1656

36. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 1 January 1656, 821, fos 64–65.

Deare brother,

Being att Whitehall from whence one sence my coming thither I have troubled you, and this is like to prove another, I professe the only reason why I am not this way more often vissetting you. And peradventure my cautiousnesse may be accounted neglect, but having a clear mark of affection to you, I can by that give my selfe a great deale of quiett. I desire to abandon all thought of unkindnesse and I am certaine it must be high provocation that shall raise such a spiritt in me. As nature hath linked us soe near, soe shall the grace of God tye our affections with cords of true love that cannot be broken. I ought not to robb you of your pretious time, nor should I have gone any further, much lesse troubled you with any new matter, but that I am through the exceeding civility of my countryman, Mr Reynolds,[1] prest in my disposition to answer the obligation of his kindnesse by recommending to your intrested power in the councell of Ireland the consideration of his bussinesse that it may have a speedy dispatch and effectually to answer the expectations which are very much raised even to confidence, for that his Highness hath written on his behalfe. That which is aimed att is that his lands may be sett oute. I need not ofer many arguments, there being a justnesse in it that it should be done and a just disposition in you to see those juste rights speedily and rightly placed; it being a carrecter upon you, hath prouved great reputation; never did private spiritt doe anything that was worthy of living praisse. I desire God to continew such a spiritt to you as may be publique, it being comprehensive you are certaine by its learge cercumference to take in all sorts of people, and soe consequently the people of God; you making noe difference but when the seale is upon a saint and the marke of the beaste upon an enimy to Jesus Christ, yet it preserving property to all sorts and ranks of men. I am ashamed of my tediousnesse to you, and therefore I shall desire your excuse and the presenting my unfeined respects and

[1] Robert Reynolds.

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service to my dear sister and your self, I take leave and rest, deare brother,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

37. Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 1 January 1656, 821, fos 66–67.

Deare brother,

I am by my sister,[2] the lady Mary Cromwell, desired that you would please to take this gentleman, Mr Robert Turbridge,[3] into your favour, that he may have some convenient fitting imployment in a civill capacitie, he being, as I am informed, a very deserving person. Your kindnes and respect to him is the suit of,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

Charles Fleetwood

38. From Richard Hodden,[4] Kinsale, 4 January 1656, 821, fos 68–69.

My lord,

I entreate leave humbly to offer these few words with the incloased concerning the persons called Quakers, etc.[5] Many of them were prosecuted in the daies of the late bishopps by the name of Puritants (though unblameable in their conversations), and since have faithfully served this comonwealth, even in the worst of times. And the God of glorie therein supported them through evill reporte and good

[2] His sister-in-law.

[3] Perhaps the adventurer of that name of St Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, who had acted as a trustee for the parliamentarian politician and Protectoral councillor Philip, Viscount Lisle.

[4] Parliamentarian officer, he went to Ireland in 1649 with Hardress Waller's New Model foot regiment, which was partly disbanded in summer 1655, though by that time Hodden was governor of Kinsale. Almost certainly a Quaker himself, he strongly supported the Quakers in Kinsale and was viewed with suspicion by Henry Cromwell. In February 1656 Henry Cromwell reported that Hodden was inclining to Quakerism – he 'is, I feare, goeing that way; he keepes one of them to preach to the souldiers' – while in April he condemned Hodden as untrustworthy and 'a man of atheisticall principles' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 508, 672).

[5] By the winter of 1655–1656 Henry Cromwell was becoming alarmed at the spread of Quakerism amongst the English army in Ireland, and especially amongst towns and garrisons in Munster such as Kinsale, fearful that it might undermine military discipline and – like Baptism – encourage or serve as a front for political opposition to his government and the Protectoral regime (*TSP*, IV, pp. 506, 672, 757). Aware of possible moves against the Quakers, Hodden was writing in defence of Quakerism in general and probably in particular of two prominent Quaker preachers, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, who were then touring southern Ireland winning converts.

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reporte, and other names of derision, too many here to mention, while bloody minded, evill men and seducers have waxed worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived.

And now, my lord, I beseech you consider that reformation is begun, not finished, and the fowndation and principall parte thereof spirituall, without which all outward formes are but deceipt. As it is written, wee looke for a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwells righteousnes. And it hath bien and is hoped that in this wast lande may be comfortable habitations for religious English men, if thereunto incouraged.

God hath heretofore remembered his servants in their low estate and it will be your joy, strength and happines to owne such in the Lord. And I also beseech you to take notice againe and againe how pollitick and wise in their generation som men are for other ends then your service or the people's soules.

I have nothing to say for such as shall be found fighters against God, denie His holynes, justifie themselves in their abominations, or that commit other misdemeanours or breaches of the peace: God forbid.

These are private lynes to your lordshippe out of a deepe sence of my duetie, and in sinceritie of hearte as in the sight of God, wherein (it's like) few will be soe free and plaine with you, which I the rather am, for that I have (through the tender mercie of God) had full knowledg of divers of the before mentioned persons in England and here. Deare sir, it will never repente you that you incourage vertue and punnishe vice, wherein I beseech the God of heaven to be your guide, in whom I am,

Your excellencie's faithfull and affectionate servant,
Ri Hodden

39. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 8 January 1656, 821, fos 70–71.

Deare brother,

Your freedom I take very kindly as a fruit and effect of your frendshippe, and if you and I showld not retaine our old and hearty affection each to other, whear can we expect it? And therfor give not the least credit to any reports or suggestions which may tend to the contrary, but looke therupon as a serpent to be fledde from. It is the houre of saddnes in that respect that jealousyes takes place even amongst the nearest relations. I confesse to you I did not, nor doe I otherwayes then, looke upon that petition then out of design to devide twixt you and me, and to make our interests at least to be looked upon as contradistinct, which I hope shall never take effect. As for the representations you conceive have bine given me, I see you are

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mistaken. If you did but know what affection they hath writt with concerning your own person, you would otherwayes believe of them. I confesse clearly to you, whom I have so much reason to love, that I doe feare you may have some too great prejudice against som of them, whom I am deceived if they are not earnest with the Lord in your behalfe. And though I would not write this for a great dell to them, yet if my playnes be a mistake, it will be your mercy now whilst ther is any thing of prejudice in your heart against any one or more. Sathan will be sure to blow that up to the higth and will continually begett and increase jealousyes. And I tell you plainly, I doe feare some may suggest things to your jealousnesing of me, which I know they canot doe nor dare doe it directly, but by consequence; and therfor let us be in this free, one with another, not to suffer so much as a thought by way of reflection or jealousyes each of other. Let others pretend what they will, I doubt not I shall be found your faithfully loving brother.

I have not much at presant to impart unto you of newes. The poore Protestant Switzers are like to engage in a new warre with the Catholick cantons.[6] They have sent for ayde from hence, which we shall be ready to afford as the condition of our affayeres will permitt. Yeasterday we had a meeting with the comittee formerly appoynted for the collection of the Piemonts. They desire you will doe what you can to get in thos collections formerly subscribed. The buysnes is of great importance and what you can to increase the subscriptions and to collect what hath bine subscribed will be very acceptable to his Highnes and councell heare.[7] My Lord Protector hath a great desire to make the peace amongst the Protestants states as large as he can; endeavors will be used accordingly. I presumed embassedors will be suddenly sent. Colonel John Jones[8] is like to goe into Hollande as agent about publicke affayres. Ther was thoughts of his return into Ireland; let me know your opinion therin. If you approve therof it may be don, but without you it shall not. I must desire one word more to you, and that is you would not suffer the way of tyths to goe out of its presant channell, but continue the way of maintenance as of late yeares it hath bine done. His Highnes and councell would be glade it

[6] The uneasy peace in Switzerland was breaking down along sectarian fracture lines.

[7] Eventually around £1,100 was raised by Henry Cromwell in Ireland (Dunlop, pp. 545, 668–669; *TSP*, IV, pp. 483–484).

[8] Parliamentarian officer and politician, and a regicide, he campaigned in his native Wales during the 1640s and served as a parliamentary commissioner for Ireland from 1650 until 1654, when he and his colleagues were superseded by a lord deputy and council appointed by the Protector. Jones had travelled to London in the summer of 1654, shortly before his commission ended, in part to brief the Protector on Irish affairs. He was returned to the second Protectorate parliament.

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wer so heare.[9] Ther hath bin some late thoughts of making that worke more easly heare too,[10] as allso in regulating the law. Heare inclosed is the debt ascertained by the comittee of the army. Ther is no way of payment therof but to put it upon compostitions and rebells' lands. Let me know your thoughts therin. Excuse this trouble of,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

Charles Fleetwood

This inclosed the bishoppe of Armagh[11] desires your favor in its dispatch according to his Highnes' order.

MacNaughton[12] in Scotland hath, it seemes, endeavoured by some of his agents, endeavoured to make disturbances in Ireland by sending some of his instruments thither. The more care you take of the north the better. The common enimy are still at worke; though through mercy be hoped will take litle effect through its timely discovery.

40. William Stane, London, 8 January 1656, 821, fos 72–73.

My lord,

I have little to impart to your lordship, only that I would keep my hand in use, and give your lordship a testimony that I do not forget you and my good lady. Colonel Montague[13] is made generall-at-sea and intends to go in person. If the rest (for the great designes in hand) bee proportionably disposed of, I hope it will prove a great blessing to my Lord Protector and these nations. There will bee some alteration in

[9] Although the tithe system was seen as unsatisfactory and in need of reform, Protector, council, and parliament never found a better and more workable way to fund parish livings, and the tithe system continued in England and Wales throughout the Protectorate. In Ireland, a slightly revised system had been imposed after 1649, with much of the church revenue from tithes and other sources being paid direct to the state, which in turn employed ministers and awarded them government salaries.

[10] Word heavily amended and possibly deleted.

[11] During 1655 James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh and primate of the Protestant Church of Ireland, had been granted by the Protector various leases in Ireland, both for himself and for his son-in-law.

[12] Alexander MacNaughton, Laird of Macnaughton, had been prominent in the Glencairn rising in Scotland in 1653–1654. Although he submitted to the Protectoral government in the spring of 1655, upon the collapse of that rising, he was one of the leading Scottish royalist leaders suspected of renewed plotting in the winter of 1655–1656.

[13] Parliamentarian officer and politician, he campaigned during the civil war until relinquishing his command under the self-denying ordinance. He withdrew from parliament and office in the wake of Pride's Purge and the regicide, but returned to public life in 1653 as a member of the Nominated Assembly. He held a range of senior offices during the Protectorate, sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, and was a Protectoral councillor. Despite little or no previous experience of naval affairs, he was appointed an admiral by Protector and council in early January 1655, in effect superseding the disgraced William Penn.

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the customs, but what is not ascertained, but in his Highnesse' breast, who the persons shall bee. There is some whisper as if that Spaine and France might agree. If it bee possible the convention at Bolonia[14] will bring that and things of like sort to passe. I hope that colonel Zanchey by this is with your lordship. The Lord direct you. I trust you seek Him much and walk humbly before Him. Surely that of a little child is a good subject for His teaching, and I am perswaded in the work in hand all other teaching and wisedome will prove fruitles. It holds good in both warefares. When David went into the sanctuary, there hee learnt understanding, both of his world and that which is to come.

His Highnesse is well, but my Lady Protectoresse cannot bee perfect in health. My lady Elizabeth continues in health. My lady Fleetwood hath a great cold. My lord deputy now follows busines hard; and indeed it is no more then is needfull, the work is great and the hands suiteable to it few. My lord Richard is still in towne. I have not heard lately from Chippnam, but I presume they are well, else Mr Percyvall[15] would give it mee. I am now in Pett France, and my wife also, who is (I blesse the Lord) somwhat better.

Myne and my wife's services to my lady and your lordship. Our respect and service to colonel Zanchye. My service to colonel Tomlinson and all our freinds. My respect to Dr Harrison. I am, my lord,

Your lordship's faithful servant,

W Stane

41. Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 15 January 1656, 821, fos 74–75.

Deare brother,

Haveing receaved this inclosed from my lord Broghill[16] I thought fitt to send it you, though I suppose you may have it alreadie, either from his lordship or Mr Secretary. They are still at worke in Scotland but it's hoped, through the goodnes of the Lord, there designes being much

[14] There were reports of a meeting at Bologna to open the way for full peace negotiations.

[15] John Percival, Irish-born administrator, who sought favour from Henry Cromwell and was later knighted by him, was also known to Sir Francis Russell and may for a time have been employed by Russell.

[16] Roger Boyle, Baron Broghill, Irish-born officer and politician, campaigned against the Catholics in Ireland during the 1640s and supported parliamentarian policies there. In 1649, perhaps in the wake of a meeting with Oliver Cromwell, he was a forceful advocate for the English republic's handling of Ireland, accepting senior command in the parliamentarian reconquest and campaigning extensively under Cromwell and his successors, acquiring substantial Irish estates in the process. He strongly supported the Protector and the Protectoral regime, sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments and was rewarded with a number of offices. From September 1655 until August 1656, he was in Scotland, as president of the Scottish council and, in effect, chief administrator of Scotland.

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discovered wilbe prevented. I doubt not of your especiall care of the north. There is a proclamation going out from the councell of Scotland prohibiting any to goe into Ireland without leave.[17] I looke upon it as necessary that you should prevent the like out of Ireland, as also that care may be taken that they keepe no armes. And tis conceaved necessary that a frigott should be ordered upon the coast of Scotland to ply to and againe. I hope you will find colonel Cooper a very active and discreet person to manage the affaires in the north.[18] Through mercy wee are in much quietnes heere, and I trust the generalitie of good people are more inclyned towards satisfaction, though I feare some good men are over hastie. The Lord cleare up His mind to them and us and send a healing spiritt that this precious cause may not suffer through our owne divisions. The saints have a mercy beyond what, I feare, wee have harte to price in his Highnes, whose care and labor for the people of the Lord wilbe rewarded. The worke of the major-generalls in reforming the severall associations and corporations goes on very throughly. Wee are sending two embassadors into Sweethland to endevour a generall peace amongst the Protestants.[19] What ever the issue wilbe, yett I am perswaded the Lord will owne the uprightnes and integritie of hart that is in this action in his Highnes. He hath bine somewhat indisposed this two dayes, but is better then he was. As for forraigne newes, I still refer you to Mr Secretary and must entreate you will excuse this present brevitie from,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

This weeke's packett is not yett come.

42. From John Reynolds, 19 January 1656, 821, fos 76–77.

May it please your lordships,

I came hither[20] thorough God's blessing by seven this morning, or before eight, and do intend to go no farther than Bewmorris this night,

[17] *TSP*, IV, pp. 342–343.

[18] He had arrived in Ireland earlier in January.

[19] In fact, proposals to send joint ambassadors to Sweden did not materialize at this time.

[20] Probably Holyhead, landing there en route from Ireland to London. Although Henry Cromwell was unwilling to lose him – in September 1655 he had recommended Reynolds for foreign service, but also noted that 'if you take him from hence, you deprive me of my right hande' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 53–54) – Reynolds had received the Protector's permission to make a short visit to England. He left Ireland bearing wide-ranging instructions from Henry Cromwell and the Irish council, who wanted Reynolds to seek from the Protector and Protectoral council the speedy resolution of various Irish affairs, including settling the arrears and pay of the army; encouraging Protestant merchants to move there; and providing for a mint, town charters, and more schools (Dunlop, pp. 560–561).

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in regard of my seasicknes, and thence forward with more speede to London.

I have since considered of the letters[21] and do beleive it most unfit that your lordships should be cajoled into power by those under your command, especially since it is to be done by applications to your lordship's owne father. Certainely his Highnes will do as much with information of the contents as by the thing delivered. And I feare there was some supprisall on our part, being so fond of their consent as we gave away our cause. I shall therefore delay presenting the letter untill the returne of the packet and shall than be constrained by virtue of my trust to present the same unto his Highnes. I most humbly kisse your lordship's hands, and beseeching the Lord to preserve and uphold your lordships in all difficultyes, do conclude your lordship's present trouble and remaine,

Your lordship's most obliged and most humble servant,
J Reynolds

43. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 22 January 1656, 821, fos 78–79.

Deare brother,

I perceive by yours that colonel Sankey hath sayde somthing concerning my jealousyes of you, and som about you. I know not what he hath sayde but hope he is too worthy a person to speake any thing which may administer matter of suspition twixt us for he knowes my tendernes. But I have sayde so much in my late letter to you of this subject that I hope it will not be in the power of any to divide us (who have so much reason for a onenes both on the account of relation, affection and interest) and I am confydent Jerome will rather mak it his buysnes to heale mistakes then widen them. Deare brother, let's lay aside all jealous thoughts and love one another dearly, and not own them as frinds that suggest any thing to divert a hearty affection, which surely you and I hade each to other as could be expected twixt brothers. If you have any occation to command me you will finde what you may expect from an affectionately loving brother. The Lord teach us both by thes late endeavors to draw a vaile upon one another's affections. I think we had as great endearednes as could be found any

[21] Reynolds was carrying two letters to the Protector: one from the army officers in Ireland, calling for Fleetwood to return to Ireland as lord lieutenant, with Henry Cromwell made lord deputy under him; and a second from Hewson, stressing that Henry Cromwell had had no part in the Irish petition of the previous November, which had requested that the Protector make Henry Cromwell lord deputy in place of Fleetwood (*TSP*, IV, pp. 421–422). Reynolds's reception in London is recorded at *TSP*, IV, pp. 478, 505.

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wheare, and I trust the same shall be restored, which I desire may be with advantage.

I am sorry you have not a vessell at Chester; it will make us suspect heare that you are not in that necessity, and it will be the harder to get you any supply within any reasonable time, we being in such sadde straights and necessityes heare that I doe not know which way we can turn to answer our presant necessityes. The fleet sinks deepe. His Highnes hath continnued ill thes tenn dayes, but through mercy is, I hope, recovering; he was this day in the parke. His distemper hath at present somewhat indisposed him as to busines, and then you may easilye beleive how much wee want the maine wheele to carry on our publique affaires. His Highnes is very much inlarged upon this good worke of uniting Protestants, which this worke carrying on by the Protestant Switzers will probably concure with that designe. Certainely the Lord is about some notable and great worke abroad as well as at home. Our affaires heere are through mercy in a quiett posture. I perceave by my lord Broghill that they are still a working in Scotland, and have there expectations heightened from Ireland. Colonel Cooper, I hope, will prove a happy instrument in the north. Wee had this day a great debate about my lord of Arde his case.[22] Wee only concluded with this, that it was not so proper for our determination as for yours, and so have left it to you, which I feare you will find troblesome but it could not welbe prevented. Wee are going on about further instructions as to Ireland upon the proposalls I sent you. Wee shall now, I hope, obtaine a mintt for you in Ireland. Wee have almost concluded with a man this night. There is nothing for the good of Ireland wherein you want power but you may have it, and therefore[23] me know wherein either of publicque or particuler concernment, and you will find mee,

Your most affectionate brother,

Charles Fleetwood

Our affectionate services to your selfe and deare sister. I must entreate you will please so farr to consider this poore petitioner's condition as to continnue her pention to her. I must also desire you will

[22] Hugh, Viscount Montgomery of Arde, an Irish-born Protestant, had supported the royalist cause in Ireland in 1649–1650. Having surrendered to Oliver Cromwell and then retired to the continent, he had been allowed to return to Ireland and eventually, after considerable discussion in London and Dublin, in 1657 he was able to compound for and recover much of his Irish estate. Nevertheless, he was viewed with suspicion by the Protectoral regime and was imprisoned between January and April 1656 (*CSPI*, pp. 580–581).

[23] Word – perhaps 'let' – apparently omitted.

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please to cause a speedie returne to be made in the lady Tirconnell's busines.[24]

44. Charles Fleetwood, January[25] 1656, 821, fos 80–81.

Deare brother,

I have received yours wherein I perceave you much troubled with some things relating to colonel Hewson.[26] I cannot tell what you meane thereby. He did not write with reflection upon you to mee at any time; nether doe I thincke he did to his Highnes. I saw one letter which was far from such a thing, that hath expressed much affection and hansomenes concerning you.[27] I cannot thincke he would doe you any ill offices. You have bine otherwise represented by those you suspect then you give creditt unto. I beg of you to take heed of jelousies. I cannot but be plaine with you. I hope you shall not find mee unfaithfull to you upon any account, much les not only in that which may be inconvenient to your owne satisfaction, but also wherein you may be hindred in your publicque worke. It is sathan's designe to foment and encrease divisions. It is much that those you suspect should carry it unhansomly towards you. For this I know, I have receaved severall letters with expressions of much affection. It wilbe your wisdome and mercy to beare with weaknesses and not easilye to give creditt to reports; for reallye tis one of the sadnes of this day that men delight to speake evill one of another and to make it there busines to sow division and make breaches. Doe not thincke you are without a temptation of this sort, even by some who may pretend affection to you, and yett under that disguise prejudice more then by any other way to make

[24] Bridget, widow of Roderick, Earl of Tyrconnel, and wife of Nicholas, Viscount Barnewall, an Irish Catholic, who had supported the royalist cause in Ireland and England in the 1640s and who had been imprisoned in 1654 on suspicion of a royalist plot against the Protector. She was requesting that she and her husband should not suffer sequestration of estates and transportation to Connaught, the common fate of Irish Catholics (*CSPI*, pp. 608–611).

[25] Paper slightly damaged and date lost.

[26] Henry Cromwell viewed Hewson as the English-based agent, and to some extent ringleader, of the group of Baptist officers opposing his rule in Ireland. Henry was alarmed to hear that Hewson had written one or more letters of complaint to the Protector – 'if collonel Hewson must be beleived [. . .] I must be made a liar, if not worse' – and was exasperated when Hewson and his allies not only tried to smear the petition urging Henry Cromwell's appointment as lord deputy as the work of 'cavaliers and disaffected persons', but also claimed that a letter that they had, in turn, received from the Protector broadly supported their position and complaints (*TSP*, IV, pp. 327–328, 348–349, 349–350, 373).

[27] Perhaps Hewson's letter to the Protector of 16 January 1656, noting that he had now shown the Protector's letter to him to Henry Cromwell, acknowledging that Henry Cromwell had had no part in the petition of November 1655, and also promising 'to doe what I can to heale' (*TSP*, IV, p. 422).

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you beleive evill of those who, I hope, intend no evill to you, but waite frequently upon the Lord for you. I confes I cannot thincke that they have unfaithfull harts to you, and indeed for them and the good man for whom I am sure you had a good opinion, and for you now to be suspitious of them and him, makes mee very much to feare that some doe not good offices, but much the contrary. As to what you mention concerning his misrepresentations heere, I know therein as to matter of fact you are mistaken, and therefore hope you are in other things, and if you thincke I may be deceaved in this I shall labor to send you the letter which he sent to his Highnes, that so by your owne veiw you may be convinced. What designe can you imagine for me to have in my desires and endevours to continnue a right understanding betwixt you and others but your good? I am perswaded if you enter into your owne hart you cannot but esteeme me as a deare and faithfull freind, and as I told his Highnes upon discourse of those things, appealing to his Highnes whether I had spoken reflectingly of you, wherein I know he will wittnes for mee, and as I then saide, if I knew anything done amisse by you, it was my dutie rather to tell him then any other thereof. I have a desire to discharge my dutie to you, and what I write at this time I know is for your good, and I desire that you will not passe it over with these thoughts, that what I write is out of prejudice to some particular persons and opinions of others. As for the petition which you are pleased to call inoffensive to you, who might intend no evill thereby, it might be so; but what was in the intention of those who were the contrivers and abettors thereof? I confes I cannot so easilye cleare them, it haveing no other tendancie then to divide; but I may be looked upon as a partie something concerned, and therefore shalbe silent. I hope that whatsoever men shall designe, yet our affections each to other are so much one as well as our interest, that to stricke at the one wil not be looked upon as a respect to the other, and this rightly considered wilbe much the state of the case. Though give me leave to say that a reflection of that kind will, I trust, prove my mercy upon the best account and not my punishment; and though my major's[28] opinion is as though it were inconsistent with our interests for me to returne, yet I hope his politicks much faile him in that petition, and I trust it is not the place of deputie wilbe my errand into Ireland.[29] And if I cannot serve you and the publique in my returne, I hope it is not ambition will invite me thither; but whatsoever I am, and when you have had experience of others, you will find me to bee,

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles Fleetwood

[28] Probably Hezekiah Haynes.

[29] Again hinting that he expected to return to Ireland, perhaps as lord lieutenant rather than lord deputy.

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£30,000 is gone towards you. I hope you have appointted a good ship to transport it.

45. From A. Deane, [January 1656], 821, fo. 82.

My noble lord,

My last, I hope, hath arrived att your lordship's hand, and gave an account how affaires then stood, which are yett in the same posture, and nothing new butt the addition of collonell Montague to bee a generall-att-sea. Hee is now gone to Chattam to veiw his ship. Affaires heere looke with a good countenance; and the designe of the major-generals quite extinguisheth the hopes off the malignant party; and I beseach you bee carefull who you trust and confide in. I hope by the next, by some spiritts I have sett a worke, to bee able to wright you word[30] your most clandestine enemyes. I shall wish you all happiness and ever bee, my lord,

The faithfullest of your humble servaunts,

A Deane

My lord, I shall beg the favour that you would bee pleased to give a stopp to any proceedings in the lord Nettervill's[31] estate, either by the adventerour or soldiers, that soe the application hee makes heere in England may bee more effectuall and nott made more difficult by a prepossession in Ireland. Pray, my lord, owne mee in this thing which comes within the compasse of your authority.

46. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 5 February 1656, 821, fos 83–84.

Deare brother,

If my own pen hath not bine the messenger weekly of my affections to you, be pleased to understand and be confydent it was not for want of a due love, but I often write large to you and more then to any other, and somtimes I am forced for want of time to make my servant take in short hand what I have to write, but since you are pleased to have so favorable an acceptation of my scribles I shall not give occation of the like offence, and if in any thing I could demonstrate affection, you have reason and right to expect it. Jerome Sanckey gives me an account of how good an accord ther is like to be amongst you, which,

[30] Word – perhaps 'of' or 'about' – apparently omitted.

[31] John, Viscount Netterville, an Irish-born Catholic and royalist, had been sequestrated, but some of his Irish lands had passed to his wife and, after her death, to their children, thus giving Netterville a continuing interest in his estate in Ireland (*CSPI*, pp. 629–631, 836–838).

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if the Lord please to continue amongst you, will be all your mercyes. That is a good word and fitt for us often to minde. Whence comes your contentions or divisions? Com they not from your lusts? And surly did we all consider it arit, we should find too much of that as that which so widens the breach at this day.

We are through mercy in a good, quiet condition, and I hope not so much in the heate of dissatisfaction as formerly. We have still very sadde reproofes from Jameca. Our men dye and sicken very fast that ther numbers are neare halfe in halfe lessened.[32] That keepe to your selfe; also Fortescue is deade,[33] besides severall other feild officers. Ther are still the most saddest, sottish managment of things ther as I think ever was known in any affayre, wherin the Lord's hand appeares exceedingly, even to suffer such a spirit of infatuation that they have acted scarce lik men, suffer their men to starve and in the meantime their provisions lying a rotting. Nay, they hade not so much as built a store house for their provisions till major Sedgwicke cam, who hath in his short time put things in a better and more hopefull posture. The hand of the Lord hath appeared against us; the Lord teach us mor to looke and see what the Lord sayse, and the lesse then we looke at the miscarriage of instruments the better. His Highnes is under trouble about this buysnes yet beares much better then I hade feared he would, and I hope will take the right course in seaking counsell of the Lord in this great affayre, which I trust He will by His presance, and might we but meet the Lord in the way of His judgments, I am perswaded we showld soone finde a blessed and gratious returne, and though we may be at presant under the reproach of our enimyes, yet the Lord who is gratious will pardon and heale and have mercy[34] us his poore ones, who have, I trust, som measure of integrity. I have not received any from you this weeke; you still sende them under Mr Secretorye's cover, and so through buysnes or one thing and another I canot com by them till it be late. I must acquaint you that I belive ther will be a desire of sending 800 or a 1,000 souldyers to the men at Jameca; let me heare suddenly what you can doe therin. I doe think you shall have a return of the men heare in case you sende such a

[32] From over six thousand to around three thousand men.

