1658

361. From Charles Fleetwood, 4 January [1658], 823, fos 9–10.

Deare brother,

We have received your counsell's letter, and the counsell heare are very sensible of your condition and will not want desires and endevors to get you monyes. The assignments allready orderd you will, I presume, not make your arreare so great as a 100,000. We shall compare your account sent to collonel Jones with what the treasurers heare comput it at, and if you are not equally concerned and provided for with any of the other forces we shall soone remidy that difficulty, though the complaints from Scotland and the army in England are much to the same purpose, and really our case is so sadde that which way we shall be able to turn ourselves from the difficultyes we are under I know not; but I shall no more at presant trouble you and shall by the next have an exact account, and in the meane time we shall charge the 20,000 formerly assigned out of delinquents' lands upon the new buildings.[1] Our fleet and armyes are in a sadde condition. This army never hade such an occation to be tempted as they have now, yet are, and I trust will be, in a very stauch[2] and quiet condition. The Lord direct and manage the hearts of the parliment to such a consideration of the case of this nation that the issue may be for further settlement of thes poore nations, upon true and lasting foundations in preserving the libertyes of the people of God, and the civill libertyes allso, both of which we ought to have a due regard unto, though the 1st to have the preference. I think ther is much in the present goverment which conserves both, which that it may be most upon our hearts is the desire of,

Your most affectionate brother and most humble servant,
Charles Fleetwood

[1] By an act of parliament of June 1657, a one-off tax or fine equivalent to one year's rent was to be imposed on most new houses erected in the suburbs of London since 1620, payable in two instalments in autumn 1657 and spring 1658, with additional fines levied on new buildings erected there after September 1657. Although exceptions and exemptions were allowed, leading to petitioning, appeals, and disputes, by the autumn of 1658, a little over £40,000 had been raised by this means.

[2] Apparently a variant of, or a slip for, 'staunch': stout, firm, hearty, constant.

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362. From Ralph King, 6 January 1658, 823, fos 11–12.

Letter of request, seeking an advance of a quarter's salary due to him as a commissioner for setting out lands, to help defray his charges into England,[3] *citing the payment to major Symner*[4] *as a precedent.*

363. From George Walters,[5] Waterford, 8 January 1658, 823, fos 13–14.

Letter of request, reporting that he and his afflicted, unsettled family had come to Ireland to take possession of the lands assigned him in Bantry and also the back rents due upon them, but he found that he had been allowed only six months' back rent, whereas the usual practice was to allow soldiers to collect rents due upon their allotted land from the time of the original allotment in or since 1655; therefore requests that those terms might be extended to him.

364. From William Jephson, Lubeck, 22 February 1658, 823, fos 17–18.

My most honoured lord,

It would bee an injurye to your candid nature, if I should indeavour to make fresh expressions to your excelence of the realitye of my affections to your service, since you have beene pleas'd soe often both by words and other actions to testifye your satisfaction in that particular. I shall therefore only give your excelence a short touch how affayres stand here. I am now thus farre in my way from Wismar (where I have spent most part of this winter) towards Denmarke upon a summons from the king of Suede to come into Funen Island to bee present at a treaty,[6] which hee hath consented unto with the king of Denmarke under his Highnesse's mediation, which the Dane had still refus'd untill the king of Suede was master of above 3 parts of his kingdome. Since I receyv'd the king's summons heare, hee hath taken in the islands of Langland, Laland and Faunsten, which last is within four English miles of Zealand, wherein the king of Denmark's chiefe citty (Copenhaguen) is scituate, not strongly fortifyed. Thither the king

[3] As MP for Londonderry and Coleraine, he sat in the second Protectorate parliament, which was due to reconvene in January 1658.

[4] Miles Symner, parliamentarian officer, major in Daniel Abbott's dragoon regiment in Ireland and one of a small group of officers appointed in 1656 to oversee the process of allocating officers and soldiers land in Ireland in lieu of their arrears. In 1658, he was also one of a small group of officers and civilians appointed to enquire into complaints from the adventurers.

[5] In October 1656, Walters had been allocated land in Connaught in lieu of more than £4,000 owed to him for his outlay in support of military operations in 1650 (*CSPI*, p. 832).

[6] The treaty of Roeskilde between Sweden and Denmark was signed on 27 February. As an agent of the Protector, Philip Meadows had played an important role in persuading Sweden to moderate her demands.

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of Suede resolv'd to march over the yce the tenth of this month; and since I began my letter, one of the king's counsell was with mee, and assur'd mee hee had receyv'd a letter from the king's owne hand dated at Warburgh in Zealand, soe that the treaty is now like to bee de regno restituendo.[7] The successes of this king have beene prodigious this last two yeares. In the first hee made himselfe master of Poland, and being recal'd from thence by the king of Denmark's making warr upon him, hee hath still reserv'd Prussia, and this winter reduc't Denmark to his mercye. That which to mee seemes very remarkeable is, that the same extreamity of cold (which they say hath beene greater here this winter than hath beene knowne in the memorye of man) hath both furnisht him with bridges of ice to march over the sea with his army into all these islands, and hath likewise by the abundance of snow hindred his enemies in Poland and Muscovye from doeing him any considerable prejudice in his territories adjoining to them. I am making all the hast I can to the king of Suede, as conceiving his Highnesse not a little concern'd in these affaires, especially in the interest of the Sound and the trafique of the Baltique Sea. When this businesse is over, I hope I may have the liberty to returne home and come and kisse your excelencie's hands, and indeavour to expresse in all my actions with how much zeale and affection I am, my lord,

Your excelencie's most intyrely devoted, humble servant,
Wm Jephson

365. From Mary Belasyse, Viscountess Fauconberg, 9 March [1658], 822, fos 13–14.

Dear brother,

Having so good an opertunyty, I could not but expres the grat satisfaction I had in reseving yours, which you may imagen was an unexpreseble joy to me, although ther was somthing in it which mad me reflect upon myselfe. And when I had considred of my foolishnes in that you took notis of my taking il your not writing, and som other letel impertenat things I said in my last to my sester, I was extreamly consernd that I should giv you caus to expect that which was befor asurd of, and yet pleased that so dear a brother as yourself should tak the troble of satisfying me. I can say no mor but this, it being so layte, but that I am, dear brother,

Your ever afectionate sester and servant,
M Fauconberg

[7] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'about the restoration of the kingdom'.

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366. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 10 March 1658, 823, fos 21–22.

Deare brother,

I had hopes to have collected such matter as might have suited your cyphers, but I am yet constrained to waite, being as to materiall matter more in the darke then others, and by what I can guesse from countenances there are not any much in the light. Perhaps you may meete with a penn that may present you in trught, myne cannot. I can speake the feares of some, and the hopes of others, and should my penn saile betwixt boeth it might be as much mistaken and as ill guided as the phantassyes and apprehentions of those tow contraryes. We are promised that it will be shortely that somethinge will breake forth, and if I can but catche the shell cracked, bee assured I will make a discovery; the firste if possible to acquainte youe. For forreigne newes, you will understand it to be very considerable, and may prove advantadgious to England and its present ill condition. We live by providence; a very greate one it is if the successe of Sweedland upon Denmarke should briddle the angry Dutche, whoe hath too much connived at the assistants there merchants (much to our prejudice) hath made them against our affaires. I question not but you have been acquainted of our men of warre before Oste End meeting with 3 ships of bulke going in to help Charles Stewart, and though he is said to have 9,000 foote, and 500 horse, one and twenty ships hyred of the Dutche marchants, yet I hope they will be mett with by our fleete whoe are stricktly upon the watche. Your intirenesse in your army hath not produced any effect by example (though necessary) upon the English army as yet; we goe on slowely, and sometimes we can hardly see any motion. I hope God is oure pilote. That He may be your guide and helper is the earnest prayers of, deare brother,

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

Doe me the favoure to present my respects and service to my deare sister. Excuse the hasty scrible of your brother.

367. From John Duckinfield, Carrickfergus, 15 March 1658, 823, fos 23–24.

May it please your excellency,

On Friday morneing arrived heere the Basing friggatt with the armes and amunition laid in her for this place, which was the same day received into the store. This morneing shee sett saile for Derry. I have heere enclosed sent your excellency artickles of a verry high nature,

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against ensigne Richard Baker, ensigne to my owne company. The[8] are crimes that I did but lately heere of, otherwise your excelency might have heard of them before this. The witness to prove this chardg are some of them att Mullengarr[9] and some heere. He is a person I could willingly have spared before now, and hope the court martiall will ease me of him, being a great prejudice to me and my company besides the charge against him. I humbly crave your excellency's favour (in case the ensigne should be casheered) on the behalfe of on William Parry, serjeant of my company, who is now a greatt propp and stay to my company and a person every way capable of the employment, that your excellency would honor me with the grant of a commission for ensigne for the said Parry, who is not a person given to any faction or other evill carridges which might render him uncapable of your excellency's favour towards him. He is a person of good quality and was necessitated to accept of his present employment till he could gett a better. I shall leave it to your excellency's consideration and remaine,

Your excellency's most humble and faithfull servantt,

John Duckenfeild

368. From Richard Hodges, Londonderry, 19 March 1658, 823, fos 25–26.

Letter of information, relating how, since sailing from Dublin bay, he had delivered munitions to Carrickfergus, sailing from there on 15 June, but then encountering bad weather; plans to wait upon Henry Cromwell shortly.

369. From Robert Stone, London, 19 March 1658, 823, fos 27–28.

Letter of request, asking to be allocated some Irish land still held by the state in return for £1,000, so that he could serve Henry Cromwell in Ireland, even though he now had employment in Holland; asks that any response be conveyed to him via his friend the judge-advocate.[10]

[8] Apparently a slip for 'they'.
[9] Mullingar, County Westmeath.
[10] Either Philip Carterett or Henry Whalley.

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370. From James Standish,[11] London, 30 March 1658, 823, fos 31–32.

May it please your excellency,

After the presentinge of youre humble duety to his Highnesse and his earnest and very afectionat enquiry of youre lordship's, ladye's and children's welfare, I comunicated the grounds of my aplication pursuant to youre excellencye's comands,[12] and found a very favourable recentment, his Highnesse expressinge his concernement therin and that he would doe what in him lay for the efectinge therof.

And in order therunto, the businesse is referred to a committee of councill, and the treasurers at warre with myselfe ordered to draw up a state of the particuler for their view, which by reason of captain Blackwell's beinge out of towne yesterday and today will not be perfected untile tomorrow.

My lord Fleetwood, whome I have found very friendly and cordiale hearin, moved for this order, and at the same tyme alsoe that the £17,000 paid into the exchequer heer as advance by the farmers of the excise and customs of Ireland, or soe much therof as was undisposed, might be paid into the handes of the treasurers at warre, and what was disposed therof might be alsoe refunded and made good out of other cash for the Irish service, which was accordingly granted and an order framed to that purpose.

I finde alsoe by discourse with the treasurers at warre, a probability of a considerable summe in their handes, or that will shortly be, as remayninge of what hath binne assigned for us in England to the 25th instant, amounting to about £28 or 30,000. The certaynty as to the summe and when it may be ready I shall shortly know, unto which if his Highnesse and councile may be prevailed with to advance oure ould debt, but new demande of the £22,500 longe since charged for Ireland on Gould Smith's Hale,[13] youre excellency will not be farre

[11] Parliamentarian administrator, who served as deputy treasurer for the English army in Ireland in the early 1650s, as receiver general for the revenue of Ireland from 1654, and as deputy treasurer at war by 1658. In the process he acquired land and property in Ireland, especially in County Kildare.

[12] He had been sent by Henry Cromwell and the Irish council to explain the recently submitted Irish accounts and to plead for more money for Ireland, by stressing the dire financial situation in which the Irish government found itself, and the urgent need for £96,000 to pay off existing military arrears (*TSP*, VI, pp. 819–820, 862, 871–872; VII, pp. 21, 38, 55–56, 84–85, 176). He carried detailed instructions, dated 12 March, outlining the arguments and figures to be presented to the Protector (Dunlop, pp. 676–678). Throughout the opening months of 1658, the growing debts in Ireland and urgent requests for stronger financial support from England dominated Henry Cromwell's letters to Thurloe and others in London, though the Secretary offered little comfort, stressing that the London government was itself in a dire financial position.

[13] The London base of several parliamentarian financial committees, especially the committee for compounding.

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off youre desires. Howbeit, there's nothinge shall be lost for want of askinge of all that you have given mee in command to doe.

I have had severall oportunityes with Mr Secretary, who hath binne very inquisitive in this particuler, and hath seemingly received with very much sattisfaction what I have informed him thearin, and hath assured mee of the utmost of his endeavoures to accomplish your lordship's desires with a spedy dispatch thearof.

My lord, theise are the buddes that have only as yett apeared. How they may blossom and come to perfection or be nipt, I know not, nor can I be assured. The lott is cast into the lap, but the disposure therof is from the Lord, to whose good protection and guidance I humbly committ your lordship. And prayinge for your lordship's welfare, remayne, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servant,
James Standish

371. From Martin Noell, Old Jury, 9 April 1658, 823, fos 33–34.

My lord,

Having now transplanted much of my interest and affaires and relations into Ireland, I am bold to importune your excellencie's favour unto them, as often as I have any occasion to make addresses to your excellencie in their behalfe. The gentleman who presents this is my kinsman, sonn in law to colonell Grasevner,[14] who is somewhat upon my encouragement become concern'd in the farme and management of your customs and excize and hath now remov'd himself into Ireland principally to attend those affaires (as the treasurer thereunto) and some things which, as an ingenious and industrious person, hee hath an eie upon, being himself as well as I and a thousand more, ledd with greater hopes that waie, out of the exceeding satisfaction and expectation which your excellencie gives by your generous conduct and the prudence of your councells. The consideration of which makes him alsoe most desirous of being knowne to your excellencie that hee may have a reverence and obligation to your person as well as to your authoritie and may receive an influence from both, as it may favour him or his affaires. Which is heere my humble suite to your excellencie because in it I alsoe shall bee concernd and your good graces upon him will att the same time reflect upon, my lord,

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

[14] Possibly Edward Grosvenor, parliamentarian officer, who commanded a horse regiment in Scotland in the early 1650s.

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372. From Thomas Goodwin, London, 10 April 1658, 823, fos 35–36.

Letter of thanks for Henry Cromwell's favour in allocating him some lands in Ireland, in line with a ninety-nine-year lease granted to him by the Protector, as well as for his favour to Mr Molyne's son, whom he had recommended to Dr Harrison; would have offered thanks more promptly, but had only just heard the news from alderman Vincent[15] *of Irish Town.*

373. From John Hoddor,[16] Cork, 12 April 1658, 823, fos 37–38.

May it please your excellency,

The justices of the peace and other gentlemen of this county, intending at their quarter sessions next weeke to consider of addresses to bee made to his Highnes from this county, in relation to his happy government, were prevented by the paper herewith sent your lordshipp. And although the same was at first promoted and subscribed by private persons, yet since it carried in it the sence of the whole county, in other words then were intended, wee were soe farre from discountenanceing of it that it was thought fitt that the same should bee tendered throughout the county. I thought it my duty (in respect of my office) to informe your lordshipp of the progresse therein, and that it was subscribed with much alacrity, and that the inhabitants of the county have entrusted this gentleman, captain Betrige, to present the same, in regard of his zeale and diligence in the carrying it on at the first. I shall adde noe more but my prayers to Almighty God for your lordshipp's happines here and hereafter, being, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

John Hoddor

[15] Thomas Vincent, London merchant and alderman, a substantial adventurer who acquired lands in County Meath and Queen's County and who moved to Ireland in the mid-1650s.

[16] Military officer and local politician in Ireland, he supported and served as a victualling commissioner for the Protestant army in Munster during the early 1640s and also supported the Cromwellian campaign of 1649–1650. By 1652 he held the rank of major and was governor of Wexford. He was mayor of Cork by 1656 and it is in that capacity that he wrote this letter to Henry Cromwell.

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374. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 16 April 1658, 823, fos 39–40.

Deare brother,

Major Hazard[17] having offered to his Highnesse and the counsell a businesse of concernment to Ireland and the same being referred to your consideration and of such persons as you shall appoint, to have your opinion therupon. Although I make no question but that you will have a due reguard of his Highnesse's and the counsell's letter in that behalfe, as also continue the honnour of your former favours to the persone intrusted therewith, yett I shall, att his desire, recommend him and his said businesse to your favorable assistance; and your good offices done to him shall be owned by, deare brother,

Yours affectionatly,

R Cromwell

375. From James Standish to Robert Gorges, London, 17 April 1658, 823, fos 41–42.

Honnourd sir,

I perceive by yours his excellency hath received intimation from hence of a supposed stocke of cash that should be in the treasury, soe considerable as worth the sendinge downe in specie to be transported, which is a mistaken thinge, there beinge nothinge but what hath arisen and must out of our proportion of the assessments here to the 24th of March last. And you may see by the paper drawne up by the treasurers and myselfe, the coppy wherof was sent his lordship by the last post, how the account stood the 19 of February, what was then in cash here, what in arrear, vizt:

In cash	06,189	19	7
In arrear of the assessments to the 25th of December	14,184	09	8
In arrear to the 25th of March	24,000	00	0
	44,374	09	3
Out of which must be deducted to pay up the forces here to the 25th of March last	07,651	01	0
And that leaves	36,723	08	3

[17] Henry Hazard had presented to the Protectoral council various proposals concerning pilotage, lighthouses, and buoys around the Irish coast to improve navigation, which were referred by the council to Henry Cromwell and the Irish council on 14 April. In mid-June the Irish council replied to the Protectoral council, broadly supporting the proposals and recommending the erection of three lighthouses on the Irish coast and a fourth on the Isle of Man, though nothing, in fact, seems to have been done at this time (Dunlop, pp. 682–684).

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And out of that all bills of exchange charged since the said 19th day of February, which as I guess is an amount unto the £16,000 and odde money. The certaynty you may quickly know from John Reeve, my clerke. And then there will remayne but £20,000, of which I am assured there is not 5, nay not 4,000, in the treasury at present, soe that bills of exchange will draw it as fast as it come in.

I did by my last desier Mr Short to stopp his hand in drawing of bills, but for the reasons before mentioned and what I have otherways comunicated to his lordship but now doe desier you to direct him to retourne to his usuale cause and pray lett him see this clause for his sattisfaction because I cannot write to him at present.

Your brother hath sent mee a coppy of a letter from his lordship about procuringe him advance for his ministry. He demands three hundred pounds. The letter expresseth noe summe. Lett me have a word concerninge this by the next. In the meanetyme, I have retourned him a civil answer and promised complyance soe farr as I can. And soe rests,

Your very humble servant,
James Standish

376. From George Griffiths,[18] Charterhouse, 3 May 1658, 823, fos 43–44.

Letter of courtesy and religious exhortation, praising Henry Cromwell's government of Ireland and the encouragement it had given to the sober and godly in Ireland and England, reporting that he frequently prayed for him and noting that he had been encouraged to write thus by Dr Harrison; also seeking an unspecified favour for his poor brother in Dublin.

377. From Hierome Sankey, Wallingford House, 3 May 1658, 823, fos 45–46.

May it please your excellencie,

I having the charge of sending away the inclosed to Ireland thought it my duty to present the inclosed to your excellencie, and to acquaint you that in the packquett I have sent another to Sir Charles Coot, collonel Lawrance and the officers att Dublin, which as I thought it a duty on the one hand to performe, so likewise on the other to acqueint your excellencie therewith accordingly as ingaged upon all obligations of love and duty. My lord, I may say without feignednes,

[18] Independent minister at Charterhouse, London, 1648–1661, who also served on various religious commissions during the Protectorate.

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that there is not any person that lives who hath more cordiall affection and reall respect to your excellencie and his Highnes' family then I have, and will be more ready in much to evidence it in the most reall and justifiable demonstration thereof. Any my prayers morning and evening shall not be wanting for you, especially att this season when a so great a tryall,[19] especially upon a misunderstanding of these affaires and transactions here, may perplex the spirit. I shall adde no more but that I am,

Your excellencie's faythfull servant,
Hie Sankey

378. From John and Elizabeth Gauden,[20] London, 24 May 1658, 823, fos 47–48.

My lord,

The renowne of your lordship's goverment with such piety, justice and clemency as gives life and recovery to that state of Ireland, which was lately languishing and dying, this (just honor) hath made many your lordship's admirers, who (yet) are humbly observant of that distance wherein they stand to your lordship's eminent place and authority, noe lesse than your virtues. In this number I may owne myselfe and my wife, whose great content it is to heare of that happines which your lordship and your lady enjoy; and to find by that gentleman who lately came from your lordship, that wee alsoe are soe happy as to reteine some place in your memorys and favours, of which he gave us soe particuler assurance that wee have taken this confidence to expresse our thankfull sense of that honor your lordship and your lady are pleased to doe us, when you voutsafe to think a kind thought of us, as persons condemned to obscurity, never to bee releived, except by such a barren way of industry as is somtimes given mee by such sad occasions as that of my nephew William Russel's[21] and Mr Robert

[19] Perhaps his concern over the finances of Ireland or perhaps health worries, since both Henry Cromwell and his wife were ill during the spring (*TSP*, VII, p. 114).

