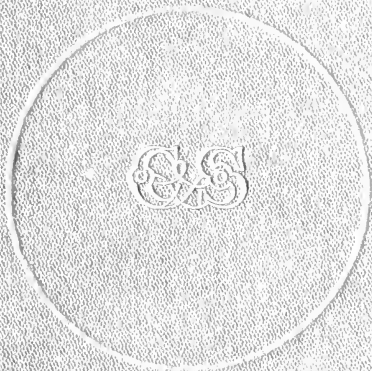


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ESSEX PAPERS.

ESSEX PAPERS.

EDITED BY OSMUND AIRY.

VOLUME I.—1672-1679.



PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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[NEW SERIES XLVII.]

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FOR THE YEAR 1889-90.

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PREFACE.

THE Letters contained in this volume are selected from the Essex correspondence, which forms part of the Stowe collection of MSS. in the British Museum. This correspondence covers the period of Essex's Viceroyalty of Ireland from 1672 to 1679. Of the original letters to him, official and private, there must be some thousands; and these are supplemented by probably almost as many of his own letters copied by Aldworth, his private secretary at Dublin.

Of the official despatches the greater number are from Arlington, Williamson, and Henry Coventry. But there are many also from Clifford, Shaftesbury, Ormond, Anglesey, and other public men of the day. In endeavouring to make the most satisfactory selection, I have had before me principally the questions of the condition of Ireland and the personal character of Essex: but I fear that what has been omitted is but little less worthy of notice, in some respects, indeed, more worthy. The letters which deal with Ranelagh and the farming of the Irish revenue would

form a volume ; those from Sir Joseph Williamson describing the course of the abortive conference at Cologne, at which he acted as one of the British plenipotentiaries, would form another. I have omitted these entirely.

The private letters are of extreme interest. They are principally to and from the successive private secretaries of Essex in England, Francis Godolphin (brother of Queen Anne's Lord Treasurer), William Harbord (son of Sir Charles Harbord, and member of parliament), and Sir Cyril Wyche (member for Kellington), by all of whom he was kept in touch with the Government at Whitehall. Those of his brother, Sir Henry Capel, the chivalrous defender of Arlington, of Lord Aungier, and especially of Lord Conway, afterwards Secretary of State, form a vivid commentary upon the state of affairs previous to, and at the time of, the Test Act, and of the character and intrigues of the Court during Danby's *régime*. In some instances they are of great historical value.

Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, possessed in full measure precisely those qualities which were rarest in the prominent men of the reign of Charles II. There is nothing mysterious about him, except the tragedy of his death, nothing upon which one conjectures, and conjectures in vain. He lived his life in the open light of day ; he was poor, and yet he preserved complete independence, and kept his hands clean of bribes ; he was so disinterested, so conscientious, so sensible, so laborious—and

no one who has not studied the correspondence can form any adequate idea of the toil of his office — that he gained and preserved the confidence and support of that keen judge of character, Charles II. He did his best firmly, fearlessly, without passion or weakness, to remedy the almost hopeless state of confusion in which he found Ireland, even when this necessitated a frank opposition to the greed of the female harpies who ministered to the pleasures of the king, and regarded the exchequer of Ireland as their easy and lawful prey. His letters (p. 58 and following) regarding the proposed gift of the Phœnix Park to the Duchess of Cleveland would alone entitle him to honour. He was an accomplished scholar, a keen sportsman, and, after the fashion of the day, a great builder and gardener; his family affections were deep, his private life singularly pure, his religion unaffected. Among his loyal friends he counted such men as the chivalrous Ormond, the cultivated Temple. It is still more to his credit that the corrupt and avaricious Danby, the crafty though accomplished Orrery, the unprincipled jobber Ranelagh, were his keen and consistent opponents in public life.

As far as page 139, where the private letters begin, of which much is in cypher (expressed in italics in the text), the correspondence is official. Almost at the outset we find Essex obliged to withstand the efforts of Orrery, the President of Munster (whose letters, descriptive of the state of Ireland, are of great value, pp. 1-12), to assume a dangerous independence

(pp. 12, 20, 24, 245). On pp. 26, 38, 77 will be found some interesting notices of the Scotch Presbyterians in the north, with an excellent example of Essex's quiet good sense on p. 125. With respect to this matter the copy of Archbishop Sharp's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 243, which Sharp himself declared to be forged (Wodrow, of course, Vol. 2, p. 301, gives it as genuine), deserves attention. The difficulties in Essex's way find illustration in almost every one of his letters. The reader may refer particularly to pp. 36 and 54; the whole Phoenix Park episode; the description on p. 78 of the effect of the Dutch war, and of English jealousy in stopping any development of Irish trade; the interesting letter regarding the army on p. 87; the long despatch to Charles II. on p. 147; and the letter to Harbord on p. 200. The pregnant phrase on p. 201, "The truth is, the lands of Ireland have been a mere scramble," expresses one aspect of the situation most graphically, as graphically as the fact that Essex was driven, in order to save the Phoenix Park, to propose a small tax on the whole of Ireland for raising the money promised to the Duchess of Cleveland, and that when the Duchess of Portsmouth wanted £8,000 for a necklace, Danby referred her at once to the Irish Exchequer. The letter which deals with the disarming of the Papists, p. 134, is full of good sense. The frequent protests which Essex was compelled to make against interference from England (*e.g.* pp. 16, 40, 51, 224) are couched in moderate but decided language. On page 322

will be found an excellent specimen of quiet rebuke to an egotistical subordinate.

Few of the letters will better repay careful reading than those of Sir William Temple, pp. 120, 131, &c.