[33] Richard Fortescue, parliamentarian officer, was given command of a New Model foot regiment in 1645 and campaigned in England in 1645–1646, but lost his military command on siding with parliament against the army in 1647 and was briefly imprisoned in the early 1650s on suspicion of conspiring against the republican regime. The Protector appointed him second-in-command of the West Indies expedition in 1654–1655, and he became effective commander of the land forces there after Venables's departure and the death of major-general James Hearne, but he died in Jamaica in October 1655.

[34] Word – perhaps 'on' or 'to' – apparently omitted.

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party from Ireland. My deare brother, I hope I am dearly beloved by you, to whom I am,

Your most affectionate brother.

Our affectionate services to my deare sister.

The poore Protestant Switzers have bine a litle worsted but I hope not considerable. They presse hard for money from hence. I doubt not you will doe what you can in Ireland.

Deare brother, since the former was writt I have received yours which gave me a great reviving with som loving expressions. In that coyn, I hope, I shall pay you with advantage; you are too deare to me to be estranged. I desire we make it our buysnes to love one another more and more. In that I am perswaded we shall please the Lord. I trust this late interposition, so seemingly to be, will be our advantage.

I have lately had a person very considerable out of this citty to desire that some merchants and others might make a bargayn with the state about the howses at Galloway.[35] He is to bring me his proposalls, which I shall hasten away to you, and what your result is that shall be observed.

47. From John Reynolds, 5 February 1656, 821, fos 85–86.

May it please your lordshipp,

I have received the honour of two letters from your lordshipp, wherein I did most gladly reade the effect of my prayers in your lordship's health restored, which mercy I trust the Lord will continue.

The embassy hath beene delivered and will, I doubt not, be successfull in all publique concernements, and I shall endeavour to be happy in that enjoiment; at least thereby diminish and mitigate my private.

I parted even now with the Secretary, who declares greate satisfaction in your lordship's management of affaires and expresses greate affection to your lordshipp, with a greate sense of your Christian and prudent letters, etc.

I have beene with his Highnes and did deliver all my papers from the officers which he reade, except the letter which was so full of parallells to Christ Jesus, as some who saw it affirmed it came neere

[35] The town of Galway had become depopulated because of the enforced removal of the Irish Catholic population in the autumn of 1655 (Dunlop, pp. 546–547, 548–549) and, in consequence, many of its buildings were empty and falling ruinous. Henry Cromwell and others wished to encourage Protestant and mercantile settlement there to revive Galway's fortunes, and several schemes were proposed around this time (Dunlop, pp. 576–577, 620; *TSP*, IV, pp. 483–484, 508, and V, p. 494).

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blasphemy.[36] I beseech your lordshipp to take no notice of this, least those who sent over this should be earnest to pursue it. I suppose colonel Clerke's[37] mediation will now be useles.

The instructions, which I received from the councell, have not yet received any answer from his Highnes and the councell heere, but I hope daily for a dispatch. The busines of transporting Irish was referred to the lord deputy and colonel Lambert to represent to his Highnes for his assent, and the commission for setting lands is referred to the committee to prepare instructions. The Lord direct your lordshipp in all your greate affaires. I see little helpe to be expected; no persons heere can be prevailed with who are fit to be councellours. Your lordship's sence of persons would be welcome. His Highnes commanded me to assure your lordshipp of his tender love to you, and that you may be equally precious in the sight of your heavenly Father is the prayer of, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble, faithfull, obliged servaunt,

J Reynolds

48. From Nathaniel Waterhouse, Whitehall, 5 February 1656, 821, fos 87–88.

May it please your lordship,

I am to begge your honor's pardon that I have not aquainted your lordship what I have done as conserninge the payment of those debts you left with me. My lord, I did pay above three hundred pounds of them before I receaved your halfe year's rent, wich was done the[38] 29th of September last. And about 14 dayes since, (and not before) I receaved five hundred pounds of Mr Maidston[39] for that halfe yeare,

[36] The officers' letter to the Protector, which Reynolds had himself signed, suggested that something of Christ's image and spirit could be seen in Fleetwood – 'inasmuch as wee have beheld the lively image of our Lord Jesus Christ in him, and [. . .] have satt under his shaddow with great delight' (*TSP*, IV, p. 421).

[37] John Clarke/Clerke, parliamentarian officer and politician. By the later 1640s he was an officer in Hardress Waller's New Model foot regiment and in 1651, as lieutenant-colonel, he commanded the successful recapture of the Scilly Isles. In 1652 he took command of a new regiment deployed in Ireland, but it was disbanded in summer 1655. Although Clarke was then given nominal command of a regiment in Ireland comprising garrison troops, he spent much of the period in England, sitting in every parliament between 1653 and 1659, representing Ireland in the Nominated Assembly, and Counties Londonderry, Donegal, and Tyrone in the first Protectorate parliament, but mainland seats in the second and third Protectorate parliaments.

[38] Word repeated in error.

[39] John Maidstone, parliamentarian official and politician, worked closely with Waterhouse as steward of the Protectoral household. He was also cofferer of the household and sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments.

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allthough it is not as yet confermed by his Highness, but I doubt not but he will be pleased to conferme the allowance to your honor. Since the receaving the £500 before mentioned, I have paid upward of £400, soe as I am out of purse above £200 more then I have yet receaved. And shall, God willinge, as moneyes doe com in, discharge them all with what spead I can. But I doe asure your lordship we are in more strayets of late for moneyes then we have beanne this 4 or 5 yeares. My lord, I am at present confined to my chamber, being not very well, or other wayes I had now sent your honor a particuler what I have allready payd. But if it please the Lord to give me helth, I shall send it by the next. I besech your honor not to doubt, but that I will doe whatever is in my power and I hope when you shall see howe many of those debts be satisfied, your honor will rest contented, and will see I have not beane neckligent. And soe I humbly take leave and rest,

Your lordship's most humbell servant,

Nat Waterhouse

49. From Charles Fleetwood, [12 February] 1656, 821, fos 256–257.

Deare brother,

The presant time is so short and I in no good condition of wrighting that I must intreat your excuses for my now shortnes. I perceive you are in some wants of more at counsell, which I doe as well presume as heare, but wheare to finde persons sutable is the difficulty. Let me know whom you have a minde unto. It is very hard to get any who are satisfyed and other wayes fitt for such a worke. We finde a want heare of instruments, and the truth is our condition is such that we have few and have very much buysnes, that many things either wholly suffer or are delayed in a great measure through the want of more instruments. Yet I know Ireland's condition to be such, in respect of that defect, that I canot but much desire you wer fully supplyed. As for moneyes, you shall have according to what is allotted allready for Ireland, provided to be sent equall with England and Scotland. We are in great streights for money, and therfor give me leave still to minde you of good husbandry, though I must give you your due, I have not heard anything to the contrary but doe think your care hath bine great therin. We are upon some considerable considerations as to our forrigne transactions. You shall heare more therof. Jamieca buysnes is of great tryall to us, yet I trust we shall see mercy therin. The Lord discover to us the cause of His displeasur. The instructions for the fleet are this day past the counsell.[40] Both the generalls are suddenly

[40] Passed by the Protectoral council on 12 February, thus supplying a date for this undated letter.

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to goe. Vice-admyrall Lawson hath dealt unhandsomly in suspending to declare his dissatisfactions till now he was ready to goe forth with his fleet.[41] We hade yeasterday a very pretious day of seaking the Lord, which I trust we shall finde as an oppurtunity which will be returned in great mercye. You have newes from other hands and therfor I may spare you the trouble. Through mercy his Highnes is very well and so are all our relatives. The Lord affect our hearts with the sence of that great mercyes, for certeinly noe people have more cause to owne the mercy of a man's life then at this day we have in his Highnes. I am,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

Charles Fleetwood

The buysnes twixt Mr Hungerford[42] and my sister Mary is like to com on agayn.

Captain Beake and my cosen Levina are maryed.[43]

I know the councell will passe colonel Hewson's buysnes, having done captain Blackwell's, and therfor I could wish you would pase it in Ireland.[44]

My wife's and own humble services to yourselfe and deare sister. We intreat your kindnes to poore Mrs Shear's 2d sonne.

50. From John Reynolds, London, 12 February 1656, 821, fos 89–90.

May it please your excellency,

I have received the honour of another letter from your lordshipp, which beares date February 6th, wherein your lordshipp referres to a letter from Dr Harrison, which I scarce reade before his Highnes tooke it from me, being desirous to reade it privately. I have taken occasion

[41] John Lawson, parliamentarian naval officer, had campaigned throughout the civil wars as well as in the Anglo-Dutch War. Although appointed early in 1656 to campaign against Spain, he resigned on 11 February, perhaps because he had been passed over by Montague's appointment, perhaps because of his long-standing radical and republican sympathies.

[42] Probably Edward Hungerford, son of a royalist politician and heir to the Farleigh Hungerford estate, one of several unsuccessful suitors for Mary Cromwell's hand during this period.

[43] Richard Beake/Beke, parliamentarian officer and politician, served in Oliver Cromwell's lifeguard and then in Richard Ingoldsby's New Model horse regiment. He married Levina/Levinia Whetstone, daughter of Roger Whetstone and Catherine Cromwell, the Protector's sister, and was returned to the second and third Protectorate parliaments.

[44] The granting of land in Ireland to a long list of parliamentarian officers, including John Hewson and John Blackwell, as settlement of their arrears of salary or as reward for their work in parliament's service, frequently led to complications and gave rise to difficulties and disputes, duly laid before the Irish and Protectoral councils.

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to presse for my dispatch in the busines recommended unto me,[45] especially in the determination of the governement, which would quell discontents more than all interposures, of which there is little neede, no provocation being given to occasion them. There is a farther roote of bitternes, not against your lordshipp but your interest, and the interest of his Highnes and the governement and all sober people. There will be a governour appointed to Munster speedily, where much want is and hath beene of sobriety in your officers. I beleive whomsoever your lordshipp recommends will be the person approved by his Highnes, who expresses a greate sense of your condition and rejoices in your lordship's patiant bearing those things which are best remedied by deliberate remedyes. My instructions are going into debate but I have almost obteined my busines without the long way of reports from committees, etc. Colonel Axtel's carriage[46] is il taken, and before this hapned it was desired that his commission as lieutenant-colonel should be suspended. I am most desirous to do my duty to your lordshipp in my returne, but am not satisfyed to leave your lordship's busines (and that of poore Ireland) undone and I would avoide a private undoing also if possible, which I judge more difficult than the other to prevent, for indeede God hath given your lordshipp a large share of affections and prayers. I hope my next will be a clearer manifestation of usefulnes heere, and if your lordshipp will be pleased to performe your promise of affording your good word on my behalfe it will be most seasonable. You know the person and I neede not a cypher or character to describe how I desire to be disposed. If providence had not by an irresistible occurrency diverted my resolutions, no disappointment should have wearied my hope. Dr Harrison is acquainted with the one, and your lordshipp knowes much of the other.

I pray your lordshipp to write letters to your freinds and nerest relations, who do expect letters with some impatientcy. I am, my lord,

Yours until death,

J Reynolds

51. From W. Baret, Londonderry, 18 February 1656, 821, fos 91–92.

May it please your excellencie,

A while since, being att Drumboe castle to draw of the garrison there in pursuance of some orders to thatt purpose, and finding the

[45] His brief included securing from the Protector and Protectoral council further officials to serve in the Irish judiciary and administration, and clarification or enhancement of certain powers that could be exercised by the Irish council.

[46] In criticizing and agitating against Henry Cromwell's handling of Ireland.

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said castle little dammified,[47] indeed less than ever I saw anie where soldiers had been garrisond, I could not but take notice of itt and represent itt to your excellencie, thatt if the atturney-generall (whose that castle is)[48] had some cause to complaine the soldiers were not removed, so you may understand he had not much of the spoile they made in itt. May I be trusted? What soever his agent hath asserted to the contrary, the damage is unconsiderable; and that the soldiers were continued beyond the former order unhansomly complained of, the said agent having given consent to itt, which, as I have more fully declared to the major-generall,[49] so I shall not further trouble your lordshipp with itt. Rapho castle,[50] another of our garrisons and verie considerable for quality and situation (being a choyce pile and in the heart of the best Scottish plantation), calls for repayres, which if not speedily afforded, as it will be prejudiciall to his Highness (whose the house is) in the decay and runie of the building for want of timely looking to, so the cost in repairing (if delayed) will (unavoydably) bee much more than whatt now would answer itt. The cittadell[51] next presents it selfe to your lordshipp's consideration, for which (the season of the yeare minding mee of itt) I am once more a suitor that, if it be your lordshipp's pleasure, it should goe on and course may be taken for itt by supplie of moneys. If otherwise, thatt the materialls, as wood, stone and lime, daily wasting and diminished some of them (which all my care cannot prevent) may be sold to pay the debt contracted by them, and the wages of the labourers crying for itt. I take leave and remayne,

Your excellencie's most humble servant,
W Baret

[47] Damnified: injured or damaged.

[48] William Basil, an English-born lawyer with family connections to Ireland, had played a minor role in the parliamentarian administration of Ireland in the later 1640s and in 1649 was appointed attorney-general for Ireland. He had inherited the estate of Drumboe, County Donegal, from an uncle.

[49] Sir Hardress Waller, parliamentarian officer and politician, and a regicide, settled in Ireland in the late 1620s and married an heiress in County Limerick, but he lost his estates in the 1641 rebellion. He campaigned in Ireland in the early 1640s and, from 1645, in England as commander of a New Model foot regiment. He actively supported Pride's Purge and the regicide. He returned to Ireland in 1649, campaigned extensively there under Oliver Cromwell and was in 1650 appointed major-general of the foot in Ireland. He strongly supported the Protectorate and Henry Cromwell's government and was returned for Counties Kerry, Limerick, and Clare to all three Protectorate parliaments.

[50] Probably the fortified bishop's palace at Raphoe, County Donegal, which had withstood a siege in the 1641 rebellion.

[51] Probably at Londonderry.

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52. From John Reynolds, London, 19 February 1656, 821, fos 93–94.

May it please your excellency,

I received your lordship's Christian, rationall, kind letter, wherein I reade your lordship's trouble with greater in myselfe. I am exceeding glad that your lordshipp corresponds with the lord deputy, who is somewhat sensible of Axtel's busines, and saide it was an unhappy carriage or passage. I neede not repeate that your interests are united, although I may still feare that there may be some difference in judgement in respect to persons there, and things also, upon which account I am assured your lordshipp hath emploied your patience and tendernes. It will be your lordship's mercy if you have chosen the better part; I meane in respect to the publique, for the private I hope both have chosen it. I have spoken concerning the particulars mentioned in my instructions to his Highnes, and do not doubt of effecting according to your lordship's sense all or most of them. Persons are much wanted. I suppose Sir Robert King[52] would be a good councellour, and colonel Hill,[53] J Lowther,[54] Sir John Temple, as persons wel esteemed. I conceive military men are best emploied in their owne worke with lesse offence and more usefulnes. Mr Francis Bacon[55] is thought upon to be a judge in Ireland. Few able and honest lawyers, or others, who are to be gotten into Ireland. I have moved about the treasury and do understand that a speedy alteration is intended therein. Captain Blackwel is willing to come over into Ireland, there to act, but I would not propose it untill I receive your lordship's pleasure, which I pray signify speedily. And be pleased to write to his Highnes, unto her Highnes, and to your

[52] Irish-born politician and administrator, who lost much of his land in the Irish rebellion and entered the service of the English parliament, acting on various Irish committees during the 1640s. He returned to Ireland in the early 1650s and for the next few years held a variety of administrative, financial, and academic offices there, including commissary-general of the musters. He divided his time between Ireland and England, sitting in the Nominated Assembly and being elected to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments for Counties Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon, but he died in England in the summer of 1657 following a period of ill health.

[53] Arthur Hill. In May 1656, upon his return to Ireland, Thurloe noted that Hill had been 'very usefull to the affaires of Ireland, and hath propounded many very good thinges to the counsell' (*TSP*, IV, p. 773).

[54] Gerard Lowther, an Irish judge who had supported the king in the 1640s but who, like many fellow Irish Protestants, then switched allegiance to parliament and retained office; he was already active in Ireland as chief justice of the court of common pleas.

[55] Parliamentarian barrister and politician, and member of the distinguished legal family of that name, he had supported the parliamentary cause in the 1640s and was returned to the Long Parliament in 1646 as MP for Ipswich, but he was excluded at Pride's Purge and seems not to have retaken his seat thereafter. He represented Ipswich again in all three Protectorate parliaments and was master of requests from 1656 until the end of the Protectorate.

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neerest relations, and to Sir Charles Woosele,[56] Mr Secretary and the rest of your lordship's freinds, who may take any occasion to serve your lordshipp in order to your publique.[57]

I should be glad to heare that there were no discontents in Ireland, ill use being made thereof heere by some. Howsoever, it is wel liked that your lordshipp carries it in such manner. I am confident Axtel's affronting your lordshipp will be much for your comfort, and it will be speedily considered how to prevent[58] future. If your lordshipp would be pleased to give a weekly account to my lord Fleetewood, or as often as your occasions require or admit, it would be for your service. His lordshipp hath beene ill these 3 last dayes and was let blood on his right arme this day, and thereby disabled to hold his pen to write to your lordshipp. I shall conclude this your lordship's trouble with my acknowledgements of your lordship's most obligeing and undeserved expressions. I have not any returne to make but of a thankefull, faithfull, devoted heart, which, except the revived affections sacrificed to the person lodged in my secret thought, is entirely yours. And I can say that I more rejoice in the honesty, wisedome and sincerity of your lordship's expressions than in your favours to me, although I price it beyond all favours besides upon publique or private accounts. The Lord prosper, blesse, preserve and guide your lordshipp, and may your lordshipp not faint or be weary of weldoing, being emploied in the worke and in the way of the Lord.

I should be glad to returne to your lordshipp, but I am uncertaine in what weeke it will be. Your lordshipp expressing your good thoughts of me, your faithfull servaunt and poore freind, to her Highnes may possibly hasten my dispatch. This is understood by your lordshipp and therefore I conclude and remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble, faithfull, obliged, devoted servaunt,

J Reynolds

[56] Sir Charles Wolseley, parliamentarian politician, though his father had been an active royalist in the civil war. His parliamentary career began in 1653 and his prominent role in the Nominated Assembly, springing from political moderation combined with strong support for Independency and religious toleration, led to high office. He became a member of the Protectoral council from its inception and was very active in both domestic and foreign and diplomatic affairs. He was also returned to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments.

[57] Word(s) possibly omitted. The closing section of this paragraph has been written along the left hand edge of the paper, running at right angles to the main text, apparently ending '[. . .] in order to your publique', and it is possible that the writer forgot to carry over one or more words to the top of the second side.

[58] Word – perhaps 'in' – apparently omitted.

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53. From William Rowe,[59] Whitehall, 19 February 1656, 821, fos 95–96.

Reports that some of Henry Cromwell's letters sent to him via Fleetwood had been delayed or mislaid and requests that future letters be sent via Thurloe's packet, as they would then reach him promptly.

54. From Thomas Sandford,[60] Wallingford House, 19 February 1656, 821, fos 97–98.

Letter of courtesy, conveying Fleetwood's apology that, because he had been ill for several days and had that day been let blood, he was unable to hold a pen and write in person, though he hoped to do so by the next post.

55. From William Stane, London, 19 February 1656, 821, fos 99–100.

My lord,

I have bin a stranger to your lordship and myselfe for some tyme, the Lord haveing sent upon mee the afflicton of our last (and only) child's sicknes, which hath continued 3 weekes. Now wee have some hope and yet truly not without danger. However the Lord deale with us, I hope Hee will bee found a God of grace and favour. I must needs say I have found more of His goodnes and sure mercyes under afflictions then the best enjoyments otherwise; but Hee can blesse both, and it is a great witnes of Himselfe when Hee doth soe. This retirement hath taught mee this lesson: that our tyme is short, and that a Christian ought to enjoy all things in the Lord. But withall how short I am of it, and that by reason of the vaile, and for want of beholding the Lord and the things of God, and lookeing upon them so reall, as indeed they are. But on the contrary, I do see how apt I am to realize all present things.

I have not bin at White Hall, till yesterday, for many days. I finde them all well; but not so at Wallingford House. My lady hath bin ill, but now is better, and my lord is takeing physic and somwhat distempered with melancholy mind.

My lady Elizabeth is very well again. My lord Richard and my lord Cleipole in Wiltshire.

I told your lordship of major general Fortescue's death at Jamaica; indeed many offices[61] are dead; I may tell your lordship (which I do

[59] Parliamentarian officer and one time scout-master to Oliver Cromwell; in the spring of 1654 he and Richard Kingdon had been sent from Ireland to England to brief the Protector on Irish affairs. During the Protectorate he served as secretary to the Scottish and Irish committees of the Protectoral council.

[60] Fleetwood's secretary.

[61] Word clearly written thus, but perhaps a slip for 'officers'.

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not know any know) neer 100; not above 4,000 souldiers left (many of them sick), and as I remember they were 9,000 at lest left the busines of Hispaniola.[62] Yet is Jamaica probably a good ayre and a fruitfull place; but physitians say great alterations are dangerous. Besides provisions corrupt presently and armyes cary diseases wherever they goe; twas so in Scotland. But sure it's matter of humiliation and seekeing the Lord. I heare Sir Francis Russell went into the country this day. His Highnesse dispenses with Mr Chickley as to decimation.[63] Myne and my wife's humble service to my lady and your lordship. I remaine, my lord,

Your lordship's fathfull servant,

W Stane

56. From John Read,[64] Belturbet, [County Cavan], 25 February 1656, 821, fos 101–102.

My lord,

I have (in obediense to your lordshipp's comands) myself made a stricte inquirie within this preceincte of such persons that were transplanted into Connaught by former orders, and found none returned backe, but only three, whoe had passes, and accordinge to your lordshipp's instructions, made their returne thither. Some fewe of meane quallitie, I am informed, there is, but under the notion of servantes, and soe kept as yett from my knowledge. Butt I shall use my uttmost care in this, as alsoe in all other your lordshipp's comands, humbly remayneinge,

Your lordshipp's ever humble servaunte,

John Read

57. From John Reynolds, London, 26 February 1656, 821, fos 103–104.

May it please your lordshipp,

I may justly be required to give an account of the affaires wherein your lordshipp hath, together with the councell, entrusted me, and I

[62] An exaggeration, since the number involved in the unsuccessful operation against Hispaniola probably totalled around or a little over six thousand.

[63] Thomas Chicheley of Cambridgeshire, politician and administrator, had supported the king in the civil war, been expelled from parliament, and had compounded for his estate after the war. He was one of many who, in 1655–1656, applied to the Protector and council for exemption from the new 10-per-cent tax levied on the wealthier ex-royalists in England and Wales to help fund the system of the major-generals. His appeal for favour may have been helped by his relationship to the Cromwell family, since in 1635 he had married Sir Francis Russell's sister and so was uncle by marriage to Henry Cromwell's wife.

[64] Possibly the major John Read of Henry Cromwell's foot regiment, though there were other army officers and ministers of that name in Ireland during the 1650s.

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can prove my diligence by each daye's journall, being attendance at Whitehall. Neither have I intermitted one day or houre wherein any possibility appeared of effecting my busines at the councell, but the lord deputye's ilnes, without whom they resolve no busines relating to Ireland, hath impeded my dispatch. His lordshipp hath not stirred abroade since my last.[65] I was in this evening to receive his Highnes' commands, as I do weekely, and likewise communicate to his Highnes (by his speciall command) my Irish intelligence. His Highnes bad me let your lordshipp know that he hath beene ill more than once and that he is now somewhat better. I can assure your lordshipp his Highnes told me it was time to consider the busines about which I came over and it should be done. The lady Elizabeth still complaines of your forgetfulnes notwithstanding her late sicknes, although I assured her ladyshipp that publiquely and privately your lordshipp did cause frequent prayers to be made for her recovery. Indeede she deserves more your lordshipp's value than ever, having seene much of God in this late visitation, whereby so much more religion shines with her wonted virtue and nobleness, as good men much rejoice, beleiving his Highnes hath comfort in all his children upon the best account.

I have endeavoured and shall endeavour your lordshipp's last commands, viz money, magistrates, ministers, and concerning the first, I hope ere long a supply will be had. Be pleased to send your lordship's sence about captain Blackwel's coming over to manage the treasury; he is verry willing.

There are 2 or 3 ministers ready to come over for Connaught, if your lordshipp approves them, viz Mr Hore,[66] Mr Madford;[67] no judges yet to be found for Ireland. I remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servaunt,

J Reynolds.

58. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 26 February [1656], 823, fos 353–354.

Deare brother,

The Lord having bine pleased to lay me under some distemper of body, I was silent the last weeke, and since I have lost a deare neace,

[65] Fleetwood was absent from the council between 14 and 28 February.

[66] Perhaps Leonard Hoare, a minister who began his career in New England but returned to England in 1653 and was then rector of Wanstead in Essex until 1662, when he returned again to New England. Despite the news reported here, he does not seem to have taken up a post in Ireland.

[67] Unidentified and not amongst the lists of salaried ministers in Ireland in the 1650s, so again it seems that he did not, in fact, move to Ireland.

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daughter of my deare sister Duckingfeilds, which dispensations I have cause to be earnest with the Lord and to begge my praying frinds to be so, that I may understand the voyce of thes reproofes and have a sanctefyed use therof. The Lord knowes what is best for us and hade we hearts to eye Him in all His dispensations we showld se love and faithfullnes in them all. We are poore creatures and are apt to goe a wondering and therfor stand in neade of some reproofes. To turn at them is a duty and will be a mercy. Ther is no life like a close humble walking. The world is too hard for us, therfor showld we by faith more live and waite wheare alone our strength is to support under all tryalls, and to deliver us from all temptations. We are kept by the mighty power of God through faith unto salvation. It's a great word, and that which often showld be upon our hearts to let's se our own nothingnes and His allsufficiency as our only power to be kept by. I am sorry colonel Axtell hath done any thing of late unhandsome towards you. The tendernes you exercise to honest men will be your mercy and I trust the Lord will teach them in humility and love to carry towards you as becometh them. His Highnes hath hade a sore fitt of the stone, but is now recoverd. He is a mercy beyond what we have hearts, I feare, to price. The Lord, I hope, will still lengthen out his dayes longe as an instrument of much more good. We are sending some more shipps; the generalls, I presume, are at seae. The Lord quicken up prayers for a blessing upon that great design, the consequence whearof is very great. Our want is money; our design large, and I doubt more then we are well in a possibility to manage. Ther is no resolution taken up as to that busynes of Jameca, but I presume will suddenly be, and then you shall heare from me concerning men to be sent from you. I shall endeavor as sudden a supply of moneys to be sent as we can gett it. What is promised from hence, I hope, will not be fayled to be sent, though your continuall supplyes by bills will not admitt of any great somme in specie. The companyes shall be reduced heare according to your desires, but till we know what will be done in sending to Jameca I conceeve it is not advisable. It is presumed ther may[68] another reducment in spring. Let me know your thoughts therin. I confesse I think the difference with Spayn makes it doubtfull. I doe not know wheare we shall get men to please you as counsellers. To have men for buysnes and not as shaddowes showld be the thing aymed at. What can you advise hearin? I know many are jealous of my wante of freedom to them. I have reason to be against none who may be fitt for such an imployment, wherin certeinly the good of poore Ireland is much concerned as to the future well settlement therof. I

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

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am in no good condition of wrighting and therfor must intreat you will excuse the shortnes of,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,
Charles Fleetwood

The buysnes twixt Mr Hungerford and my sister Mary is now wholly off.

