill about nine of the clock this night, we could not come to the maine question,[86] which would have held us till one of the clock at night as it did yesternight. The house adjourned and I have gotten a few minutes to let your excellency know what is done and what we are like to come to. Your lordship hath inclosed the question that hath imployed the house allmost these ten dayes and been debated pro and con with a great deale of judgment and consideration, but whither it will yet passe is uncertaine, though the latter part concerning the ancient peeres was added this night to make the question more passable, ther right being asserted in the house so unquestionably that no question could passe without a provision for it. The passing of this addition somewhat tryed the pulse of the house for they were devided upon the question and those in the affirmative were 195 and those in the negative 188. So that with the speaker and 4 tellers your excellency may see that there were in the house this night 400 wanting twelve. And it's very probable the maine question, with the addition to it, which is to be put tomorrow, will passe in the affirmative and then some hope businesse may goe on more smoothly with two houses. But I must further acquaint your excellency that those in the negative this night, doubting the question would be carryed against them and observing that most of the members of Ireland and Scotland voted for it, they sett on foot the debate about the illegality of their sitting and proposed they might withdraw and give no vote in a question that might be so fatall to England. How the house will proceed herein tomorrow I know not, but it's cleer if the question passe the members

[86] Whether to do business with the other house and so recognize it as a house of parliament.

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of those two nations carryes it, which gives great discontent. The Lord quiet all men's spirits towards settlement. Our fleet is not yet gone to sea. Here are some rumours of a late defeat given the Swedes. Your lordship will, I hope, pardon my hasty scrible and still owne me as, my lord,

Your excellency's most obedient servant,
Arthur Annesley

477. From Francis Aungier, London, 8 March 1659, 823, fos 241–242.

Letter of courtesy, profusely thanking Henry Cromwell for his letter and his affections and heaping praise on Henry Cromwell, his family, and his government of Ireland; apologizes that, because he was unwell and forced to keep to his chamber, he had very little news to report.[87]

478. From Thomas Gorges, London, 8 March 1659, 823, fos 243–244.

May it please your excellency,

I conclude ere this you have receaved the trouble of my last lines, and I can add but litle to what the last poast conveyed you. Ever since that date we have ben on the same dispute, whether to transact with the other howse now sittinge as the other howse of parliament. The arguments have ben passionate and pressed suitable to interest, but noe resolve as yet obteyned. But those gentlemen that are for owninge them, findinge themselfs overpowred and indeed outwitted by the commonwealths men (who have cajold many of the yonge gentlemen on particular disgusts as to the persons of the present lords) wer inforced to move for additions to the question, and findinge the yonge gentlemen very zealous to preserve the rights of the anteant lords, added a salvo to the rights of the aunteant peers that have contenued faythfull to this commonwealth when duly summond by writ to sit in the other howse of parliament. The howse on these disputes sate till one this morninge and met at one this afternoon and about 8 put the addition and divided, the ayes 195, the noes 188, and then we rationally expected the mayn question, but instead of that the gentlemen that lost theyr hopes interposed the sittinge of

[87] Indeed, the only mention of parliamentary business in this letter is a brief paragraph added at the end: 'The speaker's unexpected indisposition has ajourn'd the debate of the other house till tomorrowe, when I feare it will not be determin'd, for those that have interpos'd this last weeke past have the same mind still and will oppose, though they make repetition of theyr arguments. The armye, I am inform'd, are disgusted at this hesitation, but the house, though they have beene told so, will take no notice of it.'

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the members of Scotland and Ireland and debated it for longe, till the speaker through much weakness sanke in the chayr and soe we adjourned till toomorrow 10 of the clock. By this your excellency may judge with what high disingenuous proceedings those gentlemen lead the howse who, I hope, begin to see the anguis in horba.[88] It is very late, yet I could not suffer my akinge head to take any rest till I had given your excellency this trouble, and havinge begd your pardon for it and opinion of me as I rest, my lord,

Your most humble servant,

Tho Gorges

479. From Anthony Morgan, 8 March 1659, 823, fos 245–246.

May it please your excellency,

Soon after my coming hither I presented the letters your lordship gave me and was every where received with a great deal of kindness, and his Highness spoke many loving words of the mutuall affection betwixt himselfe and your lordship. Nothing hath yet occur'd worth writing. Mr Secretary (with whom I have yet had no discourse) hath this day invited me to dine with him, being as he says the best opportunity he can give. Wee have spent 4 daies in debate of the question whether wee will transact with the other house as house of parliament. Last night the house, intending to come to a question, shut the doores and about 1 a clock at night wee adjorned without putting any other question then that for adjornment till 1 a clock next day, upon which question the house being divided there were in the House 391 besides the tellers. The great number makes things very tumultuous and the house so hot that I doe not see how it can be borne in summer. I know not whether that will be amongst the reasons of our not sitting so long. Mr Secretary in his speech, amongst other ill consequences, said wee should fall into a sneaking oligarchy. Sir H Vane said no, that was not the matter but that some sneaking counselors feared least this house should have the eare of his Highness.

The commonwealth party are weak yet like to carry this great question by the accession of such as dislike the persons of which the other house is composed, or else are violent for the old peerage under which cloke some carry Charles Steward.

[88] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'snake in the grass'.

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Collonel Ashfeild[89] and lieutenant collonel Gough[90] walking in the hall, lord Whally[91] passing through to the other house fell in discourse with them. Ashfeild seemed against the government, Whally for it. Ashfeild told Whally what he said was not true. He replied, sir, you have in effect given me the lye 6 or 7 times and with so much insolence that were it in another place I'de cut you one the pate. Goffe answered, if he went to that he might have cutting enough. Whaly went away, they followed him. Whaly turns about and desires them not to follow him. Ashfeild turnd his back and replied he scorned to follow him. Whaly complains to his Highness. All parties are sent for. Ashfeild denies, collonel Mills[92] prove Whaly's complaint. His Highness orders Ashfeild should give satisfaction to Whaly by acknowledgment or else it should be referred to a court marshall. Next day Ashfeild excuses himselfe and is loth to betray his own inocency. They withdraw. His Highness with advice of some officers refers it to a court marshall, and the charge is now preparing against Ashfield and Goff. The originall of this was upon the late meeting of officers of about 30 where Whaly opposed and disliked there meeting, at which meeting some papers were prepared and committed. What they were I know not yet. All this account I have from Whaly.

All our Irish members seem much startled at the proceeding with Lill,[93] taking it for a rule that no tryall ought to be for life by a court martiall when the civill courts are open, and seem to have been confirmed in their opinion by all wise men here. They are glad to

[89] Richard Ashfield, parliamentarian officer, during the 1640s served as a captain, then major, then lieutenant-colonel, of Philip Skippon's New Model foot regiment. He campaigned under Oliver Cromwell in Scotland and, in the course of 1651, was promoted to colonel and gained command of the regiment. It remained in Scotland throughout the 1650s, though Ashfield himself seems to have spent time in London, away from his regiment. He became prominent at this stage as one of the London-based officers supporting Fleetwood and increasingly hostile towards the Protectorate and the Protectorate parliament.

[90] William Gough/Goffe, parliamentarian officer, who must be distinguished from the colonel William Goffe who served as a major-general in 1655–1657. This William Gough was a captain, and later lieutenant-colonel, of the New Model horse regiment of Stephen Winthrop, and later Edward Montague, which served in Scotland in the mid- and late 1650s, although he too seems to have spent time in London, away from his regiment, and become a strong supporter of the army's moves against the Protectorate and Protectorate parliament of Richard Cromwell.

[91] Edward Whalley, styled 'lord' because he was a member of the other house.

[92] John Mill/Mills.

[93] Apparently a parliamentarian officer or soldier, though his military record is obscure, he had reportedly been convicted of murder or mutiny and condemned to death, but by a court martial rather than by a regular civil court, leading to questions about the legality and wisdom of executing him. The case seems to have caused considerable controversy and to have taken up an inordinate amount of time, evident not only in this and subsequent letters in this collection but also in correspondence passing between Henry Cromwell and Thurloe during March (*TSP*, VII, pp. 635, 636).

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heare the warrants for his execution is suspended. I have not yet had time to search into this matter but thinke your excellency is in a safe by suspending the execution. Somtimes I almost thinke it a matter fitt for the determination of parliament sed quere.[94]

Last night about 12 a clocke, Mr Knightly[95] having asked leave to goe home, not being well, soon after returned and complaind to the house that he was told the house would be dissolved next day if the question about transacting passed in the negative and that the soldiers had affronted him and when he said he was a parliament man then they flew more violently upon him. The house presently cryed out adjorne. Sir John Northcot[96] moved the matter might be referred to examination, but it died.

Since my writing this, I had an hower's discourse with the Secretary, the particulars not worth writing, only he told me he was much importuned by some Irish members (named Ingoldsby)[97] that Mr Booth[98] might be solliciter generall and asked my opinion. I told him that if he would promise me that whosoever I named should be the man, I would say it should be who my lord lieutenant would name, for thought he might reasonably expect that as a civility even though his councell was thought useless and it seemed strange to me that at least that ceremony was not used towards him in the late disposition, since he must either take upon him the reproch of a thing the people thinke ill done or proclaime how little regard was shewed to him here. The 1st he said should surely be mended, the other was occasioned through the importunity of Sir William Bury's[99] lettre and others crying out as if all were lost if sombody were not made presently and none could be got from hence. He thinks it very reasonable your excellency should

[94] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'but why' or 'but for what reason'.

[95] Sir Richard Knightley, parliamentarian politician, sat in the Short and Long Parliament and was very active in the parliamentary cause in the early and mid-1640s, but he was excluded and briefly imprisoned at Pride's Purge and took no part in national politics in the wake of the regicide. He made a cautious return during the Protectorate and was elected for his native Northamptonshire in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament.

[96] Sir John Northcote, parliamentarian officer and politician, was elected to the Short and Long Parliaments in 1640, campaigned in his native Devon during the opening phase of the civil war, and was captured when Exeter fell to the king. Released on an exchange, he resumed his Commons seat in 1645 but absented himself at Pride's Purge. He was elected to represent Devon in all three Protectorate parliaments, although he was excluded from the second, probably on suspicion of royalist leanings.

[97] Either Henry Ingoldsby, MP for Counties Kerry, Limerick, and Clare, or George Ingoldsby, MP for Limerick and Kilmallock towns, or perhaps both of them.

[98] Probably Robert Booth, a lawyer practising in Dublin by the later 1650s; nothing came of this suggestion at this stage, although he became a judge in Ireland and then England after the Restoration.

[99] William Bury/Berry, the Irish councillor.

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come over but went of from that point, which I easily suffered, having only stirred it obiter.[100]

From hence wee went to the house, carryed an addition to the question by 18 voices, owrs beinge 203 besides the tellers. Then the main question being to be put, the other party by the division upon the addition being sure they should loose it, excepted against the Irish and Scotch. Much wrangle ther was about it, whether the motion was then regular being stirred only to stop the question. The speaker was sick and the house adjorned in some confusion till tomorrow 10 a clock. Sir Hierome Sankey made his election (some say very unseasonably), said he was chosen for Tipperary and Woodstocke, and he would sticke to his election in England (with an emphasis) and divides with the commonwealthsmen; and so does Mr Ansley, who declares the petition and advice is no law etc.

I remain your lordship's faithfull servant.

480. From Hierome Sankey, Wallingford House, 8 March 1659, 823, fos 247–248.

May it please your excellency,

The question that has bene the matter of the debate this ten dayes and more I have here inclosed sent you. The reasons of the lenght of the debate were upon these accompts: many of the contry gentlemen have bene very earnest in assertinge the right of the old peers upon supposition that the vote mentioned would wholy exclude them. The cheife of which was Sir George Booth, Mr Hungerfoord, Mr Knightly, Mr Anesly, Mr Turner, Mr Tirrell, Mr Maurice[101] and severall of great interest and reputation, who in this vote upon another accompt fell in with the commonwealth party, who have a great many able men, who have noteably bestired themselves against the petition and advice (viz) Sir Henry Vane, Sir Anthony Cooper, John Sadler, Sir Arthur Haselridge, Mr St Nicholas, Mr Boscowinge, Mr Robert Reynolds, Mr H Nevil, Mr Weaver, Mr Morley, my lord Lambert,[102] cum

[100] This Latin word could be translated as 'by the way', 'in passing' or 'cursorily'.

[101] Sir George Booth, MP for Lancashire; Henry Hungerford, MP for Great Bedwin; Sir Richard Knightley, MP for Northamptonshire; Arthur Annesley, MP for Dublin; probably Edward Turner, MP for Essex; Thomas Terrill/Tyrell, MP for Aylesbury; and William Morrice, MP for Newport in Cornwall.

[102] Sir Henry Vane, MP for Whitchurch; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, MP for Wiltshire; John Sadler, MP for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight; Sir Arthur Hesilrige, MP for Leicestershire; Thomas St Nicholas, MP for Canterbury; either Hugh Boscawen, MP for Cornwall, Charles Boscawen, MP for Truro, or Edward Boscawen, MP for Tregony; Robert Reynolds, MP for Whitchurch; Henry Neville, MP for Reading; John Weaver, MP for Stamford; Herbert Morley, MP for Sussex; and John Lambert, MP for Pontefract.

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multis aliis.[103] Both parties bringe in there arguments, both as to the constitution and the persons now sitinge (viz) that the members in the other house had two and twenty regiments under there commands; that there were seven judges, soe that there could be noe proper appeales from the courts at Westminster Hall, seaven judges being members of the house; that ther was likewise sixe and thirty sallery men members in that house, as likewise conserninge the power and moneys etc, which collonel Morley,[104] Mr Weaver and others, not so much in a commonwealth accompt as these men named, were dissatisfied withall. The addition to the question was brought in and urged by such Presbiterians as I am perswaded thought themselves they were bound not to prejudice the peers upon the accompt of the covenant, upon which accompt Mr Bunkley, Mr Groves, Mr Swinfeild, Mr Bamfeild, Mr Godfrey[105] and severall others fell in with the court part. Mr Secretary told me he liked not the addition, but could not tell how to helpe it, unless to bringe in confusion by the loss of the question, and I beleive Mr Trevor, sargeant Maynard, Mr solicitor, Mr atturney generall,[106] etc were of his mind. The addition to the question was put above an houre since. The ies were 195, the noes 188. After the addition to the question was put and carried in the affermative, exceptions were made against Scotch and Ireish members and very many of the noes, though against the useuall order of the house, urged the house to judge of the right of there sitinge. Others moved for other additions to the question, but the speaker beinge ill and ready to faint away, haveing bene ill all this weeke by excessive toyle, Mr Bunkeley haveinge moved for Sir Lilburne Longe[107] to take his place for a weeke,

[103] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'with many other things' or 'with many others'.