From page 139 onwards, the principal interest lies in the private letters from London, and there are few of them which do not contain some graphic touch. Every character with whom we are familiar gains additional individuality: Danby "laying about him and providing for his family;" Lauderdale "bragging like a madman;" the Keeper (Finch) "acting very fearfully and warily;" Buckingham, after the disgraceful affair of Lady Shrewsbury, "become a great converte," giving "publique testimony thereof by going with his owne lady to St. Martin's to church," and giving God thanks before the House of Lords that the displeasure of the House had "opened his eyes and discovered to him the foulness of his past life;" Arlington, in full Council, calling Anglesey "a knave," "which is too true;" Louise de K roualle, giving her support to Danby on condition that he shall provide funds for the "Necklasse of Pearle, £8,000 price, of a Marehant, and a payre of diamond pendants, 3,000 guynyes, of elder Lady Northumberland," neither of whom will part with them without ready money; Lady Northumberland herself, "the Divell of a woeman;" Mary of Modena, who "knows not how to set one foot before another with any gracefulness," and upon whose entry, "when the King called

for a chaire for her, all the ladies who were in the presence-chamber ran out of the room, as thinking themselves of equal quality to the Dutchesse of Modena;” the supper at Lady Shrewsbury’s, with Nell Gwyn, the Duke of Buckingham, and Mr. Speaker, described by Conway, where they “were very merry, had good discourse, and drank smartly;” the King “fumbling in delivering his speech, and making it worse than in the print” —a most interesting notice, since it was the occasion of his first deliberate official lie to Parliament. These are a few of the lighter touches which are scattered throughout these pages. But they are merely incidental to the graver notices of the differing aims and actions of the various cabals and rival politicians, notices which enable us to look into the inmost recesses of one of the most intricate episodes in our history.

OSMUND AIRY.

Birmingham, 17.3.90.

ESSEX PAPERS.

I.—THE EARL OF ORRERY^a TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.^b

[fo. 31.]

MY LORD,

Ballemartin, the 30th of April, 1672.

* * * * *

Heere I mett with y^e most welcom newse of His Maj^{ts} haveinge declared yo^r L^p, L^d L^t of Ireland, wh: I assure yo^r L^p was most pleasinge to All the English of this Province, as well of the Tounes & Cuntry as of that Part of y^e Army in it; for under yo^r G^{ont} we assure our selves of much Happiness.

And because I more than hope yo^r L^p will hasten over into Ireland, I shall Presume humbly to minde you of a Few Essentiall Particulars. First, y^t yo^r L^p may come fully Impowerd to settle y^e Corporations of this Kingdom; For on yo^r doeing of y^t good worke thereby, not only the Present safety & Trade of Ireland under God will depend but also y^e Future well Beeinge of it. Yo^r L^p will have but little Time left to doe this Great worke in, for y^e seaven yeers granted for it, in y^e Explanatory Act,^c are neere Expired.

2^{ly}. That y^e Punctuall Pay^{mt} of y^e Civill & Military Lists is Absolutely necessary, & Their Pay^{mt} will much, if not most of all, Depend on y^e Trade of y^e merchangts; & therefore if yo^r L^p does not soone Procure, not only a Good Garde of Ships for the Coast

^a Roger Boyle, Baron Broghill, and first Earl of Orrery, statesman, soldier, and dramatist, died Oct. 16, 1629.

^b Essex had been declared Lord-Lieutenant in the middle of April.

^c Passed Dec. 23, 1665. See Carte's Ormond, vol. iv.

in Gen^l, but also som Particular Friggetts, whos only duty shalbe to convey y^e Merchant Ships in Fleets, I more then feare ye Farmers of y^e Revenue will suddenly claime Great defalcations if they doe not Press to becom Accountants instead of Farmers.

3^{ly}. The Greatest Magazeen of Armes in this Kingdom was Burnt in Dublin last summer, wh: ought speedely to be supplied by a new store of Armes from England; And I humbly beseech yo^r L^p not to be unmindfull of gettinge as soone as you can a good Proportion of Gun-Powder, with Match & Ball Proportionable, sent for Ireland, for I am creddibly assured much of y^e Powder kept neere Dublin is Greatly decayd; but I am sure tis kept in such unsafe Places, y^t at any Time 40 desperat fellows may either ceese on it or blow it up. This I assure myself yo^r L^{ps} wisdom will perceive as soone as you land.

4^{ly}. The sum for Concordatums to defray y^e contingent charges of this kingdom ought in all Reason to be Inlarged in Time of War much above what it was alowed to be in y^e last Establishm^t in y^e L^d Roberts his time. And unless this be done, his Maj^{ty}s Service may not a little suffer.

5^{ly}. Our last letters from London tell us of a considerable Reduction of y^e Troopes & Companyes of this Army, intended to be made by a new Establishment.^a Ther is noe man Liveinge does more earnestly desyre to ease His Maj^{ty}s Post then I doe. But, in my humble opinion, Safety is in y^e First Place to be prefeerd. And I will therefore hope y^t y^e noyse of this Reduceinge at Present is but noyse, since tis not usuall in Time of War^b to make Armys less then they were in Times of Peace, especially in a kingdom wher y^e Army is soe little alreddy y^t many walled Tounes & Excellent Sea Ports haue not one Sold^r in them. And in the Prouince (And I hear tis y^e like in sum other parts of this kingdom) the Soldiery are constantly on Third Night duty throughout y^e whole yeer, in thos Few Garrisons we man. Nor could I y^e last Dutch War draw out soe

^a Six troops and ten companies disbanded in July.