Major-generall Harryson and the 3 other prisoners are lik to be at liberty.[69]

My wife's affectionate salutes to yourselfe, with both to your lady.

59. From John Reynolds, London, 25 March 1656, 821, fos 105–106.

May it please your excellency,

I received your lordship's, wherein I understand your lordship's pleasure concerning my returne. I shall be verry suddenly enabled to effect my busines and to returne also, which I judge better than to come thither without effecting any thing, especially being assured by those who have power to performe, that no point of my publique and private instructions shall be unanswered to my satisfaction and of those who entrusted me. My lord, I can freely affirme that nothing relating to my selfe hath kept me one houre in England or was my prime motive of coming over, but having so faithfull a zeale to the publique and to your lordshipp, I should esteeme it an opportunity not to be recovered if I should not faithfully improve all meanes therein. I hope by the next to give a particular account of all. And having beene by leave and command in the countyes at the assizes of Cambridge and Essex,[70] in the intervall of dispatching colonel Hill's proposalls, I am returned to pursue the busines and service of Ireland, which I have his Highnes' promise shall be intended by the councell. I hope by the next packet to obteine a dispatch and before the next I shall be upon my way into Ireland. I remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's humble servant,
J Reynolds

I was on Saturday, being the 22nd, at Chippenham. The lady Russell is well and the whole family.

[69] Four republican opponents of the Protectorate – Thomas Harrison, John Carew, Hugh Courtney, and Nathaniel Rich – had been in prison for a year. In fact, only Rich was fully released at this time, for Carew and Courtney remained in gaol, and Harrison was quickly placed under a form of house arrest.

[70] He had recently been added to the commissions of the peace for Cambridgeshire and Essex.

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60. From John Thurloe, London, 25 March 1656, 821, fos 107–108.

My lord,

There is nothinge more in the desires and endeavours of your freinds and servants here then to send 2 or 3 councillors into Ireland, in whom your lordship may ripose perfict trust and confidence, as well for their fidelitie and affection towards yourselfe, as abilitie for their worke. How hard it is to finde such persons your lordship may imagine. I doe assure you it hath beene the most part of some dayes' worke to consider of this buissnes, and there is scarce a gentleman in England of our partie but hath beene weighed upon this occasion, but hitherto without fruit. I perceive you are afraid of the returne of John Jones. His Highnes is of an oppinion that he would be of great use to you, and for some reasons that are new to your lordship. He is a suiter to Mrs Whitstone at this tyme, and if that proceeds, he will be under another kinde of obligation then before.[71] But I will not trouble your lordship further upon this account, in respect his Highnes told me he would write hymselfe fully upon this subject. Some other persons are under consideration, but there is soe much uncerteintie about them that I shall not trouble your lordship with their names for the present. I have only sayd thus much that your lordship might see you are not forgott in this perticuler. And to quicken a resolution herein I did comunicate your last to his Highnes, but to none else.

The additional instructions for Ireland are now ready[72] and will be sent unto you very shortly. I sent not the abstract of them as I promised, in respect that I perceive my lord deputye had sent them before to the counsill for their oppinion. The fleet was as farre as Plymouth towards Spayne, but contrary windes have brought it backe to Torbay, where they now ride expectinge a faire winde, and wee account it (as certainly it is) a very great mercy that they have beene preserved in this tempestuous weather, the like whereof hath beene seldome knowne. There was a report that the Spanish plate fleet is come home, but our last letters doe contradict it. Our forreine letters

[71] Jones married the Protector's sister Catherine Cromwell, widow of Roger Whetstone, later in the year. The news caused Henry Cromwell to change his position. Thus, on 12 March 1656 he had vehemently opposed Jones's possible appointment to the Irish council, writing that 'I knowe noe old protestant in Ireland can bee more dangerous and prejudicial to the publique upon that account, then this gentleman', while on 12 April he noted that 'when I writte [. . .] about colonel John Jones, I did not knowe, that he was likely to bee my unkle [. . .] you have silenc't mee as to hime' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 606, 672).

[72] Detailed instructions covering a wide range of business, including the handling and disposal of forfeited lands; the treatment of Scots in Ulster; the revival of the court of admiralty; the export of cloth and horses from Ireland; the establishment of free schools; and the apprenticing of poor children (Dunlop, pp. 578–585).

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bringe us noe great newes this weeke, indeed not worth the writinge, nor doe our owne affaires here afford any. I remayne,

Your lordship's humble servant,

Jo Thurloe

The archbishop of Armagh is dead.[73]

61. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 27 March 1656, 821, fos 109–110.

Deare brother,

Though my penn often vissetts you, yet with shame it troubles you, and for that you may well blaime my relation and the great imployment. Starrs the bigger they are the more they are look't upon by those that want them <to> for conduct to there benighted or over clowded conditions and affaires. This gentleman, Mr Osborne, whose petition and personall attendance if by this request of myne they may be admitted as orater to make knowen there bussinesse, will save you a double trouble by reading a coppy of his case in an ill transcript, which to prevent I have not set it downe but rather ground my confidence (that what I desire) you will with a civell ey soe farre countenance as to second the refferrence, that being alsoe seconded to me by my very good freind, I shall not need to force expressions or multiply needlesse words to your ready and ingenuous apprehentions to the helping a just cause in great necessity. I am certaine shall you apprehend it as I doe (the cause of your trouble), there is soe active a righteousnesse in your breast that the person will blesse his happynesse. I have reason to desire that God would blesse you in your waity undertaking, and give you a spirit of right understanding, for hard it is to understand a true professer from a false one; but this may be too serious a subject for mee and therefore I will not only leave offe that for better men and judgments, but alsoe further troubling you at this time. And present my affectionate service[74] yourselfe and deare sister whome the Lord blesse in her howre of great conflict, which I thinck is neare at hand, and that the throwes and shakings may afforde you comfortable fruight and joye that a man child is borne. Give me excuse and it shall indeere, sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

[73] He died on 21 March.

[74] Word – perhaps 'to' – apparently omitted.

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62. From John Reynolds, 1 April 1656, 821, fos 111–112.

May it please your lordshipp,

I have not received any notice of a packet this weeke from Ireland, but do hope all is well with your lordshipp and the busines there, the want of money excepted, of which his Highnes and the lord deputy have manifested the prevalency of your letters by using meanes to accomodate your lordshipp with a present summe in specie, which could not be gotten higher than £35,000. It is desired by the treasurers that the money may not be long at the seaside as formerly, but that a ship may be ready to receive the same abord so soone as it shall come to Chester. The time will be about the 21th instant, of which I thought it necessary to give your lordshipp an account.

I have moved about judge Donelan[75] and his commission is promised by the next. Other busines intervening yesterday prevented its dispatch. I have had the lord deputy's full resolution once or twice declared that he will leave the officers to your nomination, and whomsoever you shall propound shall be commissioned, likewise concerning councellours and judges. I do not find a probable meanes of advantaging the publique by the proposall at Galloway. The business of adventure, and that of the London Derry, do fill the citizens' hands, but I shall proceede with it as farre as may be. I have severall times wrote about you to advance two ministers, viz Mr Madford and Mr Hore. The first hath beene lately approved as a godly, able minister. The second is a young man wel knowne to Dr Harrison.

I hope your lordshipp is in some good measure improved in your health and that you take some recreation for the preservation thereof. Some of your neerist relations are inquisitive and very sensible of your condition there.

I beseech your lordshipp to write to my lord Lambert as you promised, and to have a full corrispondency with the lord deputy. Pardon my boldnes. I remaine, my lord,

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

[75] Henry Cromwell had repeatedly urged that Donnellan's long-suspended appointment as a judge in Ireland should be confirmed, writing in January 1655 that he had served parliament loyally throughout the war years, 'hath bin constantly faithfull to the parliament's interest', and 'is of an excellent temper, and godly' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 376, 508, 606).

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63. From Thomas Goodwin,[76] 6 April 1656, 821, fos 113–114.

May it please your excellency,

According to your excellencye's commands, and the counsell with you, I have doon what in mee lyeth about the persons you were pleased to write unto mee about as to their call to Ireland.

As for Mr Spillsbury,[77] hee is newly and greatly engaged to a people, a very great people in England, and the engagement hath been carryed on through many turnings and windings of providence, so as hee cannot at present, without breach of many obligations, breake from them.

For Mr Brookes,[78] hee seemed willing (and for his condition, hee also is free), but after all the perswations I could use, and intrist in him, hee ultimately stickes at this, to know to what place hee should bee assigned, having heard of some discouragements, that those who have been sent for over have had themselves returning agayn. I can drive this buisines no further with him than I have doon. When I perswaded Mr Wotton[79] to goe over I then also had treaty with Mr Brookes, who then denyed it, and now agayn upon these grounds I mention. At first I had a more hopefull answer from him, and waited untill hee had spoken unto friends in way of advice; but this is the result of his spiritt. I am sorry I could make no speedyer returne, but I depended on his answer, but much more that my endeavours answer not in the successe to your excellencye's desires, who am, my lord,

Your excellencye's devoted,

Tho Goodwin

[76] Parliamentarian minister, member of the Westminster Assembly, chaplain to several of the republican councils of state, and president of Magdalen College, Oxford. During the 1650s, he frequently preached before the Protector and Protectoral council and effectively served as one of the Protector's chaplains.

[77] John Spillsbury, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and rector of Shetton, Shropshire in the late 1640s, was in 1655–1656 a member of the Worcestershire Association and went on to have links with the Wirksworth classis in Derbyshire and with Bromsgrove in Worcestershire, serving as vicar there from 1657. In March 1654, he had reportedly written 'a sober chiding letter' to the Baptists in Ireland, which had helped to quieten them for a time, Henry Cromwell himself noting that Spillsbury and Henry Kiffen 'have dealt verry homely and plainly with those of that judgment' (*TSP*, II, pp. 149, 164).

[78] The common surname prevents firm identification.

[79] Henry Wootton, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, had crossed to Ireland by 1652, for, by the end of the year, he was receiving a government salary as minister at St Audoen's, Dublin. He became prominent in religious affairs in Ireland during the 1650s, holding a fellowship at Trinity College and preaching at Christ Church, Dublin.

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64. From William Leigh,[80] Waterford, 14 April 1656, 821, fos 117–118.

May it please your excellency,

It hath pleased God by a spetiall providence to bring to justice one Morrice Hogan, who about September last was supposed to have murthered captain Lions. Hee was apprehended by two English inhabitants of this countye and brought to this place a day before the judges of assize came hither, unto whom I communicated this busines. But it was theire opinions that being theire was noe witnesses to prove hee did personally committ the said murther and being hee denied the fact, and in as much as hee was guilty by marshall law, that wee might rather proceed against him at a court marshall, which accordingly wee have done. Hee did confess hee was with the torys that night captain Lions was murthered, both before and after the murther was committed, and that hee went away with the said torys after the murther was committed and continued with them about 6 months. Wee had strong presumptions to beleeve that hee either committed the said murther or did contrive it by bringing the torys thither. Wee have condemned him to bee hanged and, that it might deterr others, wee intend to hang him in the place where the murther was committed and after to hang him in chains.

I had notice of a small vessell belonging to Dungarvan, which came out of Spaine, which was taken by a Spanish frigot 20 leagues off of the said port. When they had taken the vessell they tooke the master aboard their frigott and put 2 of theire men aboard the Dungarven vessell. It pleased God that night, being last Tuesday night, to bee very tempestuous and darke, by which meanes in the night they gave the Spanish vessell the slip, and are come safe to theire harbour, and brought 2 Spaniards with them. I have sent for the Spaniards hither. I thought it my duty to give your excellency this intimation, that you may understand theire is enemyes upon the coast, and likwise to know what shall bee done with the 2 Spaniards, whom wee shall keepe safe till I heare from you.

I thought it necessary to excuse myseilfe to your lordshipp for not sending an account of the busines of transplantation sooner, before I receaved the comission for transplantation, werein were named colonel Abbott, colonel Lehunt, major Greene[81] and myseilfe; and

[80] Parliamentarian officer, he fought in England in the mid-1640s in Sir Thomas Fairfax's New Model foot regiment and in 1647 went to Ireland in the newly formed foot regiment commanded initially by James Castle and then by Henry Slade. In 1650, he succeeded the late Henry Slade as its colonel and, although that regiment was disbanded in 1653, he retained command in Ireland and served as governor of Waterford until 1660.

[81] All three were parliamentarian officers. Daniel Abbott, an officer in John Okey's New Model dragoon regiment, came to Ireland in 1649 and was given command of a newly

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before the receipt of the said comission, I had secured all within this county against whom theire was the least suspition, and all such as formerly through tenderness wee had permitted to stay. As you may perceive by my queries in my last letter, I did intend to have proceed against the said persons, as formerly, by a court marshall. But after the receipt of the comission, having taken a copy of it, I sent the originall away to colonel Abbott and colonel Lehunt, who being then at Cashel attending the assises, none of them came till afterward. Colonel Lehunt going to Wexford, coming through this towne, hee desired the busines might bee deferred till his coming backe againe, which accordingly was done. And then, according to our best understandings, wee proceeded in it and have sent it to your lordshipp. Colonel Lehunt and myseilfe have proceeded in the transplanting the Irish out of this towne, according to your lordshipp's and the counsell's orders, and a late reference to us, of which your lordshipp will receive an account this weeke.

I thought it my duty to acquaint your lordshipp that I intend, God willing, to goe to Limricke next Munday (wee having a quarter sessions heere this weeke). The occasion of my going is that having severall times petitioned your lordshipp and counsell for the possesion of my land, which fell to mee by lott in the county of Limricke, which was denied mee, and having desired captain Hartwell,[82] the receiver of Limricke, to lett mee know to whom the said lands were lett to and for how much, and whether any of it were wast that I might dispose of it, being then upon the place for my best advantage, which was denied mee by the said captain Hartwell without your lordshipp's and the counsell's order to him; and although I did wait upon your lordshipp and counsell at Dublin cheifely for that end and you were pleased to grant mee an order to that effect, which order, I not having opportunitye to carry it myseilfe by reason of my imployment, I sent to Mr Bowman of Limricke with a letter of atturny to take an account of captain Hartwell and to receive what monys should bee due from the

created dragoon regiment, which campaigned extensively in Ireland in the early 1650s. He held several semi-military administrative offices under Henry Cromwell and, in 1656, was elected to the second Protectorate parliament for Counties Tipperary and Waterford. Richard Lehunt campaigned in Fleetwood's horse regiment in the mid-1640s and under Oliver Cromwell in Wales in 1648, and he went with Cromwell to Ireland in 1649 as an officer in his lifeguard. In 1651 he succeeded the late Robert Tothill as commander of a foot regiment in Ireland, disbanded in the summer of 1653. Green's military career is not so clear and well-documented, not least because several officers shared that surname, but he is probably the Eliah Green who, in 1648, was serving in Thomas Horton's New Model horse regiment in Wales and who presumably went to Ireland with that regiment in 1649 under its new commander, Sankey, campaigning with it there throughout the 1650s.

[82] William Hartwell, parliamentarian officer, served as mayor of Limerick in the later 1650s, one of a succession of English army officers to hold that office.

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said lands, which notwithstanding hee hath not yet done. His reasons for it I know not, which is the occasion of my going theire. I would not willingly complaine if I might have indifferency, without I desire your lordshipp to pardon this trouble. I remain,

Your excelencye's humble servant,
Wm Leigh

I desire your lordshipp to grant an order for armes for the recruites of this precinct, which recruites are yet with[83] armes, which I minded formerly in a letter to Dr Gorge, which hee returned mee answer to but without an order for armes, it being referred to a comittee of officers to consider of it.

65. From William Pierrepoint,[84] Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, 21 April 1656, 821, fos 119–120.

Letter of thanks and request, seeking favour for his cousin, George Cressy. Cressy was seeking £446 arrears of pay due to his late father, a judge in Ireland,[85] *plus nine years' military pay due to him, which had been stopped, in part because he remained in Dublin after the 1643 cessation (though he claimed he was then a prisoner and badly wounded and so had no choice), in part because it was wrongly reported that he had died of the plague.*

66. From Hugh Peters,[86] 22 April 1656, 821, fos 121–122.

My deere lord,

You may please by these to understand that I am neither civilly nor naturally dead (as my good hand will you suggeste), but most dangerous it is to bee so spiritually. From my own hand you may have

[83] Apparently a slip for 'without'.

[84] Parliamentarian politician, he was very prominent in the Long Parliament, though he absented himself after Pride's Purge and largely withdrew from political life in the wake of the regicide. He nonetheless remained personally close to Oliver Cromwell and was returned to the first Protectorate parliament and, while not holding senior office, he may have counselled the Protector on important issues.

[85] Hugh Cressy had served as a judge in the king's bench in Ireland from 1633 until the early 1640s.

[86] Radical preacher and divine, he began his career in Essex and London but in the 1630s moved first to the continent and then to New England, before returning to England in the early 1640s. A fervent parliamentarian, he was an army chaplain during the 1640s and strongly supported Pride's Purge and the regicide, before accompanying Oliver Cromwell's expedition to Ireland. He regularly preached before the councils and parliaments of the 1650s and effectively served as one of the Protector's chaplains. Although he remained quite close to the Protector, his influence probably waned during the Protectorate, not least because of increasing health problems.

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it that the scandalls sent over to you about my selfe are false and to adde more will doe but little more good. I am still desired by some frends to see Ireland, and if strength increase I trust I shall not fayl so to doe, but have bin long ill and lost very much blood, above 30 ounces: the Lord helpe.

For other things I must bee a suitor that colonel Cooke's[87] arreares, now to bee layd in lands, may have that remembrance in helping on their desires, which will bee very reasonable that are concernd in it. I beseech your lordshipp tender mee herein to preserve children that are fatherles from want. As also my lord deputy gave Mr Dixon his place, which hee long injoyd, and Sir John Temple keeping him out (as hee complayne), a word of your lordshipp would also cure that. And these are all my requests for the present.

And for yourselfe, family, and all yours at your house, my prayers; so these are my counsells ever set as they are, viz:

First. The kingdom of heaven must be sought.

2ly. Mayntayne honnorable thoughts of God in all His dealings.

3. The feare of man, or any sorte of men, brings a snare, and therefore not to be entertaynd; for surely you must never thinke to satisfy all partyes and sorts of men.

4. Dayly intercourse with God answers and takes of most temptations.

5. The least defilement of conscience will cost hot water.

6. And lastly the whole of man is to feare God, etc, Ecclesiastes II.

And for Ireland a laborious, constant, sober ministry, and an industrious hand among all must bee the preservation of Ireland, with a good magistrate to back all. I love and leave and am,

Your lordshipp's servant,

H P

67. From John Desborough, Whitehall, 30 April 1656, 821, fos 125–126.

Letter of request on behalf of his brother,[88] *then serving in Scotland, who was petitioning to receive some land in the baronies of Meath in lieu of land originally allocated to him in Ballybritt,*[89] *where no further land was, in fact, available.*

[87] George Cooke, parliamentarian officer, emigrated to New England during the 1630s but returned to England in the mid-1640s and, by 1646, was an officer in Simon Needham's foot regiment. In the winter of 1648–1649 he took command of that regiment and campaigned in Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, who appointed him governor of Wexford. Very active against the Irish in that region, in the spring of 1652 he was ambushed and killed. He left a pregnant widow and two children by a former wife.

[88] Samuel Desborough, parliamentarian politician, then serving as a member of the Scottish council and keeper of the great seal for Scotland; he was returned for Scottish constituencies to all three Protectorate parliaments.

[89] In King's County. His petition of 1655 is in *CSPI*, p. 814.

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68. From John Perrott, the Marshalsy, at the Four Courts, Dublin, 1 May 1656, 821, fo. 127.

I, the performer of the Lord for the testimony and true wittness of a good conscience, who sometime have bin a labourer in the gospell of Christ Jesus in some parts of this nation of Ireland, for which and none other cause doe I now suffer bonds such as I have these fiftene days past. Being brought from the cittie of Limericke as an offender in like maner as I was three severall dayes brought at the courte which is called sessions in the same cittie of Limericke, where diverce things were layed to my charge in two severall inditments, but every matter criminall which was theirin inserted being more pretence then in the least measure truth, my inocency appeared in the sight of hundereds before whom my cause was duly examined and largly opened. And lastly my enimies being not able to proseed any other way with mee, this is the issue of the whole worke; my comeing unto Dublin, in which place in like maner I am bold, in the name of the Lord, to hold forth my guiltles cause and to open and lay before thee Henry Cromwell, who art commander-in-cheife of the affaires of Ireland, the ground of my sufferings, and how and in what maner I have bin dealt with by colonel Henry Ingoldesby,[90] governor of the said citty of Limericke.

Upon the first day of the second month, called Aprill, one James Sicklemore and myselfe, being moved of the Lord their unto, wee came unto the said citty of Limericke, where, within halfe of an oure of our comeing unto our loging, colonel Ingoldesby sent an expresse order and command in the mouth of one of his souldiers to bring us before him, in obedience where unto we went, by whom wee were duely examined. In which examination we suddainly saw his end, and that the ground of his strictness and severity with us was neither for licentiousness, lewdness, swearing, lying, drunkeness, or any sin or offence, or breach of the law martiall or civell, but being servants of the true and loving God, and haveing the message of His word in our mouth, who by scorners are reproachfully called Quakers. We suffered what we underwent, both slanders, punches, draggings, imprisonment and banishment, although not at any time being convicted of the breach of any law of the nations. And as by

[90] Parliamentarian officer and politician, who served in his brother Richard's New Model foot regiment in the mid-1640s and then went to Ireland, campaigning there under Oliver Cromwell; the latter gave him the command of a newly formed dragoon regiment in the summer of 1650. He gave strong and allegedly brutal support to Henry Ireton in his operations against Limerick and Clare and was governor of Limerick from 1653 to 1659. He also sat for Counties Kerry, Limerick, and Clare in all three Protectorate parliaments. Prompted by the Irish council (Dunlop, pp. 637–638), itself reflecting Henry Cromwell's attitude (*TSP*, IV, pp. 508, 672, 757), Ingoldsby was taking a very firm line against Quakers in and around Limerick, clamping down on townspeople, itinerant preachers, and converts amongst the English garrison stationed there.

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a letter under the said colonel Ingoldesbye's hand, unto us directed, shewes that for nothing but because wee were mett with others, the inhabitance of the towne, at one captain Robert Wilkinson's[91] house. In the feare of the Lord where the misteries of the kingdome of God were opened were we separated from the people (as saith colonel Ingoldesby in his letter), which separation stood in a close prison contrary to the civill government of the three nations, and where not any exceeding the number of three or fower people at once was to come nigh us. And the next day following, with the licence of colonel Ingoldesby, our martiall carried us to the publique meetting place where we heard all that the prest had to say, and he haveing quite ended I, being moved of the Lord, stood up and spoake these few words saying, that it being not contrary to the wholsome lawes of the nations and according to the appostles' doctringe, lett all prophesie one by one, I desiered the liberty of speakeing a few words to the people, to the clearing of my conscience amonge them. Whereupon violent hands was layd upon me and by the rude multitude was thrust out of theire sinagogue and forthwith carried away againe unto prison. And suddainly after a warant was sent unto us with a guard of horse to convay and carry us out of the precinct of Limericke. All which voyolence we suffered, and bore the cruelty done unto us without seeking revenge, but our testimonies did beare against our unjust sufferings.

And about ten dayes after, I haveing occatione of outward business, and being allsoe of the Lord moved their unto, drew me back againe unto the said cittie. As it came to pase one the seventh day neare evening, and the morow following being the first day of the weeke, I went to a meeting againe at captain Wilkinson's house where, as I was speakeing amonge the people mett togeather, I was interupted and, by a guard of souldiers, forced from the true worship of my God, and unto prison was carried wherein close manner I was ordered to be shutt up. For not any, either friend or acquaintance, was tollerated by the governor to come neare me but those who had licence, either by ticket or toaken, from him unto the marshall unto whose custody I was charged. And all this being not cruelty enough, the same first day, at night, a councill was held by sundry called justices of the peace with the cheife ruler and prest, how to send me to Dublin; and haveing not ground enough I was sent for and further examined to catch words from me; and the greatest matter which could be gained was my planness of speech: saying yee and thou, for which cause they would willingly have bound me unto that which they call good behaviour.

[91] Parliamentarian officer, probably serving in Robert Saunders's foot regiment, he was one of the leading Quaker converts amongst the English troops in Limerick, hosting religious gatherings and preaching there.

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Soe I said I was a man of noe ill behaviour at all and desiered that the law might be my langwage, which never chargeth any man but in the same langwage of thee and thou! And seeing not any thing would stand, they other wayes determined that I should answere at the sessions what they had to object against mee, where I was indicted with high matters. And as it came to pase, that they saw that not any clause theirin would stand to make me guilty, they indicted me againe, but my inocency appearing unto as many as heare my guiltless cause, as I have said lastly, heare by a gaurd I was sent and as yett know not the cause of my imprisonment.

And all this cruelty doe I suffer under the authority of thy power, whom I thinke hath bin, untill this time, little acquanted with the truth of the matter, and hast only heard one man speake without the answere of the person, who in deepe manor is and hath bin wronged by the unjust, false and slanderous accusations and charges exhibited against me, which not any person in the court where they tryed me would stand before my face as an accuser, which manifestly shewed forth unto all persons the ground of their act of persecuting me, which in the end carried noe better face then of envie, mallice and cruelty, in which wombe the beginning thereof was first conceaved. And where as the same hand is still streached forth, even as Herod's was, to use certain of the church, and the same nature of pretences layd to my charge as was by the persecuting Jewes who slew Jesus, the anoynted Savour, not as He was, the Christ, but as a blasphemer they put Him to death; as likewise in the same manner Paule was called a ring leader of sedition, and the deciples and appostles movers of sediction. And the same is now that ever was and nothing different in the nature, ground roote, fruite and practise, the seeds being but two: the one of the serpent; the other of the woman. And this is even the same generation which put Christ to death and persecuted His deciples, who cry: They are not fitt to live, and cry: Away with them, away with them, who beate, revile, backbitte, scoffe, scorne and make Herod and Pilat freinds in persecuting the righteous seed of God. To shutt up and cast into prison and soe to exercise the lusts of their owne wills upon them without the breach or transgression of any law; turning out of cittyes and townes the free borne in the nation and that have purchased liberty with them that have laboured in the same worke of reducing the nation into peace, and under a civill governmente. And my share of suffering and persecution I have and doe undergoe, as well by beatings, threttenings and cruell markings and scoffings, as by imprisonment and tryalls and hallings before rulers and magistrates. But all being for the Lord's sake and for His ever lasting truthe's sake, I beare with content, it being the yoake of my Lord and Saviour and the takeing up of His crowne of thornes. And seing it is only truly and directly soe

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and all matters else but pretences and false accusations and slanders heaped up togeather, to continue their cruell hand of persecution upon me, which hath followed me from Limericke unto this citty.