[104] Herbert Morley, parliamentarian officer and politician, campaigned for parliament in southern England during the opening years of the civil war and had allied with the radicals in the Long Parliament and its Rump, even though he did not attend the trial of the king or sign the death warrant, and he consistently opposed both Oliver Cromwell after the ejection of the Rump and the Protectoral regime in general. Elected for Sussex to Oliver Cromwell's two Protectorate parliaments, he sat in the first and was not one of those excluded – or who excluded themselves – after 12 September 1654, but he was excluded from the start of the second.

[105] John Bulkeley, MP for Christchurch; Thomas Grove, MP for Marlborough; probably John Swinfen, MP for Tamworth; Thomas Bampfield, MP for Exeter; and Lambert Godfrey, MP for Romney.

[106] John Trevor, MP for Flintshire; Sir John Maynard, MP for Newtown, Isle of Wight; William Ellis, solicitor-general and MP for Grantham; and Edmund Prideaux, attorney-general and MP for Lyme Regis.

[107] Lislebone Long, parliamentarian politician and lawyer, held local office under parliament in and around his native Somerset during the early and mid-1640s and was elected as MP for Wells in 1645, surviving Pride's Purge and sitting in the Rump, but absenting himself during the period of the regicide. He sat in all three Protectorate parliaments (as MP for Wells, Somerset, and Wells respectively), held other offices during

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the house adjourned till tomorrow morneinge. Your excellencie's I received and shall observe your commands. I begge the excuse of very short time. I comitt you to the Lord's protection and rest,

Your excellencie's most humble servant,

Hie Sankey

481. From Adam Molyneux, 11 March 1659, 823, fos 249–250.

May it please your excelencie,

Bonaventure O'Cahan, an Irish bishop, was (about three monthes since) imployed from Spayne heather to inquier the state and condition of this nation in order to sum proposalls which I doubt not your lordship remembers were sent heather last summer from Charles Stuart, in which matter he hath conferred with most of the popish clergie, amongst whome noe particuler matter or sercomstance was contrived for our disturbance other then comfortable hopes of releife by midsummer next, and that wholy dependinge on the expected peace betwene France and Spayne. This Bonaventure is now gon to London to compare nootes with Edmond Reley, bishop of Ardmagh and primatt of Ireland, whoe is now there with the French ambassador. Many frivolus and longe discourses I am often troubled with, as likewise severall letters of coraspondence that pass betweene the popish clergie from London to Dublin and soe to these partes, that importe nothinge but foreine and publicke transactions not fitt to trouble your lordship with, but this (togeather with summ charitable collections for the distressed clergie) I am confident is the utmost of this winter's consultation amongst them. Of which I thought myselfe obliged to give your lordship this accompt. Beginge pardon for this bouldness, I rest as in all duty bound,

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

Ad Molyneux

482. From Arthur Annesley, London, 15 March 1658, 823, fos 251–252.

May it please your excellency,

Though the little that hath been transacted in parliament this weeke affords no great matter to write of, yet my duty calls upon me to let your excellency know that the whole weeke hath been spent upon the subject my last gave your lordship a hint of, viz about the right of the

the Protectorate, and became recorder of London in 1655. Elected speaker on 9 March, Long soon fell ill himself and died just a week later, on 16 March.

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members of Scotland to sitt in parliament, and though it hath been hotly and with great reason disputed against, yet I am of opinion, though with some difficulty, it will be continued to them, and Ireland I beleeve will follow their lott.

The other house are a little impatient at our delayes, which have been unavoydable, these last two dayes having been lost by the new speaker's disposition equall to the other, which made us adjourne yesterday as soone as we sate till tomorrow morning, and if he be not then well we must choose another, unlesse Mr Chute be in ease to take the chaire againe.

If your lordship have it not from other hands, it will not be improper that I let your excellency know that Dr Owens hath gathered a church in the Independent way and that lord Fleetwood, lord Desborrough, lord Sidenham, Berry, Goffe and divers others were admitted members since my last, which hath divers constructions put upon it and is not, that I can heare, very well liked at Whitehall.

Your lordship will, I hope, pardon my freedome and owne me to be, may it please your excellency,

Your excellencye's most obedient servant,

Arthur Annesley

483. From Henry Whalley, Westminster, 15 March 1659, 823, fos 253–254.

Letter of request, asking Henry Cromwell to keep a close eye on his son, Lieutenant Whalley, who had reportedly developed bad and ungodly ways, urging him to give his son a reproof as well as good counsel, so that he might be reclaimed; also reports that the Protector had appointed Carterett to be judge advocate in England and the writer to be judge advocate in Ireland and so hopes that he might do good service both to Henry Cromwell and to Ireland.

484. From Anne Bodville,[108] 21 March 1659, 823, fos 255–256.

My lord,

Your lady lying in makes me to give you the trouble of reading these two or three lines. I desired her to present my lord Fiennes and his ladye's humble service to you, who often acknowledge themselves very much obliged to you in the behalfe of her brother, Mr Whitehead, which I understand by them is one of your lifeguard. They have desired me to petition you on his behalfe, that if there be any new officers

[108]Anne Bodville née Russell, the estranged wife of John Bodvill/Bodville/Bodvel, MP for Anglesey in the opening years of the Long Parliament, sister of Sir Francis Russell and so the aunt of Henry Cromwell's wife.

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made, as they are informed there is to be, that you wilbe pleased to take him into your thoughts, if there be any preferment that you thincke him capable of. For which my lady Fiennes desired me to tell you, she shall take it as a great favour and acknowledge herselfe very much obliged to you.

Pray present my service to your lady. I will write to her at large. My dearest lord, farewell. So begging your pardon for this trouble, being alwaies ready to acknowledge myselfe infinitely obliged to you, I rest, my lord,

Your faithfull freind and humble servant,

A Boduell

485. From Nathaniel Fiennes, Covent Garden, 21 March 1659, 823, fos 257–258.

Letter of courtesy and of thanks for continuing favour to his brother-in-law, John Whitehead; also seeks acknowledgement that the bearer of his previous letter, his cousin Edmund Temple, had arrived safely in Ireland, since there had been worrying rumours that he had been captured by pirates and had escaped from their hands only with great loss.

486. From Arthur Annesley, London, 22 March 1659, 823, fos 259–260.

May it please your excellency,

Though the honour of your excellencye's letter of the 16th of this month doth ingage me to increase of diligence in giving your lordship an account of transactions here, yet the present sad condition that my aged father lyes in by the dead palsey, which fell on him since the last poast, which hath taken away his speech, hinders me from being so large in the present dispatch as I intended. But the inclosed will shew your excellency how slowly we proceed, but I hope we shall now goe on faster. Tomorrow is appointed for to debate the sitting of the members for Ireland, who I doubt not will have the same vote passed for them.

And then we shall resume the question which I formerly sent your lordship concerning transacting with the other house, who are preparing the way for us, having allready laid aside in compliance with the house of commons a bill which was brought in by one of the other house against their being hereditary peeres.

They have also taken into consideration the reduceing those acts which settle excise and customes perpetuall to a certaine number of yeares, to answere the commons' great objection that the purse of the people is taken from them.

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There is great probability of the Spaniard and French agreeing. And the Swede hath certainly received a blow. Your lordship will, I hope, pardon me that, having intrusted one Alexander Eustace in my absence with the care of my concernments in the county of Kildare, he being neither proprietor nor one that was in armes, I may beg his freedome from transplantation till my returne, I ingaging for his good behaviour, for I should suffer very much if I should be deprived of him till I were there to dispose of my affaires and get another in his place. Your excellencye's direction herein to Dr Gorge will further oblige, may it please your excellency,

Your excellencye's most humble and obedient servant,
Arthur Annesley

487. From Thomas Gorges, 22 March 1659, 823, fos 261–262.

May it please your excellency,

Findinge your favourable acceptance of my unpolished lynes, I take the boldness to contenew your trouble. My last informed your excellency that when we came to the question of transactinge with the other howse, an interposinge question concerninge the sittinge of the Scots and Irish members broke in uppon us, which yet is our debate as to the Irish. The Scots with much difficulty came last night to a resolution of continuance. The debates have run on theyr right either as legall, equitable or prudentiall. The legallity rested on his Highness' ordinance of union confirmed the last parliament;[109] the equity on the intended union by the Longe Parliament, whose bill was twice read and whose declarations invited that nation to a brotherly unitinge far from terms of conquest; prudence would not at this tyme give a nationall discontent and cast out those this parliament that have sate the two former, agaynst whom nothinge could be objected but the destribution to which that nation had submitted accordinge to his late Highness' ordinance (which beinge not confirmed was the only ground of dispute). Yet the same argument lyes agaynst England on poynt of distribution, it beinge left imperfect in the petition and advice. Next, if the Scots are not admitted with us on the union, necessity requyers a new treaty and till it takes effect noe assessment could be imposed on them and they wer to seek whither they should be treated withall as bretheren or vassals. But the gentlemen of the commonwealth profered on theyr present expulsion a bill to be prepared to confirm the union and to give them power to send members hither, but every gentleman saw the impossibillity of that this parliament, especially

[109]The ordinance of Protector and council of April 1654 had been confirmed by the second Protectorate parliament at the end of its first session, in June 1657.

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after Sir Henry Vane had declared that this nation could not receave them till we ourselfe wer capacitated for it, for by our declaration and the former intended act they wer to be admitted unto us as a free state. A longe debate was on theyr withdrawinge and much pressinge on poynt of ingenuity and modesty, but they resolutly tould the howse that theyr modesty and ingenuity should rather suffer then theyr fayth and justice to the nation, and on Fryday night[110] the question was put whither the question should then be put for the Scots members to withdraw. It was carryed in the negative by many more then the number of the Scots and Irish; and the mayn question on withdrawinge being put, the house divided, but the commonwealths men (beinge willinge to preserve a dyinge reputation and to stayn all our votes as carryd on by the strength of the Scots and Irish) refused to tell, but yeelded. I dare assure your excellency we carryed it by 50 English at least.

Yesterday the mayn question was put, that the members now returned to serve for Scotland should continew to sit in this present parliament, and carryed in the affermative by what voyces I know not for they betook themselfes to theyr former art, but on that question whither it should be put we wer 211 and they 120, of which number I may with confidence say they lost many on the question. Yet as we wer ready to put the question, collonel Salmon, a collonel of the army and commissioner of the admiralty, moved for the addition to the question, vidzt: as havinge not legall right, which seemed exceedingly disingenious, yet the ball beinge up it was soe kept for some tyme, but with scorn layed aside.

Toomorrow we fall on the Irish members, and the question was propounded in order to the debate whither the Irish shalbe continued to sit in this parliament. Others moved that the words, that they have a legall right, which by a question was layd aside.

Major generall Overton is released and his imprisonment voted illegall and unjust.

Thus your excellency sees how we get all by inches, and with that party joyns the yonge gentlemen. I would not beleeve they had any cavaleer principles in them, but this I dare aver, if ther be not a preservative by the means of another howse to have a checque on this, a few years will fill this howse with cavaleers, for the yonge gentry generally are bred dabauched and more close with that interest then with what God hath and will own amonge us. But I am too tedious to detayn you from your more weighty affayres, and therfor beg your pardon and opinon of me as,

Your excellencye's most humble servant,

Tho Gorges

[110] 18 March.

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488. From Francis Aungier, London, 22 March 1659, 823, fos 263–264.

Sir,

The lettre with which you were pleased to honour me of the 9th instant comeing to my hands after the departure of the last poast puts a necessitye upon me of acknowledging a double obligation. Namely for that and the other of the 18th instant in one single answere, which otherwise had beene a rudenesse that I could not have pardoned even in myselfe.

I will not be uncivilly sollicitous to knowe what acceptation my lettre found with that lady to whom my person was so ungratefull, but shall beseech you to beleeve this truth, that the power of keeping me in my present station or of placing me in any other shall and must be in your sole commands, I haveing long since wholly resolved myselfe to be at your disposition as becomes your servant. And if your perticular favours doe not make me forgett myselfe or render me soe presumptious as to exceede the bounds and limmittes wherein my duty ought to be confined, I shall conclude myselfe wholly out of danger. But as you are more then ordinarily indulgent, so I hope you will not neglect what shall appeare necessarye for the advantage of those who are under your obedience. He who intends to throwe of an uselesse servant with disgrace will permitt him to committ absurdityes and heape errours upon errours untill his improvidence hath left him without excuse. But where he intends a continnuation of favours, he purges those humours by restrayning them from an increase. And I shall humbly beg that you will please to observe this method with me when you shall find it necessarye. When I undertooke to give you a weekely account of the expences and other passages of our family, I apprehended that it would be much more satisfaction to you to receave my sence (though never so inconsiderable) of our affayres then a bare and naked observation of providence as to matter of fact. This perswaded me to trouble you with something more then the steward's bills and put me upon an endeavoer to vary from the method of a gazett, who only tells us that such a thing is now upon action without delivering us the reason upon which those persons move who mannage the designe, or which way it is to be avoyded if inconvenient. And I cannot but still continnue to hope for pardon for the troubles which you will from hence receave, since it is in your power with one word to divert what was only intended for your mirth and pastime as you will evidently discerne this and my other lettres to have beene, wherein I must needs appeare apish by attempting to personate the polititian. I beleeve providence to have as great a care even of our little private concernes as she hath of nations and empires. Yet while we consider how impossible it is for us to discover her intentions and

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how highly she is delighted with our cooperating with her, I have never esteemed endeavours to be unpleasing to heaven. Nor could I ever imagine that the Creatour of all things intended man to be an inactive and silent observer of providence, while He endowed him with reason and understanding. We must therefore eye providence with an eye that shall be provident to ourselves. I did not (sir) undertake to judge of either the right or meritts of that person whom I presumed to mention, and for whom I am no otherwise concern'd then purely with relation to your interest. Seriously it was solely my regard to that which gave me the confidence to suggest what then occur'd unto me without haveing any appeareance of unreasonable. I easily confesse that favours are not favours if taken by storme. But where I have reason to beleeve that an almes will reconcile my enemy, I thinke I should hardly suppose myselfe obliged to trye whether I can defend my purse or persons by my longer weapon. Nor doe I yet discerne how such a gift can enslave the giver, unlesse he become so prodigall as to give his enemy his sword or make him master of his army. He who shall sollicite for such an almes teacheth the person to whom he sueth in what method he shall returne his answere. But in affayres which are no way military, I doe very much question whether the receaver be not more enslaved then the giver. As I durst not presume to determine a right, so neither dare I judge the consciences of others. Nay I shall hardly undertake so much as to define what is meant by conscience according to the true sence of politicks. This only I dare affirme, that the consciences of men are so often veyled with the curteines of theyr own interests that for strangers to steere by them, there will be required more judgment then I shall ever hope to be capable of, without you will vouchsafe to worke in me a miracle by your instructions. This considered, I thinke we may be carefull and industrious without sinning either against charitye or conscience, of both which I shall be equally tender as of my owne soule or of your interest, which I value at the same rate as I doe my life.