^b War had been declared against the Dutch, March 17, 1672.

much as one foot Company, for y^e defence of His Maj^{ts} Fleet at Kinsale, when we dayly expected to be ther assaulted by them, but I was necessitated to draw thither seuerall Troops & Companys of y^e Militia of this Prouence, to answer y^t seruice; & yet we had then in this Prouince 400 effective foot more then now we haue, for want of wh: I have been alreddy necessitated to draw all y^e Gards in the Three Chief Cittyes of Munster, viz.: Corke, Lymerick, & Waterford, into y^e Cittadels & Gatehowses, & in effect to make y^e Gate howses Cittadels, by lodginge Soldiers & Plantinge Cannon in them; for if any one of them should be surpris'd, Tis me Thince^a a bigger Army, Than now in His Maj^{ts} pay in Ireland, can soe much as beseidge one of them; Especially Lymerick; Before wh: y^e usurpers Lay, when y^e Irish had it, with an Army of neere 28,000 men, with a Fleet, an Excellent Trayne of Artillery, Bridges of Boats, & all other necessaryes for a Seidge; yet in Seauen months Time they were not neerer takeinge it ye last day then y^e First, & had been forced to Raise their seidge, had not y^e Plague, y^e famine, & (most of all) their owne diuision forced them to surrender.^b

Soe y^t if in yo^r L^{ps} Government any Rebellion or inuasion should be made, you will finde it hardly Possible to draw any foot out of y^e Garrisons to suppress it or repell it; but you must, under God, depend on y^e Few Horse of y^e Army, and in y^e militia of y^e cuntry. And therefore to be well supplied with Arms and Ammunition wilbe essentially Requisite, since in either of thos cases twilbe then too late to send into England for Supplies.

6^{ly}. In my humble opinion it wilbe very Requisite to haue a sum of mony to buy Bisquett & Cheese, both to be layd Inn inn y^e chiefe Cittadels & Remote Garrisons on y^e Sea Coast, y^t, in case of any danger, thos Important Places may be in a condition to defend themselues till Releefe come, without wh: they wilbe soe much exposed. As also to haue in euery Prouince at least a Reasonable Quantity of

^a *Sic.*

^b The same thing happened in 1689, when William III. besieged Limerick after the battle of the Boyne.

Biskett, if ther should be occasion of a sudden martche, since for want of it I haue known much inconuience insue. And also to mount some Cannon in Cittadels and Sea Ports; 2,500*l.* would goe farr in this work now corne is fallen in its Price by Reason of y^e Warr; and work-men & Timber are cheaper for y^e same cause. To all wh: I must of necessity ad, y^e Greate use of a small Trayne of Artillery to be redly to march in euery Prouince on a dayse warninge, For mischeifs are easily suppress at y^e very First; And y^e hope-fullest way to Prevent Ill Designes is to be in a good Posture to oppose them.

7th. His Maj^{ty} Has not in This kingdom one Harbour Fortefyed, soe as to defend His owne, or His subjects ships in case of need. This made me an Humble & earnest suitor Last yeere, to Him, y^t Kinsale might haue a Forte Royall erected on it; for Tis not only y^e harbour, to wh: all y^e Nauy Royall Resort, but also is situated, exceeding well, in y^e Rode of y^e Gratest Tradeinge & Nauigation, & is y^e most Capable of any to be more stronge. In it likewise Are Large Howses for Magazeens, built by my L^d Stafford, & a Faire Dock under y^e old Forte; but dayly goeing to decay, yet a little at Present would Repaire it. His Maj^{ty} was Graciously Pleased, in y^e Greate honour of a letter to me, All written with His owne hand, to order me in 9^{ber} last, to begin a Forte Royal ther, & both to order me one Thousand Pound to Prepare Materialls, & to Declare His Pleasure of sendinge me over an Ingeneere, but y^e Ingeneere I neuer yet saw, & of y^e 1000*l.*, I receiued but 500*l.* soe yt euer since y^e latter end of Feb: last I haue with my owne mony & credit kept y^t necessary worke in motion, but if mony & y^e Ingeneere be not suddenly sent (in y^e Procuringe wherof I humbly beg yo^r Fauour) y^e Artificers & labours must be discharged, wh: will not only be a greate disgrace, but also a uery considerable Prejudice. I have written so longe & Frequently to my L^d Ranelagh & M^r Sec^{ry} Treuour on this subject.

I haue Put all y^e Forces, Garrisons, & Militia of this Prouence in y^e best Posture I can, for y^e honour of His Maj^{ty}s service. I haue

also fixed all y^e old Armes in His Maj^{ty}s store in Munster. I haue made a small Trayne of Battering Artillery redde, on six hours warninge to march; mounted seuerall ordnance on seuerall needful Places. Settled y^e best courses I could, for speedy and True Intelligence; & com̄ded strictly All y^e Officers & Solders to their Garrisons & Quarters, & not to stir from thence without leaue on writinge from His Ex^{ty} or myselfe. But I haue not yet had one Penny sent me out of y^e Tresuery for all thes needful works; but I owe all I haue to His Maj^{ty}s Goodness & I will cheerfully spend All I am worth in y^e Honour & Duty of His Service.^a

II.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 43.]

MY LORD,

Ballymartir, y^e 4th of June, 1672.