To thee, Henry Cromwell, and to thy councill I lay it (whom God hath sett in high seats of justice and judgment to execute righteousness in your places, without respect of persons; and this account in the dreadfull day of the Lord you shall give of your stewardship unto Him that will take vengance upon the heads of all the unrighteous that have turned equity backward, as well upon the unrighteous preince who setts upon the throwne as the unjust begger that sitts upon the dung hill) to examine and truly try this matter whereof I am accused, without delaying of justice, or slackening your hand in judgment. For as I have declared even soe am I moved of the Lord God of heaven and earth to lay it to your doore, in whose dreadfull name I am bold unto you hearby to publish my wronge. And soe, as you love the everlasting peace and wellfaire of your soules, take heed to yourselves in this matter, wherein I inocently suffer this day in this citty, as I have in sundry townes elce in this land by rude multitudes for the Lord's sake. And this unto you I declare: it's not a matter of light concernement which bore me through the crueltyes which I have under gone; neither in my owne name did I goe forth, or principally about my owne worke, or in any case to eayse sedition, but in the name of the Lord, by comand from His eternall spirit to turne from darkness to the light, and from the nature and ground of tumults and seditions, strife, envies, quarellings, and all manner of lusts of the flesh and deceipts of the heart. This my conscience beares me wittness in the Holy Gost, that for the wittnessing of a good conscience this imprisonment I doe suffer; and for seeking that which is lost in my persecuters, all their cruelty I have undergone to the raising that which lies in the grave, even the puer image of God, that the dead might heare the voyce of the sonn of God and live whose name is Jesus, and He is the light of the world and hath lightened every one that cometh into the world. A measure of which light you have all received, and is God's true wittness, and soe shall stand in the day of the Lord as your justification unto life eternall, or condemnation unto death everlasting. Soe you, the powers of the nation, take heed what you judge and how you judge, and spare not your hand in justice to excecute true judgment upon the offender and transgressor, and to lett the oppressed goe free. Soe unto you all my conscience is cleare, unto whom my guiltless cause is offered and left unto that in your consciences to judge.

I am a lover to your soules and of all just power, and am subject unto every just ordanance of man for conscience sake, but a wittness for God doe stand against all deceipt, envie and hipocricie, and all

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persecution and violence, and every unjust act, who in the flesh am named of men,

John Perrott

69. From Philip Jones,[92] 5 May 1656, 821, fos 128–129.

Letter of request on behalf of Mr Mansell, who came from an ancient family but whose position as a younger brother rendered him dependent upon employment in Ireland.

70. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 12 May [1656], 823, fos 355–356.

My lord,

My wife and selfe must both of us joyne in one request, that you would please to continue your former kindnes to Mr Beane, old nurse Bradlye's sonne, in his imployment, and that for poore Cromwell's[93] sake, who is now allmost capable to acknowledging a favor. Indead I take Mr Bean to be very honest and trusty. It seemes ther is intended a reducment, which would fall very hard upon him, who hath litle to live upon and in a strange country. Your respects to him is the intreaty of,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

Charles Fleetwood

Both their Highneses are returned from Hampton Court.

71. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 13 May 1656, 821, fos 130–131.

My lord,

I understand by my brother John that there were letters from your lordship to myselfe and wife out of Ireland, but what are become of them as yet I cannot make out. Tis not impossible but that curyosity of knowing what was within them is the cause that they came not to my hands. Some such thing I am jealyous of, which makes me wary of wrighting. But, my lord, because my love is great for you I shall not

[92] Parliamentarian officer and politician, he rose to prominence in his native South Wales in the 1640s, for a time apparently commanding a foot regiment there, holding the governorships of Tenby, Carmarthen, Swansea, and Cardiff, and amasssing considerable Welsh property. His national political career took off during the 1650s, for he became a confidant of Oliver Cromwell and rose to high office during the Protectorate, serving as the Protector's comptroller of the household and as a Protectoral councillor, and sitting in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments.

[93] Cromwell Fleetwood, born 1653, son of Charles Fleetwood and his second wife, Bridget, daughter of Oliver Cromwell and widow of Henry Ireton.

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forbare sometimes of expressing of it, and I care not though others know it, which may be as curyous to see mine to your lordship as yours to me. Yet, my lord, I must forbare wrighting something of my mind which it may be were not amisse that you knew. Truely, my lord, I am so tyred with the formality and hippocresy of this age that I know not well what to doe, and were it not for my wife and children's sakes I should most certainely goe hide myselfe. I suppose in this world you have and meet with your share of tryalls and trouble, and tis not being out of England that doeth secure you, for twas often in my mind when you left this place that you were but makeing more hast into troubles. I am yet out of all imployment but country ones: to be to great a heretick is as distastfull to some as to be orthodox is to others. My lord, when you are weary of this world doe but send to me, and wee will turne moncks togather, for I professe I doe long for nothing more than a retyrement; the very thought of such a kind of life puts of all my melancholy. Sir John Reynolds will bare us company, I suppose, for he talks to me of such a kind of thing. This I wright in hast, but the next weeke you shall have a large melancholy letter from him that is,

Unfeignedly your lordshipp's true freind and servant,
Franc Russell

72. From Jonathan Goddard, 17 May 1656, 821, fos 132–133.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of the bearer, Clinton Maund,[94] *fellow of an Oxford college, who, despite his comfortable academic and personal circumstances in Oxford, felt drawn to seek public service in Ireland.*

73. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 20 May 1656, 821, fos 134–135.

Deare brother,

I am very glade to understande the willingnes of the men to goe for Jameica. I trust the Lord will make use of them for good ther. I hope you have pitched upon a person, major Moore,[95] very fit for that imployment. If the Lord please to own and be presant in that buysnes I trust we shall, after all tryalls, have cause to own His mercy, and that

[94] Born in Ireland of English parents and educated at Oxford, he became a fellow of Merton College – of which Goddard was warden – in 1649. He did gain employment in Ireland at this time, becoming minister at Antrim and receiving a government salary.

[95] William Moore, parliamentarian officer, had probably served in Ireland since the mid-1640s and may have been the commander of a foot regiment in Ireland that campaigned under Michael Jones in the late 1640s. Entrusted with the new foot regiment to be raised largely from forces serving in Ireland and destined for the West Indies, Moore proved a poor commander, eventually arriving in Jamaica in the spring of 1657 and almost immediately hankering to return home.

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the design will prove a happy foundation of light to thos darke parts and make it a rise to a further attempt against that papall interest. I doe not conceive you can have any more to be carryed then 600 men, the shipps being hyred to cary no more then 600. As for their pay, as I told you, they must have a month's advance, cloathes, shooes and stockings, and you must keepe all the vacancyes, both of officers and souldyers, empty till what money you now lay out be by that meanes reimbursed. So they doe in Scotland and so you must; and whear any officers are advanced, and so their pay increased, you must, to answer that, keepe the vacanceyes the longer open. The fraught of shipps must likwise be payde by you upon the same account. The shipps are ready to set sayle for Carrigfergus.[96] Through mercy our deare chilldren and servants are in a hopefull way of recovery. Only poore Biddy Ireton[97] hath still a dangerous, feavorish distemper upon hir. The Lord sanctefy this dispensation to us that we may throughly understand His minde therin. Our major-generalls are most of them com to town and will sodainly meete. What the issue will be I know not, but trust the Lord will please to appeare amongst us. It is a time of streight, and as the Lord instructs and teaches us, so accordingly shall we have a good issue out of all our difficultyes, and the more we make our wisedom to be nothing and expect His appearances as our light and desire His spirit alone to be our councell and wisedome what to doe, the surer and more fixt will our results be. As for newes, I shall not trouble you with any, but referre you to Mr Thurlowe's account; and with our services to your deare lady, I beseach you kisse your deare, sweet, litle ones from us both. I am,

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles Fleetwood

I intreat you will let captain Mutus command a company for Jameica instead of lieutenant Manewering.[98] My lord Lambert formerly writt in his behalfe to me. He is Sir John Thoroughgood's[99] neaphue.

[96] In fact, the ships were severely delayed at Carrickfergus, running up large expenses which alarmed Fleetwood, and the expedition did not set out until early October, only to be forced back by bad weather; some of the ships and men were delayed for several more months.

[97] Bridget Ireton, daughter of Bridget Cromwell and her first husband, Henry Ireton, and thus Fleetwood's stepdaughter.

[98] Parliamentarian officers about whom little is known, though later in the 1650s both probably show up (their forenames not recorded) in newly formed foot regiments sent to campaign in Flanders – Meautys as a captain in lord Alsop's regiment and Mainwaring as lieutenant-colonel in Sir Bryce Cochrane's regiment.

[99] Administrator and pre-war courtier, he supported parliament during the 1640s and held a variety of local offices both in Middlesex and in his native Norfolk; he was also

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74. From Edward Whalley,[100] Whitehall, 22 May 1656, 821, fos 136–137.

Letter of courtesy, also offering religious exhortation and guidance and advising Henry Cromwell humbly to follow the Lord.

75. From Robert Phaier,[101] Cork, 26 May 1656, 821, fos 138–139.

May it please your excellencie,

This bearer is the captain which I chose to comaunde the company now bound by your lordship's orders to Amirica. He willingly accepted of the imployment and all the souldiers as willingly received him. His name is Barry Foulkes, and the leutenant is his owne brother, because they may be a comforte to each other in a strange land; his name is Roger Foulkes. Thiere faithfullnesse and vallor is unquestionable and thire conversation as blamlesse, and therfore I present them to your lordship's service. I formorly gave your lordshipp an accoumpt of them, that they are leiutenant-colonel Francis Foulkes'[102] brothers. The ensigne is Michaell Holmes who is now in the north with captain Goodwin's company and is very well knowne in many parts of Amirica, and therfore upon that consideration and the knowledg of other abillities fitt for this imployment I have pitched on him. Captain

elected to the second Protectorate parliament. His late wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Thomas Meautys.

[100] Parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide, Whalley was a first cousin of Oliver Cromwell. In 1643–1644 he fought in Cromwell's horse regiment, and in 1645 was given command of a New Model horse regiment. Having supported the trial and execution of the king, in 1650–1651 Whalley and his regiment campaigned in Scotland under Cromwell, Whalley as commissary-general of the army. He strongly supported the Protector and Protectoral regime, sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, and in 1655–1656 served as major-general of the north Midlands region, which included his native Nottinghamshire.

[101] Parliamentarian officer, he campaigned for the Protestant cause in his native Ireland (his father had migrated to County Cork from Devon) in the early and mid-1640s, but then came out for parliament and against the king, fought under Fairfax in England in 1648, and was one of the officers at the trial and execution of the king. In 1649 he was given command of a new foot regiment that campaigned in Ireland under Oliver Cromwell and his successors. As governor of Cork in the early and mid-1650s, and then as a commissioner of the peace in County Cork, he was sympathetic to the Quakers – in February 1656 Henry Cromwell believed that he had become a Quaker and was attending their meetings (*TSP*, IV, p. 508) – and other radical religious groups. Around this time there were rumours of a Quaker-inspired mutiny in Phaier's regiment (*TSP*, IV, p. 757).

[102] Parliamentarian officer and politician, he served in Ireland during the 1640s and, although he briefly defected to the king in 1648–1649, he broadly supported the Cromwellian campaign and the parliamentary regimes of the 1650s, acquiring extensive land in Ireland and serving as MP for Cork and Youghal in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament. In part, this note draws upon an unpublished article on Francis Foulke of Campshire House, County Waterford, written by Dr Patrick Little for the 1640–1660 section of the History of Parliament. I am grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see this article in draft.

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Goodwin can say more in relation to him. This is all at present, leaveing it to your lordship's consideration, humbly take leave,

Your excellencie's most humble servant,

Rob Phaier

76. From Joshua Hubbard, Barbados, 27 May 1656, 821, fos 140–141.

Letter of courtesy, praising Henry Cromwell's godly work and thanking him for his invitation to minister in Ireland; reports his intention to sail from New England via Barbados and to land at a port convenient for Ireland rather than at London.

77. From John Reynolds, 27 May 1656, 821, fos 142–143.

May it please your lordshipp,

I cannot without more trouble (than is fit to trust to unsafe letters) mention the delay of my expectation of a sober settlement of Ireland. There is little question but there will be something done speedily and, I hope, as your lordshipp or at least your servants heere expect. No meanes hath beene left unattempted to make all good men, yea his Highness, beleive that you discountenance the godly interest and that the carnall, old Protestants is the onely party which adheres to your lordshipp or to whom you do adhere.[103] I trust your lordshipp hath beene acquainted with this formerly, and I know that you have learned to passe thorough good report and bad report. The officers of the army were some of them prevailed upon with this feare, but I do find nothing which may justly disturbe your lordshipp in the discharge of your greate trust and do assure myselfe the Lord's presence will be with you therein. I presume to mind your lordshipp of wrighting to the lord deputy, whereby his lordshipp may be assured of your continued love, which he feares is turned into jealousy; and other things will do themselves if such a correspondency be continued betweene you as is necessary for publique safety and the family, which God hath owned and blessed. I am unwilling to mention my poore endeavours, but if the successe be such as I expect, it may not be unfit that I assume the title of what I in my heart am, my lord,

Your lordship's most faithfull, obliged, humble servaunt,

J Reynolds

[103]John Hewson and his allies had reportedly been spreading rumours against Henry Cromwell along these lines and Hewson had another meeting with the Protector in May 1656, though Thurloe reassured Henry Cromwell that 'Wee are here pretty well used to discourses of that nature, and are not wholly ignorant of men's spirits' (*TSP*, IV, pp. 742–743; V, p. 45). By August 1656, Henry Cromwell had heard that Hewson had become very animated by 'his late transactions in England' and was 'next dore to a mad man' (*TSP*, V, p. 327).

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78. From William Stane, London, 27 May 1656, 821, fos 144–145.

My lord,

I have not for a long tyme receyved a lyne. Last week I did not write and in truth have bin ill. But that which most troubles mee is that good people are not more of a peice. I cannot but observe it to bee so with you as well as here, and truly wee do not mend here in that respect. I do not know what more threatens us; sure the Lord will finde out a way to make us agree. I do often think upon the two good bishops in king Edward's days, who were very bitter each to other when the sun shined upon both, but when fire came to judge them, then they were loveing bretheren and were gathered into onenes of spirit.[104]

How much need have wee to watch as to this evill world. It is seene things do us all this mischeife; nothing but the sheild of faith will save us from such fiery darts as the devill casts in everywhere. Every Christian's experience will tell him that when hee beholds the glory of the Lord, though but in a glasse, hee is changed from glory to glory as by that spirit (for that kingdome is like leaven),[105] and from thence the primitive Christians were so rich in grace, so little carefull for the world, so much of one hart; but it is the sadnes of this day that the enemie assaults in the weakest part and wee are found without our sheilds and the spotts of God's people such as if they were not His people; indeed they are scattered strangely.

But that of Ezekiel's bones hath somwhat of comfort.[106] The Lord hath not left Himselfe altogether without witnes, and Hee can returne this captivitye and teach His poore people to consider their owne ways. For truly that is one of the devill's snares; hee puts upon others to blame and reforme them, when that decept and wickednes is so much in every man's own hart, that there is matter of shame and great reason to bee always cryeing unto the Lord.

That of the Swedes routing the Poles is confirmed.[107] No news from our fleet. The major-generalls are in towne, all of them. The results I know not.

I suppose your lordship heares that the narrative of your child's baptism is printed here, which, to deale freely with your lordship,

[104] Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, and Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, swiftly fell from favour after the death of Edward VI; for their faith both were burnt at the stake by Mary Tudor at Oxford in October 1555.

[105] Leaven: an agent employed for fermenting, changing, or raising.

[106] As part of the biblical account of how God gathered up the Israelites, Ezekiel tells how God restored and brought back to life a plain full of human bones (Ezekiel, chapter 37).

[107] 1656 marked a high point in the Swedish army's campaigns in Poland.

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seemes not to bee so resented by good people here and such who are for baptism.[108]

How doth my lady and your son? Your brother Russell (Sir Francis's eldest son) my Lord Protector hath made cornet to his life-guard, which now is made almost a regiment, vizt 160 gentlemen.[109]

All your freinds well; the children at Wallingford recovered, all but Biddye and shee is mending apace.

The Lord gracious and mercifull bee with you and teach you Himselfe. If wee in private capacityes stand in need, sure your lordship, who is so much now upon the stage, need crye unto Him. My affectionate service to my lady. I am, my lord,

Your affectionate servant,

W Stane

79. From John Honner,[110] Dublin, 29 May 1656, 821, fos 146–147.

Letter of request, seeking not only new pikes from the Dublin stores, to replace the old and defective pikes of his infantry company on garrison duty at Inishbofin,[111] *but also firelock muskets so that his men could patrol in boats.*

80. From Daniel Redman,[112] Kilkenny, 31 May 1656, 821, fos 148–149.

May it please your excellency,

Captain Franke's troope, beinge comaunded to stay in England after all the rest of the troopes, was necessitated to make use of above £600 of the other troopes' money, which he is now repayinge, by little and little as pay comes, which has occasioned the contractinge soe great a debt in his present quarters that his troope will not be able to dischardge this great while. I shall, therefore, make it my humble request to your lordshipp that he may continue in this precinct for the winter aproachinge, as also that I may receive your excellencye's

[108] Henry's first son, Oliver, was born on 19 April and baptized by Dr Samuel Winter in Christ Church, Dublin, on 24 April. Detailed accounts of the service appeared in several English newspapers in early May.

[109] During the opening months of 1656, the Protector's mounted lifeguard was expanded from 45 to 160 and reorganized into eight squadrons.

[110] Probably the lieutenant-colonel John Honor, parliamentarian officer, who was appointed in January 1654 as a commissioner for setting out lands in Ulster to disbanded soldiers.

[111] An island off the north-west coast of County Galway.

[112] Parliamentarian officer and politician and a strong supporter of the Protectoral regimes in England and Ireland, he served in Ireland from 1649, becoming major in Oliver Cromwell's horse regiment and later taking command of John Reynolds's horse regiment after Reynolds's death. He was elected for Irish constituencies to all three Protectorate parliaments.

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pleasure what other troopes are designed for this precinct, and whether they are already orderred the places where they shall quarter, or that it be left to me to dispose of them. This I humbly desire in regard I knowe not how or where to dispose of my owne troope, which is nowe come upp and was by me designed to quarter in Callan, Knocktopher and Thomastown,[113] and some few in Kilkenny, if not otherwise orderred by your lordshipp. This is all, but to crave pardon for this trouble to your lordshipp, and to subscribe myselfe,

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

81. From William Webb,[114] Dublin, 2 June 1656, 821, fos 150–151.

May it please your excellency,

I have beene latly at Fort Fleetwood, at Bally Moe bridge,[115] and doe finde the worke to bee so forward that it may bee finnished this summer, if the want of money prevent it not. Captain Thomas hath not fully finnished the castle of Termonberry,[116] of which I shall put him in mind shortly. The fortification (at Cam island),[117] being ane earth worke, is in a sade condetion, but I hope shortly that there will bee noe great occation thereof. Severall parts of the fort of Sligo (being ane earthworke) is fallen downe, and the thatch cabbing, that is now the storehouse, is much out of repaire. About tenn pound will repaire the said fort and store, untill such times as some other fortification bee built at the towne of Sligo.

Fort Cromwell att Bellaghey pass,[118] the walls thereof are a building of lyme and stone; within the maine wall there is a rampart of earth in breadth sixteen foot, within that is another wall to keepe up the said rampart. Two of the houses within the said fort are allmost framed. The greatest obstruction now in carrying one the said worke is the great want of moneys. Therefor I humby pray your excellency to bee pleased to give orders suddenly for three or fower hundred pound towards the carrying one the said worke, othere ways the worke men wilbee suddenly gon, not being able live there any longer.

[113] Three towns to the south of Kilkenny, in County Kilkenny.

[114] An engineer in Ireland, who was involved in metal mining in Munster from the mid-1630s; although he was deprived of office in 1649 for suspected disaffection to parliament, during the 1650s he was again employed by the English administration in Ireland.

[115] Ballymoe, in County Galway, lies on the River Suck, which forms the border with County Roscommon.

[116] Termonbarry, close to the River Shannon in County Roscommon.

[117] In County Roscommon.

[118] Bellahy, in County Sligo.

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And it would bee hard for to gett worke men againe in those part. I remaine,

Your excellency's most humble servant,
Wm Webb

82. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 4 June 1656, 821, fos 152–153.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of the bearer, Mr Gay,[119] *formerly employed by Fleetwood in Ireland as a commissioner for stating the accounts of the army and in other capacities; requests employment for Gay, together with arrears of salary due to him from his period as a commissioner at Athlone.*

83. From Thomas Harrison, London, 10 June 1656, 821, fos 154–155.[120]

May it please your lordship,

On Fryday last after dinner 10. 22. 28. 106d together very privately. Tho severall 39. 40. 31. came to the chamber, none were admitted.

[119] John Gay, one of the clerks of decrees in the newly restored court of chancery and one of several judicial officers who complained around this time that Sir John Temple, himself newly restored as master of the rolls in Ireland, was obstructing their tenure and enjoyment of those offices (*CSPI*, pp. 615–617).

[120] Harrison had been sent by Henry Cromwell to London in the spring of 1656 to represent his and his government's interests there (*TSP*, IV, pp. 742–743). This is the first of seven letters in this collection (letters 83, 89, 92, 94, 101, 120, and 121) by Harrison, all of them from June and July 1656, which are partly in a numbered code. The code is broadly similar to others in use at the time, with each number standing for a complete word or for a person's surname, rather than for an individual letter. The numbers 1–9 were not employed – where they appear in these letters, they simply stand for those numbers themselves. The numbers 10–30 evidently stand for important individuals, such as the Protector, senior army officers and politicians, and others involved in the business of Ireland and of Henry Cromwell in London. The remaining numbers, from 31 up to the 450s (though only selected numbers within that range are employed here) stand for a variety of verbs, nouns, collective nouns, and pronouns, though some of these higher numbers also stand for individuals and thus represent the names of specific people. However, many of the highest numbers, especially those above 400, probably stand for nothing and are rogue numbers included to mislead unofficial attempts to decode the letter; similarly, numbers over 100 preceding and/or following the code for important individuals (10–30) in most cases appear to have no meaning. Alas, unlike some other coded letters in this collection, which carry the decoded words in a contemporary hand above the numbers, these letters have not been partly or wholly decoded here by their recipient; moreover, the key for this code does not survive and it does not seem to have been employed in other extant correspondence by Harrison. Thus, although some of the minor words, especially pronouns, are fairly clear, most of the encoded words cannot be decoded with anything more than intelligent guesswork. Thus the texts of these letters have been reproduced here as in the original, complete with the coded sections, and attempts to decode words, phrases, and whole sentences have been reserved for footnotes.

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About an houre after their parting, 11. called 19. 67. 66. his closett, through the roome where 12. and others 39. 40. 31. were together. Before this 29. was willed 66. withdraw, and 13. 25. spake together about 40. settlement 39. 143.. 65. 20. coming 67. 13. told him they had not bene idle, nor neglected the affaire 39. 143. which they were resolved to settle. He desired to have a sight 39. 40. 71s. whilst he read over the extract (which was prepared for his veiw). Somtimes he hummed with indignation at severall passages and sighed deepely when he came 66. 14. 71s,[121] and having read that which was instar omnium,[122] he said, This man here is a good man, as any in the world, I beleive you thinke soe, but that he should so wholly give up himselfe to that party and wrap up himselfe with them is a strange mystery. Well, I see these men must not have what they would etc. He desired to make his owne further observations and collections 72. 40. 71s,[123] and so locked them up in his cabinett, saying he would make no other use of them then for keeping the peace, for which he was so hardly thought and spoken of, and then consented to burne them according 66. 20's[124] desire. 13. then asked what 19. thought 39. 90. 60. Sir Robert King etc, and then had his thoughts 39. 79. 86. 95. etc at large; and in conclusion said they were resolved to adde 3 or 4 and settle a good 35. 67. 143. and to doe somwhat else, that should either prevent and make peevish people quiet, or at least hinder their disquieting and hurting of others, and to that end he had desired 25. 66. 107. 108. 16. who had promised so to doe, and to follow it till it was finished. Although 229. 13. semed sometimes before 103. 66. suspect as if 40. 42.[125] might be too suspicious and fearfull, yet he never exprest any such thing in

[121] 'On Fryday last after dinner the Protector, 22 and 28 talkd together very privately. Tho severall of the council came to the chamber, none were admitted. About an houre after their parting, Lambert called Reynolds in to his closett, through the roome where 12 and others of the council were together. Before this 29 was willed to withdraw, and Fleetwood and 25 spake together about the settlement of Ireland. At Harrison coming in Fleetwood told him they had not bene idle, nor neglected the affaire of Ireland which they were resolved to settle. He desired to have a sight of the letters whilst he read over the extract (which was prepared for his veiw). Somtimes he hummed with indignation at severall passages and sighed deepely when he came to 14's letters,. . .'.

[122] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'an example of all the rest'.

[123] 'from the letters'.

[124] 'to Harrison's'.

[125] 'Fleetwood then asked what Reynolds thought of 90, 60, Sir Robert King etc, and then had his thoughts of 79, 86, 95 etc at large; and in conclusion said they were resolved to adde 3 or 4 and settle a good government in Ireland and to doe somwhat else, that should either prevent and make peevish people quiet, or at least hinder their disquieting and hurting of others, and to that end he had desired 25 to speak with 16 who had promised so to doe, and to follow it till it was finished. Although Fleetwood semed sometimes before 103 to suspect as if the Baptists. . .'.

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private, nor the least dislike of any passage, but a very high satisfaction and contentment, promising all possible encouragement etc.

I suppose those jolly humours which somtimes appeared 67. 40. 41. 71s. 66. 102. had their rise from that prudent indulgence, and seming complyance they somtimes mett 108. 72. 11., but 391. 15.[126] and freinds are as safe here as the mercy of a gracious God can make them. I heard first by his Highnesse of your lordship's being ill of a cold, from which I hope you are long ere this delivered. My soule longs earnestly for the reall happinesse of waiting upon your lordship againe, and in order hereunto they want no importune sollicitations in whose hands the businesse here lyes. I humbly begge the presentment of my best service to my most honoured lady, whose prosperity, with your lordship's and the precious little ones, is the subject matter of the dayly prayers putt up by, (my lord),

Your lordship's most obedient f[. . .] in the service of b[. . .][127],
Tho Harrison

84. From John Reynolds, London, 11 June 1656, 821, fos 156–157.

May it please your lordshipp,

I am not a little rejoiced with that good correspondency which I find betweene your lordshipp and the lord deputy and, that one maine point being preserved, I doubt not of a good successe in all your lordship's affaires, and that your lordshipp will prove the greatest blessing to that countrey that it did ever enjoy in a governour.

Since my last I have beene once admitted to a debate of the busines of Ireland, and was charged with the old busines of a petition and such other matters. His Highnes seemed wel satisfyed and did promise that you should receive full encouragement speedily, which if your lordshipp do receive, whereby a sober interest may subsist in Ireland, I shall be verry abundantly contented to quit my station, and if as lawfully called thereunto, as I was first to emploiment, I should rejoice in a settlement heere. But truly, my lord, your lordship's loveing and benigne expressions do so exceedingly overcome all my objections, as unlesse I be detained as one judged unprofitable to the service of highnes,[128] or prejudiciall, I shall waite upon your lordshipp with much

[126] 'I suppose those jolly humours which somtimes appeared in the 41 letters to 102 had their rise from that prudent indulgence, and seming complyance they somtimes mett with from Lambert, but Henry Cromwell. . .'.