[20] John Gauden, minister with close connections to both the Russell and Rich families. In the early 1630s, he taught Francis and William Russell at Wadham College, Oxford, and around 1640 he married their widowed sister, Elizabeth, becoming for a time vicar of Chippenham. In the late 1630s, he was household chaplain to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, and he remained close to the family, patronized by them and dedicating some of his published works to them. A moderate Episcopalian with Presbyterian sympathies, he supported or at least acquiesced with the parliamentarian cause but also retained links to royalist families, and his published works of the period reveal marked reservations about parliamentary religious policies.

[21] This is probably William Russell, eldest son and heir of Sir Francis Russell, whose death probably occurred sometime during the opening months of 1658 but is not mentioned in any of Sir Francis's own letters in this collection.

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Rich's death.[22] To the urne of this last, I have beene invited by your lordship's sister, the lady Frances, to consecrate a litle monument; which possibly may (as marble) bee durable, though it bee fruitlesse, unlesse it bee productive of your lordship's favour and acceptance beyond that degree which it expects in England. The fate of books is like that of many trees, to bring forth nothing but leaves, being not read by many and veiwed by few, especially yf they strike upon just severitys, becoming all good, patiant and wise, to lay to heart. Noe discouragements in England have hindred mee from presenting my sense of others' death and my owne mortality to your lordship's view. The rather because I have heared that your lordship hath beene a noble assertor of Mr Riche's honor, even in Ireland, the vindication of which I willingly undertook against a great streame of vulgar credulity, being satisfied in this that I did the part of justice and gratitude to the dead. My ambition must bee to performe such actions as are their owne reward, among which, I hope, this is one. A copy of all I adventure upon your lordship's and your lady's acceptance, who in your highest secular advancements carry soe moderate a temper of minds and actions, as willingly reflects upon the end of all these momentary dreames. It is some recompense to my paines that I have hereby an oportunity to expresse to your lordship and your excellent lady how much wee are ambitious to live worthy of that favour your noblenesses were pleased to expresse to,

Your lordship's very humble servants,

Jo El Gauden

379. From Robert Beake,[23] London, 1 June 1658, 823, fos 184–185.

May it please your excellency,

I lately appeared before your excellency in the posture of a mendicant; the success of that address could not make me more yours then before, but your excellency has lay'd an obligation uppon a praying familey thereby, which I beleive will turne to your account. God make youe daylie more acceptable to His people. Now, my lord, I understand it to be your command that I should present myselfe

[22] Robert Rich, husband of the Protector's daughter Frances, died on 16 February and was buried at Felsted, Essex, on 4 March 1658, with Gauden delivering the funeral sermon, which he subsequently published as *Funerals Made Cordials*.

[23] Parliamentarian politician and officer, he fought throughout the civil war, campaigning in and around his native Warwickshire. By 1650, he held the rank of major and was serving as governor of Coventry and sheriff of Warwickshire. A keen opponent of sinful activities, he was very active in local and national politics during the 1650s, serving as councillor and mayor of Coventry, sitting on various Warwickshire commissions, and representing Coventry in all three Protectorate parliaments.

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before you; my offering is the tideings of this day, which amounts to what follows. The courte of safety being sate,[24] there first appeared Dr Huet,[25] whose charge being read he was bidd to plead to it, but refused, yett entred into a confused speech declaring his resolutions to suffer rather then betray the rights of an Englishman, and therefore somwhat magisterially demanded oyer of the commission by which the courte sate. That being denyed, he pleaded to the jurisdiction of the courte; being over-ruled therin, he prayed counsell might be assigned him; then insisted uppon his tryall per pares;[26] after craved a coppy of the inditement; all these being denyed him, then he appealed to all the judges of the lawe (none being there present); but in conclusion the courte recorded his refusal to pleade, and remanded him from the barr. It's likely at his next appearance the courte will putt him to pleade againe, and if I mistake not, he will imbrace the opportunity. The confidence of this man was somwhat noteable and that litle sence he spake was to begett himselfe a name among his tribe, many of whom were spectators; and, setting asyde his adamant like diportement unbecomeing the gravity of a divine, there appeared nothing remarkable in him or from him.

Next comes upp Mr Mordant,[27] a gentleman debonaire enough in his carriage, and one whose case begott more pitty and compassion

[24] The special court, comprising more than 140 commissioners (though only around 50 sat), set up in accordance with an act passed by the second Protectorate parliament, which met between late May and early July to try those implicated in the recent royalist conspiracy. Hatched during the winter of 1657–1658 and drawing upon both royalists and disgruntled Presbyterians, it entailed Charles II and a royalist fleet landing at Yarmouth to draw away the army and then royalist risings in London, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. However, divisions and poor planning, the efficient intelligence system run by Thurloe, and resolute action by the parliamentary fleet caused the plans to unravel and most of the leading conspirators were arrested during March and April. The final fling, a botched rising in London in mid-May, was also thwarted and a further clutch of conspirators were arrested.

[25] John Hewitt/Huet, clergyman and royalist conspirator, served as chaplain to various royalist families during the 1640s and, from the late 1640s, became minister and rector of two London churches, where his popular sermons attracted many royalists. His royalist activities and involvement in the conspiracy were well known to the Protectoral government and he was arrested on 8 April. His repeated refusals to plead and his challenges to the authority of the court availed him little, for he was found guilty, condemned, and beheaded on 8 June.

[26] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'by his peers'.

[27] John Mordaunt, royalist conspirator, had encouraged the royalist risings of 1648 and, after several years on the continent, returned to England around 1652 and was on the fringes of royalist conspiracy thereafter. In 1657 he pledged to provide 400–500 horse and help raise Surrey for the Stuart cause, and, early in 1658, he conferred with Ormond when the latter visited England to assess the viability of the plans. He was arrested on 1 April and initially released, but was rearrested in mid-April. At his trial on 1–2 June, he pleaded not guilty, spoke well in his defence, and was eventually acquitted on the casting vote of John Lisle, who presided over the court.

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then the confidence of the other did gaine him applause, yett he also manifested noe squemish or dreading spirit. Soe haveing used the same play as Huett before him had donn (noe doubt they compared notes together), at last craveing the favours of the courte for direction in case of mistakes, he pleaded to issue. Butt before I come to the summ of his evidence, give me leave to observe to your excellency this passage, vizt, he praying the court to press his Highnes' counsell that they woud aleadge some presydents for tryalls of men of his quality without a jury, the sollicitor[28] presently replyed that the case of the queene of Scotts in 37th of the queene was home to the purpose. To which Mordant rejoined that there was noe parity in the case, for first the queene of Scotts was not under the protection of the lawes of England, and soe could not clayme Magna Charta, which was calculated for English men; 2nd shee was a queene and had not pares to be tried by; 3rd shee was an alien and a Scott and a tryal per indictatem lingue[29] was competent to such, and yet if admitted at that tyme would not effect the end proposed in the tryall. These observations of his, however they wanted there weight, yet wanted they not acceptation with the people as haveing a couller in them to discriminate her case from his.

The evidence amounted to this much, that he had animated Mr Stapleys[30] to declare for Charles Stewart's cause; that he had received lettres from him declaring his resolution to land in England; that he had dispensed 4 commissions which he received from him; that he had declared that in case the force of Sussex was in distress he would assist them with the force of Surrey. This was wrappt upp in the testimony of the two Stapeleys and the examination of one captain Mallory[31]

[28] William Ellis, parliamentarian politician and judge, sat in the Short and Long Parliaments and was a moderate parliamentarian, removed at Pride's Purge and playing no part in the regicide, but retaking his seat in the Rump later in 1649. He supported the Protectorate, sat in all three Protectorate parliaments, and was created solictor-general in 1654, in which capacity he played a prominent role in several of the state trials during the Protectorate, serving as chief prosecutor of the leading royalist conspirators in 1658.

[29] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'in which she refused to speak' or 'to defend herself'.

[30] Brothers John and Anthony Stapley. John, royalist conspirator and politician, and son of Anthony Stapley, parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide who had died in 1655, represented his native Sussex in both of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate parliaments. He was drawn into the royalist conspiracy, perhaps by promises of titles and honours, perhaps to expiate his father's guilt; he, in turn, drew his brother Anthony into plans to raise Sussex in the Stuart cause. He was arrested at the end of March and made a full confession to the Protector, implicating several of his co-conspirators and giving confused evidence against Mordaunt.

[31] Henry Mallory, royalist conspirator, engaged by John Stapley to assist him in Sussex. Arrested in April, he escaped at the end of May, shortly before he was due to give evidence

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taken by Mr Scobell, which Mallory made his escape out of prisson. This was all the worke of the day.

By lettres received this day from captain Stokes[32] in the Levant seas, he adviseth that he has taken a Dunkerke man-of-warr of 26 gunns and 200 men; also from the Preston frigott, arived from the Southarne Cape at Plymouth, that shee and the Fagons had taken 3 shipps, 400 tunns apeece, laden with oyle and salte bound from Cales to Gallicia, and that about the Northerne Cape they had taken the Exchange of St Sebastian, commanded by the famous Beche,[33] the Irish pirate under James Stewart's commission, and with him in consortshipp 3 Irish captains more, all wich administer some content to us in the midst of our losses.

By lettres from Dunkirke this day wee understand that the enimy sallied out, horse and foote, on Thursday last and beate the French foote out of there trenches with some slaughter, but the English and Switz reinserted there stations and drive the enimy back with a wittnes, pursueing them soe closely that they mastered two smale workes pallisaded, and gayned the advantage of an approach within pistoll shott, at which distance they worke in a rowling trench and are not farr from the counterscarpe. The enimy is smarte and much animated; the French horse are likewise very dareing, but they now and then dropp for it. I cannot heare where the Spanish army is, nor indeed is there any talke as if it had a being. The last weeke we shippd over 500 of colonel Salmon's[34] regyment, and this day are in preparation for 500

against Mordaunt, though he was recaptured a few days later. He was tried on 10 June and sentenced to death on 15 June, but he was reprieved and remained a prisoner for the rest of the Protectorate.

[32] John Stokes, parliamentarian naval officer, campaigned around western England and the Irish Sea in the early 1650s, in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–1654, and then in expeditions to the Mediterranean in 1654–1655 and against Spain in 1656–1657. After the departure of the ailing Blake, he took command of a squadron of ships that campaigned widely in and around the Mediterranean in 1657–1658.

[33] Sir Richard Beach, royalist naval officer, proved a thorn in parliament's side. With a squadron of royalist vessels, he attacked and plundered English parliamentarian and merchant shipping in the early 1650s, though a determined parliamentary attack off the Scilly Isles in the spring of 1654 led to the capture or destruction of most of his squadron and his own imprisonment. However, he was exchanged soon after and, free again, he resumed his privateering activities and continued to harass English shipping for the remainder of the 1650s.

[34] Edward Salmon, parliamentarian officer, was lieutenant-colonel of Hardress Waller's New Model foot regiment from the mid-1640s, leaving the regiment in 1649 to become first deputy governor of Hull and then, in 1653, commander of a foot regiment of his own, succeeding the late Richard Dean. The regiment may have served in Scotland for a time in the 1650s, though Salmon himself seems to have remained in England as an admiralty commissioner. In the summer of 1658 he led much of his regiment to Flanders to assist in the siege of Dunkirk.

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more. The want is onely infantry, the cavalry being numerous enough, and both (as I am crediby informed) makeing upp 3,200 effective.

The French courte is att Callais, and my lord Falconbridge[35] is safely arrived there though he had a most sadd passage by reason of the strong southerly winds we have had for some tyme.

D'Ruittar, the Dutch admiral, is out and was on Fryday with 22 men-of-warr and 3 victuallers in the Downes. His pretence is that he had by stormes spent some of his masts and wanted provission, and therefore prayed supply, his designe being for Portugall. But whether he had a good or a badd meaneing, his motion tis eyed, and yt – that is in our view – is his assayleing our shipps at Dunkirke to disturbe that seige. But to prevent that wee have ordered the conjunction of another squadron now out with general Mountague with that before Ostend, and then lett them doe there worse. My lord, I have bin too tedious. I wil not err soe heerafter, if your excellency will pardon this faulte and give me liberty to style myselfe,

Your excellency's most devoted servant,

Rob Beake

380. From Richard Cromwell, Whitehall, 2 June 1658, 823, fos 49–50.

Deare brother,

You set soe over a vallew upon common respects, that indeed I know not how to appeare in any thing. I would not that you should take notice of the gelding other then to waire him oute. I am certaine you have ingadged me by yore expressions to send my wishes after him, that he may delight you in youre sportes. Good horses, especially geldings, are very scarce, the Frenche hath dreined us; but I hope you will be in a shorte time able to furnish Ingland oute of Ireland. If not, be confident I shall lay oute untell you be in such a capacity for such an instrument for your pleassure. This letter was intended for my lord Fitzwilliams, whoe indeed appears to be a most civell person and I am perswaded is a person of honour, most ready to acknowledge the civilityes and obligations which he hath received from his Highnesse and youreselfe. His lordship is now upon his journey to waite upon you, and I could not deny him this trouble to his hand, for presenting my affectionate love to you, of which I have greate confidence you are assured, which is noe smale delight. My sister Elizabeth is yet under heavy afflictings.[36] The Lord sanctifie it to her and us all. Having

[35] Sent as ambassador extraordinary to the king of France, with instructions to urge the king to reinvigorate the siege operation at Dunkirk by his own presence there (Abbott, IV, pp. 809–810).

[36] The illness proved terminal.

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nothing of moment, I only desire myne and my wyfe's services to my sister, my wyfe to youreself. I rest, deare brother,

Yours most affectionately,

R Cromwell

381. From Samuel Ladyman,[37] Clonmel, 5 June 1658, 823, fos 51–52.

May it please your excellency!

Being encouraged thereunto by your lordship's command, I am humbly bold to return this answere to what your excellency was lately pleased to propose concerning my removall to Dublin; and since my departure from your excellency, I have taken many occasions and set some time apart to seek the Lord and waite for His counsell in it. Some objections[38] I have met with, which I can call not other then temptations, as that a retired life in so populous a citty would scarce consist with the health of my craz'd constitution, though (Warbers[39] standing in an open, pleasant aire) even upon this account, as upon some others hinted by your excellency (viz, the larg extent of that parish and the quality of the persons dwelling in it), I have cause to be aboundantly thankfull for your lordship's choice of that place. I have also been tempted to thinke that here in the countrey I was in a fairer way to make some slender provision for my poor wife and family after my decease. But upon a more serious view I find these considerations so selfish, and attended with so much distrust of that good God who hath hitherto so plentifully and so mercifully provided for me, and with so much of ingratitude towards your excellency (considering how great, though altogether undeserved, your excellency's continued and tender care of me hath been) that I am very much asham'd of them, and through grace doe trust I have overcome them. But besides these, I do meet with many others which I neither can remove nor dare

[37] Church of Ireland clergyman, he was a preacher in Oxford in the early 1650s but, in 1652, he and Edward Wale went to Ireland with Fleetwood, serving as chaplains. He became salaried minister at Clonmel and supported Worth's Cork-based association of ministers in 1657. He was one of around thirty clergyman who, at Henry Cromwell's invitation, met in Dublin in the spring of 1658 to discuss and advise him on church matters, including the possibility of creating a formal structure for the Protestant religion and church in Ireland, and of finding a new way to support ministers there, Henry Cromwell commenting that the existing financial arrangements were 'grown to that scurvy pass' and were 'a mongrel way between salary and tythes' (TSP, VII, pp. 21–22, 101–102). However, in this letter he appears to be declining an invitation from Henry Cromwell to relocate permanently to Dublin and to accept a parish there. Indeed, he remained at Clonmel throughout this period and well beyond the Restoration.

[38] Word written larger than the surrounding text and with very thick strokes of the pen.

[39] Perhaps an abbreviated reference to the parish of St Werbergh's in Dublin, where Stephen Charnock had been minister in the mid-1650s.

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neglect; I am very fearfull least Mr Charnock's so suddain leaving his charge and my leaving mine should be improv'd to the Lord's great dishonour, by too many who will rejoyce to catch at any thing that may but seem to give them an occasion to slurre the worke in our hands. Againe, as I do justly bear a great affection to this people among whom providence hath fix't me, considering their continued respect towards me (notwithstanding for want of ordination, I was uncapacitated for more then 5 yeares to answer their just and necessary expectations), so am I very desirous (if the Lord see it good) to reap some fruit of what seeds I have here scattered (though but with a withered hand) and am very loath to leave the great hopes I have of sharing in such an harvest, being now more compleatly furnish'd for and solemly set apart to my work, and promising myselfe (not without good ground) very much assistance in it from our present governour, for whom this place hath still cause to blesse the Lord and to be thankfull to your excellency. Again, I am very sensible of my own weaknes, how that it doth render my body unable for much study and my lungs for much discourse; and for me to prove a broken staffe in your lordship's hands, as it would be my sore burthen and unspeakable greife, so to your excellency a most unhandsome disappointment. But about all that call, that cleare and reiterated call which I have had to this place and people is such that I am affrayed to leave them; and should I do it, am strongly jealous that God would blast my poor labours in any other place.

Labouring under all these discouragements, let me beseech your excellency to pardon me, though I am forc'd to make this return to your late gracious motion (for I know it proceeded from your lordship's undeserved respect, not from any defect of others more able for that service) that I cannot but humbly entreat your excellency and earnestly beg it of the Lord, that it might consist with your excellency's good pleasure still to leave me here. Because (though I cannot free myselfe from the same secret itch after honour with others) in the integrity of my heart I do judg that I may here be most usefull. Now, that the Everlasting Councellour would continue to direct your excellency in the management of your great and weighty trust; and bear up your spirits amidst the many discouragements which will attend its faythfull discharge; and that the same God would recompence a thousandfold into your lordship's bosome your unwearyed labour of love for His ministry, His church, His ordinances; and would still vouchsafe a descending blessing upon your excellency's honourable relations, family, person and authority, shall be the earnest and constant prayer of,

Your excellency's most unworthy, yet most obleiged servant,
Sam Ladyman

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382. From Edward Whalley, 7 June 1658, 823, fos 53–54.

May it please your excellencye,

I have sent my sonne Henry to wayte upon and attend your excellencye's commandes. Hitherto, both beyond the sea and at home, he hath beene of a blamelesse conversation. May he but by his good deportment receave the[40] testimonie of your excellencie's approbation, it wilbe a great contentment to his mother and myselfe. My councill to him is, and prayers for him are, that the Lord would inable him in the first place and above all things with a sincere heart to serve Him, and then I am sure he shall not want a due respect from your excellencie. My sonne John[41] desired me to acquaynt you with the date of his commission here, which is the 12th of Aprill last, that so no stop may be put to his warrants to that time. The reason of his request to me is that by a duell with the earle of Chasterfeild,[42] receaving a small hurt, he is not able to write himselfe. I am sory I should have occasion to write so much, but though a meere stranger to the earle, meeting accidentalye with him at the hie court of justice, and the next morning receaving a challenge from him, which my sonne unwilling to beleeve went to his lodging immediately to him to have avoyded it yf possibly preserving his honour, but being further provokt, my sonne refusing to have a second, and unwilling to involve any freind into an evill that in could blood he condemned himselfe for, as also as unwilling to expose the person or estate of any to hazard, they ended theyr controversie at the Isle of Dogges. My sonne Henry will give your excellencie a more full account of it. I shall onely add this, that amongst men meerely morall hee hath gayned honour, that it could be so accounted or worth anything, Christians censure him very favourably and his Highnes thinkes he was very highlye provokt. Yet the law makes him as hie an offender as the other. I have bin very much displeased, and some thinkes too much with him, for I hope the Lord will give him

[40] Word repeated in error.

[41] Parliamentarian officer and a cornet in Henry Cromwell's horse regiment, he was for a time held in the Tower as a consequence of fighting this duel and, in 1659, was dismissed from his regiment.

[42] Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, royalist courtier and politician, spent most of the 1640s and early 1650s on the continent. He was in England in the early 1650s, returning abroad in 1655 following the death of his wife and young child. He returned to England sometime late in 1657. Duelling was in his blood: in 1649, he was expelled from a Paris academy for duelling; in February 1658, he was arrested in London to prevent a duel; and he spent some time in the Tower as a result of fighting this duel with Whalley, returning there in the summer of 1659 on suspicion of involvement with Booth's royalist rising. In January 1660, he fled England after killing the son of a Hammersmith doctor in a duel fought over the price of a horse.

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to make a good use of. And so craving pardon for this troubling you with an impertinent relation, I take leave and remayne,

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

Pardon the boldnes of the postscript, my wyfe having a great desire to present her most humble service to your excellencie and virtuous lady.

383. From Anne de Burgh, Marchioness of Clanricarde,[43] 8 June 1658, 823, fos 55–56.

My lord,

I assure myselfe your excellencie hath already notice of the death of my deare lord, which is the sad occasion I have of making this humble adresse to you, because I am thereby intitled unto the joynture setled at my mariage, wherein Portumna is included. My sexe and fortune renders me uncapable of distrusting my right, and your excellencie's generous goodnes maks it needlesse, because experience shewes you are not only ready to afford justice, but favours also, to all that have a title to pretend them from you. I shall therefore humbly offer my right and estate in Portumna and the lands adjoyning unto your excellencie, beseeching you to allot me such recompence in leiu of them as you thinke fitt; it being intirely submitted to by, my lord,

Your excellencie's humble servant,
Anne Clanricarde

This bearer, Sir William Usher (my honered freind), will upon occasion shew forth my joynture and convey your excellencie's commandes to me.