Thus (sir) I have made you my confessarius.[111] I have opened unto you that doore which useth to secure my most secrett and retired thoughts and doe humbly submitt both those and him (who will no longer owne them, then you shall esteeme them current) unto your freindly censure. I hope I shall not be found guilty herein of anything which can offend my Maker, though the idle vulgar would looke upon these maximes (when asserted otherwise then by the actions of theyr deare Sir Harry[112] and others theyr beloved leaders) as irreligious if not worse. But I knowe the person to whom they are addressed and

[111] This Latin word could be translated as 'confessor'.
[112] Vane.

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whose better judgement shall easily overrule me so soone as you shall please to intimate that my oppynions are extravagent. But to the end yourselfe (who is best able to judge of our affayres) may proceede to drawe your owne conclusions, I shall returne to give you a continnuation of our domesticke occurences, which begin now to looke with a more chearefull countenance since our master hath had the additionall assistances of those freindes of ours, who came last to England. One grand difficulty we have removed this weeke, and I am noe way doubtfull but that tomorrowe will remove another of the like nature. So that our dissenting kinsmen will be overruled and enforced to joyne us with themselves in the carrying on of the worke of our master. But we are put to more then ordinarye labours in this affayre. We cannot obteyne one kindenesse without suite or reference and had not equity on our side in favour of the heyre, doubtlesse these men would effect what they so strictly labour for and reduce all things unto theyr originall chaos. Yet if we can obteyne a judgement upon our grand affayre in relation to our neighbour famuly (with whom we must either speedily unite or incurre a mischeife), I shall looke upon our howse as grounded upon a foundation without which it cannot long continnue. I doe not find that our opposors have many games more to play after this is over, in regard our master with that allyance will grow beyond theyr reach. Yet I cannot thinke they will leave one stone unmoved which they shall find themselves able to loosen. And if they cannot hinder us from setling, at least they will endeavour to make us as unsteadfast as they can by theyr malice and contrivance. But my desires to expresse my duty have carryed me beyond the ordinary compasse of a lettre, which I can no otherwise excuse then by protesting that I am secure of pardon if you could but receave halfe so much pleasure in reading as I doe in writing this, which comes to Dublyn to give you an assurance how constantly I am and ever will be, (sir),

Your most obliged, humble, faythfull servant,

T L[113]

[113] This is the first of two letters in this collection (nos 488 and 504) signed 'T L' and endorsed 'T L Lord Angier'. They were clearly written by someone familiar with developments in the House of Commons and probably by a member of that house, and their tone and style is in many ways broadly consistent with the three letters in this collection that are signed by Aungier (nos 466, 477, and 507). It is curious that these two letters are not signed by him but instead bear initials which are not his, and that they are written in a hand which is both distinctive and certainly not the hand in which the three letters signed by Aungier have been written. Despite these differences and oddities, the contemporary endorsement does firmly identify Aungier as the (sole or joint) author of both these letters and so, although some doubts persist, both have been ascribed to Aungier.

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489. From Anthony Morgan, 22 March 1659, 823, fos 265–266.

May it please your excellency,

Last night my lord Broghill told me that he had received by Dr Clarges a state of Lill's case and that he would goe with me to his Highness to acquaint him with it, but wee thought it advisable 1st to agree what wee should desire from his Highness. Mr Secretary (when I told him that your lordship had not lately received any lettres from him) said twas true he had not written the 2 last posts and indeed he had lost your cipher and to write without yt were to little purpose or dangerous, and for Lill he adviseth you should put him over to be tried by the common law, for (said he) they begin to talke of it already that a man guilty of murder should be kept from justice because you favor him. I could hardly beleive I understood what he said and therefore I made such replies as the occasion and place would admitt (it being in the parliament house). I asked him whether I should give you his opinion of leaving him to the common law as taken up upon an express deliberation and advice with others or as a thing he had only leasure to think on when he was put in mind of it by me. He said he did never set any time apart to consider it. He promised to give me a paper in which is the opinion of Dr Walker,[114] but I can not yet get it. He sais he will write this post. The Scotch business is over and carried, I think, by a 100 voices. The Irish came on today and I think will fare no worse, but they have taken me up so wholly that I have not seen Whitehall since my last. Margetts[115] is judge advocate for Scotland, Whaly for Ireland and Cartwright[116] (for whose integrity lord Whaly sais Mr Secretary undertakes to answer) for England. Lord Philip Jones complained to his Highness that one Morgan, a servant in Whithall, had injured him by reporting that he had bought a great estate with the mony received for tithes in Wales by color of the comission for propagating the gospell there. Morgan was summoned, tells his Highness that he knew nothing, but that one Davy Morgan,[117] now a member of parliament, and collonel Freeman[118] could make it appeare to be true. His Highness sends for Davy Morgan and in the presence of the lord Philip Jones askes what he could say. He replied

[114] Identification uncertain, but probably Walter Walker, parliamentarian administrator and lawyer, who was judge advocate to the court of admiralty.

[115] Thomas Margetts.

[116] Philip Carterett.

[117] David Morgan, parliamentarian politician, MP for Carmarthen in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament, and probably the David Morgan who was named to various Carmarthenshire commissions during the 1650s, although he had not been appointed a commissioner for the propagation of the gospel in Wales established by the Rump in 1650.

[118] Identification uncertain.

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he beleived it would appeare sombody had a good some of that mony and had reason to thinke lord Jones to be the man in regard he had alwais obstructed the bringing that matter to account and instanced in some particulars and said that the matter was now under examination before a comittee of parliament and ere long the truth would appeare. His Highness said he could take no notice of that, but so farr as it made any troble in his family, twas fitt for him to enquire into it and said lord Jones was an honest man and had been alwais so reputed.

This is the summ of a long storie which I heard Davy Morgan tell, and collonel Freeman was sent for before his Highness and (as he related) said much to the same purpose. When a faction breaks out in Wales it seldome dies.[119] I give your lordship these little Welch stories to entertain you in the place where you use to read diurnalls, being all the service I can doe. I write to your lordship often, but should be trobled if that should occasion your lordship to write to me unless upon express business. I thanke your lordship for doing me that right to beleive I doe not measure your lordship's favor by the length of your letters. Neither am I so ridiculously womanish as to thinke it the less if you never write at all. I know you are not at leisure to trifle. I remain,

Your lordship's faithfull and obedient servant,

A Morgan

I am, it may be, too apt to suspect people here may be byassed in Lill's case; but I thinke the better opinion is they are unskilfull or timerous. I hope by the next to speake more positively.

490. From Henry Whalley, Westminster, 22 March 1659, 823, fos 267–268.

Letter of apology, noting his recent appointment as judge advocate in Ireland and pointing out that, because of his parliamentary duties, he would be absent a while longer; requests that, during his absence, Mr Alden, the existing deputy advocate, might continue to act in his stead.

491. From William Pierrepont, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 25 March 1659, 823, fos 269–270.

Letter of courtesy, praising Henry Cromwell and offering to serve him; reports that he had obeyed Henry Cromwell's instruction to him as set out in a letter delivered by Sir Charles Coote and had now given his views on the matter to Coote.

[119] Indeed, the criticisms of Jones were gathering strength at this stage and had probably been boosted by the successful attack upon his crony, Edmund Jones, recently expelled from the house. The attacks on Philip Jones resumed later in 1659 and, by the end of the year, he had lost almost all his central and local offices.

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492. From Edward Montague, Sole Bay, 25 March 1659, 823, fos 29–30.

Letter of courtesy, expressing his admiration for Henry Cromwell and his desire to serve him; notes that he was then with the fleet and about to set sail for the Sound.

493. From Charles Coote, London, 29 March 1659, 823, fo. 271.

May it please your excellency,

On Fryday laste[120] I waighted on Mr Perpoynte, with whom I had a large discourse concerneing your lordship's affayres, who was pleased the next day to send me the inclosed to be transmitted to your lordship. He commanded me to signifie unto your lordship that it was cleere against his judgement that your lordship should thinke of comeing into England for severall waighty reaons, and soe much he desyerd my lord Russell for to acquainte your lordship with formerly and he is now more confermed in the same then he was. He seemes to be much affected with the condition your lordship is in and with those hardshipps your lordship labors under, especially the present constitution of your counsell and the little interest you can pretend in them, which must nessesarylye render your lordship' life very uncomfortable. He assured me he would make it his worke for to serve your lordship and if your lordship would have a little patience, he did not doubt to gett that done which would be highly to your lordship' sattisfaction. I assure your lordship, you have a very high place in his esteeme and in a multiditude of sober, good peoples, who on all occations manifest thayre respects unto your lordship to your advantage and looke uppon you as the person that hath reduced Ireland unto a happye condition.

Though I am confident your lordship hath had it from a better hand, lett me humbly acquaynte your lordship that his Highness remonstrated such an affection and regard for your lordship lately as startled some and will undoubtedly prevent others from any atempt of doeing your lordship any ill offices, either directly or colatterally.

The laste weeke the vote paste for the members of Ireland sitting in this present parliament as well as the Scotts, and yesterday the vote paste likewise for the howse's transacting with the other howse dureing this parliament, with a saveing of the right of the ould peerag who had bine faythfull to the commonwealth. These things hath taken upp all the time hether unto, and blessed be God, notwithstanding affayres had a very sadd aspecte when I came hether first, they begine to grow more serene, and if the Lord have not a controversy with the

[120] 25 March.

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nation, we are in a probable way of building on such a basis as may be comfortable and permanent.

My lord, it is the humble advice of severall of your lordship's good frends that you make it your greate worke to gett over as manye able, good ministers as it is possible, that your lordship indevor the settlement of a godly and sober minestry there, which will not onely bring a blessing from God but stopp the mouthes of malitious men and conferme the good oppinion of those that truly feare the Lord, and that in order hereunto your lordship doe write frequently for minesters hether.

Sir Jerim Sancky, with the highest preludium[121] agrevated with all the oratorye he had, brought in a most formidable charge against Doctor Petty into the howse of commons[122] and in the close of his harange declared how nobly and prudently your excellency had caryed yourselfe in that affayre; that on some rumor of Pettye's miscariage had called the principall officers of your armye together, and signified unto them that if Petty had not acted faythfully in his trust, your lordship would be soe farr from protecting him as that you would contribute your assistance to the bringing him to condigne punishment. When he had done, Sir Anthony Morgan layd open your lordship's proceeding therein to the greate sattisfaction of the howse. Petty is ordered to appeere here and is like to finde few frends. And I beseech your lordship, as one who tenders your honour, that your lordship will not any wayes interpose in this matter, the howse being highly dissattisfied with him. If he can justifie himselfe it will be his honour, his future safety; if otherwise, noe punishment can be sufficient for him or to dehorte[123] others from the like impious acteings. Pardon, I beseech your lordship, this playneness, being nether more or less then the advice of some of your lordship's best frends here. I shall not truble your lordship further at present then to assure you that I am, my lord,

Your excellency's most humble, faythfull and obedient servant,

Cha Coote

[121] This Latin word could be translated as 'prelude' or 'sign of what is to come'.

[122] Sir William Petty, who sat in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament as MP for West Looe in Cornwall, was open to attack from the impatient, the disappointed, and the jealous, who criticized his role in surveying and redistributing Irish land and who were aware that Petty himself had acquired both property and money in the process. But Petty was probably also attacked because of his allegiance to Henry Cromwell, and thus as a means to assault by proxy the conservative Protectoral policies and regime in Ireland. In fact, Petty resolutely defended himself, and the dissolution of parliament effectively killed off this attack. On 11 April, Henry Cromwell wrote to Thurloe strongly supporting and defending Petty – 'if Sir Hierom Sankey does not run him down with numbers and noise of adventurers, and such other like concerned persons, I beleive the parliament will finde him, as I have represented him' – and noting that Petty was not the real target of this attack (*TSP*, VII, p. 651).

[123] To dehort: to dissuade.

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494. From Thomas Belasyse, Viscount Fauconberg, 29 March 1659, 823, fos 272–273.[124]

My lord,

Yesterday by above 60 voyces the maine question was carried to transact with the other house as an house of parliament during the sitting of this present parliament. Without dores allsoe things seeme to have a fairer temper then formerly, so that all sober, honest men begin now to renew their hopes of a settlement, which God grant.

The charge that was brought in against Dr Petty I suppose your excellency has from other hands a full account of, only this I must acquaint you with: the Protector ratled Sanchy and told him whosoever endeavoured to blemish in the least his deare and onelw[125] brother hee would esteem him his greabest[126] enemy.