[127] Paper damaged, with some loss of text.

[128] It is not entirely clear whether this word is being used as a simple noun, suggesting an elevated or lofty position or office, or as a reference to (his) Highness the Lord Protector.

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chearefulnes, without any advantage obteined by my journey more than from your lordship's particular favour.

The lord Lambert hath beene verry ingenuous in the present transaction about Ireland. I should be glad to receive notice of your lordshipp being pleased to write unto him. I am,

Your lordship's most humble and faithfull servaunt,

J Reynolds

I was 4 dayes since at Chippenham where they remembred your lordshipp with much affection and respect.

85. From Richard Cromwell, 14 June 1656, 821, fos 158–159.

Deare brother,

Now the crowds of the congratulations are over for the joye of your welcome sonn, I shall as one truly and sinceerely obleiged give you myne, and with the scripture joye I tender it, desiring that God will make it a blessing to our famuly. I ought to have appologized for my longe stay, but the neare relations of brothers will cutt offe that, espetially betwixt yourselfe and me. Our loves are not to beginn acquaintance. I may be confident my sister quickly forgott her paine for joye, and I doubt not of her delight in being surveyor-generall of the nurcery. It was not only welcome to the parents and neare relations, but all Ireland in there joyes made themselves related to it, a very greate mercy, and is an outward demonstration of God's exceeding love to you, for that the prayers and joyes of soe many hearts should be answered and filled. Ingadgements of an high nature; the choycest outward blessing; the best of temporall blessings; my prayers shall runn for its eternall happynesse, and my requests to God shall be that God will make it an instrument in His quarrell, to defend His churche and people against there enimyes. I rejoyce with you and my sister, soe doeth my wyfe and Hursley freinds. We are dayly expecting the fruight of my wyfe's wombe, and what God pleasses to send will be acceptable.[129] We desire your prayers for us, that with patience we may bare the providences in there occurrencyes, though contrary to our naturall desires, that alsoe our joyes may be moderated. I have suffitiently troubled you and my paper is almost swallowed up, and what roome is left is to testify that,

I am your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

[129] Oliver, the only son of Richard Cromwell to survive infancy, was born in July.

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My service I desire may be tendered to my sister. My wyfe, father and mother Maijor presents there affectionate services to you and deare consorte.

86. From Richard Cromwell, Hursley, 14 June 1656, 821, fos 160–161.

Deare brother,

I confesse my fault in taking too much of presumption upon me, but were I not sencible of youre pardoning dispossition, I should not adventured[130] soe much priviledge and liberty. The reason of it is for that my affections in the other letter would afforde noe roome to recommend captain Burrell, my former servant, to your favour. He hath soe exprest his affections to me and his reall readinesse to your service that though it be his temper to waite, yet I could not doe lesse in this second oppertunity which providence had put in to my hands but present him, as judging him usefull (because of his steedy principles and cordiall affections) for some imployment. I have discourst with him at learge, boeth of persons and things, by which I dare rende him fitt, if my request may be worthy your taking notice of. Be pleased to excuse this trouble, it being more then the person indends, his fortunes having made him able to waite untell your commands shall order him, which being bestowed upon him will very much ingadge a poore brother whoe is only able to make bare expression of acknowledgments, which shall all wayes be cordially payed by,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

87. From John Reynolds, London, 16 June 1656, 821, fos 162–163.

May it please your lordshipp,

I canno[. . .][131] in any competent measure answer the many obligations which your lordship's goodnes hath bestowed on me, yet I can truly affirme that consciousnes of my duty hath and doth guide me in all things wherein your lordshipp is concerned. I beleive your lordshipp will receive a liking of your moving the forces in Ireland, and an acknowledgement of your industrious and advantageous management of civill affaires. And if it should not come from his Highness, who is the best of men, yet I am sensible you have the best of comforts in a peaceable conscience. I was put to prove it a

[130] Either word omitted – perhaps 'have adventured' – or tense incorrect.

[131] Paper slightly damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete word is evidently 'cannot'.

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mercy that your lordship is there, which being easy to do, it may not be otherwise to write. It is clearely knowne that other Christians besides Anabaptists may live in Ireland, and that ministers may be encouraged, and that others may have countenance and justice. This was formerly beleived otherwise, and theis, without coming to touch upon the former governour, it was fully manifested. And indeede, I have alwayes put much upon times and shall never endeavour the prejudice of the lord deputy, wherein, if I do overcome, it will be my comfort, and I hope your lordshipp is so satisfyed; yea, I know you desire it. I remaine, my lord,

Your most humble and faithfull servaunt,

J Reynolds

88. From John Reynolds, 16 June [1656],[132] 822, fos 94–95.

May it please your lordshipp,

I do exceedingly wonder at this delay occasioned thorough petulancyes of persons contradicting settlement. I did hope to have beene with your lordshipp before this time and to have performed that service which from duty, obligation and affection I ow unto your lordshipp. I do find unexpectedly such persons as professe your principles, yet oppose your governement, and it is much trouble to the cheife ministers heere that you carry on the worke with such a generall opinion. It is expressed to be least you should oppose and injure my lord deputy. I hope your lordshipp hath that reall brotherly love which you were pleased to expresse towards his excellency, and notwithstanding all that love or respect, which I perswade and your lordshipp intends towards him, yet my advice shall alwayes be that your lordshipp do not decline your interest in ministery, magistracy and consistency in things, viz: principles and practises. Herein your father, who is greatest on earth, will abide by your lordshipp, or if it fall out otherwise your heavenly Father will not forsake you, and good men will love you, and your owne conscience be a continuall feast.

Since my last the product of the lord Lambert's and lord deputye's meeting hath beene too farre a leaning to the former prejudiciall counsells, and as I have ground to beleive your poore servaunts have sort[133] somewhat in the debate, but his Highness knowes it and will do according to the judgement of sober men, who generally are for your lordship's encouragement. It is too much trouble to informe your lordshipp of the various intricacyes of persons opposing

[132] Mistakenly endorsed '1657'.

[133] Word could alternatively be read as 'fort'.

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a sober settlement in Ireland, wherein selfe designes, emulation, misinformation and prejudice play their parts.

There are whisperings of persons to be put neere you, and that I should be sent into some other emploiment. If my moderation in Ireland was esteemed neutrality, it now will be usefull indeede.

Your lordship's,

J R

89. From Thomas Harrison, London, 17 June 1656, 821, fos 164–165.

May it please your lordship,

Upon Thursday last the declaration 39. 40. 42.[134] came to hand, and was that evening presented by 19. 66. 10.,[135] who read it very attentively and seriously, dwelling upon every expression, and enquiring after the condition of the subscribers, and being told by 20. 11. might now see who had 148d.[136] He held up his hands in admiration, and began 66. 107. 108. 21. about 40. 106.[137] but was taken off by the newes of major-general Worstley's[138] death. 229. 75. had bene with colonel White[139] 65. 40. Tower, to rake up what dirt he could to cast upon poore 420. 20..[140] 21.[141] hopes it doth not sticke though laid on by an extraordinary hand. I have twice since that importuned his Highnes for a dispatch, and this morning spake 66. 22.[142] to hasten. A while agoe 28. 436. was told by 25. 211. that 23. 250. was assured he could not issue 40. 106.

[134] 'of the Baptists'.

[135] 'Reynolds to the Protector'.

[136] '. . .told by Harrison Lambert might now see who had reported'.

[137] '. . .began to speak with Thurloe about the settlement'.

[138] Charles Worsley, parliamentarian officer, fought for parliament in his native Lancashire during the 1640s, and in 1650 was appointed by Oliver Cromwell as lieutenant-colonel of his own newly raised foot regiment, which saw action in Scotland and northern England in the early 1650s and was based in London by 1652–1653, playing an active role in the ejection of the Rump in the spring of 1653. In 1655 he was appointed major-general of north-west England and proved to be exceptionally committed, diligent, and thorough. He died, aged just 33, on 12 June, while attending the meeting of the major-generals in London.

[139] Francis White, parliamentarian officer, was a captain in the New Model foot regiment commanded first by Sir Thomas Fairfax and then by Oliver Cromwell. Prominent in army politics of the later 1640s and a firm opponent of the regicide, he campaigned under Cromwell in Scotland in 1650–1651 and supported his ejection of the Rump in the spring of 1653. He was elected to the second Protectorate parliament in October 1657, and sent to Mardyke to command the fort, but at the end of the year he was drowned while returning to England.

[140] '229, 75 had bene with colonel White at the Tower, to rake up what dirt he could to cast upon poore Harrison.'

[141] 'Thurloe'.

[142] 'to 22'.

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to the satisfaction of all parties.[143] He feared 10. 12. 15.[144] would all be discontented but he had nothing but his honesty to trust unto. This day 22. said 66. 21. he was very ready whensoever 13. pleased,[145] and would afford his utmost assistance etc.

For anything that can be discerned by 454. 19.[146] the true cause of all this suspence and delay is a care that the party 425. 39. 40. 41.[147] may not be made desperate on a sodaine, but I am perswaded there is no hesitation nor irresolution at all in the bosome 216. 39. 11.,[148] but all thoughts are made there and will be made legible in the best season. 420. 13. had an account 72. 20. concerning the journy 39. 15.[149] into the north, which had bene 148d[150] as a progresse merely for pompe or pleasure, but the truth being discovered, was very well approved of, and a forwardnes appeared 66. 104. 19. 105.[151] to attend in that service.[152]

I hope the good Lord hath both spared your precious bud and improved the threatning. The eternall God be your refuge upon all alarums, and helpe both your lordship and my lady, and all His with you, to abound in faith and love yet more and more, and to grow up into Him in all things, who is the head, even Jesus who delivered us from the wrath to come, in whome I shall hope (through grace) whilst I live to subscribe myselfe, (my lord),

Your excellencie's most obedient, faithfull, poore servant,
Tho Harrison

90. From George Monck,[153] Edinburgh, 17 June 1656, 821, fos 166–167.

Letter of recommendation on behalf of lieutenant John Verner, who had served him faithfully in Ireland, requesting that Verner either be allowed to buy the land

[143] 'A while agoe 28 was told by 25 211 that 23 250 was assured he could not issue the settlement to the satisfaction of all parties.'

[144] 'the Protector, 12 and Henry Cromwell'.

[145] 'This day 22 said to Thurloe he was very ready whensoever Fleetwood pleased'.

[146] 'Reynolds'.

[147] 'of the Baptists'.

[148] 'of Lambert'.

[149] 'Fleetwood had an account from Harrison concerning the journy of Henry Cromwell'.

[150] 'reported'.

[151] 'to Reynolds'.

[152] In the late summer and early autumn of 1656, as in every year during his time in Ireland, Henry Cromwell left Dublin and embarked upon an extensive tour of inspection around the Irish provinces.

[153] Parliamentarian officer and politician, who had fought briefly for the king during 1644 but was soon captured by parliamentary forces. He was released in 1646 on entering parliament's service and thereafter campaigned loyally and with distinction for the parliamentary cause in Ireland in 1647–1649, in Scotland in 1650–1652, and then as an admiral and joint commander of the republic's navy in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–1653. He returned to Scotland in 1654, initially as overall governor, but from 1655 as commander-in-chief of the forces there but sharing power with a council – he himself became a councillor – and civil administration.

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he currently held in Ireland or be paid for the building work he had undertaken there.

91. From Charles Fleetwood, 20 June [1656], 821, fos 168–169.

Deare brother,

I am sorry you showld have so much trouble about this Jameica regiment, but I confesse I can neither blame you nor myselfe for mistakes; but it seemes by my lord Lambert that the regiment in Scotland is to consist of 600 men, but they are to rayse no more then 500 in Scotland, and to have a 100 out of Ireland of privat souldyers to compleat that regiment to 600 for colonel Brayn,[154] and the 600 in Ireland are to be under a formed regiment according to former orders; and therfor thus farre lyes the mistake, that besids the regiment you have allready formed, you are to send a 100 private men to compleat colonel Brayn's regiment.[155] My lord Lambert's omission in this must be an excuse to me. You must send thes 100 men with a month's pay as the privat men of the regiment you rayse are to have. I am sorry it showld be thus troublsom, but I think I am not to be blamed, much lesse you can, which I will own, who am,

Your most affectionate brother,

Charles Fleetwood

92. From Thomas Harrison, London, 20 June 1656, 821, fos 170–171.

May it please your lordship,

Your lordship's last gracious, encouraging letter found me in London, where I am likely to remaine till God put it into his Highnesse's heart to give a settlement to the affaire of Ireland and a period to my attendance. I am assured of a good issue, though others 39. 40. 31.[156] decline the businesse all they can. It is a wonder to heare the same things so oft repeated and so much irresolution to be found in the spirits of such persons. I forbeare particulars because I am surprised by the

[154]William Brayne, parliamentarian officer and administrator, was lieutenant-colonel in William Daniel's foot regiment serving in Scotland in the early 1650s; in 1654 he was given command of 1,000 foot sent from Ireland to support Monck in Scotland. He was governor of Inverlochy until 1656. In the summer of 1656 he accepted command of the new foot regiment of 600 men being formed to serve in Jamaica and he campaigned there as both commander-in-chief and governor from his arrival in December 1656 until his death in September 1657.

[155]Thus Henry Cromwell was to supply from Ireland 100 foot to be added to the 500 troops drawn from Scotland and so complete Brayne's new infantry regiment, as well as a separate body of 600 foot drawn from the regiments in Ireland to form the new regiment, under William Moore, to be sent from Ireland to the West Indies.

[156]'of the council'.

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messenger in Sir John Reynolds, his chamber; but I am not moved at all to any discontent, because I am so perfectly secured as to the maine. This morning I was with my lord deputy to desire his hastning the businesse. He called Mr Hewett and willed him to minde him of it when he was with his Highnes. I thinke it my duty not to neglect even such addresses though they finde but slender entertainment. I have a promise of the priviledge of som fredom in discourse with his excellencie the next weeke after Tuesday. I will not be further burthensom to your lordship by multiplying words to little purpose, but with incessant prayers for your lordship's prosperity in soule and body, relations and undertakings, I only repeat that I am, (my lord),

Your excellencie's most faithfull, poore servant,

Tho Harrison

93. From Francis Russell, Chippenham, 23 June 1656, 821, fos 172–173.

My lord,

I have more leisure to wright than your lordship hath, therefore have reason to aske pardon for my backwardnes therein. But, my lord, tis not for want of love that I bare to you, but because I care not for being to impertinent in any thing. Therefore measure me not by my silence least you mistake me. I am, I must confesse, often that which the world call melancholy, yet I think not without some reason considering all things, for I meet with those things which sometimes try me, and it may be you are of the same opinion. God hath appointed me for those tryalls, which to lay upon some others were to heavey a burden. But I cannot complaine that either His love, my owne faith and patience (through His mercy) faile me, and so I am made capable to bare the unkindnesses of men, from whom I could not expect them. Indeed, my lord, your love to me and mine hath a great satisfaction in it to my spirit. Tis so noble a principle that I can wish you no greater a growth in any thing than in it. Thereby you will be greater than your freinds, and overcome all your enemys. He that hath found that pearle needs no other riches to make him considerable or be valued, and allthough it may seeme a fooleish thing to the wise and politick, yet in the end they will know its want and the curse of being without it. Above all things, my lord, nourish love; twill stand you insteed when every thing else shall faile; tis the life of God and the best wisedome of men. I had reall thoughts of viseting you in Ireland this summer, but meeting with some things, which I cannot but tearme unkindnesses (and those from whom I did expect better), I am so wounded for the present in my mind and spirit that to hide myselfe by retyrement is most propper for me, and pleases me best. For any kind of news, my

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lord, I can send you none, onely through the want of love, iniquity and great jealousys abound among all sorts of men, and the issue is like to prove dangerous, if I understand anything, and the melancholy are of my opinion. My wife is so much taken with hir daughter's last letter, wherein she tells hir such tales of your love and kindnes to hir, that my wife cryed for joy, while I laughed. Will is turned both soldyer and courtyer, which I hope will prove to his advantage every way if the Lord please to give him wisedome. His comeing on the stage of this world is, it may be, a forerunner of my comeing of it. For when he comes of age, which will be next March, if the Lord give him life, I have thoughts of makeing over all my estate to him and to leave him the trouble and busines of this world, which I am weary of more than the men of this world are weary of me. For your father told me lately at our parting that the spirits of some men could not bare me, which I tooke to be somewhat of his one mind likewise, and that which I long suspected. And now, my lord, haveing told you thus much, I shall leave it to you to judge whether or no an absolute retyrement will not best befit and become me. Thus you see, my lord, what we poore hereticks are appointed for, the crosse. Wee must suffer like rogues and among them. But we have through mercy our reward, or else indeed of all creatures we were most miserable; neither Jew nor gentile, cavilere or roundhead of any sect but revile us, and persecuted we are accounted mad at the best, but that we have a devill is our ordenary accusation; but all these things must be. There is a gentleman, my lord, one that is a kindsman to Sir Henry Chichely[157] by marryage. His name is, as I take it, Mereas, an Irishman. I was desireed by Sir Henry to beg your love and favour towards him, and pitty likewise if in any thing he shall apply himselfe to your lordship. I know by his freinds here it will be kindly taken and acknowledged if you shall be pleased to owne him. My lord, I am and have reason so to be,

Your lordship's in all faithfullnes to serve you,
Franc Russell

My wife thankes you for loveing hir daughter so well.

94. From Thomas Harrison, London, 24 June 1656, 821, fos 174–175.

May it please your lordship,

As I am deepely a debtor to the grace of God for the favour I have found in your lordship's eyes, so also to your lordship's charity in

[157] An active royalist during the civil war and knighted by the king in 1645, he was the younger brother of the royalist Thomas Chicheley. Accordingly, he was connected to Francis Russell by marriage and, more distantly, to Henry Cromwell.

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so often wishing a period were put to my uncomfortable attendance here. Were his Highnes pleased to permitt me, I should immediately obey your lordship's commands and hasten away. But as I judge it my duty to submit to his Highnesse's pleasure and wisdome, who sees it expedient as yet to detaine me, so doe I sacrifice not only to my affection, but duty also, in waiting to see what God will yet do further for poore Ireland. The last weeke 425. 28. was much 73d. 65. 22's cariage, who being pressed 66. 104.[158] answered with the spirit of a Spanyard. He would not mend his pace etc., nor would he so much as appoint any time wherein 29. 436. might 107. 108. 23. so that 30. 211. concluded there was a designe to withdraw 29. 19. 72. 143.[159] General Desborough shewed much of the same temper, for being pressed by 20. 66. hasten 40. 106.[160] answered, he knew nothing of it, but it should not sticke for him, nor would he undertake to remember any businesse further then he was remembred of it. This shortnes semed strange 66. 21.,[161] who had formerly other manner of reception from him; but yet the trouble arising hence was but small, considering how cordiall and constant 454. 10.[162] remains. I was the last Lord's day with our church and do releive myselfe with such diversions as well as I may; but shall presse all I can this weeke to know his Highnesse's determination. Your lordship's commands, communicated by Dr Gorge, shall be carefully attended. I hope men's ingratitude shall not weaken your lordship's hands in well doing. The only wise God thus contriving and ordering it, the better to reserve requitall to Himselfe. That you and yours (in this perilous juncture, or rather fracture of time) may dayly be preserved and prospered from on high, is the constant prayer of,

Your excellencie's most engaged, poore servant,
Tho Harrison

95. From Gerard Lowther, Dublin, 28 June 1656, 821, fos 176–177.

Letter of courtesy and of thanks for an unspecified favour granted in response to his recent petition.

[158] 'The last weeke 28 was much angered or puzzled at 22's carriage, who being pressed to reply'.

[159] '. . .wherein 29 might speak with 23 so that 30 concluded there was a designe to withdraw 29 Harrison from Ireland'.

[160] '. . .by 20 to hasten the settlement'.

[161] 'to Thurloe'.

[162] 'the Protector'.

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96. From Robert Southwell,[163] Dublin, 28 June 1656, 821, fos 178–179.

Right honnorable,

May it please your excellency. According to your lordship's comand I have hereinclosed the remembrance given unto your lordship and the councell about repairing the docque at Kinsaile, for the more speedy fitting and setting out of the shipping designed for the guard of that coast, which if your lordship bee pleased to recomend unto some perticuler freinds in England, that may effectually move the right honnorable commissioners of the admiralty in the case, I presume they may give your lordship and the councell some speedy incouragement to sett it forward and to provide for it as they shall judge fitting. Which being done, your lordship will sone finde the good effects of it in the safe guarding of this coast from the enimy, the state's ships being alwaies in a readines to follow and pursue their gennerall instructions, as also to attend your lordship's comands upon every occasion as your intelligence shall require. The officers of the customs in each port heretofore haveing had strict comands from the councell of state to bee exactly carefull in examining all ships comeing from any parts off the sea, and if anything therin might import the service of the state to returne a speedy account thereof, which may now redily bee done by reason of the post setled in all parts of this land. And it was likewise usuall for the state's ships, when they crost those harbours where any custom officers were setled, to send in their long boat and to inquire of them for their intelligence from the sea, and then to proceed accordingly.

My lord, I shall humbly take the bouldnes to acquaint your lordship that I am informed by some of the comanders on this coast that the victualers in England, or some of them, are now labouring to remove the victualling of the state's shipps totally from off this coast and to place it at Milford, which must needs bee very inconvenient and distructive to the service here. That harbour being so far within the channell, and the windes that brings the enimyes' ships on this coast eyther keepes them in, or they are so far to the leeward that they cannot get up to the enimy untill much harme be done. Nor can the intelligence of enimyes being upon the coast come so sone to any other port as to Kinsale, for the reasons aforesaid and in regard of the

[163]Administrator in Ireland, by the 1630s he was customs collector for Kinsale – he retained close links with Kinsale throughout his career – and he sought to defend the town against the Irish Catholics in the wake of the 1641 rebellion. Although he supported Prince Rupert's fleet in the late 1640s, he held a variety of administrative posts in southern Ireland under the parliamentary regimes of the 1650s. He was employed in the business of land surveys and transplantation as well as in maritime and naval affairs, including provisioning naval vessels in and off Kinsale.

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frequent coming in of ships from all partes thether. I humbly crave your lordship's pardon for this bouldnes, and remaine,

Your lordship's most humble and most faithfull servant,
Robert Southwell

97. From Edward Wale,[164] Waterford, 28 June 1656, 821, fos 180–181.

Letter of thanks, for Henry Cromwell's assurance that he was not under any suspicion of disaffection, and of request, seeking favour for John Goatly, an apothecary who had served in Ireland under Henry Ireton,[165] *and worked first with Dr Waterhouse*[166] *at the siege of Limerick and later under Dr Dynham at Waterford hospital, before being assigned a regular military salary by Fleetwood; Goatly, his wife, and their three small children were now living in poverty in Waterford and deserved help.*

98. From Charles Howard,[167] London, 30 June 1656, 821, fos 182–183.

Letter of request, seeking favour for Robert Mead[168] *with respect to his estate near Kinsale.*

[164]Chaplain to Fleetwood in Ireland in the early 1650s, subsequently minister in Waterford and paid a government salary. He was a strong supporter of the Protectorate and of Henry Cromwell in Ireland and in 1655–1656 wrote him very supportive and encouraging letters (*TSP*, IV, p. 314; V, p. 66).

[165]Henry Ireton, parliamentarian officer and politician, a regicide, and son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell. He rose rapidly under Oliver Cromwell during the first civil war, was quartermaster-general of the Eastern Association army in 1644 and commissary-general of the New Model Army from 1645, commanding his own horse regiment. He went to Ireland in 1649 as second-in-command of Cromwell's expedition and became overall commander when the latter left Ireland in the spring of 1650. His own Irish campaign concluded with the protracted but ultimately successful siege of Limerick in the summer and autumn of 1651, but he died near Limerick on 26 November 1651.

[166]Joseph Waterhouse, physician to Oliver Cromwell's army in Ireland in 1649–1651, and brother of the Protectoral steward Nathaniel Waterhouse.

[167]Parliamentarian officer and politician during the 1650s, though he had allegedly actively supported the king during the civil war and was subsequently fined by parliament. Despite continuing suspicions, he held a variety of political, administrative, and military offices under the parliamentary regimes of the 1650s, sitting in all three Protectorate parliaments. He was captain of Oliver Cromwell's lifeguards in the early and mid-1650s and colonel of his own foot regiment from the summer of 1656. He was very active in northern England, especially his native Cumberland, and in 1655–1657 he was major-general for the northern counties, in theory as deputy for Lambert. In 1655 he was also named a Scottish councillor.

[168]Possibly the London merchant and adventurer of that name, though he had been assigned lands in County Tipperary.

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99. From Charles Fleetwood, London, [June 1656], 821, fos 254–255.

Deare brother,

That which you mention in your last is a thing of necessity to reduce or charge to the revenue allowed us, which will surely be one of the 1st things the counsell when they meet will consider, and concerning which you shall have a speedy account when any thing is don. The counsell's not sitting puts a great stopp to all buysneses. The reason of their not sitting is not fitt for to be communicated by letter.[169] I acknowledg your favor in the reason why I had not the papers about the charge and issues of Ireland sent me. So long as kindnes and love is continued I can passe by all other things, for your true, hearty love I value and desire above all things of complement and cerimony. But I perceive you ar mistaken to think I had the representation from others of it. As one elect to me, I will assure neither others are so ready to give nor myselfe to receive what may occation unkindneses twixt us, but we have so much one interest and reason of cordyallnes that whatsoever is or showld be designed that way we must resolve against, and conclude still with this, that we must dearly love on another. In this you shall not exceed me, and in this let our strife be who shall out goe one another, and if the Lord please to give us this mercy, give me leave to say as it will be a great refreshments each to other, so will our entirnes be a very good concernment to the publicke.

The army is in a good condition of quietnes, and wer our counsell compleate about their buysnes it will much satisfy the publicke, and be a great ease to his Highnes. As for my lady Frances, that buysnes is concluded twixt themselves. My lord Warwicke not answering his Highnes' demands upon his giving £15,000 porcion prevents at presant the consumation, but I doe not see how it can breake off, both partyes being engaged.[170] Sir Edward Mansfeild of Wales is to addresse himselfe this weeke to his Highnes, that he may have leave to make

[169]The council held only ten meetings on eight days during June. The reasons for this are not clear. Although Oliver Cromwell's health was often uncertain between 1656 and 1658, it does not seem to have been particularly poor during June 1656. There is some evidence that Cromwell and his councillors were deeply divided on the best means to solve the regime's growing debts and that the decision eventually taken, to call a parliament, was opposed by some, leading to divisions both within the council and between the Protector and some of his councillors.

[170]Frances, Oliver Cromwell's youngest child, was being courted by Robert Rich, grandson of the Earl of Warwick and son of Lord Rich. It was a difficult courtship, with reservations on both sides, not least because of the Protector's demands for a large financial marriage settlement; many of these issues were set out by Mary Cromwell in a detailed letter to her brother in June 1656 (*TSP*, V, p. 146). Although a settlement was at length agreed and the marriage occurred in November 1657, the bridegroom was then already ailing and he died within fourteen weeks.

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known his affection to my lady Mary.[171] I wish he may be worthy of so deserving a lady. My deare wife is not very well at presant. The Lord will give, I trust, that choyce mercy of hir health, which is the greatest blessing I have in this world. With both our humble services to your deare lady, I am,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

It seemes your commands to colonel Lawrence[172] was not to com to London, which he was very carefull to his howse,[173] but his wife being to be heare I did undertake to excuse his coming hither, wheare I will take care he shall not stay long without your license. Be pleased to spare him in this upon my account, I conceiving it would not be convenient for his wife to come without him. His Highnes hath vacated the order formerly made by the counsell to stopp the presant payment of the £24,000 which belonged to Ireland.