* * * * *

I humbly thanke Yo^r L^p for assuringe me you will come fully Impoured in Relation to the Corporations of this kingdom. That is an Essentiall Point, For on them cheifly, under God, does Depend The safety, The Trade, & y^e Law-makers in this kingdom. If none be Restored to Freedom in Corporations but such as are Adjudged innocent by y^e king's Court of Claymes, such men haue Justice done them, & all others, who were Free of Corporations, but haue forfeited their Freedoms by their voluntary Guilt, cannot in Reason Complayne, that they are not Restored to such Priueledges as they did voluntarily Imploy against y^e Crowne & forfeited by often Rebellinge against it. Yet God forbid but such as were Free of Corporations, & are now Traders by Sea, or Carryers on of Wollen & Linnen Manufactures (wh: are honest

^a The advice contained in this letter is urgently repeated on June 4. On July 6 the Lord Chancellor writes that "money is miserably exhausted; there will scarce be a possibility of publick payments if some sudden course be not taken to prevent the transporting of coyne and plate out of this countrie." Orrery wrote on August 9th, "I finde the Englishe disanimated, and the Irishe very high."

callings in themselves, beneficiall to y^e kinge & usefull to y^e kingdom) may not while they continue Peaceable Subjects, & follow laboriously such Vocations, be admitted to Trade in Corporations as Free men in all things, but Electinge Members of Parl^t & y^e Annull choyce of Magistrates: And that none others of y^e Romish Religion, be admitted to Liue in y^e Garrisons & Corporations, or to Purchass or take howses in them without His Maj^{ts} Licence in writinge, or y^e L^d L^{ts}, or y^e Presid^{ts} of Munster & Connaught, in their Respective Prouences. Thus Justice wilbe done to y^e Adjudged Innocent, Fauour wilbe extended, to y^e Industrious Trader by Sea, & to y^e men of Linnen & Wollen Manufacture, a full Authority to admitt diuers other Particular Persons who may be usefull & not dangerous, tho' neither Restored as Innocents, nor Traders by sea, nor men of y^e Wollen & Linnen Manufacture; And yet His Maj^{ts} Garrisons & Corporations maybe kept safe.

I beg yo^r L^{ps} Pardon, y^t I am soe Tedious on this subject; but above 30 yeers experience & the miseries this kingdom has suffered for want of due care in this one Point is y^e cause of it. I would goe as farr in it as y^e safety of His Maj^{ts} Service can admitt; & beiond That I can thinke nothinge advizable.

That ther needs to be som Publike Rules giuen, or Explanations made on y^e late Printed Acts of Councill at Dublin, I belecue is but too obuious & Therefore haueinge thought on That subject all I could, I could not light on any Juster, more fauorable, & more safe Rules, then I haue humbly offered to yo^r consideration, only I beg earnestly, That what euer Rules are made, or Explanation is giuen therein, maybe soe Plainly & Cleerly worded, That he that Runs may Read & understand them, els what is to End Doubts may Raise them; And y^t ther can be nothinge Intended but what may be written particularly, I humbly recommend to yo^r L^{ps} care, That if y^e word Merchants be Incerted in thos Rules, wh: are to admitt men (Without Particular Lycence in Writinge) into Garrisons & Corporations, That that worde Mer-

chant may be Limited to such Merchants as are Actually Traders by Sea not Nominally but Really, y^t is not y^t only Trade by Sea, only to be admittid into Corporations & Garrisons, & to such as men of Manufacture Indeed in y^e Linnen or Woollen Trade, els under y^e name of Merchants; (unles soe Explayned) all y^e Garrisons willbe full of y^e loosest and most dangerous Persons of Ireland; For y^e Generalty of y^e Irish are not very Crittical in their words, but who euer is a shop-keeper is amongst most of them a Merchant; and who euer sells Ale, Tobacco, Sneezinge, Broges, &c. is an Irish Merchant in y^e Largest Acceptation, wh: they will take up, if it be for their Benefitt.

I promiss myselfe y^t y^e Pay^{mt} of y^e Ciuill & Military Lists wilbe Punctual, while my L^d Ranelagh's undertaking continues. But y^t cannot last longer then Tradinge does, and Tradinge alreddy is soe decay'd, for want of a Garde on y^e Coasts, y^t y^e natiue comodities of this Prouince are alreddy fallen one Third Part. I doubt it is y^e like over y^e Kingdom, for this Prouince is y^e Greatest Province of Trade in Ireland. And y^t y^r L^o may see, & by you His Maj^{ty} know, what an inconsiderable Thing the Trade of y^e Irish was by sea in Times of y^e highest Peace, I am assured, & I fully belecue it, That only Two Tounes of this County of Corke, viz., Corke and Yoghall, have now more Ships belonginge only to y^e English Merchants in them then All y^e Irish of Ireland had in my L^d Strafford's Gov^{mt} or at any time before. And yet this Prouince, in wh: I Incourage all I possibly can buildinge of Ships of our owne (for Fraightinge of Forringhners distresse us), Navigation & Manufacture, must in time be Ruin'd, because y^e King's Dutyse in Munster doe amount Anually to much more then Payse His Maj^{ty}s Ciuill and Military charges in y^e Prouince & y^e overplus of Thos. Dutyse is carryed in cash quarterly out of y^e Province, wh: neuer Returnes again, for Dublin in Ireland makes not the same Circulation y^t London does in England. But I hope yo^r L^{ps} fauour and wisdom will finde out a Remedy for us heerein. Howeuer, I have summoned

All y^e Chief Merchants of this Prouince, and after much debate they have assured me, if His Maj^{ty} will allow them a Frigget of 24 Guns, only to Convey y^e Merchants Ships of this Prouince, they will All sett to Trade again. If y^e kinge cannot Spare such a Friggett, we will, at His Maj^{ty} coste, Provide our victuall, officer & man her, whereby His Maj^{ty}s will Receive Ten Times more in Port dutyse then y^e charge of y^t Frigget will amount unto & His subjects continue their Trade. I have written soe at large on this subject to my L^d Ranelagh & M^r Sec^{ry} Treuour, y^t I will not Repeat it to yo^r L^p, but Begg y^r Favour in callinge on them to Hasten to us, what my L^d Ranelagh assured me then [the] kinge has granted to us, els our Trade wilbe dead.