My bad eys will not let me give your excellency farther troble then of reading this fresh protest that I make of being unalterably,

Your excellencye's most affectionate, faithfull and ever obedient servant,

Fauconberg

495. From Thomas Gorges, 29 March 1659, 823, fos 274–275.

May it please your excellency,

By the last poast I informed you of the resolve for the sittinge of the gentlemen returned to serve for Scotland. On the next day those that serve for Ireland wer taken into consideration and resolved as for Scotland. The gentlemen of thos nation[127] prest for parliaments amonge themselfe and wer not unanimous in the vote, yet the affirmatives wer 156, the negatives 106.

[124] This is the first of two letters in this collection by Fauconberg (nos 494 and 505), of March and April 1659, which he has written partly in code. The code is broadly similar to others in use at the time, with each number standing for an individual letter, plus occasional letters of the alphabet standing for a person or group of people. The second encoded letter (no. 505) has been largely decoded by its recipient – the letters and words have been entered above the numbers in a seventeenth-century hand – and further decoded letters by Fauconberg of the period August 1658–February 1659, surviving among Thurloe's papers (*TSP*, VII, pp. 365, 413, 528, 612), reveal more of the code. 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.

[125] Code slightly garbled – clearly 'onely' is the intended word.

[126] Code slightly garbled – clearly 'greatest' is the intended word.

[127] Originally written 'that nation', but then amended imperfectly to a partially plural form.

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On the 24th instant Sir Jerom Sanchy impeached an eminent servant of your excellencye's, Dr Petty, for bribery, breach of trust, and the doctor is to be summoned by the speaker's lettre to attend that day month.

Fryday and Saterday wer spent on private reports and cases, especially on major generall Brown,[128] who is restored to his dignity of alderman and the vote made in the Longe Parliament against him vacated and a committee appoynted for his reparation.

Yesterday the grand question was reassumed of transactinge with the other howse as the other howse of parliament, but befor we could come to any resolution many interveninge additions wer offered: as first, whither this howse should not approve them before they transact. The afermatives 146, the negatives 183.

The next, that this howse shall first bound them, which was layd aside by a question without dividinge. 3d, that this howse will transact with them duringe this parliament: resolved. The words, and noe longer except they are confermed by act, being an addition to an addition and incongruous in itself, wer layd aside and neer 5 of the clock (without any adjourment for refreshinge) the mayn question came to a resolution, which is:

That this howse will transact with the persons now sittinge in the other howse as the other howse of parliament duringe this parliament, and that it is not heerby intended to exclude such peers as have bin faythfull to the parliament from theyr priviledges of being duly summoned to be members of that howse.

The ayes 198, the noes 125.

I hope this vote will set the wheels in motion. The commonwealthsmen crye out on slavery and write an Ichabod[129] on the freedom of England, which they would willingly recommitt to the keepers of theyr libertyes, but England is too sencible to be betrayed or cajold to a second slavery under them.

[128] Richard Brown/Browne, parliamentarian officer and politician, was prominent during the civil war in maintaining order and quelling royalist activities in London and southern England, often working with Sir William Waller, until the two fell out in 1644. In 1646, he was returned to the Long Parliament as MP for Chipping Wycombe, but in the later 1640s he became a prominent Presbyterian opponent of the army and was excluded from parliament at Pride's Purge. Returned for London to the second Protectorate parliament but excluded from the house, he took his seat, again for London, in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament. There he complained about his treatment in the years following Pride's Purge, alleging five years' cruel and close imprisonment in Wales, together with the loss of offices and income.

[129] Biblical reference to how, in the aftermath of the defeat of the Israelites by the Philistines and the loss of the ark of God, the wife of one of the Israelite leaders killed in battle gave birth to a boy, who was named Ichabod, signifying 'no glory' or 'the glory has departed and been lost' (1 Samuel, chapter 4).

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After this vote they moved for a self denyinge ordinance, that noe person under any sallary should sit in either howse.

This day a bill was brought in by Mr Buncley proposing the excise and new impost for _____ years, except longer tyme admitted by act of parliament, and the customes with tunnage and poundage for _____[130] months after his Highness' death. This took up this morninge, the commonwealthsmen beinge for wreckinge it, although it was the only obstruction to transactinge with the other howse, that they had a perpetuall negative on the purse beinge £1,300,000 per annum and they themselfs payd out of it, but it came to a resolution for the 2d readinge on Thursday. By this your excellencye may not only judge the ingenuity of those gentlemen but alsoe conclude us under tedious and doubtfull debates. The issue is only in the Lord, to whom your excellency's person and goverment is daily presented by,

Your humblest servant,

Tho Gorges

Some heat arose in the howse this day in relation to words spoken by Sir Henry Vane, who sayd this howse was rather a prudentiall constitution then a parliament. Mr Grove called him to the bar, but on other proposalls for moderation it was layd aside.

496. From Gilbert Mabbott, 29 March 1659, 823, fos 276–277.

May it please your excellencie,

Wednesday last[131] the house, according to Tuisday's result, resumed the debate of the Ireish members and resolved that the members returned to serve for Ireland shall continue to sitt as members dureing the present parlament. Thursday a charge of very[132] misdemeanor was exhibited by Sir Hierosme Sankey against Doctor Petty, which was read, debated and a coppy thereof ordered to bee sent to the said Doctor Petty, whoe is to give his answer within six weekes. Major generall Packer's[133] election was then made voyd. Friday a petition was

[130] Lines have been drawn in the letter here and before 'years' to indicate the omission of figures specifying durations.

[131] 23 March.

[132] Word – perhaps 'great', 'serious', or 'high' – apparently omitted.

[133] William Packer, parliamentarian officer and politician, was an officer in Oliver Cromwell's horse regiment in the early 1640s and later in Sir Thomas Fairfax's New Model horse regiment. He campaigned under Oliver Cromwell in Scotland and remained with the regiment in Scotland as its commander in all but name. In the mid-1650s he became deputy major-general (under Fleetwood) of the north-western Home Counties. He was elected to the second Protectorate parliament for Woodstock, but his radical religious and political views led him increasingly to oppose the Protectorate and he was dismissed from the army by the Protector early in 1658. He was returned to Richard Cromwell's

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presented in the behalfe of some persons that were in the late plott,[134] whoe were transported from Exeter goale to the Barbadoes, in which petition severall members were charged, namely Mr Secretary, Sir John Coppleston, Mr Noell[135] and severall others; and the petition, beeing received att the grand committee, was reported to the howse, and some exceptions beeing taken att it that any committee should receive a petition wherein members were concerned and report it without hearing them. The debate lasted all day and soe for the present the thing fell. A motion was read upon the case of Sir Sackevilt Crowes[136] and it was referred to a committee to consider how the bonds entred by him in the Long Parlament may bee delivered up. The committee for grievances have received severall petitions: one against major generall Boteler,[137] whose proceedings they have voted unjust and illegall; and likewise another against the farmers of the excise in Ireland, which is referr'd to a subcommittee. The councell have ordered the regiments of foote hereabout the towne to bee paid up on the first place. Monday last the howse resumed the debate for transacting with the other howse as an howse of parlament. The question was putt: That the howse will transact with the persons sitting in the other howse as an howse of parlament. The question beeing putt that these words should bee added to the question, vizt: (after they shall bee approved by this howse) and it was carried in the negative. The question beeing putt that these words (after they shall bee bounded by this howse) should bee part of the question, and it was passed in the negative. The question being putt that these words should bee added (dureing this present parlament) it was carried in the affirmative; and so upon the maine question it was resolved: that this howse will transact with the persons sitting in the other howse as an howse of parlament dureing this present parlament, and that it is not hereby intended to exclude those peeres that have beene faithfull to the parlament from their right of beeing duly sumoned to sitt as

Protectorate parliament in a disputed election for Hertford but, on 24 March, after some debate, the House decided to support the recommendation from the privileges committee, declaring against Packer's election and excluding him.

[134] Penruddock's rising of spring 1655.

[135] Copplestone, MP for Barnstaple, and probably Martin Noell, MP for Stafford.

[136] Sackville Crowe, royalist entrepreneur and diplomat, had held office at home and abroad during the pre-war decades, from 1633 serving as ambassador at Constantinople. In 1647, he was displaced by parliament's appointee and arrested, and, from 1648 until the mid-1650s, he was imprisoned in the Tower, eventually gaining limited freedom only by giving a bond and other securities.

[137] William Butler/Boteler was under fierce attack for his record as a major-general in the mid-1650s, with MPs proposing a range of punishments, including dismissal from his military and civil offices, although the abrupt dissolution of parliament saved him from the worst of parliament's vengeance.

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members in that howse. This day was spent on debate of a bill for continueinge the excise for 3 yeares longer and the customes dureing the life of his Highnes and 8 moneths after, which was read the first time. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and obedient servant,
G Mabbott

497. From Anthony Morgan, 29 March 1659, 823, fos 278–279.

May it please your excellency,

Yesterday the question of transacting etc passed in the affermative by 73 voices. As soon as the house rose lord cheife justice Glin, Mr Pierpoint, sergeant Maynard, lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coot and myselfe met together in our private capacities and after 2 hours' debate agreed that no adequate remedy could be found in the case[138] whereof your excellency desires a solution. It was said that the laws of the land admitted no martiall law (unless the ordinance for confirmation of the articles of warr be yet in force, and aptly penned to answer times of peace and Ireland, but wee wanted that and therfore made no judgment of it). That if it should be excersised in times of peace his Highness would be damnified, because that gives no forfeiture nor corruption of blood. The people would be prejudiced not knowing how to seek for remedy against injuries offered by soldiers, by the laws by which themselves are governed. The soldier himselfe would lose the priviledge of chalenge to jurors, etc.

On the other side, if the soldiers by sea and land once know that they are liable only to the civill judicature, the meanest soldier may beard the generall himselfe and you can not say you have an army etc.

It was once said that the exception to martiall law lay only in case of life, but that was soon yeilded and twas concluded that if any one article were good, every one is soe.

Mr Pierpoint thought you should transmit corpus cum causa[139] to the common law. Twas objected that could not secure you, but you would be lyable to censure for that which was one of Strafford's highest crimes and was affirmed to be one of the articles of his charge is for condemning Mountnorris.[140] Since it could not now be undone and

[138] Lill's case.

[139] This Latin phrase could be translated literally as 'the body with the cause' or more loosely as 'the defendant and the case'.

[140] In the mid-1630s, Francis Annesley, Viscount Valencia and Baron Mountnorris, fell out with Sir Thomas Wentworth (later Earl of Strafford), the king's chief minister in Ireland, and insults and accusations were exchanged. In 1635, Wentworth moved to crush his opponent,

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might rise against you hereafter, Glin advised you should transmit it to the parliament for their pleasure in it. Twas said the temper of the _____[141] was not fitt for a question of that nature. Certainly they would resolve it negatively and then the consequence is obvious and the most prudent part of the parliament would be trobled that they should be put upon it to declare either way in a matter of that weight. Then twas said what generall would be so unwise to excersise a charge with the hazard of his own head.

Upon the whole twas resolved by all as adviseable that noe warrant should be given by your lordship for his execution. And it was proposed as the best present shift that your lordship should by advise there transmit the case to the members serving for Ireland to be communicated to the parliament for their judgment.

That an entry should be made there which might remain as on record of your transmitting it.

That those to whom you send it should take a liberty (not by your direction but their own discretion) to represent it or let it sleep. And if the parliament give no judgment in it before they rise, tis thought you may then more safely execute him or take upon you to give your own judgment in the case by transmitting him to triall at law.

A day or 2 before this meeting, I being with his Highness, he told me that some pastors of churches had been with him about collonel Ashfeild and asserted that there was no court marshall in England etc, but he said he would let goe his hold soe and that he told them that unless he gave publique satisfaction he would not remit the offence, since the affront to Whaly was publick (for they offerred privat satisfaction). He alsoe told me that if there was no court marshall, either there was no army or a lawless one, which was worse then none. Then I tooke occasion to state our case and told him that if he would say the word, it would doubtless be excersized by his generalls. He said, nay, but wee must not hazard both brothers at once.

I made a visit to lord Falconberge. He said let the parliament vote what they would, nothing could be soe bad as breaking, for then wee know who will rule. While they sitt they will be a ballance and nothing less then a parliament can be soe.

I have not stirred the busines of your comming over, thinking it advisable 1st to make my access easy. But I will soon be at it.

using Mountnorris's position as an army officer as a means to have him tried by court martial on a capital charge, before a council of war at Dublin Castle, with Wentworth appearing in person as suitor for justice. Mountnorris was duly condemned to death, though the sentence was commuted. Wentworth's partial and inflammatory role in this affair was, in turn, used against him in 1641.

[141] A line has been drawn in the letter at this point to indicate the omission of a word or words.

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By all I can guess, by such as I converse with abroad, Mr Secretary is the man of the most absolute power.

Sanky exhibited a charge in the house of commons against Petty for bribery, breach of trust of so high a nature as was (as he said) without president and that he had many thousands of acres he had no right unto and many £1,000s of the state's mony. Sir Charles Coote told me before he moved yt he was about to doe it, and spoke to me to advise him against it. I did so in this manner: I told him twas against the orders of the house to move it then, being between the putting of an addition and the main question, thinking it easier to delay then divert his mallice. He told me I knew not what he had to move and desired me to lett him alone.

The house ordered Petty should be sent for, as you will perceive by the speaker's lettre with a coppie of his charge. Others, I suppose, will write all particulars either to your lordship or him. I am told that yesterday Sanky went hence for Ireland, I suppose to make good his charge. I pray God Petty doe not rely too much upon orders of the councell, though never so just, least your lordship's name be tossed about. I am sure your reputation is (I thinke I may boldly say) the clearest of any man's in the 3 nations. I love him well but I have a zeal for your honor as becomes him that is,

Your lordship's most obliged and most faithfull servant.

This week's packet is not yet come. I write no more to my wife till I see her. Lady Reynolds went out of town yesterday. All at Chippenham are well.