100. From Charles Fleetwood, [June 1656], 821, fos 252–253.

Deare brother,

I much wonder you showld so soone aprehende the busynes about the Jameica regiment, and not be confydent in me that if ther was any such thing you showld have hade the that[174] notice of it, but both by my letters and the counsell's you will understand what is intended as to that part: that the men out of Ireland to be raysed are to goe under a formed regiment and they are to be no more under colonel Brayne's command then all the regiments allready in Jameica are, and therfor it was a great mistake to think that they showld be reduced into colonel Brayne's regiment. His Highnes will, I presume, make a return by the messenger you sent. I am sorry the men have stayde so longe for their shipps. The winds have bine contrary, and the delatorynes of the seamen will, I feare, make you still a sufferer by keeping the men upon

[171] Mary, Oliver Cromwell's penultimate child, was linked with several possible and unsuccessful suitors during the mid-1650s, until, in November 1657, she married Thomas Belasyse, Viscount Fauconberg.

[172] Probably Richard Lawrence, parliamentarian officer, who served under Oliver Cromwell in Ireland as marshal-general of the horse and was given command of a foot regiment there in 1651. He was active in the surveying of forfeited lands and tranplantation, bitterly arguing with several other officials engaged in that business, including William Petty and Vincent Gookin. A strict Independent, he was distrusted by Henry Cromwell as a fanatic and also because of his connection with Hewson, who was Lawrence's father-in-law (*TSP*, IV, pp. 327–328, 433).

[173] Word omitted or phrase garbled.

[174] Superfluous word.

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a publicke charge.[175] I have received yours whearby you are pleased to intimate the continuance of your former affection, which I showld most heartily be glade of to receive a certeinty of. But indeade give me leave to be free with you. I have bine very much troubled that I should be looked upon as a person of such jealousy, either upon a publicke or perticuler account, as to have letters to and from me to be opened. I value not what is seen, but certeinly I never deserved so ill from the state as to be under such a suspicion, and indeade this was not sent[176] by information from Ireland nor any have bine ther this longe time, but I cam to the certeinty from the nearest. Deare brother, doe not give credit to such unhandsom suggestions that showld put any upon such practises. This I have longe suspected but never till of late hade so much the certeinty therof as now. I canot deserve so ill, but however you will finde some to be flatterers and me to be,

Your affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

101. From Thomas Harrison, London, [June or July 1656], 823, fos 359–360.

May it please your lordship,

I am much affected with your lordship's great love and paines laid out in your last, as in all the rest. God make me worthy (I meane with the worthinesse of congruity) to answer such engagements. I cannot entertaine a thought concerning the inquiry therein mentioned, but that it is made either without the knowledge of 436. 11. 24.[177] prosecuting it, to serve 372. 12. and 103. 39.[178] opposers with a byassing inclination towards whome 211. 19.[179] hath charged him, in his owne thoughts (without any wrong) for a long time, and without which it had bene impossible to have fenced all this while against such full discoveries, and to have winked against so much light; or if it be done by permission or direction 72. 13. 240.[180] it is but to make the way the clearer, and to finde out men's spirits and dispositions to the utmost; for if that were an alleviation, and not rather an augmentation of your lordship's exercise, I may say truly and knowingly 344. 10. 65. 68. is as lonely in this 322. 106. as 391. 17. 67. 143. and what 211. 20.

[175] The ships and men were delayed at Carrickfergus until early October, running up bills of around £10,000.

[176] Word heavily amended and possibly deleted.

[177] 'Lambert and 24'.

[178] Unknown, although 12 may stand for a senior army officer or councillor.

[179] 'Reynolds'.

[180] 'from Fleetwood'.

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420.[181] either hopes or thinkes or hath written is not by inference or conjectures, but by plaine, evident, earnest, iterated orall expressions 476. 72. 13's. 438.[182] owne mouth time after time. Dr Owen[183] and others worthy 39. 149.[184] have upon personall knowledge seconded the same 66. 425. 18. 454.[185] All these circuitions[186] are only to demulce[187] 391. 14. 102.[188] etc. If I be deceived tis the plainnes and simplicity of mine owne heart that doth it, and I dare not without evident cause suspect the want thereof in others. 216. 21.[189] fears not what can come 72. 40.[190] north, and though endeavours had bene used abundantly so 66. 148. 17.[191] intended journy thither, it cannot be said that it had obtained, because satisfaction to the contrary was so readily imbraced. My lord deputy was pleased to tell me the last weeke, that his Highnes had hopes the lord cheife baron Steele[192] would be willing to goe over (I thinke) as chancelor; and that the things of settlement were minded and proceeded in as they were able; and this was all could be obtained from his Highness also. I waited this morning severall houres and saw his Highness deepely engaged in the garden with my lord Lambert and Mr Secretary, but could not have any opportunity. I shall attend

[181] 'I may say truly and knowingly the Protector at 68 is as lonely in this settlement as 17 in Ireland and what Harrison. . .'.

[182] 'from Fleetwood's'.

[183] John Owen, minister, theologian, and academic, served as chaplain to Oliver Cromwell's expeditions to Ireland in 1649–1650 and Scotland in 1650–1651. He was dean of Christ Church, Oxford, from 1651 and vice-chancellor of Oxford University from 1652. He became one of the principal religious advisors to the parliamentary regimes of the 1650s, frequently preaching before parliament and council, serving on a range of religious committees, and advising on or helping to formulate religious policies. He became close to Cromwell and effectively served as one of the Protector's chaplains, but he strongly opposed the offer of the crown in 1657 and urged the Protector to reject it.

[184] 'of note' or 'value'.

[185] 'to 18'.

[186] Circuition: the act of going in a circle, making a circuit, travelling round and about.

[187] To demulce: to soothe or mollify.

[188] Unknown.

[189] 'Thurloe'.

[190] 'from the'.

[191] 'to 17'.

[192] William Steele, parliamentarian politician and judge, supported the parliamentary cause during the 1640s and was appointed by parliament to various legal offices; he took no part in the trial of Charles I, but was prominent in other state trials of the post-war years. He was appointed recorder of London in 1649, a serjeant at law in 1654, and chief baron of the exchequer in 1655. Although appointed to the Irish council in the summer of 1654, he remained in England for some time, sitting in the first Protectorate parliament, before finally crossing to Ireland in the summer of 1656 on his appointment as lord chancellor of Ireland. Henry Cromwell met him in Dublin in October 1656 on returning from his late summer tour of Ireland (*TSP*, I, p. 731). An Independent with Baptist sympathies, his relations with Henry Cromwell were sometimes poor and he opposed Henry Cromwell's more conservative religious policies.

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for it dayly. The annexed was given me by Mr Fisher this day, wherein he was married to a widdow of a competent estate; he is very desirous of the continuance of your lordship's favour, though he dare not give your lordship the trouble either of his apologies or of his thainkes. I begge your lordship, Mr Avery (if he call for it) may have the ring I presumed to leave with your lordship. God give your lordship health and chearfullness, and that all our affaires shall have a blessed issue is the unshaken confidence and well-grounded expectation of, (my lord),

Your excellencie's most devoted servant, whilst I have any being,
Tho Harrison

102. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 1 July 1656, 821, fos 184–185.

Deare brother,

I have so litle time to wright, coming late from Hampton Court, that I can only give you this account. That upon Thursday last the oath of secresy was taken off, and therfor now I may give you this account, that the late secret debates hath only this result: to call a parliament the next 17th of September according to the instrument of government. The day of elections in England are to be 17th of August. The day of election for Scotland and Ireland not resolved. It is intended the qualifications shall be exactly kept unto, both for the electors and elected. I neade not tell you the consequence of choosing such persons who are truly faithfull to the cause we have bine and are still engaged in. The Lord dispose of men's spirits to peace, as the issue of this parliament may be; it will make for future peace or division. Ther was many debates befor we cam to this resolution. I trust the Lord hath directed to the best. I beseach you be carefull in Ireland. Ther is very great weight to be expected what the Lord will doe therin. The Lord quicken up the hearts of saints and give a healing spirit. My haste is so great that I must beseach your excuse, with our affectionate humble services to your deare lady. I remaine,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

103. From John Reynolds, London, 1 July 1656, 821, fos 186–187.

May it please your lordshipp,

I did hope to have beene the bringer of the present newes of a parliament etc, but it hath pleased his Highnes to suspend our dispatch beyond expectation; but I can now assure your lordshipp that there is no delay from any other ground than a desire to please all sober men, in the determination of your busines of Ireland, wherein I must do

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right to the lord Lambert in testifying his ingenuity in the busines. I suppose his Highnes hath by his owne letters informed your lordshipp with the inside of his intentions and pleasure concerning things and persons. I can, God be praised, acquiesce in the discharge of duty, and may affirme that in all sincerity I have served his Highnes and your lordshipp; neither have I at any time trespassed upon the lord deputy, and although in so thankeles emploiments I may please none of the 3 supreme on earth, yet I hope my duty faithfully discharged to the 3 supreme in heaven will be a comfortable consideration. My lord, I did not understand your lordshipp's meaning about my being chosen councillor[193] upon the same ground as commissary. If it be not from an acceptance of my poore abilityes and faithfulnes, I shall not desire to undertake the one, or to continue in the other. There are at present lord cheife baron Steend,[194] chancellour, and Mr Berry,[195] treasurer, and colonel John Jones.[196] The last is suspended untill your lordshipp shall signify your pleasure; he appeares a person wel affected to you, and is certainely honest and able. As for the souldiery, discipline hath beene so confounded, as it seemes they are all equall. I wish they prove equally deserving in the future. I am certaine they have not bene formerly. My lord, I remaine,

Your excellencie's most faithfull and obliged servaunt,

J Reynolds

104. From Simon Finch,[197] Cork, 5 July 1656, 821, fos 188–189.

May it please your excellency,

My collonel's company and my owne came into this citty yesterday, where wee quarter untill colonel Phaire's men be ready to martch.

[193] Reynolds was not, in fact, added to the Irish council at this stage and never served in that capacity.

[194] Word clearly written thus, as a variant upon or slip for 'Steele'.

[195] William Bury/Berry, parliamentarian politician and administrator, had been prominent in the parliamentary cause in his native Lincolnshire, where he served as treasurer of the county committee. Formally appointed to the Irish council by the Protector on 4 August, he thus brought financial expertise to that body, though suggestions that he would also serve as treasurer in or of Ireland did not come to fruition (*TSP*, V, pp. 196–197, 214, 587, 612, 697, 710). Perhaps more importantly, as a moderate Presbyterian he supported Henry Cromwell's religious policy in Ireland and thus strengthened his hand in dealing with the council.

[196] Although Jones had served in the Irish administration in the early 1650s, and although Henry Cromwell's initial reservations about his possible reappointment had been partly allayed by news that Jones was marrying into the Cromwell family, he was not, in fact, added to the Irish council.

[197] Parliamentarian officer, who fought in both Ireland and England in the later 1640s and early 1650s. He served for a time in Hardress Waller's foot regiment in Ireland but by this stage was lieutenant-colonel of Richard Lawrence's foot regiment.

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Their stay is for their ten weeks' pay. Captain Ever's[198] company is martched to Mallow. I came into Corke upon Thursday, and upon my cominge in lieutenant-colonel Wheeler[199] drew of his guards out of the citty, I tellinge him I had noe order for the releiveinge them. He delivered the keies of the gates to the maior's deputy, the maior not beinge in towne, which is very pleasinge to the cittizens. Wee have beene much troubled upon our martch about peeces of eight, which wee received in Dublin, for none will goe here but plate peeces, neither upon the road. I humbly desire your lordship will command my lieutenant to his charge, for my ensigne went from my company as they martched out of Dublin and carryed my companie's pay with him, and never came at us since. Neither can I heare what is become of him, which hath put me to some trouble to gett money for my men. I desire to know whether I shall muster him or not if he comes to the company. This I thought my duty to acquaint your lordship with. Mr maior will give your lordship a full account of a pirat of twelve guns taken upon this coast the last weeke by a Bristow merchant.[200] 27 of the seamen, which are Irish men, are prisoners in the citty gaols. I remaine,

Your lordship's most reall, faithfull servant,
Sy Finch

105. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 8 July 1656, 821, fos 190–191.

Deare brother,

I understand by Dr Harryson that ther is some disquiet upon your spirit.[201] I can cleare myselfe of giving any occation, and certeinly none hath more reason to expect that freedom from you to impart your maladyes unto then myselfe, who have bine and I hope will be as faithfull a frinde to you as any you have. Let men report and say what they please, but in this I must, I believe, wait till God perswades

[198]Probably the captain Ewer who was a nephew both of Secretary Thurloe and of the late colonel Isaac Ewer, the previous commander of what was now Lawrence's foot regiment. In May 1656, Thurloe had recommended him to Henry Cromwell for military employment in Ireland (*TSP*, V, pp. 46–47).

[199]Francis Wheeler, a captain in colonel Ewer's regiment in the late 1640s, but from 1651 lieutenant-colonel of Phaier's foot regiment in Ireland.

[200]At the end of the month, Henry Cromwell sent Thurloe an account of this action, attesting to its veracity and praising the actions of the Bristol merchant vessel and its captain (*TSP*, V, p. 258).

[201]Disheartened by the opposition he was facing in Ireland and by divisions there, and disenchanted by suspicions that some members of the English regime were not giving him full support but rather were working to undermine his position, in late June and early July Henry Cromwell wrote several letters direct to his father and via Thurloe requesting permission to resign his Irish command and retire to England (*TSP*, V, pp. 150, 176, 177, 196–197, 213–214).

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your heart to a credit and beleife of the same. I have litle to impart this weeke, neither will my time give liberty much to inlarge. I know not what to say about the stay of the shipps to transport your men for Jameica. Ther is now very positive orders and I hope they are set sayle befor this time. I know the delay therof is very much to your disadvantage in respect of wants of monyes. His Highnes hath now prevayled with the lord cheife baron Steele to goe as chancellor for Ireland. He will about October, I presume, be going. I hope you will finde mercy in his helpe with you. I know not of any other person resolved upon to be sent. Mr Berry, Mr Hopkins[202] and colonel Lilburn[203] have bine under consideration, but I canot say that any of them will be sent. The mistake about the 100 privat men was upon my lord Lambert's account. Ther is one Mr Arnold, whom his Highnes very much values. I beleive you may remember him. His Highnes desires you would get him some imployment, which, if you can, I am perswaded you will[204] him very honest and deserving. I have not much acquaintance with him, but I know his Highnes estemes exceedingly well of him. The Lord keepe you close to Himselfe; arme you against all groundlesse jealousyes. I am,

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles Fleetwood

106. From John Reynolds, London, 8 July 1656, 821, fos 192–193.

May it please your lordship,

The lord deputy professeth greate freindship, and I am assured his lordship is in good earnest. My brother is your lordship's most earnest and humble servaunt.[205]

[202]Perhaps the Edward Hopkins who was an admiralty commissioner and member of the second Protectorate parliament. His appointment to the Irish council had first been considered in the summer of 1654 (*TSP*, II, pp. 492–493) and was considered again at this time (*TSP*, V, pp. 196–197).

[203]Robert Lilburne, parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide, fought for parliament throughout the civil wars and commanded a New Model horse regiment from 1646. Active in army politics in the late 1640s and at the king's trial, he served under Oliver Cromwell in Scotland in 1650–1651 and from 1652 to 1654 was commander-in-chief of the English forces in Scotland. From 1655 to 1657 he was major-general of Yorkshire and his native County Durham, in theory as deputy for Lambert, and was elected to both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments. His radical and Baptist sympathies and his support for religious separatists may not have made him an ideal councillor in Henry Cromwell's eyes and, like Hopkins, he was not in fact appointed to the Irish council.

[204]Word – perhaps 'find' – apparently omitted.

[205]The opening two sentences have been squeezed into the space originally left between 'May it please your lordship' and 'I am verry much troubled' and were evidently added after part or all of the remainder of the letter had been written.

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I am verry much troubled at the receipt of your lordship's letter and do verry much desire to waite upon your lordship. Whence can such resolutions come but from your melancholy. For I do professe, my dearest lord, both his Highness and councell, and all intelligible persons heere, are satisfyed with your lordship's proceedings and are resolved to give all encouragement to your lordship in the future; and I am confident there is no one suggestion touching you credited by any honest man. Whatsoever is now presented to you, although wrote in a remisse or free style, is the observation of severall weekes, and although I have not effected all which I desired, yet whatsoever concernes your lordship is fully answered, and if the parliament did not give some caution to his Highness in respect of your lordship's relation (so neere), resolutions would be made more publique. My lord, I do most earnestly beseech you thinke not of stirring seriously from your station. God now blesseth whatsoever you take in hand, and I have cause to feare the contrary if you quit His cause. And certainely the sober settlement of Ireland is betraied if your lordship comes away now you are past the worst of opposition. And although some persons, on both hands, may be blamed for their zeale, yet no one stone hath come neere your lordship, which none of us who relates to Ireland have missed. And I do professe, without designe or flattery, it hath beene the whole aime of my stay to see that secured, and I know it is. And although I never see Ireland in any publique capacity, yet my hopes shall be that you will abide there and pursue the good worke begun by you, otherwise I shall not thinke of returning, being the remaining marke of envy. I remaine, my lord,

Your excellencye's most faithfull and humble servaunt,

J Reynolds

107. From Elizabeth Butler, Marchioness of Ormond,[206] London, 9 July [1656], 823, fos 322–323.

My lord,

His Highnes and the counsell haveinge grantede an order upon my petistione, referinge it to and impowringe the deputye and counsell

[206]Born into an aristocratic Irish family, in 1629 she married her cousin, James Butler, subsequently the twelfth Earl and the first Marquess and Duke of Ormond, the leading Irish royalist of the 1640s. Like her husband, she then spent several years in exile on the continent. In 1653, the English regime granted her – though not her husband – permission to return to Ireland, living at Dunmore, County Kilkenny, and receiving £2,000 per year from part of her extensive Irish estates. In the spring of 1656 she petitioned the Protector, requesting that further sections of the Ormond estates, deemed forfeit to the state during her husband's lifetime and currently rented out on short leases to tenants who had no interest in preserving or improving the property, should instead be leased to her. That petition was referred to the English council, which in turn, on 8 May, referred it to Henry Cromwell and the Irish council (*CSPI*, pp. 606–607, 829).

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of Ireland to proside tharupon as thay shall see cause, I should have bine the presenter of it myselfe unto your lordships, but that for the more speede have sent this berar to attend and know your lordship's and the counsell's pleasure what you and thay shall think fitt to doe upon what is now transmitede unto you. Not beinge in a redenes as yet to solisset it in persone, though I have the intentions of it, as beinge hopefull that your lordships will find nothinge in my desiers, when you shall have considerede them, but what will appiere soe resonabell as may inclyne you to countenanse and befrind mee hearin; that with much thankfullnes doe acknowlege to have found soe oblidginge to mee in my formar consarns as I cannot dout you willbee less to mee in this, when tharby you cannot hindar but on the contrarye further and increase the stat's revinue by permitinge mee to become tenant unto my owne estate duringe my lord's life, I beinge willinge to give as much rent or more for it then anye other will; not out of anye expectatione I have to bee a presant gayner tharby, but to presarve it from a totall wast and ruene, which is otherwise like to happene when noe sartantye of time can bee grantede, wherby to incorage tenants to settell upon it and make improvments. Soe as if I may by your lordship's menes obtayne this favour, it shall with much gratitude bee ownede to you by, my lord,

Your lordship's humbell sarvant,
E Ormonde

My lord, I have one favour more to desier of your lordships, that my sarvis may bee presented unto my lady Cromwell.

108. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 11 July 1656, 821, fos 194–195.

My lord,

I was not willing to loose the opportunity of this messenger, being I had a desire (before I knew he was for Ireland) to present you with my love and service. Something I have, my lord, to say unto your lordship, but what it will be I know not, being keept here in ignorance by your father, who commanded me to post it up to him, but now I am here I am allmost as ignorant of his will and pleasure as I was before I came to towne. But you know him so well that I neede not advise you to wonder. I am told, my lord, but whether it be true or not I cannot tell, that he intends me for your service in Ireland. Indeed, I could wish he would speake out, and that quickly, for these two things I much long for and desire: to serve your lordship, and to be out of this pittyfull, confused isleland. If any thing can make me to looke back to my owne country with love and desire tis Chippenham, in which place I could allmost beg rather than abound elsewhere, but my Lord God is

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knocking us all of this world so that wee must looke after[207] those things which are not seene, and is our mercy if well understood. I hope, my lord, to tell you by the next post that I am prepareing for Ireland. If not I shall be troubled, being most willing (now you have tryed many men and freinds) that you should, in these times of hippocresy and dissimulation, have some experience of a mad man and a heretick, that is,

Most soberly and sincerely your lordship,
Franc Russell

There is another young Oliver come into this troublesome world,[208] so that yours is to be called but plaine Noll.

109. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 12 July 1656, 821, fos 196–197.

Deare brother,

I have seldome such a freind as this[209] to commend to you. I doubt not but you remember how I valleu him, haveing knowne him long and injoyed sweet fellowship with him. And since I returned into England I find him still full of savour and a very sober, reconsiling person, in respect of all sorts of differences. I wish wee had more of his mind and then it would be better with us; but this I need not say, seeing he is no stranger to you, nor you to his spiritt. I doubt not of your freedome to give a dispatch to his perticular affaire, about which he undertakes this jorney in the behalfe of himselfe and the rest of the commissioners. His long stay would be sad; his wife, who is with child, can ill bare his absence, besides a losse in his trade. I shall desire that the lands you appoint him may be as neere Limbricke as you can, and contiguus and sett out to them with the most advantage. I will not further trouble you, but entreate your favour to him and care of him, for my sake, who am, deare brother,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

[207]Word amended and poorly formed.

[208]Richard Cromwell's son.

[209]Methuselah Turner, a London linen draper, was chairman of a powerful nine-man committee established by the English council and parliament in 1653 to oversee and administer the allocation of Irish land to adventurers and soldiers. As reward for their work, in September 1654 the Protector and English council directed that Turner and his fellow-commissioners be allocated land in Ireland to the value of £2,621 (Dunlop, pp. 446–447; *CSPI*, pp. 821, 827, 829).

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110. From Simon Finch, Cork, 14 July 1656, 821, fos 198–199.

May it please your excellency,

Senc my comeing heere I have endevred to enforme myselfe of the condission of this contry, which is verry peacable at[210] present; and the way to keep them soe, I humbly concive, would be to have 300 foot and 90 horse quarterd here to be redy at sound of trumpitt and beat of drum. The plases convenyent for them is Cork subberbs 120 foot and 35 hors; and in Bandon 100 foot and 30 hors; and at Banty[211] 80 foot and 25 hors. I have offered this to the major-generall and my collonel;[212] and if I have done amiss I humbly desyer your lordship will attrebeut it unto my desyers to keep up his Highnes' intrust and peace of the nation, for the inhabytanc heere are a mix sort of peoples. A great part desyer Charles Stuart apon any termes, I believe; and for the ministers, I have heard they never mention his Highnes nor councle in there prayers, as they doe in Dublin and in other places, nor pray for his Highnes' councle heer. I made bould to aquant Mr maior with it, and Dr Worth.[213] They boeth promysed to speake to Mr Aires[214] to doe it. But for my part I shall carry it civilly to all sorts of people. 4 of my collonel's companys ar come up, and 4[215] of colonel Phaire's march this day. The great incoragment I have recived from your lordship embouldons me to be trublesom to you with these rud lines, which I crave pardon for, and remane, my lord,

Your excellency's most reall, faithfull servant,

Sy Finch

My lord, I humble[216] concive the disperceing all our men into petty garrysons is to preserve the fingers and tooes, and leve the head in danger.

[210] Word repeated in error.

[211] Presumably Bantry in County Cork.

[212] Sir Hardress Waller and Richard Lawrence respectively.

[213] Edward Worth, dean of Cork from 1645, was a firm supporter of the English government of Ireland and of orthodox Protestant doctrine and church discipline, leading him to oppose the spread of Baptism and Quakerism in Ireland. As head of an association of ministers in County Cork, loosely based on a Presbyterian arrangement though with members sympathetic to Episcopalianism, he was out of tune with Fleetwood's relaxed approach to religious radicalism, but he strongly supported the more conservative policies of Henry Cromwell and was, in turn, rewarded with a government salary and a string of religious appointments in the latter half of the 1650s. In 1655 he became minister at Waterford, but he had returned to his Cork power base by 1658.

[214] Joseph Eyres, minister in County Cork, a member of Worth's association, and a strong supporter of his policies.

[215] Figure heavily amended and poorly formed.

[216] Apparently a slip for 'humbly'.

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111. From Thomas Harrison, London, 14 July 1656, 821, fos 200–201.

May it please your excellencie,

Matters of concernment I dare not but give by a speedier conveyance. This is only, in all humility, to lett your lordship know that I was acquainted with this gentleman, the bearer hereof, Mr Jenner,[217] in New-England. We came over from thence in the same vessell together, and I do verily beleive him to be one who hath obtained mercy to be faithfull, and who may be usefull to the soules of men, in communicating somwhat of the good knowledge of the Lord unto them. Mr Brewster (I perceive) first drew him to looke towards Ireland, and can give a further account of him; which also may be had (if your lordship shall see cause) from,

Your excellencie's most engaged, devoted, poor servant,

Th Harrison

112. From William Stane, London, 14 July 1656, 821, fos 202–203.

My lord,

I can not omitt such an opportunitye as this good freind is, although by my absence from London I am a stranger and have nothing worthy of your lordship's notice. Captain Lloid, who was sent to the generalls and fleet upon the coasts of Spaine, is returned;[218] and £80,000 the effect of the peace with Portugall.[219] Our agent there hath bin hurt (the attempt was further,[220] but not to danger; twas upon the late embassador's brother's score). It hath bin much disowned by the king of Portugall in his lettre to his Highnesse.[221] The parliament for the

[217] Thomas Jenner, minister in New England from 1635, returned to England around 1650 and, until the mid-1650s, held a parish in Norfolk. During his period in Ireland, from 1656 to 1659, he was at different times minister at Drogheda, Limerick, and Carlow.

[218] Griffith Lloyd had been sent to the fleet, carrying a letter from the Protector of 28 April 1656, full of detailed naval and military intelligence, and leading questions that the admirals were to consider (Abbott, IV, pp. 148–149).

[219] Part of the brief of the English admirals was to intimidate Portugal, threatening to attack her plate fleet or to sever her links with her colony in Brazil, to induce her finally to ratify the Anglo-Portugese treaty of summer 1654, giving English warships and merchants access to Portugese ports and markets, and securing freedom of worship for English Protestant residents.

[220] Word clearly written thus, but perhaps a slip for 'murder'.