[43] Lady Anne Compton, daughter of the Earl of Northampton and widow of Ulick de Burgh, Marquess of Clanricarde, Irish landowner, courtier, royalist, and politician, who had extensive estates in Ireland, including the Portumna estates that Henry Cromwell now held. Clanricarde surrendered to the English regime in the autumn of 1652 and, with most of his Irish estates deemed forfeit, he spent his closing years of ill health in London. The date of his death is unclear and perhaps occurred in the summer of 1657, but spring 1658 seems more likely and is more consistent with this attempt by his widow to recover, or at least to gain some compensation for, those parts of the estates that had been settled upon her at her marriage. In 1656, she had petitioned for the return of 4,000 acres of her husband's estates (Dunlop, p. 629; *CSPI*, pp. 654–655, 832, 848, 855).

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384. From John Heart,[44] Taboyne,[45] 8 June 1658, 823, fo. 57.

May it please your excellencie,

Necessity constraineth me to adventure the utering of a few things to your lordship by way of grievance, the remedie of which as it can not be expected from any to be so effectuall as from your lordship, so also not so readily and willingly to be applied by any as by your lordship. The experience of all the godly who have been acquainted with your lordship can give testimonie to this thing, so that I can not but say it (without flattrie God knoweth) your excellency may be called a repairer of breaches.

May it please your excellency, I have been constrained in my conscience at the late convention of ministers who we[. . .][46] assembled at Dubline by your lordship's authoritie,[47] to give in a great many scandalous, insufficient and negligent ministers in the countrey where I live, through which I have brought the hatred of many wicked men upon me, whose tounges will be set on fyre of hell to speake mischievous things and things full of fasthood against mee, which may be readily credited by some about your lordship. I humblie therefore begg of your lordship that in what I may be charged with by any whatsoever to your lordship, I may have the libertie to answere for myselfe before the things be hearkned unto that shall be spoken against your lordship's unworthie servant, for I doe know that men have vowed to cast mee out of your lordship's favour per fas aut nefas,[48] meerlie upon the account of my discharging a good conscience. I am affraied to be judged too presumptuous in this my desyre, but I pray your lordship to pardon my weaknesse in this thing, for I flee to your lordship as the common sanctuarie (under the great Governour of heaven and earth) of the godlie of the nation in there distresse.

If it may please your excellency to heare mee a litle further. The complaint of a poore people dwelling at Rapho, who have a godlie minister amongst them[49] and have sett up the Presbyterian way of discipline to which they adhere, is very sadde, and they have requested mee to represent it to your lordship. There is a prelaticall pairtie in that parish, who endeavour to hinder them in the excersise of there

[44] Presbyterian minister, occasionally employed as an intermediary between Henry Cromwell and the Presbyterians.

[45] Probably Tabone, Raphoe, County Donegal.

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

[47] The series of meetings had ended on 26 May, with the ministers passing to Henry Cromwell, just before their departure from Dublin, 'a large paper in referrence to several matters offered by me to their consideration' (*TSP*, VII, p. 145).

[48] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'by fair or unfair means' or 'justly or unjustly'.

[49] John Crookshanks, minister at Raphoe and a fellow Presbyterian.

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discipline, as when they by deacons collect the money for the poore at the church door, they come and interrupt them by there church-wardens, yea and have proceeded this farre upon the sabbath day to beat the elders of the church, and in other places the scribes of the particular elderships are bound over to the assizes for the lawfull exercise of discipline. If I should complaine to any other then to your lordship I know I could not be heard, it would be thought my reflection upon Doctor Lesslie, late bishop of Rapho.[50] But thanks be to God through Jesus Christ, who hath us a magistrate that will heare us when we call, I mean when we call not idly and foolishlie but rationally. The justices of peace in the countrey having warning from your lordship may helpe all this.

That your lordship may waxe greater and greater, and that your heart may be lift[51] up in the wayes of God yet more (for what is allready the hearts of His people are glewed unto yow) is, and God willing, shall be the uncessant prayer of, my lord,

Your excellency's most humble and obedient servant,

Jo Heart

385. From Nathaniel Waterhouse, London, 8 June 1658, 823, fos 58–59.

May it please your excelency,

His Highnesse hath been pleased to bestow on my brother, Doctor Waterhouse, as a signall of his favour for his former service as phisitian to the army in Ireland, two hundred markes per annum for one and twenty yeares out of certaine lands lately belonging to the bishopp of Derry.[52] May it please your excelency, my humble request is that your excelency would be pleased to aford him what lawfull favour you can in it, in regard he is, as I am informed, out of his former imployment as phisition of the army. And soe with the humblest of my duty to your excellency, I begg pardon for this bouldness and shall ever rest,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

Nat Waterhouse

[50] John Lesley, bishop of the Isles, 1628–1633, and of Raphoe from 1633, who, despite his royalist and Episcopalian views, remained in Ireland during the 1650s, actively seeking and often obtaining payment from the English parliamentary regimes.

[51] Apparently a slip for 'lifted'.

[52] John Bramhall, bishop of Derry from 1634, began his career in Yorkshire and crossed to Ireland in 1633 with Sir Thomas Wentworth. A strong supporter of the king's and Wentworth's handling of Ireland, he was very active in advising on and seeing executed the religious policies of the period. Although impeachment proceedings against him in 1641 stalled, he effectively lost power and influence in Ireland and, apart from a brief return visit in 1649–1650, spent the 1640s and 1650s either in England as a supporter of the royalist cause or in exile on the continent.

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386. From Bryan Smyth, Coleraine, 9 June 1658, 823, fos 60–61.

May it please your exelencye,

I being come into the country have, according to my dutye, visited the severall quarters of the regiment I belong unto, and am in the worke. I doe find that the Irish in the Glines and Red Bay[53] are very high and insolent, speaking out their hopes of some suden chainge, as the country informes mee. Amoung other that are bould, there hath bin latly one Randall MaDonnell, who is some litle kin to my lord of Antrim, who hath noe constant residence, hath set fier on a house nere Red Bay, sorely wounded the man of the house, a Scotsman, who got the warant of a justice of peace to apprehend the said MaDonnell, but hee sculks about and cannot bee had. Besids some prists ar, as I here, come over from Spaine, who say mas upon the mountaynes and yet are soe covertly harboured by the Irish that they cannot bee had. I humble[54] offer to your lordships as my oppinon that the country cannot bee safe unles thes desperate Irish bee removed, or compeld to bring in the prist, and such others as commit insolency dayly, but cannot bee found by us throw their mens. Wee can hardly get ether English or Scot to take the office of a constable upon them for feare of these desperate Irish, who are indeed numerous. Ther is on Neale Oge MaColley, nere Red Bay, who is said to harbour the prist, and alsoe the foresaid man that burned the house, but hee is soe sutle a vilane that noe man who would can make a throw discovery and profe against him. Hee is a most notorious, swering, dronken man. Luitenant-colonell Dukingfield hath knowledg of him; but noe good can bee done with them, they are soe sutle and false, without removeing. I am confident they were acquainted with the late hored plot in England, for sence ther seeme some alteration as to thir hight. I leave the consideration of this matter to your excelencye. I have one request to your excelencye in the behalfe of a soldier in my company, one Richard Godman, who desires your excelency's discharge, being a tradsman and not able to mayntayne his wife and children as a soulder without neglect of his duty. And let mee beg your excelencye to admit one Samson Williams, an ould and honest redused souldier to come in the said Godman's steed. Pray pardon my lenth. I shall only crave leave to wish your excelency the constant guidance of God's spirit that you may doe His will, and cary on His interest, and love His people, and hate His enimyes, and bee eminent for godliness, and doe nothing that may displese Hime upon any account; that you may cast noe discoragement upon any one that God would not have

[53] On the east coast of County Antrim, by Cushendall.
[54] Apparently a slip for 'humbly'.

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discoredgd; that you may have a deserving spirit, and much of the dred and feare of Hime who is the santury of His. Soe rest,

Your excelencye's servant,

Bry Smyth

387. From Robert Beake, 15 June 1658, 823, fos 62–63.

May it please your excellency,

That anything I can doe finds acceptation with yow is attributeable onely to your noblenes; that yow make signification of your acceptance is to be ascribed to your condescency. It was your excellency's trouble to write a letter, it was my honour to receive it, which I mention with all humble expression of thankefullnes.

From Thursday last till this day we had litle from the French campe to discourse off. That which silently crept among the French to our reproach was the permitting of a billander[55] to goe into Dunkirke and another vessell to come out thence with intelligence; but our plea is good as to both, for the billander was not distingwishable from other vessells that came with provissions to supply the leaguer, and the other swimd on shole water where our shipps could not ride; this litle was made much.

Monesieur Chattelleon,[56] a marshal of France, was very lately wounded and some say mortally. I shall mention to your excellency two things worthy remarque. One is a passage in my lord Lockart's letter to his Highnes concerneing the gallantry of the English foote in the late fight. Saith he, marshall Turin and others non-concerned affirme the English to have acted the parts of more then men,[57] and the English under Charles Stewart less then men, for they first shrunke in the fight. Soe great a discrimination doth a good cause make among men of the same clymate. Another observation is that of the enimy (being taken), who cryed out that they never knew any use of the muskett but at one end, but the English had found the use of both ends, soe ready were there stocks about.

But the news brought by an express at 5 of the clocke this day lays aside the further mention of perticulers of this nature, to make a way for the tydeings of Dunkirke's surrender.[58] My lord, the sence of God's goodnes heerin doth almost fill us with astonishment. To His name be rendred all the glory. The Lord's day the king of France came

[55] Bilander: a double-masted coastal vessel.

[56] Jacques, Marquis de Castelnau-Manvissiere, commander of the Flemish army in the absence of Turenne, subsequently died of the musket wound he received outside Dunkirk.

[57] Word heavily amended and poorly formed.

[58] The town surrendered on 14 June.

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from Callais to Mardike uppon intimation of a treaty offered by the towne. The articles concluded on were that night caried by marshall Thurin to the king at Mardike. He imediatly then gave order to the English generalls, sea and land, to signe them with him, which they did accordingly, and the articles were under hand and seale when the messenger came away. He speakes not to the actuall surrender of it, but saith that Sir Brise Cockram was treated with some other gentlemen (English) uppon theire workes with al possible civillity and honor, looking uppon themselves as comeing under the wings of the English Protector. The articles are not knowne as yett to his Highnes. The towne was reduced to great streights for all things, and we were ready to spring a myne (which they forsaw would take, and was not preventable), and these considerations brought there hearts downe. As for the Spanish army, there is noe mention at all of it, nor knowne where it is. About 4 of the clock this afternoone my lord Pikering, Hubbard and Howard,[59] with 3 score and tenn coaches, with 6 horses in each, besides a greater number that had fewer horses, went to meete the duke of Crequi and monsieur Mancini,[60] the king and cardinal's two favourits. They landed at Towre and were brought to Brooke House.[61] There retinnue was but ordinary.

This day the high courte of justice sate in the Painted Chamber in order to pronounce judgment on captain Mallory, Sir Humphrey Bennet and Mr Woodcock.[62] It is now about 7 at night and they are not gon out of the Painted Chamber yett. It is certaine when they sitt, which will be this night, the sentence will be death to Mallory and acquittall to the other two.[63] Evidence falters exceedingly and Stapelely shuffles abhominably, and at some streight things seeme to be as to further proceeds, yet it's not doubted but the London trayters wil evidently appeare such uppon there tryall.

[59] Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir John Hobart, and Charles Howard, all of them 'lords' in the sense that, in the autumn of 1657, they had been named to the new second parliamentary chamber.

[60] Charles, Duc de Crequi de Blanchefort and Philippe-Jules Mancini Mazarini, Duc de Nevers, had been sent by the king of France on a diplomatic mission to the Protector in response to Fauconberg's mission to him.

[61] In Holborn, built in the early seventeenth century by the Earl of Bath, and acquired by Fulke Greville, Baron Brooke.

[62] Royalist conspirators arrested in connection with the recent plot. Bennet and Thomas Woodcock had both been recruited by Stapley in the Sussex element of the conspiracy, and both were tried, with Mallory, on 10 June, with verdicts and sentences handed down on 15 June.

[63] In fact, Henry Mallory was convicted and sentenced to death but reprieved, Woodcock was acquitted, and the case against Bennet was dropped.

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Advise came that my lord Richard was safely arived at the Bath on Fryday last.

Your excellency's in all humble observance and duty,

Rob Beake

388. From Elizabeth Butler, Marchioness of Ormond, Dunmore, 16 June 1658, 823, fos 64–65.

My lord,

Hearinge latlie of the confinment of Mr Lesslye, a devine and one whoe upon the recomendatione of severall of his owne profestione and others of qualitye livinge in thous parts where hee did, to bee a persone learned, of peasebell and seville conversatione, and a singell man, I did promise to entertayne at my beinge last at Dublin to bee my housold chaplin. Aganst whom I understand that ther is some offense takene, but what the perticulars are or may bee, I am as ignorant as innosent of beinge anye ways an acsesarye unto what may bee made his crime, if anye hee shallbee found gilltye of. Soe as my humbell desier unto your lordships is that noe part of the displeasure aganst hime, whoe is to mee a stranger – more then that I doe remember to have siene hime at Dublin aboute twelfe years sense and then heard hime preach, hee beinge at that time under the notione of one of my lord's chaplenes, yet never had unto the best of my remembranse, but at my comminge last from Dublin, in all my life anye discourse with hime – may not involve mee and consequentlie prejudis mee in your lordship's estime, whoe singlie without the othoritye of the plase you hould, I carrye to great a respect for to intrest myselfe for anye aganst whom your lordships may ethar in your private or publicke capasitye have anye exseptionse aganst. Soe as unles your lordships shall become sattisfiede of his beinge as innofensive as hee was carracterede, and I belevede hime to bee, I shall declyne the entertayninge of him, as I hope your lordships will the admittinge anye beleufe to my prejudis in this or anye other perticular. To which other's offense, and not my owne, may by my ill-willers bee agrevatede to my disadvantage, whoe, notwithstandinge all that the unhappenes of my condistione cane throw upon mee, your lordships shall never find, but allways redye to testifie myselfe, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

E Ormonde

389. From Frances Rich, 19 June 1658, 823, fo. 66.

Deare brother,

Though I know myself to be very geulty of neglect to you, yet give me leve to hope this paper will beg your pardon for my so long

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silance. I can with confidence declare and without complement that non would be more rejoused if in anything I could expres the love and deare affection I have for you then myself.

Deare brother, I could fil this papir with giving you an account of the aflections I have mett with, but I shall not give you that truble now, only let me tell you I have lost a dear husband; the Lord helpe mee to mack a sanctyfied[64] use of it and all His despansations to me. Tis tru I have grat marcys left me in my relations, that many of God' presious ons want, though I think that nothing in the world can repair my loss, and inded doe not desire any thing in it below Crist. I hope it is my earnest desire to gett Him for my husband that will never dey. Pardon thes poor, broken, imparfact lines and belive thay com from her that desirs to aprov herself to be your deare sister and sarvant,

Frances Riche

I beg of you to present my sarvis to my deare sister, and tel her that I should have trubled her with my rud lins but that my sister Elizabeth's goeing into the country tomorro I had no tim. She hath bin very ill, but blesed be God we hop she is in the mending hand.

Pray burn it.

390. From John Jones, Chelsea, 22 June 1658, 823, fos 67–68.

Right honourable,

Haveing received information that one Mr Dutton of Denbigheshire is now prepareing to come over to Ireland to serve your lordship, I conceive it a duety incumbent upon mee to give yow some accompte of him. Hee is a man that hath beene an enemie and hath suffered for it in that countrey. His sonne hath beene now for a longe tyme a prisoner in the Tower. His wife is the daughter of a woman that hath had five or six bastards, and is of the most infamouse familie in that part of the land. Truely, sir, I affect not to bee an informer, but my affections to your lordship and your honourable familie forceth me to give you this intimation to prevent any occasion of offence, which many times are extended beyond their due limitte by zealouse men of contrary principles. Findeing that my little concernement in Ireland goes on but very slowely towarde a settlement, and my wife's great desire to waite on your lordship and your most honourable lady (for whom she hath aboundance of affection), and the Lord haveing restored her to a competent measure of health, wee are both very easily inclined to come over to Ireland sometime this summer, if the Lord please, haveing not yet in our view any impediment to

[64] Word heavily amended and poorly formed.

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divert us. Wherever wee are, your lordship will finde us very sincere and faithfull to your interest and service, and ready as opportunitie shalbee presented to approve ourselves,

Your lordshipp's most humble servante,

Jo Jones

391. From Nathaniel Fiennes and John Lisle, Westminster, 28 June 1658, 823, fos 69–70.

My lord,

Upon the instance of Robert Reynolds esq complainant before us in the chancery here against Sir James Calthorpe and dame Dorothy, his wife, for the proveing of the will of Sir John Reynolds,[65] deceased, wee thinke fitt to informe your lordshipp that the defendants did demurre to the jurisdiction of the courte of chancerye here, which demurrer upon a solemne debate and argument before us is overruled, and the defendants ordered to answere the bill in cheefe, soe that the courte of chancery here is duly possest of the cause, which wee referre to your lordship's consideration, and remaine,

Your lordship's most humble servants,

Nath Fiennes John Lislees

392. From Robert Reynolds, London, 29 June 1658, 823, fos 71–72.

My lord,

The lords commissioners of the great seale of England have that high and due esteeme of your lordshipp's wisdome and justice, that it being in debate with them touching the securing the possession of Carrick in the same handes and plight it was when my brother died, untill a legall eviction (which is according to the common course of all courts of justice), thought it sufficient (without seeming to impose upon your lordshipp's government) to certifie under their handes how farre they are possest of the cause depending before them, wherein I am complainant against Sir James Calthorp and his lady for the

[65] Reynolds had drowned on 5 December 1657, when the boat in which he was returning to England was wrecked on the Goodwin Sands, Henry Cromwell reporting his sadness at the loss (*TSP*, VI, p. 683). As he had no children, his new wife, now widow, had only a life interest in his personal estate. Instead, his will of May 1657 and administration of the estate were disputed between his half-brother Robert on the one side and his sister Dorothy and her husband Sir James Calthorpe/Calthrop on behalf of their children (named in the will as heirs to his Irish lands) on the other; in January 1658, Henry Cromwell recommended a compromise settlement in preference to a long and costly legal dispute (*TSP*, VI, p. 761). In 1658, administration was at length granted to Dorothy, but the case was far from resolved and it came before the restored Rump in 1659.

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making good of my brother's will and asserting my undoubted right to Carrick, which when recover'd I shall lay downe at your lordshipp's feet, my cheife aime being to vindicate the honour of my brother, that hee was not so weak, so unnaturall, so incogitant[66] as to dye without a will which is an unhandsome returne where hee hath shown so much affection. My lord, haveing done my duety herein, I humbly crave your lordshipp's effectuall commands to Mr Wilson to preserve the possession untill a lawfull decision of the right, and hast to subscribe as I am and shalbee,

Your lordshipp's most humble and faithfull servant to honour you,
Robt Reynolds

393. From Nicholas Lockyer,[67] London, [June 1658],[68] 823, fos 1–2.

My lord,

Pardon that I presume to salute you in these underlines; you will not oft find me faulty in this kinde of boldnes. Blessed be our God that hath fetched you from the gates of death, and will please to spare instruments of hope yet unto us. I am oft refreshed by good Mr Gorge with many good things he writeth of your lordship's industry to encourage and advance all the good of men and Christians you can; in this the Lord make you skilfull, strong and prevailying. Every place of trust hath tryall, but the greatest trusts have the greatest tryals; the Lord will gird you with the spirit of wisdom and might and of feare of His name, and He will hold your hand and make crooked things straight and rough things plain before you. You are not yet accustomed

[66] Incogitant: thoughtless, careless, inconsiderate.

[67] Independent minister, who supported the parliamentarian cause and preached several times before the Long Parliament. In 1649, he became one of Oliver Cromwell's chaplains and rose under his patronage, becoming a fellow of Eton College and a preacher at Windsor Castle, being given a parish in Buckinghamshire, attending the parliamentary commissioners in Scotland in 1651, and regularly preaching both in London and before the various parliaments and councils of the 1650s. He became, in effect, one of the Protector's chaplains.

[68] The dating of this letter is a puzzle. The contents most obviously place it in late June 1658, because Elizabeth Claypole's final child, born in June 1657, died in mid-June 1658 (*TSP*, VII, p. 177), Elizabeth Claypole was seriously ill by this time (despite enjoying interludes of apparent improvement, as noted here), and the reference to God saving Henry Cromwell from the 'gates of death' could well be a somewhat dramatized and exaggerated reference to the sharp illness that he and his wife suffered in the spring of 1658. On the other hand, the letter is clearly dated '28 December' (there is no year given on the letter or endorsement) and to write 'December' instead of 'June' is a curious slip of the pen. It is, therefore, just possible that this letter could be placed in late December 1655, if we attribute Claypole's poor health at that stage to a difficult pregnancy from which she then recovered but which had ended in a miscarriage, stillbirth, or birth of a very short-lived child (see nos 33 and 34).