498. From Francis Hervey, Wexford, 2 April 1659, 823, fos 280–281.

My lords,

I humbly conceive it to bee my duty to make knowne unto your lordshipps that this roade is very much troubled by the pirates who have surprysed sixe small vessells of this towne within 15 dayes, whom they plundred at ther pleasure and afterwards brought them into the Bay of Grenore[142] and uppon easy composition gave them freedome. Ther was two small barks rann on ground nigh the shoare, but the enemy was so bold as at high water pursued them with ther long boate and caryed them off and the country could not oppose them. Ther ar two small shipps of about 6 gunns with 30 men in each who Wednesday last[143] were in our bay for som space of 24 howres and went northward. I posted advise to the governor of Duncanon to give notis to any of the frigotts in that river but could heare of none to

[142] Adjoining Greenore Point, south of Rosslare.
[143] 30 March.

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pursue these spoylers. They ar so buisy as doe alltogether impedite the small trafficqe of this poore place. Not having else, but emploring your greatious ayd and assistance herein, doe in all humilitie take leave and remayne, my lord,

Your lordshipp's obedient and humble servant,
Fra Harvey, mayor

499. From Joseph Waterhouse, 2 April 1659, 823, fos 282–283.

May it please your excellencye,

The lawes of God and man obleigeing one to have a care of himself, I hope your lordship will excuse this intrucion upon your more serious affaires. While your excellencye was abroade upon recreations, I would not make any breach thereof, nor could I in civillitye. Neither now should I bee just to myselfe, those repassers being pass'd, should I passe in silence to relate the state and condition (I might rather say the noe state and noe condition) of my present being. And how little I have deserved itt, your lordship's perusall of the enclosed will make appeare. That when twoe phisitians by the establishment were appoynted for the armye then to march for Ireland under the conduct of his late Highnes your royall father, none adventured upon the serving of his Highnes, of his countrye, while hazards and daunger attended, save onlye the now forlorne myselfe; att which tyme I performed the dutye of twoe phisitians and in such a tyme when townes were more depopulated by the plague, pestilence and famine then by the sword. Yett my service attended not onlye those daungers but the sword and cannon alsoe, for which my faithfull service performed throughout the whole armye in generall and perticularlye for some to his late Highnes (according to his promise to mee in England to better my then condition), hee gave mee the custodium of Cloyne[144] in the countye of Corke, which was as unhandsomelye taken from mee, as my place of being phisitian to the armye, boeth which I justlye deserve, and have his late Highnes' hand for them, and never justlye ejected from either. But when the daunger of the warr etc was over, the councell of England sendes severall phisitians over att twenty shillings per diem. This emboldened mee to desire of the graund comissioners the like favour, which att first (as good reason they had for itt) they graunted, but (like Marjere good-cowe) they tooke the custodium of Cloyne from mee. Thus used, continued I in my dutye and imployment when I was againe reduced to tenn shillings per diem (o monstrum horrendum!)[145] but then the good late Lord Protector liveing would

[144]Town and ecclesiastical centre in the south-east of County Cork, to the east of Cork harbour.

[145]This Latin phrase could be translated as 'dreadful monster', 'monstrosity' or 'portent'.

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not see soe horred an abuse take place one him (whoe next under God was instrumentall to preserve his life, witnes att Ross),[146] and therein, if dulye regarded, the whole three nations, I say the state of all, the state of each of the three nations ought not in honour to see and suffer that person now to be nothing)[147] whereupon these enclosed letters[148] were writt to reestablish mee in my former pay. Which (oh sad) thougth hee bee dead, methinkes his lynes (for his sake) should ever live and his commaunds therein bee still in force. Yett for all these, my place was inforced from mee and noe place since conferred on mee. A greivious case, woundered att and lamented by her Highnes dowager, by all freinds in England and Ireland; and his now Highnes, pittyeing my condition, expressed a remedye not long since in lynes to your excellencye, when you were pleased to expresse unto mee that upon the settlement of the civill officees you would not fayle to bee myndfull of mee and settle mee in one. But this promise was not of soe much waight to mee as when att Corke House upon an occasion your lordship ledd your ladye into your dressing roome, where your excellencye had left mee bemoaning my sad condition, when hand in hand you came upp towards mee and then and there gave mee your hand, an engagement that you would reallye doe for mee and conferr some worthye imployment one mee. I had then your word for itt and now latelye your verball graunt of a place I mentioned unto you, upon which I made freinds acquainted therewith, and these attend your excellencye onlye att present to make that good, that there may bee noe dispute with Mr Woodes, who cannot in anywise pretend preference with mee. And that your lordship would bee pleased seriouslye to take to hearte my former servicees, my former and present suffereings and use some meanes of redresse and make the world knowe you owne mee as reallye I am,

Your excellencye's most faithfull, though poore servaunt,

J Waterhouse

500. From the Irish Commissioners, 28 May 1652, [enclosed in no. 499], 823, fo. 284.[149]

Ireland, by the commissioners of the parliament of the commonwealth of England for the affaires of Ireland.

[146]Oliver Cromwell had spent most of November 1649 at New Ross, suffering from a malaria-type disease.

[147]The parenthesis closes without having opened.

[148]Nos 500–502.

[149]This letter appears to be a copy, with the main text and all three signatures appearing in a single hand.

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Whereas Dr Joseph Waterhouse, physicion to the armye, hath beene in the service of the parliament as phisitian to the armye ever since the said armye came over under the conduct of the lord leiutenant, in which service hee hath undergone much hazard and hardshipp by his constant attendance in the feild in sommer and att the head quarters in winter, in which tyme many dangerous diseasees raighned in the armye and garrisons, for which service hee hath received onlye 10s per diem and £80 per annum for two yeares, being the profitt of a farme granted him by the lord leiutenant. And whereas the councell have of late ordered that Dr Denham and Dr Goldsmith, phisitians appointed for the service of the armye in Ireland, should have an allowance of 20s per diem for theire entertainement and intended to send over more phisitians upon the same termes, upon due considerations had of the former service of the said Dr Waterhouse and the intention of the councell for the incouragement of able men of that profession to serve the state in Ireland, it is ordered that Dr Joseph Waterhouse be allowed 20s per diem from the first day of this instant May for his entertainement as phisitian to the armye and that the same bee paide unto him monthly out of the grand treasury sent or to be sent from England for the pay of the forces in Ireland and the incident chargees thereof and continued unto him untill further order. And itt is further ordered that the interest or clayme of the said Dr Waterhouse to the house and lands of Cloyne in the county of Corke, by vertue of an order of the lord leiutenant of Ireland, bee from the said first of May last, and hereby is determined and the commissioners of the revenue att Corke are hereby ordered and required to lett the said house and lands according to theire instructions for the best advantage of the commonwealth. Dated att Corke, 28th May 1652.

Miles Corbett
Edm Ludlowe
Jo Jones

501. Oliver Cromwell to the Irish Council, Whitehall, 12 September 1654, [enclosed in no. 499], 823, fo. 285.[150]

My lordes and gentlemen,

Dr Waterhouse haveing represented his case to us, much whereof is perticularly knowne to ourselfe, vizt that hee was the onlye phisition (although two were allowed by the establishment) that went over with

[150] This and the following letter (no. 502) were transcribed and printed with commentary and annotations by Clyve Jones, 'Two unpublished letters of Oliver Cromwell', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 46 (1973), pp. 216–218. Both letters are clearly copies and neither the texts nor the signatures are in Oliver Cromwell's own hand.

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the armye under our conduct into Ireland and after our being some tyme there takeing notice of his services and the trouble and harards which was undergon by him and of his care and diligence as to others, soe perticularlye towardes ourselfe, wee did thinke fitt for his further encouragement (his pay by the establishment being but tenn shillings per diem) to graunt unto him a custodium of the value of eightye pounds per annum. Which, when hee had received two yeares' profitt, was, as wee are informed, upon the settlement of that countye, otherwise disposed of. After which the councell of state, findeing itt expendient to send over more phisitians, they allowed to each of them 20s per diem and thereupon the commissioners in Ireland did augment Dr Waterhouse his paye to 20s per diem, likewise which, as hee sayeth, hath for about a yeare last past bene againe reduced to 10s per diem. Wherefore in respects Dr Waterhouse bore the maine brunt of the trouble and harared in that kinde, boeth as to the feild in the warr and alsoe to infectious diseasees in the garrisons, and he haveing nothing of arreares to clayme, his pay being wholye expended in his necessarie support and maintenance, wee doe think fitt some additionall allowance be made to his present pay as a reward of his former services and for his future encouragement in such way as to you shall seeme meete, which wee recommend to your care and remaine,

Your loveing freind,

Oliver P

502. From Oliver Cromwell to the Lord Deputy and Council, Whitehall, 26 March 1655, [enclosed in no. 499], 823, fo. 286.

My lords and gentlemen,

In our last letters wee sent unto yow concerning Dr Joseph Waterhouse, dated the 12th of September last, for the reasons therein expressed wee desired his pay might bee made equivalent with 20s per diem. And our meaning and desire was and is that itt bee soe made unto him from the last of his abaitement thereof and soe forwarde. The way and manner wee leave to yow and remaine,

Yours,

Oliver P

503. From Arthur Annesley, London, 5 April 1659, 823, fos 287–288.

May it please your excellency,

This weeke hath produced nothing of moment but a declaration for a fast to be kept 18th of May in the three nations, which when your lordship sees you will wonder should cost three dayes' debate, but the

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great opposition to it was in regard it's intiled a declaration of his Highnesse and both houses and we have resolved to desire the other house's concurrence to it and tomorrow we are to debate the manner of transactinge. Another ground of opposition to the declaration was that it asserts the power of the magistrate in maintayning religion and punnishing offenders against the second table.[151] The rest of the weeke was spent about the bill concerning the limiting excise and customes to a few yeares, which is yet at a stand. There is now a committee appointed for the affaires of Ireland and some bills by their order are in preparation. If your excellency and the councell, who best know what lawes are wanting, shall transmitt your sence therein, I hope we shall now have an oportunity to doe good for that poore nation. We sate so long this day in the house that I must beg your excellencye's pardon for my brevity and hasty scribble, resting ever,

Your excellencye's most obedient servuant,
Arthur Annesley

504. From Francis Aungier, 5 April 1659, 823, fos 289–290.

Sir,

The motions of our referrees are so extreamely slowe that they hardly administer sufficient matter for a weekely intelligencer, unlesse the impertinences of the persons who designe to be impertinent that they may keepe of action were inserted to create your mirth for want of discources to satisfye your curiositye. They goe on still at the old rate, in which the factions keepe theyr constant stations as if from meteors they had expectations of becoming fixed starres in the heaven of our disturbed famuly, whose inheritances they are as industrious to usurpe or ruine as we are to preserve and cherish. But I cannot doubt of makeing our labours successefull if we can become masters of as greate a share of patience in the mannagerye of our worke as they appeare to practize for compassing of theyr malicious aymes. This in the meanetime they use for the support of theyr neare-expiring hopes that if they can but in any one perticular gaine an award for theyr advantage, they shall so farre become victorious as to frustrate the expectations of our master. And with theise crutches they goe on so chearefully that though they meete with difficultyes, yet are they as seemingly contented as if the game played altogether for theyr owne advantage. This I have sometimes a more then ordinarye oppertunitye to observe, by mixeing in theyr companyes. Nor are they so very shye

[151] The second table of the Ten Commandments, relating to offences against one's fellow man. The leading republicans had opposed this part of the declaration on the grounds that it might limit liberty of conscience.

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of me as they are of many others. Their overhott zeale prevailing with them to beleeve that those persons who are not noated for discoursers are not to be accounted as theyr mortall enemyes but especially (if they want yeares of judgement) may be overcome by the vanityes of theyr pretentions. What theyr meanes are of comeing to theyr journeys' end are neverthelesse preserved as the arcana[152] of the state of Venice. The grand designes at which they drive are generally contracted into a determinate number, which they represent in few words and with a very great stock of confidence, that they may seeme the more reasonable and the lesse questionable upon the debate with the more inconsiderate whom they labour to ensnare. That which they offer is breifely thus: first, they will secure themselves and then they will provide for the necessityes of theyr master. But in the interim they conceale that those things which they call theyr owne securityes are the only mediums which they prepose for his destruction and that the deferring to provide for the discharging of his debts and his present maintenance must render him obnoxious to those inconveniencyes which they wish may happen. Secondly, in provideing for themselves they say they are so extreamely modest that to denye them satisfaction (and that in the first place) were to proceed contrarye to the former sences even of our owne relations. We aske no more (say they) then the nomination of councellours at lawe and equitye for our master's businesse (which was, as they affirme, assented unto by that person of whome our master's father recovered the inheritance) and that these in our owne absence shall be either absolute to dispose of all things or at least that our master shall have no authoritye without theyr full consent. But that you may see (they adde) how much we affect the interest of the heyre and his estate, we will appoynt him such as shall engage never to take any salary or fee for theyr advices. This proposall they thinke unanswereable, but they are too cautious to discover that they solely intend themselves his councell and in that his masters, armed with an absolute uncontroleable authoritye to embezele his estate at pleasure. Lastly, to preserve him entire (say they) we will, by the dammages which we expect to recover against those whom we have and yett intend to sue (a reckoning without theyr hoast) and otherwayes, rayse a considerable summe of moneys for the satisfaction of his debts, yet with so greate a thrift that the cheifest of creditors shall be compelled to accept of halfe pay by way of composition for what hath beene so long and with so much patience on theyr partes expected to be satisfyed. But here also they keepe theyr divell in the darke and are wholly silent in discourseing the mischeifes which would fall upon our master by depriveing him of his choycest servants (for

[152] This Latin word could be translated as 'profound secrets' or 'mysteries'.