[221] Philip Meadows, an administrator and diplomat trusted by Thurloe, was sent by Protector and council to Portugal in February 1656 to secure ratification of the 1654 treaty. His diplomatic efforts were initially unsuccessful and, worse, on 1 May he was attacked by vengeful relatives of the late brother of the Portuguese ambassador to London, who, in the summer of 1654, had been convicted of murder and executed by the Protectoral regime. Luckily, Meadows escaped with a slight gunshot wound to the hand. Although the English admirals urged Meadows to depart immediately and relished an opportunity to

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generaltie gives consent and hope of better settlement. The marchants here make sad complaints, so many of their ships being taken by the Dunkirk enemie. My Lord Protector, her Highnesse, and all your familye are in health, so are all at Chippenham. My lord, although it need not I am perswaded, yet I must and can do no lesse then beg your favour and kindnes to my freind Mr Turner, who comes over on purpose for himself and the rest in commission with him. Your lordship knows, and all men can witnes, what paines that committee have taken and how well they have descharged that trust, for which this was their recompence. I know no person in the world for whom I would more beg a kindnes, which is your lordship's favour in the despatch of his busines, and that the land to bee sett out for them may commence as neer Limerick towne as may bee. His wife is in such a condition that I feare shee may suffer much if his absence should bee long, and I am sure his trade also will receive much damage.

Your lordship knows Mr Turner so well that I need say nothing as to that, but give your lordship this assurences: that to my best understanding hee is of a greate temper and sober conversation, and one whom I have found (by much experience, and contrary to report) of a healeing spirit in this divided day.

My humble service to your lordship and my lady. I hope your sweet children are in health. I remaine, my lord,

Your lordship's faithfull servant,

W Stane

The report that the kinge of Spaine hath releived Valencyne in Flanders and defeated the French is not ascerteined.[222] The duke of Brandenburge hath made a legue offensive and defensive with the king of Sweds and is gone in person against the Poles.

113. From Hugh Peters, 15 July 1656, 821, fos 204–205.

My lord,

I must bee somthing to you though you have given mee no worde long; alas, you need not feare where you are so beloved and honord. But I leave you to your liberty. Sir John[223] coming tomorrow to you will say all.

attack Portugese interests and enforce harsher terms, Meadows persisted with diplomacy and a somewhat chastened Portugese crown ratified the treaty on 31 May. The settlement included payment of £50,000 (not £80,000) in compensation for damages caused to English shipping by Portugese-backed royalist privateers.

[222]The report was true.

[223]Reynolds.

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The French are beaten sadly; the king of Sweden not so he. These have, it seeme, the world in shaking. To you, I say keepe where God hath placed you with expectation, humility and quietnes. Love the truth and peace; bee open and playne (as you are) in all your worke; turne your hart outward from God and godly men and feare nothing. I think you are in your place and worke. Beleeve mee the world is shaking; God keepe us stedfast. I was at Cambridge commencement where you are deer etc.[224] Let mee have a word, I can be secret. If not, I can and must be still,

Your H P

Your brother hath a son. Salute your lady and all with you, your secretary, as I can write no more yet.

114. From Charles Fleetwood, Wallingford House, 16 July 1656, 821, fos 206–207.

Deare brother,

This is on the behalfe of the bearer, Mr Jenner, who is a freind of Mr Brewster's, well knowne to him. I hope he may be of good use in Ireland; therefore I recommend him to your care to provide for the setleing of him where he may be of best use and fitlye incourag'd. He hath at present left a place of £150 per annum, therefore I suppose less by you there will not be thought convenient for him. Your respects to him is desired by,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

Charles Fleetwood

115. From John Reynolds, London, 16 July [1656],[225] 822, fos 152–153.

May it please your lordshipp,

I shall not neede to trouble your lordshipp farther than to acquaint your lordshipp that I am appointed to waite upon your lordshipp speedily, and shall come by the way of Bristoll or Milford, as I shall find opportunity, partly in respect of my owne occasions, but principally in relation to your lordshipp's abode (as I heare for one month) at Kilkenny.[226] I hope things are wel there as heere, God be praysed, and

[224]Henry Cromwell had links with Cambridge, since he sat as MP for the university in the first Protectorate parliament and was on the board of visitors.

[225]Mistakenly endorsed '1657'.

[226]In late summer, Henry Cromwell usually toured a selection of important towns and garrisons in Ireland and his 1656 itinerary did, indeed, involve an extended visit to Kilkenny in late August and September.

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I can affirme of a truth, that there is not the least ground of doubt or discouragement, which is all at present from,

Your most assured and most faithfull, devoted servaunt,

J Reynolds

116. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 17 July 1656, 821, fos 208–209.

Deare brother,

I did so latly wright to you that I shall only present you with our very affectionate salutes, and your deare lady, having nothing of consequence to trouble you with. Captain Loyde is returned from the fleet, who are in a good condition, but no action, nor I feare lik to be, the Spanyard having drawn a great strength of foote along[227] their coasts and their shipps not appearing out of the harbours, which they well fortefyed. The Portugall, for feare of our surprising his Braseill fleet, hath ratifyed the peace with us. Whither the probability of that surprise or this peace is most considerable to us is hard to say, but what the Lord doth is best.

The lord cheife baron, Mr Berry and, I think, Sir Francis Russell, will be with you in September. I presume all thes are according to your desires. I hope we shall get the monthly assessments from hence duly payde you; no more is to be expected. The addition of your counsell will increase your charge, which I suppose you will otherwise contract. My haste you must excuse, who am,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

Charles Fleetwood

117. From William Lockhart,[228] Chaulny, 10/20 July 1656, 821, fos 210–211.

Letter of courtesy, reporting that he was forwarding an account of the siege of Valenciennes.

[227]Word heavily amended and poorly formed.

[228]Soldier, parliamentarian politician, and diplomat, he fought for the king in the Scottish engager army and was imprisoned after the battle of Preston, but he felt snubbed by the Prince of Wales (the future Charles II) and from 1652 he supported the English parliamentary regimes. He helped negotiate the terms of the Anglo-Scottish union, became a trusted colleague of Oliver Cromwell, and, in 1654, married into the Cromwell family, wedding a widowed niece of the Protector. He sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments, was appointed to the Scottish council in 1655, and, early in 1656, was sent as ambassador to France to work for a firm Anglo-French alliance against Spain on terms favourable to the Protectoral regime.

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118. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 20 July [1656], 823, fos 343–344.

Deare brother,

I hope this bearer can whitnesse how farre I have bine from incurring any just censur in doing any thing which might be unhandsome to youreselfe, and therfor I desire all unkindneses may be forgotten twixt us. I have bine a faithfull frinde and servant to you, and doe not give eare to suggestions which may administer matter of jealousyes; but let's be confydent one of another, and if I could finde your freedom to me as of old I showld then be satisfyed. I hope Sir John will be an instrument to beget and increase this good understanding. I shall not neade to aquaint you with any thing heare, but leave you to Sir John's relation. The errand about which he cam was of that nature that I think it could not be expected I showld be active about it, being what concerned myselfe,[229] and I have too much of that which the world calls honour allready. The Lord give me a better heart to improve what He hath allready given me; but I think the subject matter will easily creat a right understanding in any, that I did no more appeare in this buysnes. Ther are great endeavors in the gayning of elections. The Lord's appearance in this must be our only refuge; which that we may finde is the desire of,

Your most affectionate brother,

Charles Fleetwood

119. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 22 July [1656], 823, fos 345–346.

Deare brother,

I have received yours whearby you expresse some trouble of minde. I canot pleade guilty of having a hand therin, but can resort to his Highnes to cleare me wither I have not manifested a true affection and faithfullnes to you; and as I have told him, I held it not fitt if I hade any thing to except against you at any time to declare it to yourselfe and not to possesse a father with prejudices against a son, and therfor be not so unkinde as to harbour such jealousyes as causlessly, I feare, you retaine still; and therin you take prejudice against one, so farr as it is so, against as true a frind as any you have, and the unworthynes of any who labour to suggest the contrary will, I hope, be discovered and slighted by you. I have not time much to wright, and could have more

[229]As part of his mission, Reynolds had carried to the Protector a letter from a group of army officers in Ireland calling for Fleetwood to return to Ireland as lord lieutenant, with Henry Cromwell as lord deputy under him.

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satisfaction in wrighting had I more assurance of the return of your old frindshippe. We are now beginning to think of our elections. The Presbyterians are very much labouring. The choyce is yet uncerteine what it will be. The Lord alone can despose of the hearts of the choosers, and when chosen give them quiet, peacefull spirits. This late defeat of the French by the Spanyard hath much hightned the Spanyard. Both armyes lyes neare each other, but I think at presant the French are not so well recruited as to attempt any thing, but must be upon the defensive posture. Somthing will be don heare, but at presant it is under secresy and therfor I cannot be so perticuler as by the next I may. I hope it may be an inlet to further good to the Protestant cause. I intreat you will take care that colonell Clarke may be one chosen for the parliment.[230] He will be very usefull as to Ireland. Excuse my haste, who am,

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles Fleetwood

Our humble services to your deare lady, and kisse your deare and sweet ones from us both.

120. From Thomas Harrison, London, 22 July 1656, 821, fos 212–213.

May it please your excellence,

Your lordship will understand that not long agoe it was moved here that 436. 12.[231] should hasten 66. 143. 66. 107. 108. 15.[232] and so having setled a right understanding and good correspondency, forthwith to returne. Your lordship will easily apprehend why this project proceeded not, as 425. 14.[233] could not much desire it, so I am perswaded 454. 10.[234] could not approve it, but that he is willing to say or doe or offer any thinge that might give content. When this was off, then 438. 28.[235] must goe, though that broke not forth here till the beginning of the last weeke. He comes as a messenger and mediator for peace, fully furnished with instructions 72. 16. 420.[236] and hath depth enough to make compensation for the plainnes and shallowness 39. 476. 19.[237] who perhaps hath misinterpreted the promises made

[230] In fact, John Clarke did not sit for an Irish seat in the second Protectorate parliament and instead sat for Cardiganshire.
[231] Unknown.
[232] 'to Ireland to speak to Henry Cromwell'.
[233] Unknown.
[234] 'the Protector'.
[235] Unknown.
[236] 'of Reynolds'.
[237] 'from 19'.

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concerning himselfe, but yet rejoyceth in a perswasion that good things are really meant and intended concerning your lordship.

On Wednesday last, 391. 86.[238] was 3 or 4 hours in private 108. 11.[239] who saith he ratled him soundly and told him he neither had the spirit of prayer nor preaching, though he lately gave a tast of his guift, in a bitter invective at Worcester House[240] upon that conference when 322. 29.[241] was booted and spurd. His journey seemed not to be minded, which put him into heats and high expressions. Mr Peters also was inclinable to that journey, so he might be backe before the parliament begin. On Saturday, in the afternoone 30. 371.[242] went from hence well apaid, and, thought we had great cause to be theinkfull unto God things were so well, 229. 13. told him 211. 11.[243] would do us reason.

Colonel Markham[244] presents his most humble service to your lordship and would, I perceive, much rejoyce in the favour of a line from your lordship's pen. I beleive he hath bene serviceable in most places where he came, and on the last Lord's day in the evening at Hampton Court, whereof I suppose he will give your lordship an account, and if so your lordship will thereby be confirmed in all things, save what may relate 66. 20.[245] returne. Whereof he saith he could observe no syllable of a graunt, though he urged and watched narrowly for it, as that whereby both himself and others will make the estimate of their owne condition. His Highness' goodnesse and wisdome encourageth to hope for it notwithstanding. It would not only be an affliction but a ruine to be cutt of from the priviledge of waiting upon your lordship, and I trust, through the mercy of God, I shall not, while I live, be made uncapable of evidencing that I am, (my lord),

Your excellencie's most devoted, faithfull, poore servant,

Tho Harrison

[238]Unknown.

[239]'with Lambert'.

[240]Worcester House, London, was the base for a number of civil and military financial committees during the 1650s.

[241]Unknown.

[242]Unknown.

[243]'Fleetwood told him Lambert'.

[244]Henry Markham, parliamentarian officer and politician, first appears in military records in the mid-1640s, as an officer in Edward Rossiter's New Model horse regiment. He served in Ireland during the 1650s and held a string of financial and administrative offices there, though in the second Protectorate parliament he sat for a Scottish seat; he sat for Counties Kildare and Wicklow in the third.

[245]'to Harrison's'.

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121. From Thomas Harrison, London, 29 July 1656, 821, fos 214–215.

May it please your excellencie,

I am here with that silence and submission which is due to God and my superiours, waiting for the appearance of Mr Morgan,[246] without making any vaine importunities for a dispatch, which I know till then cannot be obtained, whatever it may be after.

Last weeke Mr Barrington,[247] his Highness' auditor, (whose debtour I am for very many civilities) was pleased voluntarily to lett me know that there lately passed somthing touching 40. 106. 39. 143.[248] very agreable to the desires 39. 436. 19.[249] and very good respect expressed 66. 425. 20.,[250] but he might go no further. Peradventure your lordship knowes the particulars, or will do shortly.

Yesterday 454. 117.[251] told me how abundantly his Highness declared his satisfaction unto him and his full beleife of all the true and honest relations that have bene made; and yet for a while things are and must be carried as if it were otherwise. He said 79.[252] (I thought he meant 86.)[253] told 438. 10.[254] that 420. 11.[255] hearkned to lyes, and when a prince did so, all his servants were wicked, whereunto he received a sharpe reply as he well deserved. Some thinke the best expedient for settlement will be to remove those who are judged most active and zealous on both sides, and then try what the rest will doe. There will be a necessity of your lordship's continuance there to protect 40. 476. 44.[256] I say to protect them, for I dare say their provoking spirit and deportment will soone bring them to stand in need thereof. I thinke your lordship cannot imagine what horrid, wicked untruthes are here invented, and vented even at Wallingford House to avile and disgrace a poore creature, who never by thought, word or deed gave

[246]Anthony Morgan, parliamentarian officer and politician, had initially fought for the king in the civil war, but came over to parliament in 1645 and, with Sir Thomas Fairfax's support, became an officer in Ireton's New Model horse regiment. He served in Ireland from 1649 and acquired both land and a string of judicial and administrative offices there, and he represented Irish constituencies in all three Protectorate parliaments. Trusted by Henry Cromwell, in the summer of 1656 he was sent by him to lobby Protector and council on behalf of his Irish policies.

[247]Abraham Barrington, the Protector's auditor and clerk of the board of greencloth in the Protectoral household.

[248]'the settlement of Ireland'.

[249]'of Reynolds'.

[250]'to Harrison'.

[251]Unknown.

[252]Unknown.

[253]Unknown.

[254]'the Protector'.

[255]'Lambert'.

[256]'the Baptists'.

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any occasion for such reports. I do not hasten much to undeceive those that suck them in, that their owne errour and breach of rule may in due time the more effectually afflict them. I am greived I can at present no otherwise serve your lordship then by the poore prayers of,

Your excellencie's most devoted, poore servant,
Th Harrison

122. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 1 August 1656, 821, fos 216–217.

Deare brother,

When quartermaster-generall Vernon[257] was in town he complayned of my lordshippe towards him in reducing his pay, when as it was contrary to the establishment sent from England, and no other generall officer was reduced in pay but himselfe, allthough the rest of the generall officers hade the same advantage in their arreares as he had, and yet without any reducment of their pay, which you wer pleased to consider and to continue his former pay; which I desire you will please still to continue to him, it being that which will be allowed heare in the establishment, and therfor I intreat you will cause it to be added ther, I meane the 5s per diem. I am confydent he truly loves you, and your favor will not be to a person ungratefull or unworthy of it, and I confesse it troubles me I should be harder to him then others. I am blamed by some for being too kinde to some, and by the same looked upon as too hard. Integrity will be my best defence. I am,

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles Fleetwood

123. From Thomas Harrison, London, 5 August 1656, 821, fos 218–219.

May it please your excellencie,

I remaine here with my health shaken and my spirit sometimes somwhat shattered and discomposed when I take to heart my

[257]John Vernon, parliamentarian officer, was for a time quartermaster-general of the English army in Ireland. An ally of Allen, Axtell, and Barrow, and thus one of the leaders of the Baptist-inclined opposition within the army to Henry Cromwell and his religious policies, he was suspected by Henry Cromwell of fomenting unrest in Ireland (*TSP*, IV, pp. 376, 402–403, 433). He had spent the first half of 1656 in England and his sudden return to Ireland at this time was viewed with dismay by both Henry and Oliver Cromwell; Henry reported that Vernon 'boasts much to every body of his plaine or rather saucy dealeing with his highness', while Thurloe replied that 'I thinke his highnesse is obliged to doe something therein, that may signifie his dislike towards hym' (*TSP*, V, pp. 278, 303–304, 327). He was one of the four prominent Baptist officers who resigned at the end of 1656.

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detention here, which is the triumph of my adversaries and the wonder of my freinds; and I thinke of most of the sober godly about this towne, who are both amazed and sadded to see such power in their hands who have seldome had the grace well to manage it. But I am abundantly refreshed by those sweete and gracious lines your lordship hath bene pleased to bestow upon me by Mr Bradley.[258] I assure your lordship I shall not account my poore life or any of the concernments thereof deare unto me, so I may be enabled in any measure to answer that generous and most obliging sweetnesse soe seasonably and constantly expressed towards such a poore worme as I am. The messenger's mother had the malice to tell my lord deputy that I was married to my maid, and that not before there was neede. Whether will this raging unreasonable fury hurry them? The Lord looke on, if not to require, yet to rebuke it. My freinds of the church (to whome I preached at the Charter-House the last Lord's day) do heare of this malice and enquire when I shall have liberty to refute and remove from it, though they are as desirous of my poore ministry as satisfied in my innocency. If what I feared at first should prove true, that their former disappointment by my means is never to be forgotten or forgiven, and that my attendance upon your lordship (how innocent soever even as to them) should prove prejudiciall to your excellencie, I professe a readinesse rather to quitt whatever is most precious to me and to embrace a ruine as to this world, then to inconvenience your lordship, whose growth without checke or interruption may prove such a comprehensive blessing, such a glorious mercy to these nations. But if through infinite grace these sons of Zeruiah[259] prove not too hard for us no outward mercy can be named in the same day with my being restored to my station and service to your lordship, and to my most noble lady, to whome is presented the unfeigned service of, (my lord),

Your excellencie's poore, faithfull servant,

Tho Harrison

[258]Unidentified, though the letter may imply that he was a messenger, presumably one of the officials carrying state papers between London and Dublin.

[259]Biblical reference to King David's half-sister. Her three sons, Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, held military command in David's army but proved ruthless and unruly; after two of them were involved in a vengeance killing, in response to the death in battle of their third brother, David admitted that they were beyond his control (see, in particular, 2 Samuel, chapters 2 and 3).

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Dr Winter[260] hath bene severall times with his Highness, and this day in particular, and gives the same report with others of his Highness' full satisfaction, and will shortly give your e[. . .][261] an account thereof.

124. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 5 August 1656, 823, fos 351–352.

Deare brother,

I have cause to be trouble[262] at the recentment you have against som whom you call my pretended frinds. I think none but truly are your frinds, but are mine, and therfor take heade of too great jealousyes; and would you but please to let me know what they have sayde or don to your offence I showld, I hope, at least quitt myselfe of faithfullnes to you, but I know you are misinformed in many things, and in perticuler that which relates to major Morgan was from a person who hath no relation to Ireland, though to yourselfe he hath, which I only cam to know from his Highnes himselfe, though I canot deny that some practises of his have bine offensive to me and others. As for Dr Harryson, I will say nothing of him, nor of the other at presant, but could I speak with you I would unbosome myselfe to you. I doe not think any man belonging to Ireland made it a desire to have any person removed whom you desired to keepe; but if you knew as much as I doe, which you showld if I could either speake with or wright unto you, that none elce might see or know of, you would then I am confydent think so well of some as you now.[263] I desire to have no personall prejudice of any man, but I am perswaded you are much more mistaken in some persons then you think I am in others. I would not doe any thing for to grive you. I have that affection for you that

[260]Samuel Winter, Independent preacher and minister, moved to Ireland in 1650, serving as chaplain to the parliamentary commissioners in Dublin. A gifted preacher and teacher and, from 1651–1652, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, he was favoured by Fleetwood's regime but became disenchanted by its lack of religious discipline and the spread of Baptism. However, although he remained very active in Ireland throughout the mid- and late 1650s, especially in the Dublin area where he sought to organize an association of ministers, lobbying both Henry Cromwell and his father on occasional visits to England in support of his congregationalist plans for Ireland, Henry Cromwell tended to favour Edward Worth's more conservative proposals and Winter's influence was limited.

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

[262]Apparently a slip for 'troubled'.

[263]Sentence may be incomplete, with one or more words omitted in error – perhaps the sentence should end 'you would then I am confydent think so well of some as you do now' or even 'you would then I am confydent not think so well of some as you do now'. Alternatively, the final word could be interpreted as the verb 'know' to give the sentence a grammatical, if somewhat vague, conclusion.

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will not suffer me to doe any thing unhandsomly towards you, and therfor pray be more free with me wherin any person whatsoever gives you any trouble; and if I can give you ease I shall rejoyce therin, but to burden you I hope it shall not be beyond what becomes a dear brother. I have writt so often upon this subject that I hope the Lord will give a full satisfaction to your own heart of my integrity, and unites us together in our former union and affection; which that we may minde mutually is the desire of,

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles Fleetwood

I am much troubled at some discourse which is sayde I hade once with you in the Phoenixe gallery,[264] wheare only yourselfe was presant and another, and that ther I showld say that colonel Markham had bine a cavileire and was pulled out by the eares by the parliament forces,[265] which I am confydent was very much misreported for I never heard any such thing that I can remember. I begge you will doe me right therin, and what you know of it send.

125. From Francis Russell, Chippenham, 9 August 1656, 821, fos 220–221.

My lord,

I doe beleeve our letters from Chippenham to Ireland doe sometimes miscarry, for my wife tells me that she hath often written unto hir daughter, but understands by hir last that they come not unto hir, and I doe not find by your lordship's last to me that you have met with all those I sent you, therefore you must not censure us of neglect or want of love. Sir John Reynolds, who is I suppose now with you, can tell you much of what I would you should know if he will open my cabynet to your lordship as well as his owne. He is your faithfull freind and servant, I am confident, and truely tis his honor so to be, haveing undertaken to serve you; but tis hard to find many such, for love and faithfullnes are not the fashions of this world. That you meet with some difficulteys in your imployment I wonder not much at, for my part I never thought it would be otherwise, haveing seene something more of this world and the men of it than your selfe, and you must follow me hard if you think to overtake me. I cannot sometimes but laugh at your tryalls, for which you must pardon me for I am but seldome merry, and yet I am innocent in that kind of

[264]Phoenix House, on the outskirts of Dublin, was used by Fleetwood and by Henry Cromwell after him as an official residence, especially during the summer months.

[265]Surviving sources do not point to any active royalism or royalist military service by Markham in the opening years of the civil war.

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mirth, but withall I am both afflicted and troubled with you, being well sensible of your burden. Some discourse I had with your father (when I was in towne last) concerning you. I must not tell you what it was, but this I can asure you, that he loves you and knoweth your frame and temper exceeding well. He is a wise, good man and of great experyence. I have noe news to wright you, liveing at a distance from it, onely this, I find in the country that no man knows what this new parliment will bring forth, but questionlesse, something very remarkeable. I know not what to think or say of it, but a long time they have bin as a kind of dead rotten peeces of governement to me; in short I neither can love or like them, as the condition of these nations stand. My service to Sir John Reynolds, and pray let him know that myselfe and some others of his Cambridgeshire freinds were resolved to have made him a knight for this shire till we heard he was gone for Ireland. I writ to him about it, but my sonne sent me word that he was gone before my letter came. His brother Bocking[266] is parted for Wales, to stand either with or against the master of the horse.[267] Colonell Jones of the counsell[268] seemed loath to have him a Welsh parliment man, but he will try his owne strenght and interest without him, so being a bold Brittan he cares not much for him. My lord, I hope this will come to you, and tell that I am, my lord,

Your lordship' faithfull freind to serve you,
Franc Russell

126. From Thomas Harrison, London, 12 August 1656, 821, fos 222–223.

May it please your excellencie,

Next to the refreshings I receive dayly from the upper springs, are those which your lordship's gracious letters doe every weeke afford me. It is no small comfort unto me that the maine businesse is so well over, as I yet hope it is, and that the cheife exercise now is that of your lordship's charity towards your poor servants. Surely that high generosity which you now evidence and act forth in adhering to a poor instrument will not only declare how worthy you are of faithfull freinds and servants but preserve those so, that are so, and purchase others, and confound those that are otherwise? Yet might I know it to be your lordship's interest I would begge your lordship, at least for the present, to desert me, and to abandon me to that ruine designed for me, unles God helpe his Highness to looke through all the juglings

[266]No-one of this name was returned to the second Protectorate parliament.
[267]John Claypole, returned for both Carmarthenshire and Northamptonshire.
[268]Philip Jones, returned for both Breconshire and Glamorganshire.

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and divelish devices of men mad upon their idoll of soveraignty and dominion, whereunto they have sacrificed their soules and consciences and devoted all men to destruction that stand in the way to hinder them.

I am told by a freind that others (besides Anabaptists), even officers of the army, are made to sollicit his Highness against my returne. Colonel Hewson hath attempted to vilifie me to some of our church but hath not prevailed. I have dealt with him according to rule. He seemed satisfied and promised to make me so at his returne by bringing forth the authors of his most malicious, groundlesse slaunders. God hath much supported me by Isiah 51: 7, 8, and 54: 17.[269] I heare my lord Broghill is expected here within a forthnight. If your lordship be pleased to write a line to him and, by enclosing it, honour me with the delivery thereof, it may not prove in vaine.

Mr Osminton[270] last weeke was with me, doubtfull whether to returne or noe, and earnestly inquiring after mine, saying all the ministers of Ireland would make my usage the rule of their expectations, for if Ireland were too hott for one that had such a shelter, what might the rest looke for! As for their hell-bred report, it moves me not unlesse to pitty and stand amazed at their malice and shamelesnesse, no part thereof ever nearer my heart then to murder my father and mother. According as herein I am clear or faulty, so let your lordship account of,

Your excellencie's true servant,

Tho Harrison

I tooke your lordship's advice, as one of Jonathan's arrowes shott to poore David,[271] an excellent expedient to finde out your father's intentions towards me, and through glorious grace doe finde them so full of candour and sweetnes that I shall never s[. . .]iently[272] expresse my thainkfullnes to God and him.

[269]Verses assuring the faithful that they should stand firm against taunts and reproaches and that with God's help such charges would be rebutted.

[270]Thomas Osmington was, in 1654, receiving a government salary as minister at New Ross but he returned to England in 1656 and apparently did not go back to Ireland, since, in the later 1650s, he was minister at Lydd in Kent.

[271]The biblical story of how David, unsure whether Saul intended him good or ill, sought guidance from Saul's son Jonathan; Jonathan was to sound out his father and then convey the answer, good or bad, to the hiding David by firing three arrows either in front of or beyond his hiding place (see 1 Samuel, chapter 20).

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

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127. From Anthony Morgan, London, 12 August 1656, 821, fos 224–225.

May it please your exellency,

I have forborne to troble you with an account of my proceedings in those things the councell were pleased to committ to my care.[273] I have made my daily applications to my lord deputy, and only to him for his furtherance. He sais I came very seasonably for the counsell heer were about to take of £2,000 per month from your allowance from hence, in consideration of the £2,000 raised by your new taxe there. I remain,

Your excellency's most faithfull servant,

Ant Morgan

128. From Nathaniel Partridge,[274] Wallingford House, 12 August 1656, 821, fos 226–227.

My lord,

I have many particuler and personall obligations lying upon me to love and serve your honour, which together with the serious consideration of the generall and publique necessities of your nation favorably[275] sway with and alure my affections unto Ireland (if the Lord will soe farr owne a nothing creature) to the helpeing forward the Lord's worke with you. I was honoured with, and incouraged by, a letter from your lordship, together with the honourable councell, of the 16th April last, inviteing me earnestly over. At which time, and for some monthes after, it pleased the Lord to afflicte my family with the meazles, which prevented my journey over, and since my family recovered I have beene staid by urgent busines to get up some monies oweing me and some other thinges. The which occasions haveing stayed me soe long I thought it good to signifie to your lordship the continued beat[276] of my spirit (notwithstanding the many invitations I have to abide here) to come unto you. And if I may but receive a word from your lordship's hand for my further incouragment I shall looke

[273] Morgan's wide-ranging instructions, dated 22 July and in part repeating the instructions given to Reynolds the previous January, focused upon the financial and economic settlement of Ireland (Dunlop, pp. 612–613).