We dayly sawe Rich West India Ships in this Prouince, wh: are dayly chased into our Harbours by y^e Dutch.

I have been necessitated to Repaire, man, & send ordnance into Crook-hauen and y^e Iland of Innishertroe for y^t end.

I have also made 3 new Cittadels in y^e Cittys of Corke and Lymericke in wh: I haue Planted ordnance and lodged Sold^{rs} to Prevent surprises, but I haue not yet had one Penny alowed.

My L^d,

Y^r L^{ps} most humble
& most obedient faithfull Seru^t,
ORRERY.

III.—CHARLES II. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[The restrictions upon the export of woollen manufactured articles,^a prohibited an account of the cheapness of wool in Ireland, and the consequent danger of underselling the English manufacturers, are to be mitigated, and offences against them pardoned according to Essex's discretion.]

[Vol. i. fo. 76.]

^a In 1698 this trade was practically suppressed by the English Parliament. See Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 370.

IV.—THE EARL OF ORRERY^a TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.^b

[Vol. i. fo. 126.]

MY L^DBallmarten, the 13 of Aug^r, 72.

While I stay in Ireland, wh: tis likely wilbe but for a few weeks (for now my Tremlinge & Burninge Dayly Fits are chang'd into stronge, clammy & cold swettinge fits, wh: if They continue my Doc^{tr}s are of opinion I must goe to the Bath in England, neere wh: I haue a howse of my owne) I would be uerry glad to serue His Maj^{ty} & yo^r Ex^{ce}.^a

The Prouince of Munster neere thes 100 years was neuer till now without a cheef Gov^r or L^d Presed^t & what numerous and Discontented People may attempt I know not. And if any Troubles should be begun, if they be not nipped in y^e blossom, God only knows how far they may Proceed. And if only euery capt. comēd his Troope or Company, or euery Gov^r his Garrison, I doubt it maybe of ill consequence, if any Troubles should happen; for it may be too late to send to Dublin, & Perhaps Impossible to doe it. I speake not this I Protest to God in Reference to myselfe, for I intend to spend y^r Residue of my Life in England, But in my humble opinion tis for y^e king's service & y^e safety of this kingdom, That som one Person (in case of any Troubles) should have authority to comēd y^e Forces of this Prouince, wh: is soe far separated from Dublin that som parts of it are 150 Irish myles from Dublin, wh: is about 200 English miles.

While I stay in Ireland I intend to Reside in this Loane howse of Ballymartin, I am therefore an humble suitor to yo^r Ex^{ce}, that I may haue yo^r order for Two Commanded men out of euery of y^e 9

^a Orrery's Presidency of Munster was suppressed in the beginning of August.

^b Essex arrived in Dublin at the beginning of August, in the "Norwich" frigate, and received the sword on the 5th.

^c He was unable to meet Essex at Dublin, being attacked by tertian and quotidian ague.

companies to doe Duty heere ; & a Serg^t. to com̄d them. I haue bin 30 yeers a Gen^l Officer, and I neuer had yet y^e howse I liued in without a Garde, nor would I euer Liue in Ireland without one, wh: makes me beg this fauour of yo^r Ex^{ce}, & yet I would not moue it were it not Reasonable That y^e quarter or howse in which a Gen^l Officer Liues should haue 18 men to Defend it.

I Presume as yo^r most faithfull seru^t most humbly to Reco^md som Few things to yo^r Ex^s serious consideration. The first is—

That since yo^r Garrisons are soe weeke,^a & since a Forraighn warr is Actually begun & since ther are Thousands of Discontented People in Ireland who may be apt to Rise, in case God should Froune on his Maj^{ty}s Armes at any time^b (for such as did almost universally Rebell while they Injoyed their estates may be apter to doe it now they haue Lost them) That yo^r Ex^{co} would cause one months victualls of Bisquit, Cheesc, Butter, and Pease, to be lay'd inn in y^e Cittadels and Forts of y^e Greate Townes. In all of wh: but Corke I belieue ther are 4 Times more Irish, that were Guilty of y^e Rebellion, and are yet unpardon'd for it Then there are Sold^{rs} of ye Kings, & more Dayly will crowde in ; for if your Cittadels have not a months victualls in them, if any Toune should be surpris'd, y^e cittadell In consequence (if un victual'd) must be lost, and so it happened Gen^{ly} when y^e late Greate Rebellion began. But if the Cittadels be victual'd it may keepe ye Townes from Reuoltinge, or if they Reuolt they may Bridle them till Reliefe coms. The charge wilbe but small, but y^e benefitt & security Greate. I beleeeue about 60^{lb} a peece may doe it; and ere the Pronisions grow stale, they may be sold at little loss, and new put in their steeds.

The Second is, That as soone as Yo^r Ex^{ce} may well doe it, you

^a Essex informed Arlington, Secretary of State, that he intended at once to garrison the large towns, leaving the others. He did garrison Limerick, Waterford, Cork, and Kinsale.