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those are the persons whome they sue) because the opposers of the ambitions of this faction, and the inconveniencyes in which he should inevitably be involved if his creditors should find noe way to be releeved but by these persons whom they can never satisfy otherwyse then by complying with theyr endeavours to devoure the fortunes of the heyre for the satisfaction of theyr hate and avarice. These (sir) are the bases on which our adversayes are mainely founded and though they are so evidently villanous and unsuitable even to theyr owne professions if duely pryed into, yet doe I find them proposed with such a semblance of plausible reason to the ordinary sorte of men that it may verye well admitt a doubt whether by some surprize they may not wound us when we thinke ourselves secure. But I am only able at present to deliver the substance of things in short and to give my opinions at randome according to what I have gleaned amongst that partye. I shall hope that in some time I may be able to feele the bottome and to give you a more satisfactorye account of my care in these affayres wherein I knowe your concernement so strictly interwoven. In this, I hope you will beleeve me prepared to use my greatest industrye, consideringe me, in a more perticular manner then others, obliged to preserve your interest, who in a more perticular manner then others have endeared, (sir),

Your most humble, faithfull servant,

TL

505. From Thomas Belasyse, Viscount Fauconberg, 12 April 1659, 823, fos 291–292.

My lord,

Had I not beene out of towne, your excellency should the last post have had the troble of mine, tho I know very well F'[153] tells you all and more then I can. The armye's representation[154] I suppose your excellency receives by this post. Tho Fauconberg did not signe it, hee was at the council and can tel you how twas carried on. The heads agreed on were three: indemnity, pay and security from cavaliers. But when this came to be refered to a committee for wording, the under-officers (for all the rabble were present) cryed up Lilborne, Ashfeild

[153] Almost certainly 'Broghill'.

[154] The army officers' document, issued on 6 April and conveyed that day by Fleetwood to the Protector, was entitled *The Humble Representation and Petition of the General Council of the Officers of the Armies of England, Scotland and Ireland.* As well as calling for the settlement of the army's material grievances, such as arrears of pay and indemnity, it claimed that the good old cause was under threat and proclaimed that the army would assist Protector and parliament in the work of uncovering and removing all those deemed to be 'wicked'.

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and such like, who brought the thing pend much wors then you find it, and wee were too few to alter the whole, onely with some difficulty it was amended in several places (which yet is hardly credible). It has ben brought before the house, is much disrelisht there and the rather in regard of a fast held tomorrowe by the officers and another consultation appointed on Thursday, the end (it's supposed) is to make the approving the late king's death a touchstone or test for members of the army and council. A friend of Fauconberg's saw a bil to this purpos in the hands of V.[155] Many sober men are leaving the parliament; if others doe so all wil be left a prey to commonwealths men and the dregs of the army.

This day the house has beene very severe with major Butler, which will, I feare, dissatisfy some. I shall not now give your excellency any farther troble then by reading this assurance that I am,

Your most affectionately faithfull and obedient servant,
Fauconberg

506. From Anthony Morgan, 12 April 1659, 823, fos 293–294.

May it please your lordship,

I write only to shew that I doe not forget my duty. The representation of the army hath put such a damp upon that which before was the prevailing party in the house that all seems to goe at haphazard. Wee trifle away time and tis hard to say what wee are doing. That which seems to be in agitation is how to pay the army in England for 3 months, that they may have time to consider the debts and supplies necessary. Major generall Butler, if the question had been put, had doubtless been voted uncapable to beare any trust, military or civill, for acting upon (some say beyond) a lettre of his late Highness. The question was with much difficulty diverted and a committee named to consider how to proceed against him, but yet they voted him out of the office of justice of the peace. The commonwealth party appeared most in the prosecution, some think to the end the army may be disatisfied with the parliament, many of them being in like danger and so cause confusion, which some of the commonwealth party have said was the only way to their ends. The enclosed libell, being the latest I have seen, may be as acceptable as a diurnall. The Irish packet is not yet come. I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient and most obliged servant,
Ant Morgan

[155] Almost certainly 'Desborough'.

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507. From Francis Aungier, London, 18 April 1659, 823, fos 295–296.

My lord,

I have at present so litle and yet so much to say to our present businesse that I am resolved to say just nothing. Our trustees were yesterday employing theyr whole day in labouring to make theyr servants understand theyr dutyes unto those from whom they must exact theyr wages. And really I thinke they have gon verye farre in that designe. But in regard I am ignorant of what is like to be the issue of so sharpe a conflict and am not in the number of those who dare lay clayme unto the spiritt of prophesye, I shall wave perticulars untill the next returne and probably you will command me before that to give your lordship a totall release from my hitherto weekely troubles, considering that your lordship will be now secure of receaving informations from a better (I may justly say, the best) hand and from him who, omitting all impertinencyes, will trouble you with no more then what is truly fitting and worthy your lordship's observation. I had the happynesse this morning to kysse the hands of our freinde[156] who is preparing for his encounter with his new dipt adversarye.[157] All that troubles me is to consider that a person so rarely qualified as is our learned doctor should be necessitated to trifle away his time (like Don Quixot) in giveing battayle to wyndmills and barbers' basons. But since it must be thus, I could heartily wish that your lordship's affayres would have permitted you to have been present at the scuffle. Infallibly it will be a comedye beyond comparison. Our walls will certainely preserve the doughty gallant from the Thames, though not from practizing his beloved principles. For certainely he will be putt into a capacity of rebaptizing himselfe in the holy waters of his more pretious and saintelike sweate. Your lordship need not feare a crowde or noyse to eclipse the courage of our freind. I doe not question but that he hath more freinds then enemyes and amongst the number of his freinds many whom (though strangers to his person) his partes and meritt have commanded to his service. I forbeare to recount unto your lordship my owne endeavours for his good. It will be enough to begett a beleefe in your lordship that I am not idle while I proclaime him for my freind. But I shall hope you will then beleeve that I have don my uttermost while I have considered him as a servant to my most noble master, whome I esteem I am then serving best while I serve those servants of his, who are best able to doe him service. And this I hope

[156] Petty.

[157] Here and later in this letter, Aungier makes sarcastic references to Sankey's alleged Baptist beliefs, which included support for adult baptism through total immersion.

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your lordship will conclude the readyest way to expresse myselfe, my lord,

Your lordship's most humbly, most faithfull devoted servant,
Franc Aungier

508. From Dudly Loftus, Westminster, 19 April 1659, 823, fos 297–298.

May it please your excellencie,

This last weeke the house of comons hath bin more active then formerly, they haveing not onely transacted with the other house but allsoe voted yesterdaye the dissolution of the generall <meeting> assembly of officers at Wallingford House, in pursuance whereof it was voted in the house of comons that noe officer or souldier should continue in place of command or trust in the armie or navie whoe should hinder the meeteing of parliament or any members thereof. Mr Stevens,[158] a member of our house, was this day sent in a message to the other house whereby was desyred their concurrence to these votes, whereof we doe not doupt. Immediatly after we had soe voted the asembly of officers to be dissolved, his Highnesse haveing sent for them into his presence did declare their assembly dissolved and inhibited them to assemble againe. This act of his Highnesse is very satisfactory to the house and well pleaseing to most people and particularly to the Citie of London, whoe in their affections ar firmly united to his Highnesse and to the parliament, and will readyly manifest the same as cause shall require. I doupt not but these votes will prove a stable foundation of a lasting settlement for the honour of his Highnesse and the just liberty of the people. I shall take leave to acquaynt your excellencie that most of the members of Ireland are faithfull and serviceable and soe reputed to be. Severall bills are prepared for Ireland: an act for settlement for the ministry of Ireland upon legall titles and increase of mayntenance wher their tithes and gleabs are defective; an act of union; an act for probat of wills, which I have soe drawne up as to put the disposall of all offices relateing thereunto in your excellencie. I doe infinitely rejoyce that the Lord hath given your excellencie another sonn[159] and that your excellent lady is soe well recovered. I bessech God to multiply His blessings upon all the parts

[158] John Stevens, MP for Gloucestershire.

[159] None of Henry Cromwell's sons who survived infancy was born at this time – his second son, Henry, had been born in Dublin in March 1658 – so, although his wife had undoubtedly been pregnant (see *TSP*, VII, p. 492 and letter no. 484), this report must relate to a child who died soon after an apparently successful birth.

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of your excellencie's family and make me as able to serve them as I doe unfeinedly avowe myselfe to be, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and infinitely obliged servant,
Dud Loftus

509. From Gilbert Mabbott, 19 April 1659, 823, fos 299–300.[160]

May it please your excellencie,

Wednesday last the howse resumed the consideration of the excise and afterward voted that none of their proceedings should bee hereafter published in the weekely printe. That whole day[161] was spent by the army in prayer and preaching att the lord Fleetwood's howse and carried on by Mr Griffith, Mr Peters and another minister. That day the howse agreed to the declaration for a fast and sent it up to the other howse for their conccerrence (by Mr Grove).[162] Their lordshipps sent answer that the howse would speedily consider thereof and send answer by messengers of their owne. That afternoone[163] a generall councell of the army mett att Wallingford Howse and agreed to declare against Charles Stewart and his interest and for the Protector and parlament, to protecte all such persons as have beene ingaged in his death[164] and to admonish the army to amyty and unity and a strickt walking before the Lord. It is observed that when Mr Growe was called in, all the other howse was bare to him and the 50 that accompanied him and soe mett them againe att their barre att their lordshipps delivering the answear. Friday the howse ordered Mr Bampfeild[165] their speaker (Mr Challenor Chute, their first speaker, beeing lately departed).[166] Saterday was spent in debate of a paper of grievances from the Quakers directed to their speaker, whoe they desire would read to the howse. They began thus (friends): after it was

[160]Another version of parts of this newsletter, with some variations in the text, is found in newsletters by Mabbott, dated 14 and 16 April, which survive amongst the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, Oxford, and which are printed in *Clarke Papers*, III, pp. 189–190.

[161]13 April.

[162]Thomas Grove, MP for Marlborough.

[163]14 April.

[164]The regicide.

[165]Thomas Bampfield, parliamentarian politician, was deputy recorder and then recorder of Exeter and played an active role in Devon local government during the 1650s. He sat for Exeter in all three Protectorate parliaments, and, although not very prominent in the first, he was much more active in the second, pushing for the independence of parliament against executive interference and taking a generally 'country' stance. It was probably this that made him broadly acceptable to the various groups in the third Protectorate parliament and led to his brisk and efficient but brief service as speaker in the closing days of this parliament.

[166]He died on 14 April.

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read 2 of them were called in and the speaker tould them that the howse expected that they should retorne to their severall homes and live peaceably and with submission to the lawes of the nation. The lord Fleetwood is (with such officers as he thinkes fitt) draweing up the last heads agreed upon against the next meeting, 20th instant. Yesterday about 2 of clocke the officers, according to his Highnes' command, attended him att Whitehall, where he made knowne his pleasure that from henceforth the meeting of the officers in generall councell bee dissolved (the parlament haveing their desires under consideration). The parlament that day lockt themselves close up, not alloweing a member to come out till 4 of clocke, and ordered that there shall bee no generall councell of the officers of the army without direction, leave and authority of his Highnes and both howses of parlament, and that no person shall have or continue any command or trust in any of the armyes or navyes of the 3 nations whoe shall not subscribe that he will not disturb or interrupt the free meeting of parlament of any member of either howse of parlament or their freedomes in their debates and councells, and that the concurrence of the other howse bee desired therein. It was referr'd to a committee to consider how his Highnes, the parlament and the 3 nations may bee secured against the cavaleire party. Another committee was appointed to prepare a bill to indemynify such persons as have served the comonwealth. The speedy payment of the arreares of the army and navy to bee considered of tomorrow. This day the 2 first votes were sent up to the other howse; the declaration against the cavaleeres debated; and severall frigatts to preserve trade appointed. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obedient servant,
G Mabbott

510. From Anthony Morgan, Colchester, 19 April 1659, 823, fos 301–302.

May it please your excellency,

Since my last I received 3 letters from your lordship. The 1st was the chiding letter, which pleased me very much because it gave me evidence that your lordship will give me oportunity to amend my oversights by telling me of them whensoever I offend. When I shewd the lettre to Charles Coote he told me he had written to your lordship an account of all that I said in the house upon that occasion. But whether he did so or not, I am sure I said all that your lordship wonders nobody would say and Charles Coote protests there was nothing keept him from saying the same but that I had said it before he had oportunity to stand up.

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The 2nd was by Petty, who came to town on Sunday night last.

The 3d by the post, in which was one enclosed to lord Russell, which I sent away to him. The enclosed was the last I received from him.

Yesterday morning his Highness ordered that all the officers who had mett at Wallingford House should attend him at 3 afternoon in Whitehall, where he told them (as I was informed by one present there) that he had acquainted the parliament with their representation, that the desires in it were under their consideration, that it was not needfull they should continue their meetings in expectation of an answer, that therefore they should not meet on Wednesday next as they had appointed but should all repaire to their charges. He added 2 reasons: one that many members of parliament were dissatisfied with such meetings sitting the parliament, the other that the cavaleer was arming in order to some new attempts. General Disborough replied he wondered that any honest man should be offended at their meetings to regulate disorders among themselves. His Highness affirmed his 1st orders and withdrew. General Disborough and divers others went out with him towards his chamber and as they went general Desborough said to his Highness, but sir, the meeting is not dissolved for all this, for they adjorned themselves to a meeting at Wallingford House and not to this place. His Highness replied, sir, I say they shall not meet there nor anywhere else. Collonel Ashfeild step in and said, sir, this suddain order will put us to great inconveniences and when wee come to our soldiers without mony, wee shall not know what to say to them, besides there are divers officers but newly come to town. His Highness replied, sir, you of all men have least reason to except against this order, having been 2 years from your command, and I beleive those who came lately to town will be willinger to returne then those who have been longer here.

The same day betwixt the time of the order issued for the officers to attend his Highness and the hower he dissolved the meeting, the commons voted that no generall councell should be held during the sitting of the parliament without leave from his Highness and both howses, that no person should beare any office or trust in the army who should refuse to subscribe that he would not interrupt any member of parliament in his duty, etc, that a declaration should be published to banish cavaleers from London, that tomorrow they would take into consideration how to pay the arrears of the armies and navy.

They sent the 1st vote this day to the other house for their concurrence.