[274] Minister, formerly of Warwickshire and Oxfordshire, who went to Ireland in the early 1650s as chaplain to the parliamentary army there, was a regular preacher at Dublin in 1654, and was for a time Fleetwood's own chaplain in Ireland. He may have returned to England with Fleetwood in 1655, because it is noticeable that he is addressing this letter from Fleetwood's London house. It is not clear whether he returned to Ireland at this stage.

[275] Word amended and poorly formed.

[276] Word poorly formed and could alternatively be read as 'bent'.

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upon it as from the Lord, and soe forthwith (through divine assistance, together with the helpe of your prayers) waite upon the God of Israel for a prosperous journey with all conveniente speed unto you. Now the Lord of His rich mercy fill your lordship with His spirrit and furnish you with every grace suitable to your station and occasions, makeing you such a blessing to the nation that all the daughters of Sion may rise up and call you blessed. Thus craveing your pardon for this boldnes, I commend you and yours to the Lord, and subscribe,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
Nath Partridge

129. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 13 August 1656, 821, fos 228–229.

Deare brother,

I have very litle to wright, nor have received any from you this post. We are so full of buysnes and shall be in preparation for the next parliment that I doubt litle will be don effectually for Ireland befor the parliment. The treasurers say they have so constantly returned you by bills of exchang what is due that they are not behinde hande with you above £1,000[277] but will tak the best care they can for your speedy supplyes. I am sorry you showld have any reviving of your troubles by Vernon's returne. I am sure he hath no grownd from me or any elce so to doe, and indead in anything which may weaken your hands in your worke I hope you showld finde me a faithfull and affectionate brother to you, and thos whom you may most confide in will not, I hope, be more true to you then myselfe. But of this I say still so much, and so litle is I feare beleived, that I shall forbeare further inlarging then to let you know you will finde me,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,
Charles Fleetwood

It pleased Dr Harryson to show me a letter whearby it seemes ther hath bine somthing writt from one in this house, which gave a reflection upon him as to scandall. What I heard by that person I presently showed my dislike of any such discours; and that I am sure will be justifyed that I did my part therin and am not to be blamed. I desire wherin he is injuryed he may be righted, and if otherwayes may be convinced, I hope, I have not bine unchristian to him.

[277] Originally written '10000' but the final zero appears to have been deleted.

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130. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 19 August 1656, London, 821, fos 230–231.

Deare brother,

I have received yours with much trouble that still your jealousyes continues of me and looke upon me as a person useing underhand wayes and meanes to give you discontent, which is a thing so contrary, I hope, to my practise that in time you will be convinced therof, and give me leave to say the burden I am made to beare upon such accounts is greater then any I know you beare. I have not added to yours. Doe you take heade by your jealousyes to adde to mine? As for major Morgan and Dr Harryson, I know not wherin you are so personally concerned that everything which relates to them you must be so concerned in. Though as to them, what, I beseach you, is don to offende? Have not you sent major Morgan as a publicke agent? Doe I deteine Dr Harryson? Give me leave to say I deserve not to be challenged upon their accounts. As for one of them, if he hath don evilly ther is more lyes at the stake to suffer then his name, even the gosple. Though I would be loath to say he is in anything guilty, but if any of my family have reproached him I shall not protect them and desire not to reteine jealousyes of him. But as I told him, my exceptions wer I feare he hath not bine so carefull to maintaine love twixt you and myselfe as becam him. As for matter of exception against him, I am neither his accuser nor his judge. If any have scandelised him, let not me be looked upon as a person concerned therin. What I have done I can, I trust, justify, which I presume is much mistaken by you, which makes a censure passe upon me as in your last seemes to be. If his Highnes hath writt anything to you concerning either of them I canot pretend to know what it is, but you are mistaken in your informer of what may relate to this buysnes. I would not willingly greive you but I confesse it hath sadded me to finde your easynes to beleive and harbour hard thoughts of me. I have bine tender of you and deserve not otherwayes from you. Dr Harryson hath had a pretious name and doe not desire to take it from him, and hope he canot but say I have bine regardfull to his reputation. If any who belongs to me hath otherwayes caryed it to him, let them and not me be reproved. I desire to know the Lord's meaning in this and other tryalls what of evill I can be <reproached> convinced,[278] for I showld be glade you will be free in telling me and let not mistakes be of prejudice. I am still fearfull that either thes or som others have bine instruments to foment such jealousyes twixt us. I think it concerns the publicke as well as our perticulers better to

[278]Originally 'reproached' but that word has been deleted and 'convinced' added in its stead, possibly as a slip for 'convicted'.

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understand one another. What your thoughts are, yet you will finde me,

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles Fleetwood

131. From Thomas Harrison, London, 19 August 1656, 821, fos 232–233.

May it please your excellencie,

I cannot but repeate my humble and heartie acknowledgment of your lordship's most noble and truly Christian charity in continuing so constantly to afford me the honour and comfort of your love and letters. The good Lord by His gracious spirit make up a rich supply unto your lordship for the defect of creature succours and services. Though nothing in the world can vindicate me and cleare me as to the world but my returne into Ireland, yet I thinke the designe is that even the most opposite should be first so farre satisfied as not to gainsay it, but rather that the motion for it should come from them, that so a face of union may appeare to the world, which is thought a thing very advantageous and desireable. His Highness hath abundantly expressed both to myselfe and to my freinds his satisfaction and resolution to sticke to me and vindicate me, and bids me have patience but a very little little while longer. But if your lordship thought it worth the while to desire it as a kindnes of my lord deputy that he would hasten my dispatch with my little ones before winter come on, I am confident one word of his mouth would effect it, for it is but expected and wishd to come that way, that all may appear as well pleased. My lord deputy told me plainly that he suspected me, and all that were near your lordship, to have a hand in dividing betwixt him and your lordship. I assured him your lordship had a heart full of love and honour for him, and if he were sensible of any decay or distance of affection the best way was to consider when this began and upon what occasions. He presd me to discover what I had observed distastfull in any degree to your lordship. I told him I thought your lordship had to himselfe wittnessed some dislike of some men's imperious demaunding commissions, which yet your lordship was far enough from imputing unto him, any more then their showing his letters in courts, and glorying in their power and privacy with him, etc. I did what I could handsomely to make him sensible that himselfe and those whom he favoured, not your lordship nor your servants, were any whit culpable this way. He seemed passionately desirous of a redintequation[279] of love, wherein I helped on what I could by giving

[279]Redintegration: a restoration or renewal of wholeness.

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testimony to your lordship's most assured forwardnes therein to have all things rightly understood, and all mistakes removed. I cannot relate things so fully as in such a case as this were needfull, but I hope your lordship will beleive (however these broken scraps may looke) that I used my utmost care not to lett anything fall to your lordship's disadvantage. The manifestation of your lordship's further pleasure in this or any other [. . .]ervice[280] will be exceding wellcome to,

Your excellencie's poore servant,

Tho Harrison

132. From Anthony Morgan, London, 19 August 1656, 821, fos 234–235.

May it please your excellency,

Last weeke my lord deputy moved the severall articles of my instructions to the councell, and it was committed to the Irish committee, of which my lord Lambert being cheife I waited upon him at Wimbleton[281] on Saturday last,[282] where he was pleased to admit me to the debate of the severall heads, and gave me his opinion thereupon, and promised to get a committee and give a speedy dispatch unto them. Mr Thurlow hath not yet enabled me to give your lordship a good account of the business he undertooke about arrears. I remain,

Your excellency's faithfull, obedient servant,

Ant Morgan

133. From Elizabeth Butler, Marchioness of Ormond, Dublin, 19 August [1656], 823, fos 324–325.

Letter of request, repeating her earlier request[283] *to be allowed to rent some or all of her estates, deemed forfeit to the state during her husband's lifetime, currently left waste or being despoiled of timber and other assets; had already approached Fleetwood on this matter, who understood the disadvantages both to the state and to herself of the current situation.*

[280]Paper slightly damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete word is probably 'service'.

[281]His principal seat was at Wimbledon, south-west of London.

[282]16 August.

[283]See no. 107.

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134. From Martin Jubb,[284] Belfast, 21 August 1656, 821, fos 236–237.

Letter seeking an answer to his earlier request, that the company with which he served in England be continued to him.

135. From Richard Husband, 1 September 1656, 821, fos 238–239.

Letter giving notice that, once the wind was favourable, he intended to cross to Carrickfergus.

136. From William Webb, Dublin, 1 September 1656, 821, fos 240–241.

Letter of request, seeking a speedy issue of £400 to pay the workmen repairing Fort Cromwell at Bellahy; also noting the shortage of civilian workmen available to repair the fortifications in Connaught and so requesting direction that soldiers might be employed to undertake this work for an additional 6d per day over and above their regular military pay.

137. From Henry Lawrence,[285] Whitehall, 9 October 1656, 821, fos 242–243.

My lorde,

I was unwillinge to loose the opportunity of this very worthy lady, the bearer, to give your lordship thankes for the honour of the letter I lately receav'd from you. I know your lordship to bee to much a person of honour and vertue and reason to carry it hardely to different judgements that ar of peaceible and quiet spiritts as to civill affayers; besides that liberty upon the account of conscience is the greate product of this warre, and is certaynely the greate designe that God hath on foote in the worlde, that men may have liberty to searve Him accordinge to theire understandings. Which, where men ar not in utter darkenes, I take to bee the onely cement of peace. But, my

[284]Possibly the Jubb/Jubbs who in the early 1650s was serving as a captain in Axtell's foot regiment in Ireland.

[285]Parliamentarian politician, he moved to the Netherlands in the 1630s, in part on religious grounds: he inclined towards Independency, though he also appeared to have Baptist sympathies. He returned to England in the mid-1640s and became a member of the Long Parliament, but he did not support the regicide and later criticized the Rump. A friend and ally of Oliver Cromwell, he returned to favour and high office in 1653 and, from the advent of the Protectorate, he served as president and head of the Protectoral council of state and thus was potentially one of the most powerful politicians of the period; he also sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments.

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lorde, I neede not say much of this subject to a person of your reason and education and conscience, and your lordship may be assured I shall have no aptnes to receave reports to your prejudice, of one I so much esteeme and honour. Our affayers heere, by the blessinge of God upon us abroade[286] (of which your lordship hath had the account), and the present good temper of the parliament, make our enemyes heere and abroade gnash theire teeth, and gives a fayre advantage of doinge further what is good. I will not trouble your lordship farther; but if chance to sende a daughter into your country, as this lady will tell you it is not impossible, I hope carryinge hersealfe as a good subject shee shall injoy the favour of your lordship's and my ladye's protection. My lorde, I am your lordship's most humble and most faythfull servant,

He Lawrence

138. From Charles Fleetwood, London, 14 October 1656, 821, fos 244–245.

Deare brother,

I cannot but acknowledge your favour to Mr William Franckland[287] in my absence, who came into Ireland much uppon my account, and I did thincke he had bine provided for, but since I understand his place is little worth which I gave him in the uper bench. I shall therefore desire your particular favour to him and care of him. He is qualified with parts and faithfullnes to be publicquely usefull and must beseech you will putt him into some imployment which may give him incouragement to continnue in Ireland. He is a deserving gentleman and one for whom I have a respect, which I hope wilbe argument enough to obtayne your kindnes to him. And shall add no more but that I am,

Your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

Charles Fleetwood

[286]Almost certainly a reference to the recent Protectoral naval victory over a Spanish plate fleet, secured by Vice-admiral Stayner and his squadron off Cadiz during September.

[287]With John Gay, he had been appointed by Fleetwood joint clerk of the restored Irish chancery, but his exercise of, and income from, that office were allegedly being obstructed by Sir John Temple (*CSPI*, pp. 615–617).

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139. From Vincent Gookin,[288] Westminster, 21 October 1656, 821, fos 246–247.

My dearest lord,

Wednesday last by colonel Philip Jones I had admission to his Highness. My late coming to his Highness had this advantage, that it did not apeare to be soe much of designe as the solicitous and hasty impudence of your enemyes, who thrust themselves into his Highness' presence as if they brought an alarum with them against some terible mischiefe, which his Highnes should as in consideratively[289] relish as if Whitehall were on fire.

I made the delivery of the ancient Protestants' petition[290] my only errand, which I had drawne out in parchments with the names all engrossed in 6 columnes, the length of which drawe out was about 5 or 6 yards. His Highnes caused Secretary Thurloe to reade it. Philip Jones, Mr Rolt[291] being only present with us when it was read, his Highness was pleased to speake thus, viz

That hee rejoyced in this union of those people there; that hee received their petition with very great satisfaction; that hee would give the petitioners, on all occasions, testimonyes of his tenderness for them; and gave mee order to let the persons concerned know soe much from his Highness; that hee was very glad to heare your lordship was soe acceptable to them as by their petition was alledged; that hee was not perswaded easily to send your lordship over, being sensible of the weight of the trust would be comitted to you and of those passions in you, which hee knew you had from your father; that hee had received some complaints against you, and that hee confessed hee

[288]Parliamentarian politician, with family connections to Ireland, he returned there by 1649 and thereafter consistently supported the parliamentary regimes and Protestant interest in Ireland. In turn, he was rewarded with a string of offices within the English and Irish administrations, including the surveyor generalship of Ireland. However, his questioning both of the policy of enforced transplantation of the native Irish Catholic population and of the influence of the English army in Ireland won him enemies on both sides of the Irish Sea. He was generally supportive of Henry Cromwell's handling of Ireland, was returned for Bandon and Kinsale to all three Protectorate parliaments, and was particularly prominent during the second as an ally of Lord Broghill and as one of a clutch of loyal Cromwellians representing Irish constituencies.

[289]Word originally written 'considerably' but then amended.

[290]The petition, in which Gookin may well have had a hand, strongly supported Henry Cromwell and his policies and urged the Protector and the English regime to bolster Henry Cromwell's stand against a small minority of impetuous wreckers inside and outside the army who were opposing Henry Cromwell in Ireland. Its contents can be gathered from Gookin's detailed letter to the Protector of 22 November (*TSP*, V, pp. 646–649).

[291]Edward Rolt, parliamentarian diplomat and son of Oliver Cromwell's cousin, served in the Protectoral lifeguard and was in 1655–1656 employed by the Protectoral regime on a diplomatic mission to Sweden.

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sent colonel Cooper[292] over to spy; that Cooper wrote to his Highness that your lordship's actions were prudent and warrantable, and gave not the least grounds for what had bin suggested against you; that if this petition should be made publique it would be sayd it was his owne contrivance. To all which I answered that his Highness' interest in the petitioners was much greater than I thought his Highness would or could believe from my testimony; that the management of the publique revenue, which called me to Dublin, tooke up soe much of my time that I seldome had the happiness to be with your lordship, much less to be privie to your personall actings. However, I could not but heare that ill offices had bin done you to his Highness, it being made publique by your enemyes on the opinion, as I conceived, of their success, and by your frends as matter of their trouble. But by whome that mischiefe was done I could not say, but desired his Highness to consider and observe wheather any person of or from Ireland did ever say any thing to his Highness to your prejudice, who was not either accidentally by his custome to rule unlimitedly or naturally a man of a proud and haughty spirit (at which his Highnes smiled).[293] That your Lordship did (as became one in your place) dispence your respect and favour to every person in proportion to the trust hee bore in the comonwealth, and if such dispensations had formerly bin unequall or disproportionable it must follow that some must have more, others lesse of your lordship's countenance than formerly, and consequently noe marvaile if the persons disapointed were angry. That the dilligence, caution and prudence which appeared in all your actings, the generall and ample acceptation of them and of your person to all sorts of men there, except those few that will be pleased with nothing done by any that are greater than themselves, and your bearing those barbarous affronts done to your person with that patience and sobriety which would have made persons of far lesse fire in theyr natures than is in yours have transgressed, did plainely evince that the Lord sent you thither and kept you there and would, wee hope, make you a great blessing to that land. That the petition did receive discountenance in some countyes by such who pretend satisfaction to the goverment, and that it was wholy stifeled in one county, namely Typerary. To which his Highness smilingly replyed, hee could easily beleive that. And I continued that I could not only cleare his Highness from knowing any thing of the petition but your

[292]Thomas Cooper, sent to Ireland and given command in Ulster at the end of 1655.

[293]If this is a sly reference to Lord Deputy Fleetwood, and, assuming Gookin was being truthful in his account, he was sticking his neck out in mocking and attacking the Protector's son-in-law in this way.

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lordship too, and that your secretary advized mee against it least it might be misinterpreted by enemyes.

While I was replying to this effect his Highness rose from his seate and comanded me to walke with him to and fro in the roome, during which time colonel Jones and the Secretary withdrew. After which his Highness in repeating his satisfaction from my discourse discovered that affection by his teares, which I confess made mee water my plantes too. I desired his Highness to give mee leave to write to him what should at any time occurre to my memory, which I might judge worthy his knowledge. At which instant my lord deputy coming in I parted, and doe intend to draw up a lettre to his Highness wherein, God willing, I shall take freedome to speake plainely, and I hope what will be of use. A copie of which lettre I shall presume to send to your lordship by Mr Ralph King,[294] whose going over is upon these considerations:

1st. Because of colonel Markhame's and my continuance heere, there will want a comittee there to give your lordship an account of anything necessary for your knowledge touching the revenue.

2ly. During our being there other business tooke from us the oportunity to act upon your lordship's and the councel's order touching the fraudulent taking and holding lands from the state, especially in the north, in which affayre noe man can act with soe much advantage as Mr King.

3ly. The examination of the tenants observing the conditions of their 7 yeares' leases is a weighty business and will proove advantagious to his Highness in the encrease of the revenue and discovery of much selfishness in those that most cry it downe, which cannot be done without one of us.

4ly. The absence of us all at once may put an oportunity into the hands of some, who undeservedly love us not, to put into that imployment such who I may modestly say may doe it worse.

5ly. Mr King's interest in the north is very considerable, and doubtlesse some things may fall out wherin hee may be very serviceable to your lordship there.

6ly. The comittee heere may have occasion to use such transcripts from thence, the dispatch of which noe person can better solicite than Mr King.

[294]Parliamentarian politician, who came from a Protestant family in Ulster and was a Londonderry alderman. He held a variety of mainly financial offices in Ireland under the parliamentary regimes of the 1650s – for example, from 1657 he was a commissioner for setting out lands and for granting leases – and he represented Londonderry and Coleraine in all three Protectorate parliaments.

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7ly. The affayres of parliament all goe on heere with soe much unanimity that hee may be spared without the least prejudice to affayres heere.

Mr King's going being for these reasons thought necessary, it was judged better and more safe and convenient hee should goe upon the parliament's licence rather than your lordship's, for some reasons hee will give your lordship, which with what is in this lettre humbly offered to your lordship will, I hope, obtaine your lordship's pardon for his going over and the manner of it. By him I shall make bold to send your lordship a character for the more safe and sercet[295] conveyance of your lordship's comands to, my lord,

Your lordship's most faythfull and obedient servant,

Vin Gookin

140. From Nathaniel Fiennes,[296] Whitehall, 28 October 1656, 821, fos 248–249.

My lord,

I am ashamed to confesse, and yet I can not denye it, that I have a good while since receaved two letters from your lordship whereunto I have not yet made any returne. The truthe is that I was in continuall expectation of Mun Temple's[297] returne into Ireland, by whose handes I did thinke to have returned an answer, from whose handes I had first the honour to receave a letter from your lordshipp. Since which time I receaved an other from the handes of colonel Morgane. In bothe which letters your lordshipp was pleased to testifie bothe your greate affection towardes me and your entier confidence in me, which must needes heigthen the desier I have allwayes had to doe your lordshipp some reall service, which when ever it shall be in my power to doe, I hope I shall be founde as forwardes therein as possibly I have been backewardes in ceremonies and complements. For besides that your lordshipp knoweth I am not a man of that stuffe, I have

[295]Word originally written 'seret' and the writer, seeing the error, has added the missing letter, but in the wrong place. Clearly 'secret' was the intended word.

[296]Parliamentarian officer and politician, prominent in parliament from the early 1640s and as an army officer from the outbreak of war until his disgrace following his surrender of Brisol in the summer of 1643. His political career resumed from the mid-1640s, but he was secluded at Pride's Purge and remained out of public life and public office until the Protectorate. He was appointed a Protectoral councillor in 1654 and a commissioner of the great seal in 1655, and he sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments.

[297]Edmund Temple, parliamentarian officer, who fought for the Protestant cause in Ireland in the later 1640s and served as a captain in Henry Cromwell's horse regiment in Ireland during the 1650s.

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very litle leasure for such things. And allthoughe my employements lying chiefely in an other way have taken from me the opportunitie of being fully acquainted with the Irish affaires, yet in generall I doe understand that your lordshipp, in the place wherein you are, doe give greate satisfaction to all sober minded men, and to his Highnesse himselfe in particular, which is matter of much rejoicing unto, my lord,

Your lordshipp's moste humble servant,
Nath Fiennes

141. From John Bridges,[298] 25 November 1656, 821, fos 250–251.

May it please your excellency,

By a freind that had lately beene att Wallingford House I was informed of a meeting of 30tie officers, whoe resolved vigorously to opose a settlement in that greate point;[299] but I cannot say the meeting was there. Yet thus much your lordshipp may bee assured of, that there are 5 greate persons that have a private inspection into the demeanours of some your lordshipp hath formerly heard of, whoe have discovered soe much, that it is resolved (if I am not misinformed) that in case a present course bee not taken to cut of the lapps of theire exorbitancyes, it will bee too late; but it's probable this may come to your lordshipp by some better hand. My lord, on Friday morning last[300] goeing into the speaker's chamber, I found major-general Berry[301] very earnestly to contend with another gentleman about the succession. I interpose. Hee leave his prey and assailes mee. I undertake him. After some passages in comes major-general Desborough and parts us by carryeing my antagonist away. But hee turnes back and (sowerly enough) bidds mee reduce my scattered notions into writing,[302] and hee

[298]Parliamentarian politician, a friend of Richard Baxter and with connections to Worcestershire, he seems to have spent part of the mid- and late 1650s in Ireland and acquired a range of financial, educational, and administrative offices there. He sat in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments and represented Counties Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon in the second.

[299]Whether the office of Lord Protector should be elective, as provided for under the existing Protectoral constitution, or hereditary.

[300]21 November.

[301]James Berry, parliamentarian officer, a friend of Richard Baxter and with connections to the West Midlands, fought for parliament from the outbreak of the civil war, initially in Oliver Cromwell's horse regiment. He may have served under Cromwell in Ireland in 1649–1650 and was with him in Scotland from 1650, in the following year becoming commander of a horse regiment then serving in Scotland. He was major-general for Wales and the central Marches from 1655 until 1657 and represented Worcestershire in the second Protectorate parliament.

[302]See no. 142.

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would answeare them. I willingly yeelde, and ymediately withdrawe into an inner roome, and having done the businesse, as I was uppon my returne into the howse to deliver it, I mett major-general Desborough in the tobacco roome, offer him the grounds of my dissent, and tell him if hee can give better reasons e contra,[303] I'le submitt. Hee reades them, confesseth they weare not easily answeared, but tolde mee there was greate reason for the thinge, being led to it by providence, and therefore thought they weare to depend uppon God for an yssue. I replyed I might not dispute against the necessity of the thing when done, but that which at one tyme may be convenient, att another tyme may bee mischeivous, and when it shall appeare soe, it is the duty of those in place to take care ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet,[304] or to that effect. Then hee discoursing of the inconveniencies by a sodaine alteration of the constitution from elective into hereditary, I tolde him that might bee avoided and the impendent dainger by a competition uppon his Highness's death prevented, and offered as a present expedient, that his Highness might nominate his immediate successor, and tolde him the greate and only objection of jealousy would bee removed, for doubtles hee would nominate such a one as hee should have noe cause to suspect. Hee replyed hee was very free to that, and soe doe all officers of the army and others I speake with, which are not a fewe. Having done which the general and I went in to the howse, and delivered major-general Berry what I promised. The next morning hee gave mee his answeare, which I have sent your lordshipp under his owne hand, together with my arguments. I have scribled out a reply, but want tyme to transcribe it, being post night. Your lordshipp may perceave by all this that I beleeve the nights are very longe at Corke House.[305] I could heartily wish I had some better divertisements to present your lordshipp with. But nowe I can only take my leave as becomes, my lord,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

J B

I heartily pray there may bee nothing of distast betweene my lord ch[306] and_____.[307]

[303]This Latin phrase could be translated as 'against'.

[304]This Latin phrase could be translated as 'lest any damage should be done to the state'.

[305]The principal residence of the governor of Ireland, and thus of Henry Cromwell, in central Dublin close to the castle.

[306]Probably Lord Chancellor Steele.

[307]Line drawn in original to indicate word(s) deliberately omitted.

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142. Draft of John Bridges to Major Generall Berry, [enclosed in no. 141], 823, fos 320–321.

Sir,

You require mee to reduce my scattered notions (as you call them) into writing, which (to obey you) I have hastily done, and shall bee glad to receave your reflections that, if it may bee, our different judgments in this particuler may bee reconciled.

Where every man in the nation hath a like right to the government by the death of the Lord Protector (as by this present constitution hee hath) itt may not reasonably bee doubted, but uppon every chainge there wilbee a competition; especially whilst there is an entire army in each nation, under the conduct of (it may bee) of persons of different interests, besides severall other persons of couradge and high commaund.

2ly. If there arrise a competition, itt's most probable those forces, that are kept on foote for the preservation of the publique peace, will bee divided according to the number of competitors.

3. Theise competitors will not probably agree to cantonize the comonwealth (as Alexander's captaines) but come to blowes.

4. Hee that is worsted, will rather submitt to any that may bee in a condition to releeve him, then his immediate antagonist, as beinge more safe, and more sutable to the common humour of all men.

5. Where will hee finde any more likely to give him releife against his present adversary, or afford him more honourable tearmes, then the heire of the Stuart's lyne?

6. If the heire of that family shall bee admitted uppon such an advantadge as a considerable part of the army, and such other strengths as may bee dependent uppon itt, itt can not well bee imagined (if consideration bee had to what hee may bringe from without, conjoyned with his olde party heere) but hee will render himselfe very formidable.

To theise considerations add but this, that when the bodies of theise nations shall consider that uppon every chainge they shall bee subject to the callamityes of warr, and at the end of every warr bee indaingered to bee attainted as traitors by the conqueror, what can bee the result but that it's better to settle uppon the olde bottome, and better that some particuler men suffer then that the whole bee ruined. And most, even of those men that have beene obnoxious, will bee apt to beleeve that uppon a tymely application they may, uppon reasonable tearmes, purchase theire pardons.

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Sir, remember the speaker's chamber (whilst there is a crowde) is inconvenient for such a taske. I hope you will therefore passe by the crudenes and indigestidnes of theise lynes. The reason of my haste being an earnest expectation to receave somethinge of sattisfaction from soe greate a master of reason as you are esteemed by, sir,

Your humble servant,

J Bridges

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