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to such a yoake, but Christ will boare your eare to hard service and annoint with fresh oile, and you will be learning still much from living volumes of men and actions which will recompence much all durance upon you. I rejoyce, sir, with you that you yet live, and that you have a place not onely in our land of the living, but in the hearts of that people over which you watch. I pray the Lord to blesse them to you and you to them, and that what ever you doe may please God and yf possible all the people too. I am still yours in my poor prairs, which is, sir, such as I have, and indeed all I have, where with as a prophet to blesse you and yours. Touching my condition in this world, my lord, which I did a litle open to your lordship before you went, and which you were so gratiously pleased to licen to. What the state gave mee almost three yeres since for two hundred pound a yeere, which not till within this halfe yeer I could come to posesse and look into, proves but 60 pound per annum; so that the state was pleased to resume it, and to give mee two thousand pound, which I am now endevouring to apportion to my seven children as well as I can. And, my lord, I thought good to offer it to Mr Gorge to lay out five hundred pound in Ireland to be one child's portion, that it may seem good to your lordship to give him your countenance and help in my behalfe. You will in this, sir, help ones very helples, and lay bonds upon,

Your most humble servant,
Nicho Lockyer

I strengthen your hand, sir, with your father upon all occasions, and find it but needfull.

Our family is all well; my lady Claypool drawes to health, but her child last borne is dead. My humble service to my lady.

394. From Robert Beake, [early or mid-July 1658], 823, fos 187–188.

May it please your excellency,

There is litle of moment now communicable. The state of Flanders has not passed under any considerable alteration since the takeing of Bergen. The forte of Linke has bin reported to have bin taken 3 dayes agoe, but the last messenger left it onely in treaty for surrender. On Fryday last the body of the Spanish army were in and about Newport, where also was Don John, the dukes of Yorke and Glocester, the marquiss of Caracene, with divers other eminent persons, the prince of Condy at a pass not farr distant from them. Towards this body, the French army mooved the same day. The Spanish strength was in horse, whose number equalls those of the French, being as is sayd 12,000; but few or noe foote. To the French came this last weeke a body of 7,000 recruits; and it's necessary ours should be recruited

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also for the 8 English regiments are very thin. It is bruited as if the Spainard had foyled the French before Rocroy and forced them to rise, but it's beyond dispute that that part of the army drawes to the maine body, and La Ferte has gott a wounde in the back, whether fighting or flying I yet understand not. The French king has bin almost sick unto death, but a litle recovered at this tyme. My lord Mountague in his passage to the Downes was invited by the cardinal to come to Callais, where he went and was entertayned with all termes of noblenes. We understand also from France that the enimy has quitted Ferne.[69]

The comission for the counsel of Scotland renewed for 3 years; noe alteration made in men or instructions. Sir George Ascue is bound for Sweden to be admiral of those seas for the Swedish king. Major-generall Jepson is now in his passage from his courte. Mr Peters is gon over to Dunkerke compassionating much the want of the English souldiery in respect of ministers. I crave your excelency's pardon if I subscribe myselfe,

Your excelency's most devoted servant,
Rob Beake

I am bound for the country for 3 weekes; I hope it wil excuse this kinde of service.

395. From Timothy Taylor and Essex Digby,[70] Kilroot, County Armagh, 12 July 1658, 823, fos 73–74.

May it please your excellency,

The bearer hereof, Mr Buckworth,[71] is one of those two ministers which were presented by the late convention of ministers att Dublin to your excellencie as both (by publick authoritie) officiateing in Maghralin in the county of Downe. Mr Wattson,[72] the other minister,

[69] This account of events and developments in Flanders firmly places this undated letter in the first half of July 1658. Bergues fell on 1 July, while the fall of Furnes, news of which was just filtering through to Beake, occurred on 3 July.

[70] Ministers in Ireland. Taylor held livings in Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire before crossing to Ireland around 1650 and becoming minister at Carrickfergus; in religion, he shifted from a Presbyterian to a more Independent stance, strongly supported Henry Cromwell, and advised him on his religious policy. Essex Digby was in Ireland rather earlier, by the 1640s, but he was driven from his parish of Geashill during the Irish rebellion; by 1654, he was a salaried minister in Belfast, displaying clear Episcopalian sympathies.

[71] Anthony Buckworth, minister in Ireland, was, during the mid-1650s, a salaried minister first at Newry and then at Magheralin, County Down; he, too, was an Episcopalian.

[72] James Watson, minister in Ireland, who was originally an Episcopalian but who conformed to the Presbyterian system and moved towards that faith. In the mid-1650s, he was also based at Magheralin, where he allegedly clashed with Buckworth, though by 1659 he was minister at Loughgilly, County Armagh.

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hath (as I understand) obtained an order from your excellencie to be the preacher at Magheralin. And about this same time God soe ordered it in His good providence that the inhabitants of the parrish of Kilree[73] in the countie of London Derry desired us to recommend a minister to them. Wee forthwith sent unto them Mr Buckworth, who after he had preached two dayes and conversed with the people, received as a testimony of the approbation of all the well affected English inhabitants a petition directed to your excellencie and the councill on his behalfe. Wherefore wee humbly desire your excellencie that the aforesaid Mr Buckworth may receive all due encouragement and may be sent downe to preach the gospell att Kilree. That God would preserve your excellency and make you an instrument of much good to His people in this nation shall be the prayer of,

Your lordshipp's most humble servants,
Timothie Taylor Essex Digby

396. From William Malyn, Whitehall, 13 July 1658, 823, fos 75–76.

May it please your excellencie,

I have hereinclosed sent a graunt from his Highnesse to captain Gregory of the mannor of Emly[74] _____ _____; his Highness hath set downe the terme, but as to the rent his Highness leaves that to your lordship. His Highness is willing at your lordship's desire to doe captain Gregory a kindnes, and not knowing whither the present rent may be too little or too much, his Highness doth rather chuse to leave it to your lordship's determination. My lord, I was verie glad to receive a lettre from your lordship, for I could not but conclude that I did lye under a censure in your lordship's thoughts (and that justly) of a great neglect towards your lordship in that I have not written to your lordship soe long time, and therefore did feare that your lordship would not vouchsafe to honour me with any of your lordship's commaunds. But truely, my lord, it hath not been out of the least disrespect or withdrawing of that duty which I owe to your lordship, but the true reason thereof is (as I hinted to Doctor Harrison) I have nothing to write, but what is publiqe and comon, which your lordship will have from other hands enough. I do not love to be over inquisitive; only I desire the cause of God may prosper and that it may goe well with Syon, and that we whome God hath owned and done great things for, may be found faithfull doeing the will of God in our places and generation.

[73] Kilrea, County Londonderry.

[74] In County Tipperary. Malyn drew two lines after the name of the manor, perhaps to indicate the missing or unknown county.

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I presume your lordship hath heard that the lady Elizabeth hath been long exercised with extreme sharpe paynes, and hath still very sharpe fitts. His Highness and especially her Highness are much affected and afflicted therewith. I am perswaded God is dealing with her spirit and hath done her much good, and I trust will still goe on untill He hath perfected His good worke in her. Your lordship cannot but have heard the great successes which God hath been pleased to give to our forces in Flaunders. I pray God to give us hearts wisely to improve our mercies, and to walke suteable thereunto. The lord Richard is sent for from the Bath, and Dr Goodwyn is also sent for from Oxford, and it is whispered by some that something of great importance is to be done, and it is in the mouthes of many that there wilbe another parliament shortly called. I pray God to be with his Highness in an extraordinary manner in assisting him with a spirit of wisdome and councill at such a time as this, when I thinke he hath but little helpe in that kind to leane on, and it may be God will have it so, that soe He may be more sought to and owned.

My lord, I doe much rejoyce to heare so good a report of your lordship and of your goverment. I pray God that you may still goe on to doe yet more worthily in Israel. The lord give you wisedome from above to manage the great affaires committed to your charge. Surely, the main and cheifest point of wisedome in rulers and those in power, especially in these latter dayes, wilbe to owne and set up the soe solempne and serious worship and service of God and to imbrace the Lord Jesus Christ and to advance and promote His kingdome and interest. I am,

Your excellencie's most obleiged and faithfull servant,
Will Malyn

397. From William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford,[75] London, 13 July 1658, 823, fos 77–78.

Letter of business stating that, having heard that Henry Cromwell might be interested in his lands at Newcastle, County Wickloe, he was offering to lease them to him for 31 years at a rate to be determined by Henry Cromwell.

[75] The son and heir of Sir Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, who was executed in 1641, he spent the 1640s and early 1650s in exile on the continent, returning to England in the winter of 1651–1652. Although most of the family's estates in Ireland and England had been sequestrated by parliament, he did manage to retain or recover some of the lands his father had held.

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398. From Edward Worth, London, 20 July 1658, 823, fos 79–80.

May it please your excellencie,

I have been both at the commencement at Cambridg and act at Oxford, where God was pleased to give me the opportunitie of conversing with many of eminencie, both for learning and pietie; to whom I communicated the copie of your excellencie's speech and the returne therein made by the ministers.[76] The satisfaction which they expressed thereat was very great, not onely on the accompt of the things themselves but alsoe of the tendencie thereof to make brethren one. And truly (my lord), I doe positively affirme that (through God's goodnes) there is such a uniting spirit breathed forth among those Presbyterians that they said with one accord they could freely close with the Congregationall brethren on the termes humbly presented to your excellencie by the Dublin convention. I have been earnestly sollicited as well by the heads of both the universities as by the London ministers, to print those papers, or to give them copies thereof; but I dare doe neither untill I have received the Secretarie's apprehension concerning them, to which end I delivered them to him when first I came hither, but his multiplicitie of publique affaires hath hitherto deferred their perusall.[77]

I bless the Lord for any publique service He ever inabled me to performe; but I am not conscious that ever I was inabled to doe soe much service for the publique in any kind as hath been done by these papers in the generall satisfaction they have ministered, the fruit whereof is soe much more because most conclude that your excellencie's proceedings in Ireland derive their influence from

[76] The speech with which Henry Cromwell opened the Dublin convention of ministers of 23 April 1658 and the address that the ministers presented to him in response. The latter praised Henry Cromwell and referred glowingly to his opening address as 'those high concernments your excellency was pleased to instance as the grand intendment of the present convention, tis to us as life from the dead' (BL, Lansdowne MS 1228, fo. 13). Worth's conservative plans, for organizing the religion of the Protestants in Ireland along broadly Presbyterian lines, were generally endorsed by Henry Cromwell and, with support from ministers from Ulster, gained majority support at the Dublin convention. In its wake, Worth was sent over to England by Henry Cromwell to present his ideas to the Protector. However, although Henry Cromwell repeatedly sought to stress the mutual understanding and unity shown at the Dublin convention and the broadly based support for the final proposals, playing down opposition, by early June, Thurloe had picked up rumours that the plans had in fact proved divisive and were being opposed not only by those 'inclyned to Anabaptism' but also by 'the soberest Independants' (*TSP*, VII, pp. 145, 153, 161–162).

[77] Worth was carrying a letter of recommendation from Henry Cromwell to the Protector, dated 9 June, which ended up amongst Thurloe's papers. In it, Henry Cromwell warmly supported both Worth and the 'address of the ministers which he presents' and defended him against those who had recently 'misrepresented' him in England (*TSP*, VII, p. 162).

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England. I came from Oxford to Hampton Court the fifteenth of this instant, and waited on his Highnes, but gave not any particular accompt of these papers, because I expected the result of the Secretarie's thoughts first.

On Thursday I shall againe attend his Highnes and humbly present the paper of the Ulster Presbyterie (which I received not till this day by reason of my absence) and therein the concurrent judgment of the universities and London ministerie, which being done I shall humbly crave your excellencie's leave to returne for Ireland.

The address of the inhabitants (especially that of Corke) was very acceptable to his Highnes.

Of other instances what the publique wants are, and what means consulted on for supplie, I am sure your excellencie will receive an accompt by better information; and therefore in duty I pretermit[78] further to trouble your excellencie with the importune apprehensions of,

Your excellencie's most obedient, most faithfull and most humble servant,

Edw Worth

The blessing of God Almightie be with your excellencie in your publique and familie relations.

399. From Richard Cromwell, London, 29 July 1658, 823, fos 81–82.

Deare brother,

Had I been my owne when att the Bathe[79] I thincke I should not have returned withoute vissitinge you; for I can assure my affections often imployes there sailes for Ireland, but oure bodyes are too heavy for our soules, and it muste be contented with its clogg while in this world; that being the very reason of my not seeing you will, I am confident, excuse me. I have for some time ommitted writing to you, and were I withoute an excusse I might very well lye under your senssure, but the trught of it was that I could not write any thing worth youre trouble as to publique affairs by reasson of my absence from the fountaine head and the drynesse of it in this our drought; or could I furnish you with any thing domesstick that was pleassant, or might suite youre spiritts that had full imployment in all kinde of worke in a troublesome age. Youe have been (I supposse) by severall hands, and at severall times, informed of my sister Elizabeth's illnesse, whoe

[78] Pretermit: omit, interrupt, halt, intentionally let pass.

[79] During July, he and his wife had been on a grand, almost semi-regal, tour of the west of England.

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began it some weeks before my leaving London, and at my returne (which was some space of time) was founde at Hampton Courte in a very ill state of body; but Satterday laste she fell into high convulsive fitts, such as made boeth physictians and freinds to dispare of life, there being nothing left but a poore low hope; for from Munday night untell Fryday following aboute 4 a clocke in the afternoone there was not as any could discover soe much as the clossing of the ey leads. Such an amaizement it strocke amongst us, that we are under the greate mercy of God in a still wonderment, and cannot put oute of our eyes the sad spectackle she was unto us. And now we have some more hopes, and her physictians are somewhat revived, and beginn againe to renew there working, seeing that God begann where theye were at an end, boeth of there readings and practices, for nothing ded opperate; but now things beginn to have a blessing put unto them, that our darke and disconsolate famuly may once againe revive and live, I hope to the praise of God. This account (though unpolished) I thought good to send you, that you may have your hopes with those of your freinds here refresshed. His Highness having soe much afflicted himselfe is not very well, but I hope by the next oppertunity to write better newes. My service to my sister, with those of my wyfe's to you boeth. I rest,

Your affectionate brother and servant,
R Cromwell

400. From Nicholas Bernard, Gray's Inn, 1 August 1658, 823, fos 83–84.

May it please your excellency,

The great respect which I have ever observed your excellency hath had towards the late archbyshopp of Armagh, hath mooved me to present this book of his, which is his Annales translated into English, done with his owne consent in his lifetime.[80] And the conveniency of the bearer, Dr Worth (who hath taken the care of it), doth the rather invite me, which I beseech may be accepted from,

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

[80] *The Annals of the World deduced from the origin of time, and continued to the beginning of the Emperour Vespasian's reign and the totall destruction of the Temple and Commonwealth of the Jews* (London, 1658).

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401. From Robert Beake to ?,[81] [late July or very early August 1658],[82] 823, fo. 186.

Most honored sir,

There past but one post since I came to towne and by that I writt to you, therefore hope you are not angry, but in sadnes I am indisposed to write whilst matterials are wanting; the wind blowes noe news from any corner of the wordle. Noe man can be an intelligencer but he must somtymes make minute observations, such must myne be at this tyme. Whilst it's in my thoughts lett me acquainte you that Dr Worth doth his excellency heere great[83] service, he has rooted such a good opinion of his goverment and especialy of the economy of his owne house in the hearts of our ministers that they rejoice much and bless God on his behalfe; yett some muttering there is as if Dr Winter came over uppon another errand.[84] The lady Claypole is fetched back from the grave and very likely to recover. His Highnes has bin ill these 3 dayes but now on mending hand. The Flemish affaires moove slow, Graveling remaynes still begirt. The new emperor is upon returneing to his hereditary countrys. Count Pignoranda and after him (as it's said) Leopoldus wilbe sent to head the Flemmings, Don John being perfectly hated by man, wuemane and child. The last weeke the Portugal embassador had his first conference with the deputyes of the states general, he offers al imaginablye pecuniary satisfaction but as to Brazeele it was not in the power of his master to dispose off. The Dutch are allarmed on al sydes, therefore in al hast they lately posted

[81] The letter was probably not addressed to Henry Cromwell, as he is referred to in the third person as 'his excellency'. The style and opening address to the recipient as 'honored sir' are consistent with Beake's letter to John Bridges of 15 February 1659 (no. 470), so this letter may also have been intended for Bridges.

[82] The letter is undated, but the reports of domestic and foreign developments place it firmly in late July or the very beginning of August 1658. Thus Beake refers to Elizabeth Claypole's severe illness, though the report that she was getting better and likely to recover proved far too optimistic, as she died in the early hours of 6 August, as well as to the onset of what proved to be the final illness of the Protector, which first afflicted him in late July. Abroad, he refers to the siege of Gravelines, which ended with its capture on 17 August; to the new Holy Roman emperor, Leopold I, who was elected on 8 and crowned on 25 July; and to a meeting between the Portugese ambassador and the Dutch states general, which took place on 12 July.

[83] Uncertain reading of a very poorly formed and apparently abbreviated word, which could alternatively be read as 'K^t' (an abbreviated form of 'knight').

[84] Winter had found himself outmanoeuvred and outvoted by Worth and his allies at the Dublin convention of ministers over a number of issues, but especially over the restoration of traditional tithes in Ireland: Worth and the conservative majority supporting the proposal, the more Independently minded Winter strongly opposing it. There were rumours that Winter and his allies would cross to England in an attempt to put their case to the Protector and to counter Worth's mission to the Protector. In early July, Henry Cromwell wrote to Thurloe warning him against Winter 'and such credulous weak men' (*TSP*, VII, p. 243).

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Opdam to sea. I spake with Mr Jessopp[85] who tels me as yet no man has cald for your papers. I am in doubt whether I should rejoice or be sorry that Mr Roberts is with yow. His abillitys wil teach you to prize him. I am,

Your affectionate servant,
Rob Beake

I was in hast.[86]

402. From Richard Cromwell, Hampton Court, 12 August 1658, 823, fos 85–86.

My lord,

I have been advertised that there are three gentlemen in your service in Ireland who are actuall fellowes of New College in Oxford: Mr Chernock, Kent and Fairfax,[87] and that the first of these enjoys the benefitt of a very liberall mayntenance. My lord, if it shall please you by your interest to dispose eyther of them to a resignation of theyr fellowship there, to _____ Lane,[88] the son of a worthy and pious divine, who has expected this utmost period in the colledge neere Winchester, and who (without such a provision will lose this hopes of perferment), it will be a favor to be own'd and always acknowledg'd by,

Your affectionate brother and servant,
R Cromwell

[85] William Jessop, parliamentarian bureaucrat and politician, was patronized by the Earl of Warwick and was connected with many of the leading parliamentarians of the 1640s, through his role as secretary to the Providence Island Company in the 1630s. He held a range of offices in the military and naval parliamentary administration and, although he was dismayed at the abolition of the House of Lords in 1649, he retained office. He strongly supported Oliver Cromwell and, during the Protectorate, was promoted to become assistant secretary of the Protectoral council and treasurer of the Protector's contingencies, as well as sitting on assorted commissions and committees. He represented his native Stafford in the third Protectorate parliament.

[86] Indeed, it appears to have been written very quickly, with many poorly formed words and letters.

[87] Stephen Charnock, fellow of New College from 1650; John Kent, fellow of New College from 1649, who served as captain of a troop of horse in Ireland in the mid- and later 1650s; and Thomas Fairfax, probably a cousin of the former parliamentary lord-general Sir Thomas Fairfax, and fellow of New College from 1650.

[88] Identification uncertain, not least because his first name has been omitted and a line drawn in the letter to indicate the missing or unknown forename, but perhaps Francis Lane, possibly the son of Samuel Lane, minister at Northrepps, Norfolk.

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403. From Edward Worth, Hampton Court, 17 August 1658, 823, fos 87–88.

May it please your excellencie!

Though scientia mali be not mala,[89] yet I could neither last weeke nor the weeke preceding force myselfe to be the messenger or relater of the sad news which afflicted both the publique magistrates and private Christians. It hath now pleased the Lord graciously to dispell those clouds and to shine in mercie on us; this day his Highnes rode abroad in his coach, but as yet the physitians disswade him from interposing in any publique buisines. Truly (my lord), the sense of our sin on both extremes: on the one, in trusting too much on that eminent instrument of our mercies as if the fountaine could not continue running though a pipe were removed; on the other, in murmuring and repining at the mercies we enjoy as if all we injoy were noething whilest we apprehend any thing wanting which we desire. The sense of these sins did very much increase our feares least God in justice should take His Highnes away from an earthly to an heavenly throne. And these feares inlarged the hearts of men generally fearing God to wrestle at the throne of grace on this accompt. The Lord hearing prayre is now returning answer. Oh that we may not relapse to our former folly.