The commonwealth party were much against the 1st vote against generall councells and alsoe against the providing mony for the

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soldiers, some think because their only hopes are in confusion of affaires. I am,

Your excellency's most obedient servant,

Ant Morgan

511. From Robert Saunders, Kinsale Fort, 24 April 1659, 823, fo. 303.

May it please your excellencye,

The Paradox friggott came into this harbor Aprill 24 about eleaven in the morning, captain Cowes[167] comander, and brought in with him a galeott[168] of St Sebastians of two guns and thirty-five men, which had very much infested this coast this spring, chasing some merchant ships to this very harbor's mouth. This action of his hath highly sattisfyed the merchants heare and much encouraged traders in thes parts. I have received twenty-six prisoners of him (the rest were sent home with an English vessell which they had taken) and have sent them to the county goale to be secured till your excellency shall please to send order for ther further dispose. In the meanetyme humbly desire your excellency to give your speedy orders to the treasury that they may have for ther maintenance the usuall allowance for prisoners. As for the captain (whose name is Nicholas Johnson, comissionated by James Stewart), captain Cowes reserves to present, with the ship, to your excellency as soone as wind and weather will give him leave to waite on your excellency at Dublin. So humbly take leave to remain,

Your excellency's most faithfull, humble servant to comand,

Ro Saunders

512. From Gilbert Mabbott, 26 April 1659, 823, fos 304–305.[169]

May it please your excellencie,

Wednesday and Thursday last[170] the howse debated the settlement of the militia. Thursday att night all the regiments here both of the horse and foote were in armes, that of the late lord Pride marcht into Whitehall without opposition. His Highnes gave orders to collonel Hacker's[171] and other regiments to march to Whitehall for

[167] Richard Cows/Cowes, parliamentarian naval officer. On 24 April, he wrote a letter to Henry Cromwell about this action (*TSP*, VII, p. 664).

[168] Galiot/galliot: originally a swift Mediterranean galley; by the seventeenth century, the term was also used for a light, single-masted, flat-bottomed Dutch merchant vessel.

[169] Another version of much of this newsletter, with some variations in the text, is found in a newsletter by Mabbott, dated 23 April, which survives amongst the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, Oxford, and which is printed in *Clarke Papers*, III, p. 193.

[170] 20 and 21 April.

[171] Francis Hacker, parliamentarian officer and politician and deemed a regicide, campaigned extensively in and around Leicestershire during the civil war, raising and

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the preservation of his person, but haveing before received other order from the lord Fleetwood they (with all the rest) obeyed his excellencie's rather then those from his Highnes. All this was done without seizeing any man's person, shedding a dropp of blood or makeing the least confusion in the City and suberbs. Friday his Highnes signed a commission to dissolve both howses. The other howse sent the blacke roadde 3 times to the commons to meete them for that purpose, but because it was not brought by a member of their owne, they refused to admitt thereof by the messenger against whom they lockt their doores, who thereupon by order of the other howse brake his blacke rodde att the doore of the commons in testimony of their dissolution. Yesterday Sir Arthur Haselrig and about 40 or 50 more members went to the commons howse doore, which they found lockt against them and not haveing admittance upon their knocking retorned into the hall. The articles of peace betweene France and Spaine are concluded for 14 yeares. Wee heare nothing of acion from our fleete in the Sound. The councell of officers hath beene consideringe of a future government, whether by the petition and advice, the calling of the Long Parlament or by a government of a new constitution; they are not yet agreed upon any of them. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obedient servant,

G Mabbott

513. From Francis Russell, Chippenham, 29 April 1659, 823, fos 306–307.

My deare lord,

Your lordship's last to me tarryed somewhere by the way, so that I could not give you an answer sooner. My daughter Reynolds, I suppose, hath giveen your wife an answer to hirs, which is upon the point an answer to your lordship's last to myselfe, besides these times forbid the change of any single condition. My being here at home cannot furnish you with any exact account of these times and thire changes, but I suppose you have it from better hands we haveing onely a great noyse that the parliament is dissolved to thire great

commanding horse units there, though he twice fell prisoner to the royalists. He was entrusted with custody of the king at the time of his trial, signed the order to the executioner, and oversaw the execution itself. In 1650, he was made colonel of a newly formed horse regiment, which campaigned in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell. From 1652 onwards, he and much of his regiment were based mainly in England, although the regiment returned to Scotland in 1657–1658, and Hacker proved a loyal supporter of Oliver Cromwell and his Protectorate, returned for Leicester to the second and also the third Protectorate parliaments. But, in April 1659, he was one of those senior military commanders with regiments in and around London who chose not to obey or support Richard Cromwell.

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disapointment. My lord, there is no new thing under the sun but we may easyly beleeve that where the power of the sword is, it will and must doe its appointed worke. Onely I could have wished that the wisdome of some of your freinds would have giveen you leave to have viseted England three or four months since. For my part, I foresaw that theyr policys who would not have you here was not simple enough to thrive or bring their ends to passe, but I was a foole than; but what are they now? Judge you betwixt us. When I strove to bring a good and a right understanding betweene my lord Fleetwood and yourselfe, I was thought a knave by some and a foole by others, and with those two markes of honor I was forced to retyre home. Oh how pittyfull a thing is this worldly policy, but every one must reape what they so. I am sure that is but rationall and reasonable to beleeve. Many who I thought to be your freinds (yet I had my jealousys of them) I shall never trust againe, both as to their wisedomes and honestys. I dare be confident had you bin here three months since (and would have sometimes bin but adviseed by such a foole as I am), things in England had not bin as they are. Yet I can call nothing bad that comes to passe by the providence of God, for He onely is good and wise in all His ways. If at any time I have bin melancholy or thoughtfull, I had a deepeer reason and ground for it than was understood. It may be I saw further into the millstone with one eye than all your freinds did with both theyres; but you know what became of him that by wisedome did save the citty, was not he dispiseed because poore? My lord, let nothing of this world trouble you, the glory of it is but like the flower of the grasse. The kingdome of heaven within us is that which a wise, good man onely aymes at. Your father's honor and greatnes in this world is allmost forgotten. By that you may see what earthly crownes are. Your brother, while he lives, may cry all is vanity, trouble and vexation of spirit. Oh my deare lord, covet onely that wisedome which is from above and remember allways that the wisedome of this and for this world is but fooleishnes. My love to your wife and pray as often as you can let me heare from you. Have a care of the subtle crafty ones who have love for none but their ownes ends. In patience posses your soule and let not anger, wrath, malice or revenge have any place in your hart. I am, my deare lord,

Your lordship's allwayes truely to serve you,
Franc Russell

Love and wisedome are stronger than any weapons of war and yet will doe greater things than we think of.

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514. From Gilbert Mabbott, 2 May 1659, 823, fos 308–309.[172]

May it please your excellencie,

The last weeke a councill of officers sat at Wallingford Howse, consisting of these lords, vizt: Fleetwood, Disbrowe, Sidenham, Cowper, Hawson and Berry, collonells Hacker, Ashfield, Lilburne, Sallmon, Baxter,[173] Clerke, Kelsey[174] and Sancky. Lord Lambert, collonel Okey,[175] collonel Sanders[176] and others lately added. They have spent much time in consideringe of a government and incline to the calling of the Long Parlament and nominating a councell, whoe are said shall have a checke or negative upon them, others say not. On Thursday last[177] the councell ordered that the lord Lambert shall command the lord Falconbridge his regiment, collonel Okey the lord Ingoldsbye's, collonel Sanders which was formerly his owne, Sir Arthur Haselrig

[172] Another version of parts of this newsletter, with some variations in the text, is found in newsletters by Mabbott, dated 30 April and 2 May, which survive amongst the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, Oxford, and which are printed in *Clarke Papers*, III, p. 196 and IV, pp. 2–3.

[173] John Barkstead, parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide, fought for parliament in the civil war, mainly in the south-east, and was governor of Reading from 1644 until 1647, when he was given command of a New Model foot regiment previously commanded by Richard Fortescue. He strongly supported the regicide, was active in keeping order in and around London during the 1650s, and was, from 1652, lieutenant of the Tower. He sat in all three Protectorate parliaments, from 1658 as a member of the unelected other house, and also served as major-general of Middlesex and Westminster in 1655–1657.

[174] Thomas Kelsey, parliamentarian officer and politician, served in the civil war as an officer in the foot regiments of Edward Montague and Richard Ingoldsby and, from 1646, as deputy governor of Oxford. Although he played no part in the regicide, he strongly supported the regimes of the 1650s, becoming colonel of a dragoon regiment and governor of Dover. He was very active as major-general for Kent and Surrey in 1655–1657 and sat in all three Protectorate parliaments, though by 1659 he had become disillusioned with the Protectorate and supported its removal.

[175] John Okey, parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide, served in the civil war as an officer under the Earl of Essex and Sir Arthur Hesilrige and in 1645 was given command of a New Model dragoon regiment. Having supported the regicide, he campaigned in Scotland in 1650–1651 and again in 1654. However, by that time he had become critical of the Protectorate and, during the first Protectorate parliament, to which he was returned for a Scottish seat, he helped draw up a military petition critical of the regime. He was court martialled, sentenced to death though reprieved, and dismissed from the army. He spent the remainder of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate in retirement, under suspicion and arrested and questioned from time to time. He was elected to Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament and was restored to his command after the fall of the Protectorate.

[176] Thomas Saunders, parliamentarian officer, served in the civil war as an officer in Thomas Thornhagh's horse regiment, succeeding him as its commander in 1648 upon Thornhagh's death at Preston. He and his regiment served in England in the early 1650s and campaigned in Scotland in 1652–1654. He became disillusioned with the Protectorate, subscribed to the critical colonels' petition of 1654 drafted by Okey and others, and was dismissed from the army. He, too, was reappointed on the fall of the Protectorate.

[177] 28 April.

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the lord Howard's, major Packer and captain Gladman[178] to bee alsoe reinvested in their former commands. Major generall Overton and collonel Rich are likewise under debate to bee readmitted. That day at the councell of warre the lord Ingoldsbye's captain-lieutenant[179] and major Babington's[180] captain[181] were (at a councell of warre) adjudged to loose there commissions. Some citizens have lately lent a monthe's pay to the forces here and 6 weekes' more they expect suddenly. Our fleete is in the Sound; the Dutch fleete is not yet come thither. The peace betweene France and Spaine are not yet fully concluded, though the articles for that purpose are here printed. The councell of the officers have likewise ordered that love and union bee preserved in the army, that such as have disobeyed the lord Fleetwood's orders bee tryed by a court martiall and disbanded, that such as have beene displact by the late lord Protector bee restored as oportunity serves, that the lord Fleetwood shall have power to restore to place till further order, that letters bee written to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, generall Moncke and all the militia forces for a faire correspondency. Yesterday major Babington was secured for refuseing to appeare upon the somons of a court martiall. This day some eminent members of the Long Parlament were consulted with by severall officers (according to order) concerning the calling of the Long Parlament. A letter was agreed upon and ordered to bee sent to every regiment to give them satisfaction in their proceedings. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obedient servant,

G Mabbott

[178] John Gladman, parliamentarian officer, served in Sir Thomas Fairfax's New Model horse regiment in the 1640s, going with that regiment, now Oliver Cromwell's, to Scotland in the early 1650s. However, he was one of a clutch of officers in that regiment who, perhaps influenced by the disaffection of Major Packer, in effect commander of the regiment in the mid- and later 1650s, became dissatisfied with the Protectorate and were dismissed by the Protector in February 1658. Again, he was one of the anti-Protectorate officers reappointed in the spring of 1659.

[179] Parry (his forename not recorded), parliamentarian officer, was one of a clutch of officers in Richard Ingoldsby's horse regiment who followed their colonel in briefly and ineffectively obeying the Protector's rather than Fleetwood's commands and who promptly lost their commands once the Protectorate had fallen.

[180] Thomas Babbington, parliamentarian officer, was, by the early 1650s, an officer in Nathaniel Rich's New Model horse regiment serving in Scotland and campaigned there until the mid-1650s. He remained in the regiment after Rich's dismissal in 1654, serving first under Charles Howard and then under Richard Ingoldsby, being promoted to major sometime in the late 1650s. As one of Ingoldsby's officers who rallied to the Protector in April 1659, he was promptly arrested and purged after the Protectorate's fall.

[181] Identity not known, although clearly another parliamentarian officer in Ingoldsby's regiment quickly purged for displaying loyalty and obedience to the Protector.

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515. From William Petty, Neston, 5 May 1659, 823, fos 310–311.

May it please your excellency,

Sir Jerome, beeing now a very great man and one of the committee of safety,[182] did in a manner command mee to stay here, declaring his pleasure to have mee presented another way etc. Neverthelesse, when nothing else hindred, I came from London without his leave. Your excellency will have fresher newes by the post than any I can write. Wee overtooke a troop sent into Wales, for what new purpose I know not. Sir Henry Pierce[183] and leiutenant colonel Stephens are here at Neston; major Aston[184] upon the way. People take the late transactions very patiently. I hope I shall be permitted to proceed with my vindication at Dublin, if this bee a time for any particular busines lesse then the preservation of the whole. I remayne, may it please your excellency,

Your excellency's most obedient and faithfull servant,
Wm Petty

Sir Anthony Morgan thinks of retiring to Tame Parke this summer, but is at present at Chelsey.

516. From Gilbert Mabbott, 10 May 1659, 823, fos 312–313.[185]

May it please your excellencie,

The last weeke the councell of officers at Wallingford Howse agreed upon severall desires to bee presented to the parlament, vizt that £20,000 per annum bee settled upon his Highnes for life, £10,000 per annum upon his posterity for ever, £8,000 per annum upon her Highnes dowager, and a howse to bee appointed for their habitation; that the goverment bee settled in a commonwealth without king, kingship or howse of lords; the militia to bee settled in safe hands; lord Fleetwood bee made commander in cheife of all the forces of this commonwealth; liberty of conscience provided for; the time for sitting this parlament assertained; maintenance for a pious ministry; the schooles of learning countinanced; the lawes regulated. Tomorrow a generall councell meetes finally to conclude these particulers. Upon invitation

[182]Sankey was, in fact, a member of the council of officers, rather than the slightly later committee of safety.

[183]Parliamentarian politician and MP for Counties Westmeath, Longford, and King's in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament.

[184]Another returning Irish MP, William Aston had sat in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament for Counties Meath and Louth.