^b This fear is expressed by Rothes and others regarding Scotland.—Lauderdale Papers, vol. i. p. 217.

will proceed to the well settlinge of y^e Corporations, for on that will depend, not only the well beinge of yo^r Trade & y^e safety of yo^r Townes, but also y^e Good Choice of Members of Par^lt whenever y^e Kinge should thinke fitt to call one in Ireland.

The Third is, the countenanceinge and well Regulateteinge of y^e Militia, wh: now, under God, is the Greatest strength of the Crowne in case of any forraighn Inuasion or home Rebellion. I did Raise by His Maj^{ty}s Comiss^{on} a considerable one in the Prouince, This County of Corke only yeildinge more Troops of Horse, for number & quantity, then ther is now in the whole Army, All Excellently well officer'd & Armed, & every Priuate Trooper a Protestant, haueinge taken the oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy, for I did Admitt of none but such.

The last thinge I shall now Trouble yo^r Ex^{ce} with is humbly to offer to y^e consideration whether it be not aduisable to Issue a Proclamation, That none but y^e King's officers & Sold^{rs} of y^e Army & Militia Ride or come into Garrisons with Fyre Armes without Particular Licence from yo^r Ex^{ce}, or som Gen^l Officer; Exceptinge Peers, Priuy Councillors, Justices of Peace, & thos Imploy'd to Raise & Carry the King's Reuenuē, & their meniall Seru^{ts}, wh: Duringe y^e last Dutch Warr & y^e Present was the Rules I obserued throughout this Prouince. But now euery little Fellow Rides with his Pistols, and confidently coms into Garrisons with them at his Saddle Bow.

This letter I write only to yo^r Ex^{ce}, to whom tis absolutely submitted. But I doubt, if somethinge be not specetely and effectually done, the better sorte of y^e English merchants will withdraw with their Stocks into England, wh: would be an Irreparable loss to Ireland. One of y^e richest in this Prouince, noe longer then yesterday, came to tell me he was sellinge his ships & all His Stock, & was Remoueing for good and All into England. I doubt That Example will be contagious.

V.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.^a

[Vol. I. fo. 142.]

MY LORD, Ballymartin, y^e 16th of Aug^t, 72.
 * * * * *

While I was L^d Presed^t of Munster, I used Some Times to Pass 2 or 3 months at this Castell, it beinge scituated in a Pleasent Cuntry for all Recreations, & because ther is noe Toune or Villadge about it. I bought six Iron Guns, wh: I mounted in y^e Flankers of it, for y^e better Security of y^e Place dureinge my Residence in it.

Ther is an old Statute y^t none must haue Artillery in their Howses or Castils without leaue. I cannot now giue it to my selfe, & therefore I Desyer Yo^r Ex^s Licence to keepe thes six small Iron Ordnance in my Castell of Balle martin, for whateuer is a Law is & shalbe still sacred to me who am & wilbe wile I liue, &c.

VI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.^b[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 6^b.]

MY LORD, Dublyn Castle, Aug. 17th, 1672.

Wee are now upon the consideration of the regulations to bee impos'd on Corporations,^c w^{ch} would deserve a considerable time of consultation before it were put in execution, but soe unhappy I am in this perticular as the Act of Parlm^t allows no more time but between this and Michaelmass to doe any thing in it; seven years^d were by y^e Act prescrib'd for perfecting this worke, but none of

^a See Letters X., XIV.^c See Letter IX.^b Secretary of State.^d From Sept. 29, 1665.

the Governors have ever yet effectually taken it in hand (save only in the case of the Towne of Drogheda), so as all is left to bee performed by mee in this short space of time, w^{ch} being now but six weeks, I fear through hast I shall committ some errors, tho I take the best care I can to avoyd them.

The 2 main Points w^{ch} upon this occasion may be gain'd to the Crown are the approbation of all the Chief Magistrates (as Mayors, Sheriffs, and Recorders) of all towns, to bee reserved to y^e Chief Governor here, and the vacating some extravagant Priviledges w^{ch} divers Corporacions of this kingdome have by their Charters granted to them, as for instance some Towns have all y^e Fines, Forfeitures, etc. within their Liberties, that are adjudg'd in any of his Maj^{ties} Courts; whereby, when judgment is once given, the King is disabled of exercising his Pow'r of Pardon, in regard the right to these Penalties immediately belong to y^e Corporation; besides these I doe not yet know of any materiall advantage that will arrive to y^e Crown by a new regulation of the Corporacions, and I am of opinion that these (at least y^e 1st of them) are more proper to be settled by way of Rules grounded on y^e Act then by any new Charters; becaus all that is so done is establish't by Act of Parlm^t, and the other is only by y^e Great Seale w^{ch} upon a New Charter may bee vacated.

I need not offer to your Lo^p that obvious consideration of y^e irregular advantage w^{ch} Governors may make in y^e disposall of some of these Places, w^{ch} are most of them (as specially those of the Recorders) Places of some profit, but thinke it my duty to pursue his Maj^{ties} command, w^{ch} I find in this perticular signified in a letter to my Lord Berkeley, tho' I doe much apprehend there will bee hereafter no small gain accrue by it to some Governors w^{ch} may bee sent hither to y^e great prejudice of many of these Corporacions.

* * * * *

Upon the noise of my intencion to remove y^e Troops and Companies to places more advantageous for his Maj^{ties} Service, I have

had many Applications to mee to continue them where they are, and the most usuall pretence of perticular persons is, that they have Patents from his Maj^{tie} during life of the government of Counties, Provinces, and Towns, as my Lord Donegall pretends one for the Province of Ulster, S^t Francis Foulks of y^e Towne of Clonmell; how inconvenient a Military command for any Terme longer then during pleasure may prove his Maj^{tie} is best able to judge; I am confident many here are during life, but they shall never hinder mee in disposing the forces, as I find necessary for y^e securing the country without regard to any man's convenience. As soon as I can have a List of all these Patents I will send it to your Lo^p and shall desire to know his Maj^{ties} opinion upon them.