Dr Winter is chosen by his old parishioners to be minister at Cottingham,[90] and I am informed that he and some of the most eminent professors among them will this weeke come to London in order to an address to his Highnes for a settlement. I shall be willing to stay some time here to observe his motion, if once I can be certaine of his resolution.

One colonel Ker[91] is here out of Scotland with a petition from a synod there to prevent the assessment of the ministers' maintenance. He is a sober man, and assures me that the ministers of that nation doe bless the Lord on your excellencie's behalfe. But another synod there hath subscribed a testimonie against toleration of heretiques, and with them colonel Ker (which is very ill rescented). However, it is thought neither he nor his buisines will suffer any prejudice.

[89] This Latin phrase may be translated as 'the knowledge of evil be not evil'.

[90] In Yorkshire, where he had been minister from 1643 to 1651, perhaps suggesting that Winter was considering leaving Ireland at this stage, though this may have been wishful thinking on Worth's part.

[91] Gilbert Kerr, Scottish officer and a leader of the hardline covenanter 'western association' army formed in west and south-west Scotland in the summer of 1650. He took a very firm and narrow line in religion and was imprisoned by Monck for his actions in supporting and presenting this petition from the presbytery of Jedburgh.

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Saturday last[92] was kept at Hampton Court as a day of solemne humiliation for his Highnes' distemper. Yesterday the like was observed in many places of London, but privately. Surely that God who hath begun to answer before these solemne exercises will perfect the worke He hath soe begun.

The Lord prepare your excellencie for whatever His providence hath determined. That Christ may be your anchor-hold under all dispensations, soe prayes,

Your excellencie's most obliged, most devoted and most faithfull servant,

Edw Worth

The blessing of God be with your excellencie.

404. From Richard Cromwell, Hampton Court, 24 August 1658, 823, fos 89–90.

Deare brother,

Sence oure late, greate stroacke,[93] of which I know you beare a share, it hath pleassed God to vissett our sorrowes with greater feares, for it is one thinge to have the greatest bowe lopt offe, but when the axe is layed to the roote, then there is noe hopes remaining; such was oure reall feares, grounded for certainty upon the moste propper judges, not only by the physistians, but alsoe an inwarde feeling of the patient, and such a one that created noe fancy in the case. And to make it to appeare, upon her Highnesse's and his childrens' comming after dinner to him, he broake out his more seacrett thoughts, assuring us of [. . .][94] danger, and that we should live upon the covenant, and that he intended to setle his broken private fortune, having sent for his stewards and officers, desiring us to withdrawe and to be in readynesse to be called in as he should have occation in our particuler concernes. I doe not write thus particuler but suppossing you may wante it in these cercumstances, and that you may have only generall illnesse rendred unto you; and I am the more willing thereby the premisses of youre speciall concerne may be alsoe put up, which I am confident carryes up with them affection. And were I not swallowed up with amaizing considerations of these late threatning daingers, over nation as well as oure famuly, and somewhat more speciall myselfe, I should give you an accounte how deservings had like to have remedied roote and branche

[92] 14 August.

[93] The death of their sister Elizabeth Claypole.

[94] Edge of the paper damaged with possible loss of text. There is evidence of an upward stroke of the pen at the start of a short word, now lost. The sense of the sentence suggests that the lost word could be 'no'.

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of all concernes; but God is still good, blessed be His name, and hath resspited His seveere displeassure, having shooken His rodd over us to make us more complyable and closer in our dutyes to Him. We are a sinnfull famuly, and the nation a murmering generation, therefore it is good (though greivous) that we have been afflicted. Nay, we are (though we are not soe lowe in our hopes as we have been) still in feares, for though his Highnesse remaines ill, yet that the disstempir is more appairant (it being sett in a tertian with the change of ayre, which is supposed to be for London this day in the intervall of fitts) the dainger is not soe greate. It is God that hath removed his more dreadfull illnesse to this more common, and it muste be His greate power to check and abandon illnesse. He by His dispossing providence makes His soverraignety good to Himselfe. We have had greate prayer and faith acted of late in our famuly, the Lord make it bennificiall unto us.

I feare I may be troublesome to you, and my haste forces me to stop upon this subject, having somwhat to say in the behalfe of this worthy person, Dr Worthe, whoe hath exercissed a greate deale of affection to our famuly. I am not giving him a carrector, he being better knowen to yourselfe; but I may assure you he is the same for you in Ingland as in Ireland, and withoute doubte he is a moste serious Christihian. But you will give me leave to acquainte you with the causse of his soe long stay, which was that he might be rather a messenger of glad tydings, then of ill; which makes way for me to desire youre thancks to him for his love to oure famuly in this time of our sadnesse. We have been a famuly of much sorrow all this summer, and therefore we deserve not the envy of the world; to be a famuly of trouble is suffitient, but to have it loaded upon with afflicting, killing and distroying sorrow makes for pitty instead of anger. We shall still truste in God, whoe is our rocke, upon whome as a suer foundation I recommend your feete; and rest with my service to my d[. . .]s[95] alsoe to my lord and lady Russell,[96]

Your affectionate brother and servant,

R Cromwell

My lord, this inclosed should, as the date will make it appeare, have waited upon you before now; but if it may finde your favourable countenance and assistance (it being on the behalfe a worthy person, whoe is in want of an act of charrity) it will not only redeeme its loste time, but obleige your affectionate brother to serve you in the like kinde.

R C

[95] Paper damaged with some loss of text, though the incomplete phrase may be 'dear sister as'.

[96] They were on a private visit to Ireland at this time.

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405. From Joseph Eyres,[97] Cork, 27 August 1658, 823, fo. 91.

May it please your excellency,

What your excellency suggested to some ministers at Corke, concerning the obstructing the worke of Christ occasioned by some men of unsound principles and unsavoury practises in the ministeriall imploiment, is a serious and sad truth, of which (to my greate griefe) for divers yeares I have had experience. Of which grand inconvenience, as an expedient, certaine instructions came[98] some justices of peace in the county, which proving ineffecttuall it was humbly hinted and desired that some ministers might be added to the justices as assessours and assistants. For ministers alone to be ingaged in a worke of that nature would bring too greate an odium uppon them. The practice in England is a good precedent. Though in that land they, to whome such a commission is directed, have power of ejection; yet I am perswaded it would be better that in this land they be restrained to information and representation. If the justices have not power to examine uppon oath, none will dare to informe or very few, because the persons peccant are so high in the esteeme of many. As for justices of peace fit to be ingaged in the worke, I humbly offer: the mayor of Corke,[99] the recorder, Mr Bathurst, Mr William Hawkins, Mr Savadge of Bandon, Mr Mordocke of Youghall, Mr Walter Cooper. As for ministers: Dr Worth, Mr Stawell, Mr Child, Mr John Hall of Clonokelty, Mr Powell, Mr Burston, Mr Edward Eyres my father, Mr Wells,[100] I apprehend as fit to be concerned. And because the ministers in sallary were considered by the minist[. . .] lately assembled at Dublin by authority from your ex[. . .], I humbly conceive that all other ministers that have the a[. . .][101] of tyths, or preach on the people's incouragement, are fit to be taken into consideration. It's of greate concernement that some minister be setled at Dublin, who understands the state of the country, and will be active and industrious in improving that

[97] Minister in Ireland, from 1653 he was salaried minister of Christ Church in Cork and became a member of Worth's Cork-based association and a firm ally of Worth; he demonstrated both Episcopalian and Presbyterian leanings.

[98] Word – probably 'to' – apparently omitted.

[99] John Hoddor.

[100] Jonas Stowell, minister at Kinsale; Robert Child, minister at Bandon; John Hall, minister at Clonakilty; Richard Powell, minister at Timoleague; Daniel Burston, minister at Tallow and then at Waterford; Edward Eyres, prebendary of Timoleague; and probably Edmund Wells, who, during the 1650s, was minister first at Kinsale, then at Bandon, and finally at St Finbarr's, Cork.

[101] Edge of the paper damaged with some loss of text, though the two incomplete words are probably 'ministers' and 'excellency'; there is less indication what the missing word or words preceding 'of tyths' might be, though 'allowance', 'allocation', or 'allotment' would be plausible.

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his knowledge. The Lord blesse your excellency and incourage your heart, and strengthen your hands in His owne worke. I am, my lord,

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

Joseph Eyres

406. From Philip Jones, 7 September 1658, 823, fos 92–93.

May it please your excellency,

We are now under the sad dispensation of the losse of your deare father, our lord and master. He is gonne to heaven imbalmed with prayers and teares, and that of many who had not learned his value till God was calling him from us. I wish they may be soe farre gainers by his death as to know the good he intended them while he lived.

Such crys and teares from good people have not be[102] knowen in any style for any person or thing as for his life. God hath ben pleased to deny it, yet He hath afforded us this mercy (as to David) that he hath this day a sonne upon his throne and that with great unanimity, but he is not without his great difficultys, which I hope the God of his father will carry him through. The perticulers I shall leave to other dispaths and to the bearer, but could not omitt this opportunity of sending this my humble duty to your excellency, and in most intire sincerity to subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellency's most faithfull and humble servant,

Phi Jones

407. From William Malyn, Whitehall, 8 September 1658, 823, fos 94–95.

Letter of condolence and consolation, expounding and expanding at length on the God-given blow of Oliver Cromwell's death and on the terrible loss that the godly people and whole nation as well as his own family had suffered; seeks to comfort himself and Henry Cromwell through biblical exposition and religious exhortation.

408. From Brian Smyth, Dublin, 15 September 1658, 823, fos 96–97.

May it please your excellency,

It was betwene the Newry and Drogada before I received the sad news of his late Highnes' death, whose memory is never to be forgoten by any good man; and indeed, my lord, it surprised and filled my hart with reall sorrow. And oh that myselfe and all God's people may lay it to hart as the sadest breach that ever Hee made upon us. It was alsoe

[102] Apparently a slip for 'been'.

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another reall ground of troble to mee it should soe fall out that I mised the first post touching the proclayming the now lord protector, your most noble brother.[103] I am, indeed, soe trobled that I will not see your face without your comands to mee, nor abide here tho it's long sence I saw my dear wife, but begon exept your excelency bee pleased to give mee only two weekes tyme, tho I have your passe for my coming. I have bine carfull as sone as I herd the news to post away letters to our companys to bee more then ordinary wachfull, and to yeald cherefull obedience to comands in my absence, which I am sure of. I beseech your excelency to excuse this troble put upon you in your mornfull condition, in which I will to my utmost helpe you and hartilye bege a santified use of this sad stroke, boeth to you and us.

I am, indeede, youre excellency's obedient servant,
Bry Smyth

409. From Francis Russell, Beaumaris, 16 September 1658, 823, fos 98–99.

My deare lord,

It hath pleaseed God to bring us safe to Beaumorris; our passage by sea was very pleasant. Tis good for us to be thankfull, and towards every thing to have the eyes of our understanding open. The fooleish onely perish by reason of ignorance. My deare lord, I must never forget your love, and I hope your lordship shall find that you have not bestowed your favours on the unthankfull. Let nothing of this world ly to heavey upon your mind and spirit. Whatsoever you find in your hart to doe, that doe. While you are subject to God onely, and right reason in a sober, humble, selfe-denying spirit, you will have power both in heaven and on earth, and the princes, wise or great ownes[104] shall serve you, and be glad so to doe, for wisedome commands and can doe all things. I am very confident that if you have a mind to it you may be in England with your freinds before Christmas. All your commands I shall observe, and give your lordship a constant account how much I am and allways shall be, my lord,

Your lordship' to be commanded,
Franc Russell

My love to your wife.

[103]The news of Oliver Cromwell's death and of Richard Cromwell's succession reached Dublin on 10 September, and the new Protector was immediately proclaimed there (*TSP*, VII, p. 384; Dunlop, pp. 685–686).

[104]Word originally written 'ones' but the author has then added a 'w', probably in error.

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410. From Edward Whalley, 18 September 1658, 823, fos 100–101.

May it please your excellencye,

The officers here in towne, as well those of Scotland and those of Ireland under your excellencie's command, as those here in England, this day presented an humble addresse to his Highnesse, which as it did, I doubt not, exceedingly satisfye him, so what he was pleased to say upon the reception of it did abundantly satisfye them. I hope it is a good wellcoming him to his governement and hath a great tendencye of uniting his Highnesse and his officers' heartes together. Your excellencie will very shortly be presented with a coppye of our addresse, with a desire of your and your officers' concurrence in the same. My lord, I returne your excellencie my humble and heartie acknowledgments of your great respects to my sonne. Both hee and I have nothing to repay but our continued faythfulnes, which as I hope, the Lord directing him, he wilbee readye upon all occasions to evidence; so hee likewise that is,

Your excellencie's most obliged servant,

Edw Whalley

411. From Samuel Desborough, Edinburgh, 21 September 1658, 823, fos 102–103.

May it please your excelency,

Allthough the obligations your goodnes hath layd upon me both of an old and later date might justly call for frequent acknowledgments, but my naturall aversment to often writing, especially to persons of such eminency as your lordship, lest I should bee esteemed a complementer (or worse) hath hindred mee from troubling your lordship with my lines. But now having so fitt an opertunity by this gentleman, the bearer hereof, I could not satisfy myselfe without presenting my humble service and tell your lordship that I have a heart as ready to serve you as any, but not being in capacity to doe it, I desire to looke up to heaven that all graces and mercyes may bee comunicated to your lordship sutable to your high imployment, especially spirituall blessings in Christ Jesus. That you may bee a true and living image of your blessed father, whom the Lord hath now sett above those vexatious troubles he was loaded with here below and put into a state where hee shall never know what sin nor sorrow means more, you have cause (great cause) to lament, but not to murmurr; God hath given us cause to mourn and that with a greivous mourning for the loss of such a pretious pious prince, but we must not repine because the soveraigne Lord hath don it, in whose hands is our life and breath, who gives not an acompt of His actions to the sons of

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men. Therefore wee ought to bee dumb and not open our mouth, but sit silent before Him, wayting for His salvation as in times past, for though men and means fayle, yet our God is the same yesterday, today and for ever. And Hee hath not left us in this sad and darke day without som token for good and given us matter of prayse in the midst of sorrowes for that unanimity which apears amongst the armyes in the three nations, of which to heare and see is to mee a matter of joy and hope that God may yet give His people rest and peace. But however it bee in this world, if wee have assured hopes upon good grounds of rest in another, it's sufitient. The God of all grace and peace bee with your lordshipp evermore. Soe praieth,

Your lordship's most affectionately obliged, faithfull and humble servant,

Sa Disbrowe

412. From Gilbert Mabbott,[105] 21 September 1658, 823, fos 104–105.

May it please your excellency,

By lettre from the king of Sweden to the lord George Fleetwood[106] heer, tis certefied that on the 7th instant the Swede tooke Cronenburgh castle, which comaunds the Sound, and is in possession thereof. They have also 36 sayle of men of warre rideing before the castle to secure the Sound, and the king lies with his forces before the towne of Coppenhagen. From Flannders newes is come that Ypre is taken,[107] and all things being securely settled there, marshall Tureine is marched with his forces towards Newporte. On the 10th instant his Highnes the lord protector was (with all usueall ceremonies and much joye and satisfaction of the people) proclaymed att Edenburgh. Friday last[108] in the afternoone a generall meeting of all the common officers of the army of the three nations (now resident about London)

[105] Parliamentarian writer and reporter, who, via John Rushworth, assistant clerk of the House of Commons, became attached to the secretariat of the parliamentarian army during the 1640s, and who thenceforth acted as the army's London agent and correspondent, writing and dispatching letters and newsletters to army commanders and other contacts in the English provinces and in Scotland. This is the first example of a stream of newsletters of this type addressed to Henry Cromwell in Ireland during the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell. Mabbott probably also contributed to several parliamentary newspapers of the period, and may for a time have edited one or more of them.

[106] Military officer in the employ of Sweden and a baron in the Swedish nobility, he was the elder brother of Charles Fleetwood and cousin of the George Fleetwood (with whom he is sometimes confused) who was a parliamentarian officer and a regicide. This George had fought for Sweden since the late 1620s, and from 1655 he was Swedish envoy extraordinary to London, working to cement ties between Sweden and the Protectorate and to recruit troops for Swedish service.

[107] On 14 September.

[108] 17 September.

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was held at Whitehall. The lord Fleetwood first acquainted them with the intent of their meeting, namely, to consider of an addresse to his Highnes, which being read unto them, it was unanimously consented unto and signed by them all, being in number above 220; and on Saturday last betweene 11 and 12 it was presented to his Highnes by the lord Fleetwood attended by all the subscribers. And his Highnes (by a speech to them) was pleased to testefie his gracious approbation thereof; and now tis supposed a parliament will bee suddainely called. Consideration is had by the councell of raiseing more moneys for present supplies. The lord Mountague hath a regiment of horse given him.[109] I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

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

413. From George Monck, 21 September 1658, 823, fos 106–107.

May it please your excellencie,

I received your excellencie' by Mr Robert Wood, for which I returne your excellencie most humble thanks; and these are to acquaint your excellencie that although it hath pleased God to give us a sad stroke in taking away his late Highnesse your father, and my deare friend (for which truly heere are many sad hearts), yet it hath pleased God to give the people heere very chearfull spiritts in the proclayming his now Highnesse to bee his successor. And for the officers and souldiers under my command, I see in them a chearfull inclination of serving his Highnesse. And to testifie their obedience and faithfulnesse to him, they are to meet on Wednesday next to agree uppon the draught of an addresse to his Highnesse, which all commission officers are to signe, which I doubt not but they will very chearfullie doe. And I am very glad to heare that the forces under your excellencie' command are soe united, which is very good newes to us heare. All thinges are heere very quiett and peaceable at present, I praise God for it. I should oftner write unto your excellencie had I any thing worthy the troubling your excellencie, but the condition of this country has been such that it has affoorded very little newes, but when ther shall anie thinge happen that is worth your excellencie' knowledge I shall acquent you with it. I shall desire[110] your excellencie to bee assured that ther is noe man shall bee more ready to serve you then him who is,

Your excellencie' most humble servant,
George Monck

[109]The New Model horse regiment previously commanded successively by Thomas Sheffield, Thomas Harrison, and Stephen Winthrop, the last of whom had died in the spring of 1658.

[110]Word repeated in error.

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414. From Vincent Gookin, 27 September 1658, 823, fos 108–109.

Letter of request, on behalf of his kinswoman, sister of Edmund Ludlow,[111] *who, on Gookin's advice, had invested a legacy from an uncle buying a farm in Ireland, which had failed, and had then used what money remained to buy up a debenture from captain Campbell*[112] *and so gain 350 acres of land around Drogheda, an area set aside for settling military claims; recounts that even though her ownership was confirmed by the Irish exchequer, those lands were now claimed by Sir Anthony Morgan, who had an order from Henry Cromwell and the Irish council for their possession; sets out long and detailed arguments in support of his kinswoman's claim, both as the purchaser of Campbell's debenture and in her own right as a pious and loyal woman, of a good family, and with a family to support, who had acted in good faith throughout but was now wholly reliant on these lands; finally, argues that Morgan, who had no debts or children to support and who had already been handsomely rewarded, might be allocated land in County Cork, which could be deemed to fall within the areas set aside for settling military arrears, or alternatively that, if he should be confirmed in possession of the land around Drogheda, then Gookin's kinswoman should receive land in County Cork instead.*

415. From John Honner, Boffin,[113] 27 September 1658, 823, fos 110–111.

My lord,

Here hath been one Mr Kitt who brought your excellency's order to doe him all the lawfull favour I could in trieing for the fishing in those partes, which to the utmoste of my power I did my best, and did summone in all the countrey and islanders that knew what belonged

[111] Parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide, he campaigned around his native Wiltshire during the civil war, from 1644 commanding his own horse regiment. Elected to parliament in 1646, he became prominent in the later 1640s in parliamentary and army politics, his radical political and religious views leading him to support Pride's Purge and the regicide. In 1650, he was appointed both a parliamentary commissioner for the civil government of Ireland and second-in-command to Ireton as lieutenant-general of the horse. Although not given overall military command on Ireton's death in November 1651, he effectively led the mopping-up operation of 1651–1652 before Ireton's successor, Fleetwood, crossed to Ireland. His republican principles led him to oppose the Protectorate and, in 1654, he resigned as commissioner for the civil government, although he sought to retain his military position. Despite orders to the contrary, he crossed back to England in the autumn of 1655, was arrested and imprisoned and forced to relinquish his command after an interview with the Protector. He spent the remainder of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate in uneasy semi-retirement in Essex, though he returned to the fray in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament, prominent in the republican opposition to the tottering Protectoral regime.

[112] John Campbell, parliamentarian officer, served in Ireland during the 1650s as a captain, initially in Sir Charles Coote's horse regiment and then in Henry Ingoldsby's dragoon regiment.

[113] Inishbofin.