[185]Another version of part of this newsletter, with some variations in the text, is found in a newsletter by Mabbott, dated 5 May, which survives amongst the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, Oxford, and which is printed in *Clarke Papers*, IV, pp. 6–7.

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of the inclosed the speaker Lenthall[186] and such members as were qualified sat in parlament (Saterday last).[187] The rest were kept out. Their nomber were 50, about 80 more are capable of sitting.[188] It's expected they will speedily joine with them. The parlament (that day) past the inclosed declaration, appointed for 7 dayes a committee of safety, vizt: lord Fleetwood, lord John Jones, Sidenham, Salway,[189] Vane, Haselrig and Ludlow. Yesterday Mr Prinne,[190] whoe was secluded this parlament, came into the howse before the sitting thereof and contrary to the declarations of the parlament and army. The howse sat not till one of clocke and then by a guard he was kept out. The judges mett but sat not. The howse added lord Lambert, major generall Berry, Mr Scotts and major generall Disbrowe to the committee of the safety. They voted that none but such as are of a pious life, capacitated for their imployments, shall subscribe to the government as it is already declared and have given testimony of their affections to the good old[191] shall bee capable of serving this commonwealth, either in a civill or military capacity, and for this purpose a list of all their names is to bee

[186]William Lenthall, parliamentarian politician, speaker of the House of Commons of the Long Parliament, had acquiesced in Pride's Purge and, while not actively supporting the regicide, continued to sit as speaker of the Rump and nominally, therefore, head of the new republican state. Although disturbed by the ejection of the Rump, he was loyal to the Protectorate, continuing to hold office as master of the rolls and was returned to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, serving again as speaker in the first. In the autumn of 1657, he was made a member of the new nominated parliamentary chamber.

[187]7 May.

[188]That is, the surviving members of the remnant of the Long Parliament who had not been purged by the army in December 1648 and who were qualified to sit in the Rump.

[189]Richard Salwey, parliamentarian politician, was elected to the Long Parliament in 1645 and, while he held aloof from the regicide, he took his seat in the Rump in the spring of 1649. In 1650, he was appointed one of the parliamentary commissioners for the civil government of Ireland, but he resigned that office within weeks. He opposed Oliver Cromwell's ejection of the Rump and, while he did accept the post of ambassador to Constantinople in 1654, he declined other offices after 1653, refusing to sit in the Nominated Assembly and not being returned to any of the Protectorate parliaments. Although, therefore, not one of the most strident republicans, he did return to the fore after the fall of the Protectorate and with the recall of the Rump.

[190]William Prynne, politician, lawyer, and propagandist, suffered during the Personal Rule and strongly supported the parliamentary cause during the early and mid-1640s, serving on various commissions. However, by the time of his election to the Long Parliament in November 1648, he was becoming disillusioned with the drift of events, he strongly opposed Pride's Purge and the regicide, and then spent several years in prison as an enemy of the new republican regime. The attempts by Prynne and several other MPs excluded after Pride's Purge to retake their seats in the spring of 1659 were thwarted and he did not return to favour and office until the Restoration.

[191]Word apparently omitted – almost certainly 'cause', since the phrase 'the good old cause' was much used in the spring of 1659.

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prepared. They ordered the lord Fairefax[192] to sitt, he being chosen in the Long Parlament but because of his publique imploy could not then serve personally. They voted the lord Whitelocke, collonel Sidenham, collonel White, Sir James Harrington,[193] collonel Downes,[194] collonel Thompson[195] and Mr Holland[196] a committee to inspect the treasury. A bill was read for continueing the sitting of this terme but the draught thereof was not well presented. This day the howse ordered that blancke commissions for judges should bee drawne against Friday next, that the excise, customes and other assessments bee collected as formerly and no money payd out till further order, that a bill bee brought in to impower the justices and other civill officers to act till

[192] Sir Thomas Fairfax, third Lord Fairfax, parliamentarian officer and politician, was one of the leading parliamentary generals in northern England in 1643–1644 and, in the spring of 1645, became parliamentary lord general and commander of the New Model Army. Despite his military leadership and success, he was increasingly out of his depth with, and disillusioned by, army politics, opposing the regicide and then resigning his commission in the summer of 1650. Thereafter, he spent most of the 1650s living in semi-retirement on his Yorkshire estates, occasionally under suspicion of royalist leanings. He was elected to, but probably played little or no part in, the first Protectorate parliament; he was returned for his native Yorkshire to Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament and then played a rather more active role. He was also elected to the new council of state established by the Rump in May 1659 but he declined to serve.

[193] James Harrington, parliamentarian officer and politician, campaigned for parliament in and around London during the early years of the civil war and was returned to the Long Parliament in 1646. He attended some meetings of the high court trying the king but did not sign the death warrant, although he clearly supported the republic and was active in the Rump. He largely withdrew from public life after the ejection of the Rump and spent the Protectorate in semi-retirement.

[194] John Downes, parliamentarian politician and a regicide, was elected to the Long Parliament in 1641, tending to ally with the Independents and the army in the later 1640s and, although he expressed some disquiet at proceedings, he attended the king's trial and signed the death warrant; he was active and prominent in the Rump. He largely withdrew from public life after the ejection of the Rump and spent the Protectorate in semi-retirement.

[195] Probably George Thompson, parliamentarian officer and politician, who campaigned for parliament in the south-east during the civil war, rising to command a regiment of horse in London and fighting at the battle of Cheriton, where he lost a leg. He was returned to the Long Parliament in 1645 and, while he played no part in the regicide, he was prominent in the Rump, being very active in naval, colonial, and mercantile affairs, reflecting his background as a colonial merchant. He opposed the ejection of the Rump and was out of office and under suspicion during the Protectorate, but quickly returned to office and prominence in the spring of 1659 upon the recall of the Rump.

[196] Cornelius Holland, parliamentarian politician and deemed to be a regicide, was prominent in the Long Parliament as a radical and a strong critic of Charles I, whose trial he attended regularly, up to and including the day of sentence, although he did not actually sign the death warrant. He was prominent in the Rump but slipped into inactivity after its ejection and played little role in public life during the Protectorate, returning to the fore only after the fall of that regime and the return of the Rump.

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further order. France and Spaine have agreed upon a cessation for 2 moneths. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obedient servant,
Gilb Mabbott

517. From Anthony Morgan, London, 10 May 1659, 823, fos 314–315.

May it please your excellency,

I write because I would not seem to neglect rather then that I hope to give you any information more then everybody in the streets there may have. I now mett my lord Whitlock and lord Lisle; they named only 3 things that the old-new parliament have done: 1 is the enclosed declaration; 2 making a committee of safety to nominate military and civill officers; 3 a declaration to continue all justices of peace and to enable them to act. They sayd they had alsoe a great debate about the judges but resolved nothing. I can not say here is a generall satisfaction, but all men seem so or att least strangely indifferent who governs. I have not received any commands from your lordship since this great revolution, but I am told that you have sent a prudent and sober letter. I hope to goe this week to Tham Parke and as soon as I can conveniently fitt myselfe, returne to waite upon your lordship in Ireland. I am,

Your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
Ant Morgan

518. From Thomas Stanley,[197] Clonmel, 11 May 1659, 823, fos 316–317.

May it please your excellency,

Although I wayted on his Highnesse since my lord of Broghall left London and did receave his commands to give your excellency his kynde respects, with such an accompte of affaires at London as I was able to take notice of, yeett knowinge that yow doe receave the same more fully from my lord of Broghall's better hand, which is herewith sent, I doe forbeare to interrupt yow with further trouble then to lett your lordship know that as I am safely arived here through the providence of God, soe I shall endeavour by His blessinge faithfully to dischardge my trust on this place and therein that duty by which I am,

Your oblidged, faithfull and humble servant,
Tho Stanley

[197] Parliamentarian administrator and politician, sometime governor of Clonmel and knighted by Henry Cromwell in January 1659, he had newly returned to Ireland after representing Tipperary and Waterford in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament.

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519. From Richard Cromwell, *c.*12 May 1659, 823, fos 371–372.[198]

I shall not say in how sad a condittion I and owre famuly, nay the nations are in, for it is better for me to throwe my selfe in the dust and crye before the Lord, my sins hath brought what is come to pase upon us. But truly it is as low as men can make it and the flourishing bough of it (at spring) is weathered. I shal let my deportement be made knowne by my Broghill and Petty, the first beinge a spectator to my carriadge. Al the time the parliament sat I can assure you I stoode not so highe as my father did, yet I thought it was fitting I sohuld[199] keep the grounde of a good conscience, which I have done hetherto, though it be for my present ruen and famuly, for I could not have beleved that religion, relation and selfe interest wold have deceved me. Sense Petty' departure, whoe was fuly instructed the same for Scotland at the same time being sent for youre better correspondancy, the Rumpe of th[200] parliament hath met,[201] whoe are about sixty and are very violent upon him that is gone as wel flyinge high upon those that are living. There is a commite of safty apointed, who sits at Wallingford Howse, the names of them are Fleetwood, Desborough, Vane, Hasselrige, Ludlow, Lambert and others. They are propounding to the parliament five generals that shal have equal powres,[202] whoe are not to act a part in the government of the army. Though youre provocation is very greate and you have a greate sense of the honor of my deceassed father and the perishing condition of the famuly, yet youe wil be wary what you doe for youre owne sake and the sake of those that shal have an affection with you. Noting[203] giveth hopes but a

[198]This and the following letter (no. 520) were transcribed and printed with commentary and annotations by R.C.H. Catterall in 'Two letters of Richard Cromwell, 1659', *American Historical Review*, 8 (1902–1903), pp. 86–89. This is the first of two letters in this collection by Richard Cromwell (nos 519 and 520), both of May 1659, which he has written largely in code. The code is broadly similar to others in use at the time, with each number standing for an individual letter, plus occasional letters of the alphabet standing for a person or group of people. The two encoded letters have been almost completely decoded by their recipient – the letters and words have been entered above the numbers in a seventeenth-century hand – and those decoded sections provide the key to the occasional words and phrases that have not been decoded in the original, as well as correcting some minor slips in the original decoding. Accordingly, the decoded texts have been reproduced here.

[199]Code slightly garbled – clearly 'should' is the intended word.

[200]Code slightly garbled and word incomplete – clearly 'the' is the intended word.

[201]On 7 May.

[202]This proposal to create five powerful army commissioners was made in parliament on 11 May, so this letter can be no earlier than that date. However, Richard Cromwell makes no mention here of discussions in the Rump on 12 May about appointing a council of state, nor the fact that, on 13 May, seven rather than five senior officers were named as army commissioners. Thus, as Catterall concluded, this undated letter was almost certainly written on 12 May.

[203]Code slightly garbled – clearly 'nothing' is the intended word.

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cleare understanding and good corespondancy with general Moncke, whoe hath written a letter which is very favorable, but I hope it is only to hold himselfe in a good opinion with them at Westminster until a faire opertunity. I beleive they here indends to be very vygorous and briske if not timely prevented, which cannot be but by a diversion from the forces <and garrisons> at the distant places. I knowe noe hope but some such way and that must be also assisted by frinds and strong places here, which if there be any hopes with you, there being none left here, it wil be necessary that we should keepe boeth often and close correspondancy. I am now in daly exspectation what course they wil take with me. My confidence is in God and to Him wil I put my cause. I have heard nothing from Scotland, nor Dunckerque, nor fleete. This nation is ful of raige and unquietnes, 500 horse would have turned al. But my <[. . .]>[204] Broghill was a spectator how corporals lead troops from there captaines and captaines from thore colonels. I beleive Fleetwood and Desborough are not longe lived if it wold please God to let them see there dainger, yet theings might be retreived but oure hopes are lowe. I knowe not whether a liberty or a prisson. The Lord be with you and for me pray doe nothing that may be for your ruen, but lay youre bussines with united strength and then leave the succese to God. I could wish you could have correspondancy by some ship from Ireland to general Mountague. I rest, deare brother, youres most affectionatly.

520. From Richard Cromwell, 17 May 1659, 823, fo. 370.

I am not able to advise, my freinds, my councel and my relations having all forsaken me. I am now attending the greate God, whoe is only my hope. I wish He had been more when in prosprity, but as to the ey of men I was not wanton. They have nothing to say, though I am in the duste with my mouth as to God. I shall now direct you to your owne counceles, being only able to offer you matter of fact which would be too tedious and suspitious to relate it in paper, and therefore I have as farre as I can instructed Doctor King,[205] whoe hath seen things and understood more by his generall convers then my selfe. Pray have a care whoe you trust, the world is false. And for my selfe, those that were my father's freinds, pretended ones only, were myne. It required time to acquaint my selfe with them, and they tripped up my heeles before I knew them, for though they were relations yet they forsooke me. I knowe Fleetwood and Desboroough regaurds not ruen soe that they may have there ends, they are pittiful creatures. God will

[204]Coded word or words heavily deleted and illegible.
[205]Ralph King.

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avenge inocency. I have acquainted this bearer with Mounke's letter[206] in answer to what I sent him, which was the same I sent to you; it is a poore one; and withoute Broghill can retrive and the fleete stand stenche there is noe hopes as to my bussines. Greate severities are put upon me and I exspect the greatest. This afternoone I looke for comittee to come unto me with yesterday's votes.[207] This bearer shal alsoe be acquainted with them. Thes men intend nothing lese then ruen to us boeth. Yet let me not provocke agnse[208] youre judgement. I know not more to say but to let you know the great men doe not agre and that the army is in greate disorder, the horse and foote, the one for his penny a day, the other for his thrippence a day, besides honest men throwne out only because they were Protectorians. David's case was very heard, let us rely upon the God of oure father, and it will be as much our honour to know how to. I shall desire the Lord to be your helpe in all your straight and difficultyes, with myne and my wyfe's true resspects I rest.

I would faine knowe what Broghill sayes in this oure case. Pray have a familiar kindenes to him.

[206]Monck wrote on 12 May on behalf of the officers and army in Scotland, recognizing and accepting the new regime. The letter was formally reported to the Rump on 18 May.

[207]On 16 May, a committee of MPs was set up to consider Richard Cromwell's position and condition, thus providing a firm date for this undated letter.

[208]Code garbled – apparently 'against' is the intended word.

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