VII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 10^b].

[After stating that he will do as well as he can without the troops which have been sent into England, and vividly describing the destitution of the disbanded forces, Essex proceeds.]

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Aug. 20, 1672.

I fear the distractions and disputes w^{ch} have bin of late in this citty will give mee more trouble to compose then at first I believ'd it would have done. I find pties on both sides much exasperated ags^t each other, and unwilling to come to an amicable end among themselvs, w^{ch} if it could have bin compasd had bin best, and after y^e conclusion to have given rules for y^e future government of y^e Corporacion, but I now believe 'twill come to a hearing at y^e Councell Table, and will engage factions there, and I am confident cause much heat in y^e debate, but I shall to my best doe justice in y^e case.

Some Letters were by y^e last post transmitted to y^r Lo^p to desire an Authority from his Maj^{tie} for raising the value of forrain coyn, w^{ch} is y^e only Proposall offer'd as a means to encrease y^e money of this kingdome, but 'tis a matter soe disputable whether y^e country will receive advantage or prejudice by enhauncing forreign money, as I doe much question whether it will bee advisable to make use of such a power if it should be allowed us.

Another matter of y^e same nature is now before us w^{ch} is a great abuse upon y^e People here (as y^e like has of late bin in England) w^{ch} is y^e uttring of Farthings^a by private men, 'twill bee necessary there bee publick ones allow'd before these others can be cal'd in and prohibited; some apprehension I am in lest any one in England should get a Patent for coyning them, and some abuse may creep in that way. I only desire y^r Lo^p y^t any such attempt may bee stop'd till y^e Proposall come from nence, w^{ch} I assure y^r Lo^p I shall endeavor to make in such terms as may only tend to y^e Publick good, and not to y^e Profitt of perticular persons.

By severall Informations from y^e north part of Ireland, I am told of divers meetings of Non Conformists, w^{ch} are very frequent in that quarter where y^e Scots inhabite, perticularly in the City of London Derry w^{ch} is a Garrison and of great Importance, being y^e only considerable Town w^{ch} y^e English have in that Country.

I am foret to place but a small Garrison in it consisting only of 3 foot Companys, by reason y^e Army is now soe small, w^{ch} Garrison I fear may bee very insecure if those meetings bee permitted in that City, for 2,000 have sometimes met there at once, nor doe I well know since his Maj^{ties} Declaration for Liberty of conscience in England,^a w^{ch} hath an effect here on men's minds, how to restrain it without Order.

The best course I can think of would bee to doe y^e same here as is practis'd in England, w^{ch} is to license some persons and places and to prohibite all others; this if it bee limited to convenient places may hinder all meetings not only in London Derry, but in

^a See Letter XII.

^b Cancelled on March 8, 1673.

all other Garrisons w^{ch} I conceive will bee of great securitie to them. Just as I was writing this a Petition from y^e B^p of that diocess ^a came to mee; a copy of y^e Petition is here enclosed, wth w^{ch} I shall conclude this tedious letter, and remain, &c.

VIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

[Stowe MS. 494, fo. 12.]

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Aug. 20, 1672.

* * * * *

I have bin very instant wth y^e Comiss^{rs} of y^e Treãry to bring in a clear Account of all moneys they have receiv'd since their undertaking,^b and of all y^e paym^{ts} they have made. Some Accounts they have delivered, but such as are in no waies satisfactory. I am confident they find I will not bee kept ignorant, and tis observable that upon my earnest pressing of them to account, They have sent over into England one Copley, Serv^t to Mr. Hays, now Comtroller of y^e Revenue. He was dispatcht very privately, and, as I hear, had a Vessell on purpose to transport him.

* * * * *

I perceiue many here doe depend upon their friends in England for nomination, both to these^c and other Governments here, but I doe assure my self y^r Lo^p will bee carefull of mee in this perticular, for I doe dayly more and more find how necessary it is (to speak abstractedly from my own concerne), even to y^e Kgs business, that y^e Chief Governors here bee supported, and not imposd upon in y^e disposall of all places of command here.^d

Y^r Lo^p will pardon this freedome, &c.

^a See Letters XV., XX.

^b See Introduction.

^c *Scil.* Governorships or Deputy-Governorships of counties.

^d This is frequently pressed by Essex.

IX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

[Stowe 499, fo. 14]

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Aug. 24, 1672.

Y^r Lo^{ps} of the 16th instant I have received, together with an account of Mounsieur De Witt's death, w^{ch} was in the most barbarous manner I ever have heard.

The giving rules to Corporacions is at present y^e worke wee have in hand. Some difficulties I meet with in it, wherein I conceive 'tis necessary for mee to know his Maj^{ties} pleasure to direct my proceedings. At y^e beginning of this week I orderd a Committee of Councell to meet and prepare some present regulation of Corporacions.

The severall Proposals reported were these :—

1. That no election of Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, or Towne Clerke bee valid till confirmed by y^e approbation of y^e Lieu^t and Councell.

2. That the Election of Mayor, and all other Magistrates, shall bee by y^e Mayor and Aldermen and Common Councell, and not by a popular vote.

3. That care bee taken for forreine Protestants who are Artificers or Merchants to bee admitted into Corporacions.

4. That all y^e Heads, Officers, Aldermen, Magistrates, and Common Councell men of Corporacions doe take y^e Oath of Allegiance, and such other Oaths as are there in force according to L^{ife} from y^e Privy Councell, dated 17 Aug., 1670.