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to fishing. And he tooke his choice of some two and twenty men with their botes for twelve dayes and went away and did not give them any reasonable satisfaction for their paines. And I was desired by my lord president[114] and collonel Sadler to let him have the state's friggat for some small time, which I did with all her men according to his desire, and she was waiteing on him some one and twenty dayes for which he left but eighteen shillings to the great hindranc of the commonwealth in not paying the men for the time they were in his service. And I did desire him and all those that did belong to him, if there was anything that I could doe for them, I should be ready at all times.

And now I am informed from Gallway that he did intend to complaine of me for not haveing civell respects when he was in Boffin, which I wonder at, for I thanck God as yet I never was so uncivell to any in all my goverments and proceedings, both in England and Ireland, as to have any complaint, and should be very lothe now to have anything that is unjust against me. So I doe crave your excellency's leave not to beleive any ill reporte of me that may arise by Mr Kitt or any other untell you doe hear further from your servant, which will be as soon as the masons give over their worke in the forte, which will not be long and then I doe intend, with your excellency's leave, to see you at Dublin. These partes are in as quiet a posture as any partes in the three nations, and in a thriveing condition, and doe pay a good contribution. And my desire is that I and my souldiers may have the islands of Boffin and Clare for this year as all other men doe in these partes, paying for them as they were canted[115] for the last year. I am very sorry for my olde friend's death, my Lord Protector. But the Lord be thancked for so hopefull a vine from him, which I and my companey afferme with what might God doth inable us. Which is all but to desire to remaine,

Your excellency's faithfull servant,
John Honner

416. From Simon Rudgeley, London, 27 September 1658, 823, fos 112–113.

Letter of thanks for past favours and of courtesy, apologizing for his long silence, dismissing rumours of his death, and offering his services to Henry Cromwell.

[114] Sir Charles Coote.
[115] To cant: to sell by auction.

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417. From Daniel Abbott, Nenagh, County Tipperary, 28 September 1658, 823, fos 114–115.

Letter of condolence and consolation on the death of Oliver Cromwell, expressing great faith in the sons he had left; reports that he was sending to Gorges an address of loyalty to the new Protector cheerfully signed by all the commissioned officers of his regiment.

418. From Gilbert Mabbott, 28 September 1658, 823, fos 116–117.

May it please your excellency,

The commissioners of the militia of London and officers of the trayned bands and the officers and souldiers of the garrison at Kingston upon Hull have presented the like addresses to his Highnes as was lately presented to him by the officers of the army heer; and severall regiments of the army are preparing to doe the like. Commissions are issued out to the lords commissioners of the great seale, to all the judges and to the receivers and auditors of the publique revenue. Friday last[116] the commissions of the generall and councell in Scotland were renewed. The councell likewise passed a declaration for a day of publique humiliation to bee observed on the 13th of October next throughout England and Wales for the much deplored loss of your renowned father and to seeke the Lord for a blessing upon his Highnes and that the Lord will bee pleased to remove from us the late epidemicall sicknes. This day the commissions to the judges in Ireland were renewed. Instructions are given for reneweing the commissions to the councell of Ireland and to your excellency by the tytle of lord lieutenant of Ireland.[117] Severall orders are passed to putt a stopp upon all the treasuries from payment of any moneys, but onely to defray the charges of his late Highnes' funerall, the glorious solemnity whereof will bee much after the manner of the late king James's. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

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

[116] 24 September.

[117] Mabbott has written Henry Cromwell's new title in large letters, so the words stand out from the page. At the beginning of November, Henry Cromwell himself wrote that, upon receiving the formal documentation from the Protector, 'I had great strivings within my breast, before I could prevail with myself to accept and open the commission' (*TSP*, VII, p. 492).

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419. From Abel Warren,[118] Lodge, 30 September 1658, 823, fos 118–119.

Letter of request that, in light of a favour recently granted to colonel Redman,[119] he be promoted to the rank of major, supporting his claim by pointing to his sixteen-year military record under the late Protector, as well as to his desire to serve Henry Cromwell.

420. From Edward Wale, [early October] 1658, 823, fos 134–135.

May it please your excellency,

Upon the receipt of your lordship's declaration for the setting apart Thursday the 14th of this instant October as a day of solemne humiliation throughout this land, I saw great cause of comfort and reviving after our sad and heavy losse of his Highnesse of blessed memory. For though for the sinnes of all degrees and ranks of men among us this great affliction is come upon us, which cannot but sorely wound the hearts of all in this and the neighbour nations which truely feare the Lord, yet when we see the care of religion surviving in his successours it cannot but be a cheering cordiall to all that love the trueth and pray for the happy progresse of a gospell reformation, because this care and zeale for religion is of God, and the best and most assuring evidence that still He beares a favourable respect to our nation and that He will not take His peace from this people. And indeed without this care for religion and encouraging of a gospell ministery here, this land is likely in the next age (which God prevent) to degenerate into meere brutishnesse and barbarisme. But having seene your excellencye's fervent desire to enkindle and preserve the life of religion and godlynesse in this nation, I thought it my duty to give your lordship account of what is done here.

Having preached for some time in this place, not altogether without fruite, I thought it my duty to draw such Christians as were knowing and blameless to pertake in the Lord's supper and other ordinances of Christ, as well as in hearing the word. This practise I continued for some yeeres, but seeing the slacknesse of the people to seeke communion with us (some thinking the way we were in to be too strict, others too loose, and others mistaking my intentions and purposes), I

[118] Parliamentarian officer, he first shows up in the military record in the late 1640s as a cornet in Edward Whalley's New Model horse regiment and by 1650 was a captain in Oliver Cromwell's horse regiment in Ireland. He may also be the Warren who was earmarked as major of a new foot regiment to be raised for service in Ireland in 1650–1651, but the plans were abandoned.

[119] Daniel Redman, parliamentarian officer, the long-serving major of the late Protector's horse regiment in Ireland, had recently been given command of the horse regiment in Ireland formerly commanded by the late John Reynolds.

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have seene it my duty to exhort them to communion, and to presse their baptisme as an ingagement upon them to seeke after the sealing ordinances. And I have declared to them that none shall be refused that shall be found qualifyed according to what is written in this paper, which here I send enclosed to your excellency.[120] For as I would not shut out any of the least of Christ's members from their just priviledges, soe I would not incourage any loose or profane person to take what is none of his, to the dishonour of Christ and his owne hurt. I know that aswell overmuch strictnesse, which dishearteneth the weake, as a loose and dead formality, which offendeth the strong, are displeasing to Jesus Christ. I have also set upon the worke of catechizing publiquely on the weekeday, and the people come and bring their children in some competent number. But fearing to be too troublesome to your lordship, I humbly crave pardon for this boldnesse and take my leave, not ceasing to pray for his present Highnesse's and your excellencye's happy goverment, and that the humiliation and reformation intended may be soe directed and assisted from heaven that it may finde acceptance there. I continue,

Your excellencye's humble servant,
Edward Wale

421. The paper of necessary qualifications, [enclosed in letter no. 420], 823, fos 136–137.

After my exhorting the people to seeke after the sealing ordinances, I have told them that none should be refused.

1. That can and will professe these things as in the presence of God, viz:
   That his heart is drawne off from sin and the creature to seeke his rest and satisfaction in Christ alone.
   And that he loves God's name, His word, His ordinances, His wayes, His people, and those most that are most holy and strict in their lives.
   And that he unfeignedly desireth to be under the watchfull care of God's ministers and people, and to be exhorted by them and helped on in godlynesse.

2. In whom these things are really found, viz:
   That he hath a competent knowledge.
   And that he is a frequenter of religious exercises in publique and private.

[120] No. 421.

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And that he hath set up the worship of God in his family.
And that he instructs his children himselfe, and brings them to be catechised, if he hath any.
And that he is a strict observer of the Lord's day.
And that he is free from (at least grosse) errour in his judgment, and from scandall in his life.
And that he submitts himselfe to Christian discipline.
And that he will renew his covenant with God in the presence of His people.

422. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 5 October 1658, 823, fos 122–123.

My deare lord,

Allthough I have not bin long in this towne and place, yet I have not bin wanting to serve you and your desires. It was but the last night that I came from Chippenham, haveing bin very ill since I left Ireland. The last night I waited on your brother, his Highnes, and this day on my lord Fleetwood. I have bin very free and plaine with them both about your comeing for England.[121] The perticulers of our discourse twill be needlesse to mention, and indeed time now will not give me leave. Your lordship well knows my way and manner of plainenes of speech, and truely I have not bin wanting to speake my mind as I ought to doe. They have had both of them my thoughts concerning you. I am ill at hideing myselfe when I think there is a just occation to pull of all coverings. His Highnes, as I suppose you will understand by others if not from himselfe, is very desireous to see you here. He told me he was very sensible of your love towards himselfe and that the sooner you came into England it would be the better. My lord Fleetwood did expresse a most reall love and respect that he had for you and sayed that he thought it of much advantage to affaires as they now stand that you tow might meet and understand each other, and that if any jealousys should ly whispering and swelling betwixt you, they might be taken away by love and plaine dealeing with each other. He hath promised me to move you[122] comeing over to some of the counsell and

[121] Henry Cromwell was angling for permission to return to England at this time, for either a brief visit or a more extended stay, partly on grounds of ill health, partly so that he could see and confer with his brother. His return came to be opposed by some inside and outside the council and the army, particularly those who had reservations about Richard Cromwell's government and did not wish to see him strengthened by his brother's presence, and those who did not want Henry Cromwell to gain influence or high position in the army in England (*TSP*, VII, pp. 423, 438, 453–454, 454–455, 463, 490, 492, 493–494, 497, 510, 528–529).

[122] Apparently a slip for 'your'.

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I suppose twill be to those who are for your tarrying in Ireland. If I can guesse at things, generall Disbrow is the person most against your comeing over; I will say no more. Truely, my lord, if you will take my counsell I should advise you to stand to your desires of seeing England and to signifie the same to his Highnes and your brother Fleetwood by wrighting unto them. And pray take this as my thoughts (and I think I doe well understand what I say) if you have a mind for England resolve it stoutly and I am confident nobody will dare to hinder your comeing. Let them talke and rant never so high, tis time for you to live above all those things and not to be concerned what the world either sayed or thinks. You have here many good freinds and considerable ones, and that would be glad to see you. By the next post I hope to give your lordship a better and more full account of things here. Let the feare and love of God guide your mind and spirit, truely I have no better counsell for you. The Lord blesse you and all yours. My love to your wife. I must allways be, my lord,

Your lordship's faithfully to serve you,
Franc Russell

If your lordship comes not over to us suddenly I have thoughts of leaveing both court and citty. I will be a lord[123] no longer but a country man; follow the plough and beg your leave that Francis[124] may come over to follow my busynes here.

I doe beg two or three in your next letter to my lord Fleetwood in the behalfe of my sonne Jack.[125]

423. From William Lockhart, Dunkirk, 5/15 October 1658, 823, fos 126–127.

Letter of condolence and consolation on the death of Oliver Cromwell, though noting that the future already looked brighter; says he was enclosing a copy of the address of loyalty to the new Protector sent from Dunkirk; offers his services to Henry Cromwell.

[123] He was a member of the nominated second chamber of parliament.

[124] Following William Russell's death sometime during the winter or spring of 1658, Francis had become the writer's eldest surviving son and heir.

[125] John Russell, probably the third son of Sir Francis Russell, but, following the deaths of his brothers William and Francis (who died in 1659), he became the eldest surviving son and eventually succeeded his father to the baronetcy in 1664, a year after he had married Oliver Cromwell's daughter, Frances, widow of Robert Rich.

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424. From Charles Whalley, 6 October 1658, 823, fos 124–125.

Letter of request, seeking Henry Cromwell's help in a long and expensive legal case brought against him by Lord Fitzwilliam,[126] *being heard at the chancery in London; recounts how, many years ago, before the Irish rebellion and at the request of colonel William Edwards,*[127] *he had become joint surety with Edwards for payments due on some Irish land held by Sir Edward and John Trevor, father and son, both now dead; in fact, no rent was paid for many years, since the land was effectively worthless during the rebellion, but nonetheless he was now being pursued at law by Fitzwilliam for payment; asks Henry Cromwell to mediate.*

425. From Bryan Smyth, 15 October 1658, 823, fos 128–129.

Letter of request and recommendation, urging Henry Cromwell to employ as a messenger Timothy Avery, a godly but indebted young man who had a family to support, and in some other minor office Mr Renes of Derry, an honest man with a wife and many small children to support, who had been reduced by the hand of the Lord from a comfortable to a straitened condition.

426. From Hugh Peters, 26 October 1658, 823, fos 130–131.

My lord,

Upon the death of your father I writ and know not whither my dispicable lines touched your lorde. And yet such hath bin my constancy to your lordshipp that fawning nor frowning have taken place with mee to make me fearfull or careles in reference to yourselfe or your affayres; but cannot bee a courtier (as they say). You had long since my thoughts in writing, nor am I doubtfull of the good effect they tooke, and I wish the Lord would please to keepe you every way to His praise in Christ.

Your lordshipp's worke is your owne salvation for ever, and the serving the Lord's interest whilst you are here. Your last synod there of ministers hath not a little affected and afflicted us here.[128] Doubtles the world is one thing and the church another. If this distinction bee slighted, farewell God and goodnes. I am not so uncivill to aske an

[126] Probably William, second Baron Fitzwilliam of Lifford in the Irish peerage, who sat as MP for Peterborough in the Long Parliament until excluded at Pride's Purge. He died in February 1659.

[127] Perhaps the parliamentarian officer of that name who came to Ireland in 1647 as an officer in Anthony Hungerford's foot regiment and who, during the 1650s, served on several commissions relating to the distribution of land in Ireland.

[128] As a religious radical and a strong critic of tithes, Peters took a dim view both of the generally conservative tone struck at the Dublin convention of ministers held in the spring of 1658 and of the proposals that Worth carried to the Protector in the summer.

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account of your Highnes, alas what am I? But if I love you, then I must doe. Flatterers never loved you; frends doe that are playne.

I wish you never heare unam partim[129] only: see who are about you, noscitur e socio[130] etc, servants and companions till any new constitution. I gave you a hynt of Dr Worth. Your father dyed as he lived, an Independant. Presbytery and Independancy are all the consistency in religion. I am your lordshipp's if anything.

HP

I feare your horrid excise will shake your country.

427. From Thomas Adams,[131] Kilkenny, 30 October 1658, 823, fos 132–133.

Letter of request, praising Henry Cromwell's government in Ireland and seeking employment in his and the Lord's service.

428. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 1 November 1658, 823, fo. 138.

My deare lord,

For my love and desires to be faithfull unto you, I find I have got not onely scratches but wounds, but being they were honorably got in your service I shall looke upon them as onely markes of honor. I am goeing home to dresse them, not knowing when I shall returne hither againe unlesse it be to meet and wait upon your lordship, for I cannot but hope but that some of[132] endeavours will worke a good effect in time. Indeed, I have great need to retyre myselfe, haveing had some unpleasant houres here. Hir Highnes, your mother, is much troubled that she is not likely to see you so soone as she thought for, and commanded me to wright so much to your lordship. I find she loves you exceedingly and told me that she would speake to his Highnes againe about your comeing over. I find it not wisedome for me to speake freely about your desires, but onely to my lord Fleetwood, who I know was ignorant of the late stop made to your seeing England, of which you will have an account from himselfe, who I am confident loves and values you exceedingly, as I found in a large discourse with him about you, and as we were parting sayed (in these words) my lord Henry must come. I have had great experyence of men since I last saw you, and I doe beleeve you have had no lesse, and will have

[129] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'one part' or 'one side'.

[130] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'one is known by the company one keeps'.

[131] Possibly the Thomas Adams of Kilkenny, referred to as a major, who, in 1654, was appointed a commissioner for setting land for disbanded soldiers in County Kilkenny.

[132] Word – perhaps 'my' – apparently omitted.

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more dayly. By wisedome, patience, love and the feare of God, I hope a good understanding will be giveen you, that you may be able to discerne things that truely differ. Will Perepoint hath bin twise of late at my lodgeings. He is most faithfully your freind. In our discourse togather I did as to some things and perticulers open his eyes. He did professe to me that the onely reason he had for your not comeing as yet was least the army should prove unquiet. Wherein I told him freely that I did beleeve he was mistakeen, so that he seemeed to be satisfied. Some of your freinds here I have (if I mistake not) found to eb and flow as to your comeing. Amicus certas in re incerta cernitur.[133] My lord Claypoole told me the last Sunday that he did beleeve you would be sent for ere long. He mentioned not the time, neither was I curyous to know. Tis neere a fortnight (as I take it) since I had any discourse with his Highnes about you, for himselfe not offering it (as he had done formerly) I tooke it to be wisedome to forbare.

My deare lord, in one of my late letters to you I told you that I thought God in His love, time and goodwill would satisfie your desires before men, so that you should be beholding to Him onely. While you looke upwards you shall be safe, but if downewards you will find men to be but as they are, neither so freindly, loveing and faithfull as our good God and Father is, whose onely nature is love and pitty, full of kindnes, gentle and easy to be entreated; therefore delight yourselfe onely in Him, consult with Him dayly and hourely. Oh that you might be found such a one as I have boasted of you to be: that is, feareing the Lord, faithfull to what you have received from Him, walkeing honestly accord[134] to your light and knowledge, noble, civill, courteous, without designe or ambition as to earthly, worldly things. My deare lord, if the crosse be at present offered you as your portion, kisse it, tis the onely way to life and resurrection and the same path that your captaine, the Lord Jesus, is gone before you. Indeed, now I must love and honor you because I see your wisedome, love and patience tryed, and I hope in this tryall I shall never deny you or say I knew you not. Since I begunne this letter, I have met with some discouragements as to my hopes of your comeing; from the doctor[135] you will receive them, therefore I will be silent. While you suffer I shall bare you company, and when you rejoyce I shall be glad. My lord, if you can trust my love and faithfullnes, let it be so likewise betweene my lord Fleetwood and yourselfe. Be not to wise but trust a foole once, considering you will find in time that the wise will leave you. My experyence of men is

[133] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'a true friend shows himself in uncertain times' or 'things' or, more colloquially, as 'a friend in need is a friend indeed'.

[134] This word has been split at the line end and the writer has evidently forgotten to add the 'ing' at the start of the next line.

[135] Probably William Petty.

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as great as yours and being and[136] old beaten soldyer I can say so. My love[137] your wife. I hope your love, wisedome and strenght will support hir as the weakeer vessell. If your lordship please, I beg againe that Francis may come for England, not that[138] intend in the least he should desert you or your service, but onely that in my retreat and retyrement he might follow my busynes, he being my eldest sonne and without whose presence here I shall not be able to doe some kind of busynes, my estate being entaileed upon him. I beg your letters as your leisure will give leave, and that they may be inclosed in my lord Fleetwood's packet or Doctor Petty's, captain John[139] being turneed country-man, where I must follow him. The Lord blesse you and all yours. I doubt our letters sometimes miscarry, because I doe so seldome heare from you, and that haveing written unto Doctor Gorge I never had any answer. I am and allways must be, my deare lord,

Yours in true love and all faithfullnes,

Franc Russell

Since I finished this letter I am told tis likely you will be sent for.

Trust not to much your wise freinds, for they, like swallows when your sommer's done, will fly and seeke some warmeer sun.

Experto credo Francisco.[140]

429. From Timothy Taylor, Kilroot, County Antrim, 1 November 1658, 823, fos 139–140.

Letter of request, pointing out that his salary as a minister was in arrears, because he had received just £25 since 25 March and so was owed a quarter and a half quarter's salary, but also requesting that the quarter's salary due on 25 December be paid in advance; reports that it was an expensive time for him, because his wife had fallen from a horse over the summer and been housebound as a result and even now could only get about on crutches.

430. From Gilbert Mabbott, 2 November 1658, 823, fos 141–142.

May it please your excellency,

Wee have yet noe certeine news of the surrender of Coppenhagen, but undoubtedly expect to heare of it every day, the greate probability

[136] Apparently a slip for 'an'.

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

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

[139] John Russell, a parliamentarian officer whose military career is thinly recorded but who reputedly fought at Marston Moor in 1644, was one of Sir Francis Russell's younger brothers.

[140] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'I believe the experienced Francis'.

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thereof being confirmed by very many. The Dutch embassador is preparing to departe. Sir George Aiscue is dispatcht (with 2 vessells for convoy) to joyne with the Swede. About 200 English and Scotts comeing lately from Bulloigne were all (except 2 or 3 officers, who escaped on horsebacke) slayne and taken by the enemy neere Mardyke. Friday last[141] the officers mett at Jamese's, spent the whole day in prayer and appointed to meete there againe on Friday next, and their meeting then to continue but 3 houres. Judge Hales[142] refuseth to sitt till hee bee satisfied in one pointe of the judges' oath, and excused from sitting upon life and death. The councell have ordered a monthe's pay extraordinary to the regiments of his Highnes, the lord Falconberge and Sir Phillip Twisleton,[143] who are to marche to Scotland. A comittee is appointed to consider of a way to prevent indicteing of ministers for not administering the sacrament. Captain Hart[144] is appointed by advice of the councell to bee major to the lord Mountague's regiment. Yesterday his Highnes had debate with certaine feild officers about raiseing of moneys to pay parte of the souldiers' arreares. The high court of justice mett, but suspended their sitting till further empowered by new commission. The Portugall's army have lately received a greate defeate. The duke of Curland refuseing to lend the Swede the like somme as hee lately lent to his brother in lawe (the duke of Brandenburgh), major generall Douglas thereupon marcht into his dukedome, tooke his person prisoner and therewith secured £200,000. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble and most obedient servant,

Gilb Mabbott

[141] 29 October.

[142] Matthew Hale/Hales, judge and legal writer, remained in London during the civil war and worked with the parliamentarian regimes of the period, though it is noticeable that he was frequently assigned to defend prominent royalists in state trials. In 1652, he was a member of a commission appointed by the Rump to consider legal reform and he chaired the opening two sessions. In 1654, he accepted office as a judge in the court of common pleas and was elected to the first and third Protectorate parliaments, but he was not a committed Cromwellian and, in 1658–1659, prevaricated about continuing to serve the Protectorate.

[143] Parliamentarian officer, by the mid-1640s he was an officer in Edward Rossiter's New Model horse regiment and in 1647 he replaced Rossiter as its colonel. He and his regiment were frequently in Scotland, campaigning there in the autumn of 1648, under Oliver Cromwell in 1650–1651, and again in 1652–1654. He seems to have remained in England in the later 1650s, even though his regiment returned to Scotland once more in the autumn of 1658.

[144] Theophilus Hart, parliamentarian officer and a long-serving captain in Twisleton's regiment, became major in Montague's New Model horse regiment.

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431. From Jeremy Benton,[145] Nantwich, 3 November 1658, 823, fos 143–144.

Right honnorable,

No sinister respects, no expectation of better preferment, no dissatisfaction with your governement have mooved mee to leave Ireland, and therefore I am in hope thereby to gayne your pardon for my not acquaynting you with it. I desire of you, my lord, not to bee displeased with mee, for many urgent reasons prevayled with mee thereunto, of which I have given an account in a letter to Dr Gorges, whom I desyred to acquaynt your lordship therwith. I humbly thanke your lordship and council for granting an order for my sallary due on midsummer day last, for Trim was supplyed by myselfe and at my charge til that time; and I most earnestly implore your favour, that you would bee pleased to give life to it, and to make it effectual, that so my wife and family may bee no longer detayned (whiles looking after it) to my great prejudice, if not ruine. My lord, your favour and respect to the ministery is so wel knowne that I thinke you cannot want supplyes, and I perceive ministers are comming over frequently and that Trim is provided for. I beseech you, let not mee bee the first you deale hardly with; had I but the opportunity of one halfe houre's speech with your honour, I question not but I should satisfy you fully as to the causes of my stay in England. That litle estate I have is in other men's hands, and I could find no freinds in my absence that would looke after it carefully, and I am necessitated therefore to mynd it myselfe, else must loose it. And I could not tel what to doe for a dwelling in Trim. I payd a great rent for an house there, that wee feared would fal on our head in every great storme, and I had litle incouragement since major Stanly left the place. And I know not what to doe about the sacrament there, beeing divisions amongst them. This is the great bone of contention everywhere almost. Besydes a brother and sister of myne are dead lately, and left many litle children and nothing to manteyne them and if I take not care of them they may perish. The getting of the present sallary is one of the greatest busynesses that deteynes my wife in Dublin; I doe therefore once more begge of you that you would be pleased to send some special order to the treasurers that so this remora[146] may be taken away that hinders her comming over to mee. May the Lord of heaven make you stil instrumental more and more for the good of His church and blesse you and yours with al

[145] Salaried minister at Trim by 1656, he may be the Jeremy Benton who was minister at parishes in Surrey and Essex in the early 1650s.

[146] Remora: a sucking fish once believed to slow or stop ships, and hence more generally a delay or hindrance.

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temporal and eternal blessings, is and shalbe the dayly prayer of your honour's

Most humble servant,
Jeremy Benton

432. From Thomas Gorges,[147] London, 9 November 1658, 823, fos 145–146.

May it please your excellency,

Although I well know your more weighty affayres cannot easily admitt of such diversions and trouble as my lines offer you, yet the meanest of tributes proceedinge from gratitude hath ever bin by the highest of princes accepted. I am therefor to pay your excellency as much duty as your high obligations layd on me and my neer relations bindes me unto, but (my lord) I know my own incapacitye streightns me and gives me only an heart full of devotion to serve your person and interest. I shall not dare to offer your excellency any of our occurances; I sit at distance from the arcana imperii[148] and may err in the information. Only this I presume to assure your excellency, that every day new manefestation of loyaltye, affection and service is espoused unto his Highness, whose eminencye nothinge but an hand from heaven can ecclipse. He gayns exceedingly on the sober party, which gives a checque to specious pretences or designs of some persons who as yet have noe apparent footinge.[149] All interists naturally will struggle for breath, but our great rejoycings are in that happy union Ireland injoys under your excellencye's most prudent conduct, which hath soe powerfull an influence here that mallice itself (although full of detraction) can finde noe just cause of quarrell. I humbly present your excellency a paper inclosed in this packet, which carryes with it

[147] Parliamentarian politician, brother of Henry Cromwell's secretary, Dr Robert Gorges, he held a number of minor financial offices during the Protectorate and represented Taunton in all three Protectorate parliaments.

[148] This Latin phrase could be translated as 'the hidden things of the ruler' or 'government' or 'the mysteries of state'.

[149] Gorges is probably alluding to questions about Richard Cromwell's power and position, which began to circulate, especially in military circles, within weeks of his succession. By the beginning of October, many junior and some senior officers were questioning his right to command the army and were suggesting or petitioning that a military figure, perhaps Fleetwood, should be appointed commander-in-chief. Regular meetings of the officers were held during the autumn, some chaired by Fleetwood, who was ostensibly steering a middle course, keen to maintain his dominant military position while also professing loyalty and obedience to the Protector, some attended and addressed by Richard himself, who spoke at meetings on 18 October and 19 November to stress his constitutional and God-given power as commander-in-chief, while pledging to work for the army and with Fleetwood as lieutenant-general of the army under him.

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somwhat of high demands, yet good use may be made of such persons, and if your excellency shall judge any part of it worth the consideration and command my service in it, I shall welcome that opportunity that may any ways declare me,

Your excellencye's most humble servant,
Tho Gorges

433. From Gilbert Mabbott, 9 November 1658, 823, fos 147–148.

May it please your excellencie,

The councell have ordered a draught of an establishment for Dunkirke to bee prepared. Six sergeants of the six regiments to waite upon and assist the receivors of the moneys upon new buildings, which is propounded to bee towards satisfaction of the souldiers' arreares. The duke of Bucks[150] (being sicke) hath liberty to staye at Yorke House 20 daies longer. The officers mett againe Friday last[151] at Jamese's and (about 3 houres) prayed and expounded severall places of scripture and appointed to meete againe Friday next for the same purpose. From Denmarke tis certefied that the Swedes were possest of the island of Amacke, the cheifest support for supply of provicions to the besieged in Coppenhagen, but the enemy upon a salley regained it and had taken the person of the king of Sweden prisoner had not halfe an old boate (which partely supported his body) and his dextrous swimming prevented it. The Dutch ambassador (waveing his owne private affaires) is not yet gone, nor goeing; but Sir George Aiscue tooke shipping on Friday last for Denmarke. The funeralls of his late Highnes (intended to have beene solemnized on this day) are putt of till further order. The gentlemen of the long robe and the lord president,[152] lord chamberlaine[153] and members of the house of lords[154] are to bee in close mourning gownes. Wee heare nothing of Coppenhagen, onely the merchants say that the Swedes are 32 sayle strong to fight the Dutch and therefore they desire a treaty with the

[150] George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, supported the royalist cause in the late 1640s and early 1650s and then spent several years abroad, but, by the mid-1650s, he may have been attempting to build bridges with the Protectoral regime and was not initially arrested on his return to England in 1657. However, his marriage later that year to the only child of Sir Thomas Fairfax, himself now suspected of royalist learnings, greatly alarmed the Protectoral regime, and Buckingham was arrested and held either in the Tower or, for the benefit of his health, in more comfortable house arrest in London until being released in February 1659 and allowed to return to the Fairfax estate in Yorkshire.

[151] 5 November.

[152] President of the council, Henry Lawrence.

[153] Sir Gilbert Pickering.

[154] That is, the new, nominated, second parliamentary chamber, established under the revised constitution of 1657, which carefully avoided using the title 'House of Lords'.

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Swedes for an accomodation. His Highnes gives greate satisfaction in his answeares to those persons who make daily addresses to him from the severall counties and corporations in England and hath promised to pay of all the arrears of the foote souldiers, which makes them not a little joyfull in his favour. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

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

434. From William Sedgwick,[155] Fulham, 9 November 1658, 823, fos 149–150.

Letter of thanks for giving employment to his unnamed kinsman, who had exhausted his trade and estate in England, and who had been recommended to Henry Cromwell by Sir Francis Russell; also expresses his joy in hearing of Henry Cromwell's godly government of Ireland and urges him to continue to work with and for the Lord.

435. From Methuselah Turner, London, 9 November 1658, 823, fos 151–152.

May it please your excellencye,

About July, August and September 1656 I became an humble suplicant unto your excellencye in the name of the committee for claymes, prayeing that the lands assigned to them for their service might bee sett out, possession given, the grant passed and the rent ascerted according to his Highness' letter. It seemed good unto your lordship then to order the possession only of 1,500 acres and to respite the remainder, as also passing the grant untill his Highness should signifye his farther pleasure therein. Whereupon it pleased his Highness, by his letter dated December 4 following,[156] to order:

That the said whole 3,000 acres survayed by your excellencye's direction and exprest in the inclosed survay, which came in your letter, bee sett out to the concerned.

That possession bee deliverred them or their assignes of the whole.

That the rent reserved bee foure pence per acre.

That a grant bee passed of the premises for the terme of 99 yeares.

[155] Minister, an opponent of Charles I's religious policies, he supported the parliamentarian cause and, during the early 1640s, he preached several times before parliament and also had short spells as a military chaplain; from 1645 to 1649 he was minister at Ely cathedral. However, his subsequent criticism of the army and of the regicide led some to suspect him of royalism, just as his intense spirituality and doom-laden prophecies led many to question his sanity, and he adopted a less prominent role during the 1650s.

[156] Dunlop, p. 646.

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Pursuant wherto it pleased your excellencye about the end of July last to signe the contract and grant a warrant for the particuler in order to its passing the great seale.

Notwithstanding all which, it is signifyed that an obstruction hath very lately happened wherby the concerned are like to bee deprived of that proportion of lands lyeing neare unto Kilmallock, being part of the 3,000 acres exprest in the survey sent unto and confirmed by his Highness in his said last letter.

Now soe it is may it please your excellencye:

That through the hope I had of the good issue heereof, I have in purchase of my other partners' proportions expended the very all of my estate, soe that the deteynment of this proportion may prove a sadd dammage to mee and to mee only.

That by reason of publique service relateing to the hospitalls of the Savoy and Ely House,[157] I am incapacitated at this tyme to attend in person on this matter.

That ther is none unto whom I can with that assurance fly for succour as unto your excellencye, being encouraged therto by my former experience of the many favours you have been pleased to allow mee. Wherfore I doe most humbly supplicate your excellencye, even for the love of justice, that you would bee pleased to releive mee heerin by interposeing between mee and this endeavored prejudice, verilly hopeing and beleiving it will never bee a greife of heart to you that you have soe done. In hummillity craveing pardon for this great presumption I remayne,

Your excellencye's most humbly and faithfully to serve,

Mathuselah Turner

436. From Francis Russell, Whitehall, 16 November 1658, 823, fos 153–154.

My deare lord,

The hopes and desires I had of seeing your lordship as yet in England being in my opinion at an end, I am goeing home to Chippenham. My lord Claypoole tells me that he is to wait on your lordship, and I suppose will bring you the reasons both by letter from his Highnes and word of mouth why tis not convenyent for you to leave Ireland at this time. My lord, haveing now thoughts to retyre and withdraw hence to a private retyreed life, tis my request to your lordship that Francis may come over to me this winter to follow my little busynes,

[157] Savoy House, or simply The Savoy, on the south side of the Strand, a medieval palace largely rebuilt in the early sixteenth century; and Ely House in Holborn, a medieval ecclesiastical hostel of the bishop of Ely, largely rebuilt in the later sixteenth century. Both served at this time as military hospitals for sick and wounded parliamentary troops.

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and, if you shall so please, I shall send Jack over about the spring to your service in Ireland, finding it difficult to get him into the army here, allthough I have tryed what I could doe therein with as much modesty and wisedome as I could. My lord, I think and am confident you know me well to honor and serve you allways in my poore sphere. None shall be more faithfull. When your occations will give you leave, I shall be glad sometimes to receive a letter from you. If you wright at any time to me be pleaseed to put your letters into my lord Fleetwood's packet or Doctor Petty's because my brother Jack is leaveing Whitehall and intendes to turne country-man with me. I shall as often as I can trouble you with my letters. Tis some tryall to my spirit that I have so little hopes left of seeing you in England, but the will of God I desire to rest in and to submit to His pleasure. He onely knowes what is best for us all. We are poore, ignorant, simple creatures. The Lord in His love and mercy pitty us all and remember whereof we are made. My love to your wife. The Lord blesse you both and all yours. I am and must allways be, my dear lord,

Your lordship's in all true love and faithfullnes,

Franc Russell

437. From the mayor and aldermen of Gloucester, Gloucester, 17 November 1658, 823, fo. 155.

Letter of thanks, acknowledging Henry Cromwell's continuing affections for Gloucester and his gift of £50, which would be put to good use by the town.

438. From George Monck, Dalkeith, 23 November 1658, 823, fos 156–157.

May itt please your excellency,

I make bold to returne your excellencie most humble thankes for the favour you have bin pleased to shew to my kinsman Henry Monck in giving of him a cornett's place, which in a letter from my lord Broghill hee was pleased to informe mee of. I know nott how I shall bee able to requite those many favours I have received from your excellencie, butt thus much I shall desire your excellencie may know, that your favours and worth have soe obliged mee that you may bee assured of mee as your faithfull servant. I prayse God all things in these parte are quiett and well, both in the army and Scotts nation and I hope will continue soe, and I am very glad all thinges are soe under your excellencie's command. Soe desiring the Almighty God to blesse you and goe alonge with you in all your proceedinges, I take leave and remayne,

Your excellencie's most humble and faithfull servant,

George Monck

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439. From Simon Rumney,[158] Tralee, County Kerry, 29 November 1658, 823, fo. 158.

My lord,

Your excellencie's servuant especially in the gospell and faithfull to your just interest every way humbly prayes liberty for a few words, though as from a shrub to a cedare, especially because the present patrone to most of the transported ministry in Ireland. I solicited your excellencie by petition at Lissmore in your progresse for my salary then due, alledging reasons of some weight for expedition, whereupon your excellencie (as I was informed) appoynted Doctor Gorge to make a dispatch to Dublin about it; although then I was by your excellencie enformed of some suspicion of missdemeanour by me (which since hath beene found causelesse) with your promise that the matter should shortly be tryed at Dublin. In order to which I have since passed the tryall, and beene approved of by the commissioners appoynted in Kery to try all matters of scandall concerning me, and by the ministers in Limerick to try my ministeriall sufficiencie, which approbations I hope are long since returned to your excellencie and honourable counsell, whereby your excellencie may perceive mallice or ignorance to be the (but bad) enformers, but cleered innocency the product. Yet this remora[159] to my salary hath beene such dammage to my subsistence that, if it be not speedily removed and order with effect taken for my receiving of my salary, my present want is like to be unsupportable. I haveing not received a penny due since March last, soe that there is due to me within a month after the date hence of one hundred and five pounds, for three quarters salary, of which I am indebted above fifty pounds, and where to borrow more I know not nor with modesty can I, which is, I thinke, a deplorable case for my chargeable famuly. I haveing nothing but by the penny, which course if not prevented will force me either to have thoughts for England againe or to take some other employment here and not betray my famuly to want. I beseech your excellencie to pardon my enforced plainenesse and to speed effectuall order for my supply and prevention of my like future want. But especially let me for the Lord's sake beg of your excellencie in the behalfe of starveing soules in Kery to send if possible some more godly ministers. Prolixity, though forced, shameth me, therefore I take

[158] Minister in Ireland, working at Tralee by 1656. At the Dublin convention of ministers of spring 1658, he was one of thirty-one salaried ministers in Ireland listed as under suspicion of scandal or insufficiency.

[159] Remora: a sucking fish once believed to slow or stop ships, and hence more generally a delay or hindrance.

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leave with affectionate prayers for your excellencie's and counsell's grace, safty, honour and happinesse, as the desire of,

Your excellencie's servant in the gospell,

Simon Rumney, minister at Traley in Kery

440. Francis Russell, Chippenham, 6 December 1658, 823, fos 159–160.

My deare lord,

I hope none of mine to your lordship have miscarryed, yet I dare not be to confident of it, haveing written unto you allmost every weeke since I came out of Ireland, and not received above three of yours. Being now retyreed home, I can but tell you how wee doe, and how glad we should be if twere though[160] fit that you might have your liberty and not be confineed to Ireland. Surely you have deserved better. By your patience now I hope you will get experyence and see into that kind of wisedome which may make you wise indeed. My love and faithfullnes for you hath bin such as did become a true freind, for which it may be I doe suffer with you and am not asshameed of it. Pray as often as you can, let me receive of yours. If you come not for England this winter I have no thoughts of stiring from home, allthough I be summoned by writ to the parliment.[161] Surely I have served my country and freinds long enough at my owne charge and trouble, for which I might at least have expected a recompense of poore love, but finding not it, I must grow wise before it be to late. Really, my lord, I am at a stand what counsell to give you, not being able to judge of your present frame and temper of spirit, but this I say and must affirme as wisedome, that to take a kind of banishment from my freinds and country would by no meanes agree with me. Your tryalls have begonne with you betimes, and it may be you must bare that crosse to the grave. Me thinks it seemes to be appointed for you as your portion, therefore take it up with wisedome and patience. Yet a man-like wisedome will become you and is not to be neglected. To serve any body and not to be recompenced with love me thinks is below a man, though never so humble and selfe denying. If the men of this world needed not me, why should I make myselfe theyres. My brother Jack you are never likely to see againe. Doctor Eade hath little hopes of his life, but seemes to give him over. I doe wish you here at Chippenham with us, haveing my mind full of thoughts about you.

[160] Apparently a slip for 'thought'.

[161] Summoned as a member of the second chamber to sit in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament, due to meet in January. Despite his comments here, Russell did take his seat.

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They are not fitt for paper, but belong to yourselfe onely. Surely I ly not if I should say you can have no freind so truely loveing you as doeth, my deare lord,

Your lordship's most faithfull freind,
Franc Russell

My love to your wife and my Lord Aunger.[162]

441. From Peter Wallis,[163] 6 December 1658, 823, fos 161–162.

Maye it please your excellincie,

Since the busines depending before your excellincie and councell is become matter of competition and the opponents pleading right from theire great deserveings (evidenced by a confident pen) and suggesting that my undertakeings are out of prejudice to them, that I humbly crave your excellincie's favour and leave (though I dare not pleade merritt, haveing a due sence of my owne undeserveings and shortenes in the performeing of anye duty committed to my trust) humbly to assure your excellencie of that trueth (which I hope you allreaddy do beleeve) that when I have evidenced the practicablenes of what is propounded and thereby brought it into a waye of profitt, that I shall not onely give your excellincie a true accompt thereof but shall allsoe most cherefully give and resigne my intrest unto your excellencie's disposse. And if your excellencie shall, notwithstanding what hath bine sayd, thinke fitt to lett them (by what hath bine offred by me) have a further opperttunitie to magnifie themselves and throw contempt upon me, it's a portion I desyre to learne to beare with more profitt then yett I have don, allthough I am sincible how I am a suffrer in my reputation by theire undue (nay false and scandolous) reports and representations of things even beyond collor of trueth. And surely it's strange modestie that a person soe faulty as captain Gookin

[162]Francis Aungier, third Baron Aungier, came from an English family that had acquired property in Ireland in the early seventeenth century. He began his political career at the very end of the Protectorate, sitting for Counties Westmeath, Longford, and King's in Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament and becoming a London correspondent of Henry Cromwell during the latter's final weeks in Ireland. Aungier's political career in both England and Ireland unfolded and flourished after the Restoration.

[163]Parliamentarian officer, a corporal in Oliver Cromwell's horse regiment in the early 1640s, by the 1650s he was major of Henry Cromwell's horse regiment in Ireland and seems to have had effective command of that regiment when Henry Cromwell returned to England in 1652; he was given full command as colonel after the fall of the Protectorate. He was appointed to many commissions during the 1650s, especially in County Cork, and was active in the business of transporting Irish for the service of Spain, in making good articles of war, in the setting of land for military debts, and in the approbation of ministers. In religion, he either was a Quaker or at least showed strong Quaker sympathies.

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is in refferrence to the losse and sufferrings of the commonwealth should pleade merritt and right of prefferrence as he doeth both in the busines of Rosse and in the case depending. The 1st of which I offer to make evident is at best an unnecessary expence to his Highnes and commonwealth of at least £2,000. For that I had, some monthes before his undertakeing at Rosse, repaired a castell about a mile from Rosse which contained and was fitt to accomadate more men then wee could ever spare to attend that post of our quartere or admitt Rosse be somthing more convenient for a garrinson.[164] I doe affirme that £150 would have made accomadation for more men then ever were placed or could be spared to attend the service of that post as aforesaid. And surely I thinke his best arguement for the prefferrence to beere must needs be his having the benifitt of keepeing 100 Irish famalyes there two yeares without anye benifitt to his Highnes and commonwealth. I am troubled that I am soe troublesome unto your excellincie, but haveing experiencie of theire dominering temper and spiritt and resolveing this to be my last asaye in such cases (unlesse called thereto) have humbly presented unto your excellincie's clemency; and with this humble caution to your excellincie's memory of my humble petition to your excellencie not to appeare in the thinge unlesse your excellincie weere resolved I should have it offreing candidly what might be fitt, I submitt the resolution of the case unto your excellincie's owne brest (the councell are strangers to the necesarynes of the worke) and shall have more satisfaction in your excelincie's appoyntments (haveing had this liberttie of logeing the case before your excellincie) then in my owne election of anyethinge. I am heartily ashamed of soe great trouble, therefor againe most humbly sollicite your excelincie's pardon and subscribe,

Your excellincie's most obedient, poore servant,
Peter Wallis

442. From Gilbert Mabbott, 7 December 1658, 823, fos 163–164.

May it please your excellency,

The councell have ordered supplies for the garrison of Portsmouth, a monthe's pay to the army in England out of the treasury for new buildings. Tis referred to a committee to consider of the speedy bringing in of the arreares of the farmes of excise. Severall moneys

[164]There appear to be no further details extant to throw light on this issue and even the location is not entirely clear, although the writer is probably referring to the walled town of Ross or New Ross, County Wexford, and to a fortified building a little outside the town – perhaps Mountgarrett Castle, a fifteenth-century tower house, which stands about one mile north of Ross, east of and overlooking the River Barrow.

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are ordered to the commissioners for new buildings for satisfaction of officers and contingent charges of that affaire. The committie of the army and treasurers at warre to bee contynued for the next six monthes as formerly. Instructions are sent to our agent in Holland toucheing the losses of the English by the Dutch in the East Indies. Tis referred to a committee to consider of the transportation of horses to Mardyke for those that loose horses in that service. The duke of Bucks hath 3 monthes longer tyme to staye at Yorke House. It is offered to his Highnes as the advise of his councell that his Highnes will summon a parliament to meete att Westminster the 27th of January next. The same qualifications are to be observed in the election of these members <for Ireland and Scotland> as of those in the last parliament. Writts are likewise to issue for electing members for Ireland and Scotland. The Dutch fleete are returned home from Coppenhagen. The Swedes are alsoe in safe harbour and our 20 sayle that went lately towards Denmarke are returned into Solebay (an English porte). I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

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

443. From William Goffe, Westminster, 10 December 1658, 823, fos 165–166.

May it please your excellency,

You will perceive by the inclosed that greate and undeserved favour it hath graciously pleased his Highnes to cast upon me,[165] which allthough I did not dare to use the least or most remote indeavour to obtaine, yett being freely tendered I could not but acknowledge it as a very good providence of God towards me and my wiffe and children, for whom I have hetherto made very slender provission. This favour of his Highnes would be there cheefest subsistance if it should please the Lord to take me from them. And therefore as I doe receive it as a blessing from God, soe I hope I shall ever retaine a thankefull and dutyfull sence of the greate kindnes of his Highnes, who is the cheefe instrument of handing that blessing to mee, which yett is to be compleated by the hand of your excellency of whose love and kindnes I have (though most unworthy) had soe much former experience, that I dare not now make the least question but what lieth on your parte to be done for the perfecting of his Highnes' favour will not be wanting. Only I beceech your excellency to be confident that what kindnes yow shall be pleased to shew in the effectuall execution of this affaire will

[165]A grant of lands in Ireland to the value of £500 (*TSP*, VII, pp. 504–505).

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ever remaine as a strong oblegation upon one who is willingly oblidged to be your most faithfull and affectionate servant, which truely, sir, I have not found my hart soe free in as to many persons in the world beside. It is now seaven yeere agoe since the Long Parliament did bestow severall gratuities upon some of my fellow officers and I was then proffered a kindnes by one of the most considerable members of that house if I would but have shewed a willingnes to be oblidged by him, but being resolved not to begg a favour of that kind of any man nor willing to be oblidged to any person but his late Highnes (of glorious memory) I missed that opportunity. But I have esteemed my freedome greater riches, it being a sore evill to be oblidged to those whom a man cannot cheerefully serve. Yett I ever thought to be fast bound to his late Highnes was perfect freedome, for in being faithfull to him I knew I pleased God and served the interest of His people and I thinke the same thing as to his present Highnes, whom the Lord hath beene pleased by a wounderfull providence to sett up in his roome. And therefore, though he should give me a mountaine of gould, he could not thereby engage me to be more faithfull but might hapily make mee more able to doe him service, being fully sattisfied in my jugement and conscience that whoever will be and continue a freind to that glorious cause wee have beene engaged in must not be unfaithfull to his Highnes, but ought to give there utmost assistance to him in that greate trust that God hath for the good of His people reposed in him. I beceech your excellency to pardon these rude expressions and looke upon me as a one who (though most weake yett) desireth with all his abillity to serve his Highnes, your excellency and all the rest of that noble and religious family, unto whom not only myselfe but these nations and especially the people of God in them (upon your deare father's account and your owne) are more then ordinarily oblidged. But your cheefe reward is with God who will not faile (as long as yow love and feare His name and walke in His waies according to the example of your blessed father with a perfect hart) to uphould and preserve yow against all opposition whatsoever, which that yow may doe and bee is and shall be the continuall fervent prayer of, my lord,

Your excellencye's most humble and faithfull servant,
W Goffe

My lord, allthough I doe wholy cast myselfe upon your excellency's favour in the ordering of this bussines to the best advantage, yett I shall humbly desire yow to give Dr Harison leave now and then to put your excellency in mind of me.

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444. From Edmund Temple, Borestall House, 12 December 1658, 823, fos 167–168.

My lord,

I have rather chose to be an informer then a seconder of the sad newse of major generall Jephson's death.[166] His person and losse is too well knowne to your lordship for me to adde anything by all that I can say, and I know your lordship has so greatt a proportion of religion and reason (and have too lately had too great and too sad occasion to make use of both) that you well know how to make the best gaine of the losse of your dearest freinds. And certenly, my good lord, this great gathering of late canot but make you and all good people looke up with astonishment on the wonderfull wayes and workeings of the great Dispenser of all things, who best knowes what is best for all.

My lord, on his death bed, relying on your goodnes, in the presence of my lord Wharton[167] and collonel Norton, for want of a fitter legacy he has dedicated his eldest son[168] to your lordship, hopeing through God's blessing he may suddenly prove worthy your lordship's owneing and acceptance and to deserve the honor of some service neare your lordship's person, for which there is care taken to fit him with all possible speed. Collonel Norton is joyned with your lordship to take of all manner of truble more then your owneing and countenanceing him so far as his virtue shall meritt and your lordship's love to his father induce you; but of this your lordship will very suddenly heare more from collonel Norton, and also from his Highnes, who has beene exceeding kind to the major generall and has promised the continuance of it to the sonne. My most humble petition to your excellencie for the present is that the troope and company may not be disposed of tell you have considered of his Highnes' intentions to gratifie his sonne and brother and of some other reasons to long to truble your lordship with at present, but such as I presume your excellencie will not deny granting your old, deare, deceased freind and servant.

My lord, I confes without this sad occasion I have dayly and howerly many of my owne to render my humble duty and thankes for your great goodnes to me, but I durst never give myselfe the liberty of presumeing to truble your lordship with my impertinent lines. And

[166]He returned to England in August 1658 and died at his house at Boarstall, Buckinghamshire, on 11 December.

[167]Philip Wharton, fourth Baron Wharton, parliamentarian officer and politician, who played a brief and inglorious military role early in the civil war as commander of a foot regiment but whose main contribution to the cause during the 1640s was as a politician and administrator. However, his enthusiasm waned with the regicide and abolition of the House of Lords and he held aloof from the regimes of the 1650s, courted by Oliver Cromwell but keeping some distance from him and declining to take his seat in the new nominated second parliamentary chamber established in 1657.

[168]Probably John Jephson.

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now I no souner apeare before your lordship in paper but the cause of my comeing and stay pleads with your great goodnes (that boyes me up and hath brought me afresh into the world) for my pardon; and now your lordship shall quickly see twas my dear freinds, not any busines of my owne, brought me and keep me heare, for I shall now no souner have made my aplication to his Highnes for some of his concernements but I shall returne to the centure of my hapines. Your excellencie's presence and comands to live and die in which is the greatest ambition, content and hapines that in this world can befall, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble and most obedient servantt,
E Temple

445. From Matthew Tomlinson, 14 December 1658, 823, fos 169–170.

Letter of apology, explaining that he had to remain in England for a while longer, because he was involved in a legal case against an unnamed person to whom he had entrusted the care and administration of his modest English estate but who had proved untrustworthy.

446. From Henry Scobell, Whitehall, 15 December 1658, 823, fos 171–172.

May it please your excellencie,

Being commaunded to send the writts of summons and election to parliament by a messenger, I have presumed to take the opportunity to present your excellencie the tender of my most humble service, praying the Lord to supply you with abundance of his grace and wisedom, that your excellencie may doe worthily for God and His people and adde a further lustre of honor to that name which God hath made to be renowned through the world, which is the hopes and wilbe the rejoycing of, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble servant,
Hen Scobell

447. From William Hetley,[169] Cambridge, 16 December 1658, 823, fos 173–174.

My lord,

Your excellency haveing commended Sir Anthony Morgan to this university as theire burgesse in this next succeeding parliament,

[169]Of Brampton, near Huntingdon, and an associate or servant of Edward Montague. He was also distantly related by marriage to Henry Cromwell, because his wife, Karina, was the daughter of Henry Cromwell, cousin of the late Protector, Oliver Cromwell. He was not returned to Richard Cromwell's Protectorate parliament.

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supposing then that there would be none chosen out of Ireland, whereupon the generallity of the university did very freely ingage theire voices, and I being desired from some well affected persons (his Highnesse haveing declared his approbation before upon theire motion in case the university were willing to chuse me) to stand with whomsoever els was named, I was resolved to joine with Sir Anthony. But the Secretary being named,[170] I withdrew and went out of towne; but your lordship haveing countermanded your former request, not doubting but he would be chosen for Ireland, the vice-chancellour, Dr Bond,[171] was requested to joine with the Secretary, which he has don with this[172] reservation, that if your excellency shalbe willing that Sir Anthony shalbe chosen here,[173] notwithstanding your former countermand upon some second thoughts, he is willing to lay downe and the rather finding some inconveniency to be absent soe long from the university and withall has promised to deferre the choice till I heare from your lordship if he can possibly. Whereupon I made bold to trouble your excellency with his offerre and I doubt not but if your excellency will intimate your pleasure to any of the heads or whom elce you thinke good, but we shalbe able[174] effect your request without any difficulty and I shalbe very ambitious to approve myselfe,

Your excellency's faithfull servant,

Will Hetley

If your letters be directed to Daintry post-master he can easily and speedily convey them hither.

I am now ingaged for Huntingdon.

In greate hast.

448. From Gilbert Mabbott, 21 December 1658, 823, fos 175–176.

May it please your excellency,

The establishment for Dunkirke is passed to comence 25 December instant and severall provicions are ordered to bee sent thither. It is left to the lord Lockheart to call in the five companies which are in the

[170] Thurloe was elected by Cambridge University and chose to sit for that seat, though he was also returned elsewhere.

[171] John Bond, academic and parliamentarian politician, elected to the Long Parliament in 1645 as MP for Melcombe Regis in his native Dorset, though he was excluded at Pride's Purge. In 1645, he became master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and, in 1650, professor of law at Gresham College and a master in chancery; in 1658–1659, he served as vice-chancellor of Cambridge University.

[172] Word repeated in error.

[173] In fact, Morgan sat for Irish constituencies in all three Protectorate parliaments, representing Counties Meath and Louth in 1659.

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

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feild into the garrison of Dunkirke if hee thinke fitt. The writts for a parliament are all sealed. Those for Ireland and Scotland are sent by messenger of the councell. Wednesday next[175] is appointed a day of fast for his Highnes and his family and the officers of the army; Wednesday following for all England and Wales; and Wednesday three weekes for Ireland and Scotland. Divers memorialls presented from the lord embassador Newport about the Dutch shipps stayed by captain Stoakes in the Streights referred. Satisfaction is instantly demanded by the councell from the Dutch embassador for the injuries susteyned by the English in the East Indies. His Highnes' youngest daughter is deceased.[176] News is come that the Dutch fleet is in the Sound, and tis generally beleeved that ours is (since) arrived there alsoe. Wee daily expect to heare of an engagement betweene them. Coppenhagen is in a very lowe condition for want of provicions. The Dutch embassador proposes (at a distance) an amity between the Swede and the Dane according to the last articles agreed on betweene them. Wednesday last John Napper (clarke of a troope) and John Reynes (trooper), both of the lord Fleetwood's regiment, were casheired by a court marshall of the army for endeavouring to carry on an unlawfull petition for arrears and increase of pay. I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

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

449. From Claudius Gilbert,[177] 24 December 1658, 823, fos 177–178.

May it please your excelency,

I understand that the committee hath presented my name (with those of other ministers to be settled in Dublin) for the parish of Michaele[178] to your lordshipp and the council. The thoughts of so

[175] 22 December.

[176] Dorothy Cromwell, born on 13 September 1657, died at Hursley on 14 December and was buried there two days later.

[177] Minister in Ireland, by 1652 he was the salaried preacher at Limerick, perhaps encouraged to settle in Ireland by his uncle, Henry Markham. He was evidently held in regard by the English regime, for his salary was raised and he was placed on various commissions. His publications of the later 1650s reveal his conservative religious viewpoint, condemning Baptism and Quakerism and supporting governmental control over religion, in part exercised through associations of ministers conforming to a set confession of faith. Such views were close to those of Henry Cromwell and of Edward Worth's Cork association of ministers.

[178] St Michael's in Dublin. Its incumbent, William Pilsworth, had long been held in low regard by the English government in Dublin, both as a non-approved minister and as one suspected of using the old prayer book, and the opportunity was now taken to remove him and promote the favoured Gilbert.

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favorable an approach cannot but much rejoice my heart, promising the opportunity of being really much more serviceable there to your excelency and the publick then I could be here. My wif's continuall indisposition in this place occasioned by the unsutablenes thereof to her temper cannot but render Dublin much more acceptable, it having agreed very well with her. Her desires also of removing to England for health's sake, which I was necessitated to promise her (in case providence offered no better way), may be satisfied by this expedient, and I thereby put into a better capacity of attendinge Christ's worke and your excelencie's commands, which is the chief longing of my soule to the utmost of my poor abilities. I doe also find much lesse need and use of me in this place then formerly. However I be disposed of, it shall be my constant designe and delight to approve myselfe by the grace of Christ,

Your excelencie's cordially obliged and humbly devoted,
Claudius Gilbert

450. From Francis Rous, 24 December 1658, 823, fo. 179.

May it please your excellency,

This bearer gives not only an oportunity but a reason of making an humble and gratefull acknowlegment of your favors. For when your excellency was pleased to remember him, I ask leave to presume that you did not forget mee. I hope and beleeve that he will be a faythfull servant, for otherwise his kinred with mee would be soone at an end. Hee hath made some staye with mee and some with an onely brother planted in the West Indyes, but having lately come over is now returned, whom he is never likely to see agayne.

As for myself, I have bene visited with a long infirmity which hath detayned mee against my desire from publick services. But it pleaseth the Divine Goodnes to give mee some degrees of recovery, which yf they shall be brought to perfection, I shallbe ready to expresse my willingnes to do service for the publick, the greatnes of the worke expected needing earnest endeours, but especially requests to the God of peace that He will continue the peace which He hath thus gratiously begun to create.

And now praying that your excellency may make a long and happy progresse in the way of godlynes, righteousnes and prudent government, wherin you have begun so fayre a race, in this devotion, resting, I desire to be esteemed that which I truly am,

Your excellencye's most reall, constant and humble servant,
Francis Rous

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451. From Gilbert Mabbott, 28 December 1658, 823, fos 180–181.[179]

May it please your excellencie,

The dutchy chamber and court is assigned to keepe the records of the house of commons. The regiments of foote in England are reduced to 750 in each regiment and 500 of those reduced are sent to Flanders and collonel Gibbon's[180] and collonel Salmon's men to returne. The establishment for the garrissons in Flanders is passed. Major James Russell is constetuted governor of Nevis. A comittee of the councell to consider by what authoritie the opera in Drury Lane is showne in imetation of a play and what the nature of it is. £160 per annum for liffe is setled upon collonel Marckworth's[181] widdow. Jamese's House is ordered to be made ready for her Highness dowager[182] and that garrisson to be removed to Berckeshire House. Major generall Harisson[183] is allready chossen a member. The maior of Reading with the towne clerke soe much displeassed the townsmen on Tuesday last[184] in proposeing 2 gentlemen to be chossen for that

[179]Another version of the majority of this newsletter, with minor variations in the text, is found in a newsletter by Mabbott, dated 25 December, which survives amongst the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, Oxford, and which is printed in *Clarke Papers*, III, p. 171.

[180]Robert Gibbon, parliamentarian officer, rose to prominence in the mid- and late 1640s as first a captain and then major in Henry Ireton's New Model horse regiment. In 1650, he was commissioned to raise and command a new foot regiment to counter the Scots, but it never actually campaigned in Scotland and was disbanded the following year. In the mid-1650s, he was governor of Elizabeth Castle on Jersey. In the autumn of 1656, he was again commissioned to raise and command a new regiment of foot, most of which campaigned in Flanders from late 1657 until the end of 1658.

[181]Humphrey Mackworth, parliamentarian officer and politician, campaigned for parliament in his native Shropshire and, in 1645, holding the rank of colonel, became governor of Shrewsbury. He held a string of offices in Shropshire and adjoining regions including, from 1648, the attorney-generalship of North Wales. In February 1654, he was added to the Protectoral council and later in the year he sat for Shropshire in the first Protectorate parliament, but he died suddenly and intestate in December 1654.

[182]Elizabeth Cromwell née Bourchier, widow of Protector Oliver Cromwell.

[183]Thomas Harrison, parliamentarian officer and politician and a regicide, had a distinguished military career, first as a major in Charles Fleetwood's horse regiment and then, from 1647, as colonel of his own New Model horse regiment, which fought in northern England in 1648. He and his regiment remained in England and Wales in the early 1650s and did not campaign in Ireland or Scotland. As a political and religious radical, prominent in religious circles, in army politics, and in parliament after his election in 1646, he strongly supported Pride's Purge and the regicide and, becoming disillusioned with the Rump, also supported its ejection and the establishment of the Nominated Assembly, which he joined as a co-opted member. However, he viewed the Protectorate as a betrayal of the radical cause and spent the period out of office and under suspicion, repeatedly arrested and questioned, with spells of imprisonment or house arrest. He had not been returned to the first or second Protectorate parliaments and, despite rumours and reports at this time of his election for Stone in his native Staffordshire, he does not appear to have been a member of the third Protectorate parliament.

[184]21 December.

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place that they imediately tooke away the mace from the maior and elected another maior and towne clearcke in thire steedes. Our 20 sayle are returned home, but whether Sir George Ascue bee gott into the Sound wee heare not yet. Mr Scott[185] hath lost the vote for being a member for Alisbury and Sir James Whitlocke[186] and another[187] is chosen. Begging your excellencie's pardon for this hasty coppy, I humbly subscribe myselfe, my lord,

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

452. From William Lockhart, Dunkirk, 30 December 1658, 823, fos 182–183.

Letter of courtesy, praising Henry Cromwell and his government of Ireland as a more suitable memorial to his late father than any statues or monuments, and apologizing for not writing to him during his recent, short visit to London; gives thanks for Henry Cromwell's recent favour to his brother and requests that, if some land that his brother now held around Armagh be allocated to the town and townspeople, he might be allocated land of equal value elsewhere.

[185]Thomas Scott, parliamentarian politician and a regicide, was prominent in the Long Parliament and its Rump from his election in 1645 onwards, strongly supporting the regicide and effectively serving as state intelligence chief under the Rump. He strongly opposed the ejection of the Rump, seeing it as a betrayal of the cause, and his radical and republican principles led him to criticize and oppose the Protectorate. Elected to the first two Protectorate parliaments, he was excluded at or soon after the start of the session. Although he missed out at Aylesbury, he was returned to the third Protectorate parliament for Wycombe in his native Buckinghamshire and he proved to be a leading parliamentary critic of the Protectoral regime.

[186]Parliamentarian politician, the only son of Bulstrode Whitelocke by his first marriage and elected through his local influence.

[187]Thomas Terrill/Tyrell.

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