These in y^e generall for all Corporacions, and pertycularly for y^e City of Dublyn this following.

5. That y^e Common Councell bee elected every three years.

The three first of these Rules can, I thinke, admit of no dispute, only the enlargement of y^e 3^d to all Forrainers of any religion what ever, as well as Protestants, and y^e last too, w^{ch} relates only to y^e City of Dublyn is, without doubt, very proper for this City, and

reasonable. The only difficulty rests upon y^e fourth, w^{ch} imposes y^e Oath.

That his Majestie may have y^e whole matter before him at one view, I have with this enclosed y^e copys of such Letters,^a either heretofore or lately written by his Maj^{ties} command, as are to bee found here in y^e councill books relating to this subject, and upon this occasion I desire his Maj^{tie} would bee pleas'd to review y^e sevrall clauses w^{ch} for his greater ease I have scored with a pen in the severall copys here transmitted to your Lo^p, wherein these particulars appear observable.

1. That his Maj^{ties} L^{re} for restoring y^e Irish to inhabite or Trade in Corporacions, dated May 22^d, 1661, is in y^e same Termes and almost the same words as y^e later L^{re} to y^e L^d Barkeley, dated Feb. 26, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$.

2. That when upon y^e receipt of y^e said L^{re}, dated 22^d of May, 1661, the Lords Justices were in doubt how to proceed in this matter and desired a further signification of his Maj^{ties} pleasure herein, a very sharp L^{re} ag^t y^e Romanists was return'd in aunswer from his Maj^{ties} Privy Councill in England wth great restrictions upon y^e clauses of his Maj^{ties} L^{re}, and at the same time (viz., about y^e 12 or 13 Aug: 1661) the L^{re} was accompanied wth another from M^r Secretary Nicholas, expressly declaring it was never his Maj^{ties} Pleasure to establish them in any Priviledge relating to Magistracy or Govern^t.

3. That in a L^{re} from y^e Lords of his Maj^{ties} Privy Councill, bearing date y^e 17th of Aug: 1670, concerning y^e granting of new charters to Corporacions, a special clause is inserted, Providing that all Heads and Members of Coporacions bee made incapable to Act till they have taken ye Oath of Allegiance, and such other Oaths as are there in force.

4. I doe well remember that sometime after y^e writing of this last L^{re}, dated y^e 26 of Feb^r, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, M^r Secretary Trevor has

^a These copies are among the MSS. On Feb. 20, 1672, indulgence had been granted by royal letters to Irish Roman Catholics to live in corporations.

severall times told both myself and divers others (I believe I could recover it under his hand writing) that his Maj^{tie} had to him declared his resolution in this perticular, that though Hee would admitt the Romanists to Trade in Corporacions, yet hee never intended they should bee Magistrates there, all w^{ch} is exactly conformable to M^r. Secretary Nicholas L^re before-recited.

I might take y^e advantage of these expressions in these 2 L^res of y^e 13 of Aug: 1661, and of y^e 17th of Aug: 1670, w^{ch} have never yet bin contradicted, and wth out consulting wth any in England impose y^e Rules wth an expresse clause for taking these oaths, but in all cases of moment or difficulty (where time will admit y^e sending for it) it shall ever bee my rule to inquire his Maj^{ties} Pleasure, and my practise to conforme exactly to it.

From my self I have only this to say w^{ch} I humbly offer to his Maj^{ties} consideration, that if his Maj^{tie} should by these rules dispence wth y^e Oath of Supremacy all of y^e Roman persuasion will immediately bee capacitated to bear Offices of Magistracy in all y^e Corporacions of this Kingdome, and his Maj^{tie} engaged by these rules to make this Priviledge good to them, whereas on ye other side, though these Rules should require the taking of this oath, yet by connivance his Maj^{tie} may, (as in case of Justices of Peace hee doth) allow such as shall please him from time to time to dispence with from y^e taking this Oath, and admit them by his special favor to enjoy this Priviledge. Besides, I doe really believe that if Romanists bee admitted to y^e Magistracy in Corporacions, it will upon y^e whole bee a hindrance to trade here; For I am confident 'tis not in jest that I hear from all hands that if this should once bee allowed many wealthy Trading Protestants would upon that score withdraw themselvs and their stocks. And upon this occasion give mee leave to tell y^r Lo^p that I already begin to find how differently many matters have bin represented to mee when I was in England, from what I now upon y^e Place perceive to bee y^e Truth; 'Tis my method to refuse y^e speaking with no man, what ever I learn that is proper to bee communicated to your Lo^p you

may be fully assur'd shall wth all candor and impartialitee bee imparted to your Lo^p.

I humbly desire an Answer to this Affaire wth as much speed as conveniently you can, and that it may bee positive and clear; if his Maj^{tie} shall in his wisdome think fitt to consult his Privy Councell in this matter tis most agreeable to that w^{ch} hath bin done by himself in y^e like case as you see by one of y^e L^{res} enclosed. And I thinke it may not bee unworthy in an affaire of this importance to send an express with the Aunswer, who for more certeynty may goe through Scotland by Port Patrick, for many times y^e winds at this season of y^e year continue for some weeks constantly in y^e west, w^{ch} if it should now happen, wee cannot hear from England by y^e ordinary Post. I am y^e more earnest for an Aunswer in regard I must of necessity goe suddenly on wth y^e dispatch of this business, that y^e Advantages of y^e Crowne by this Regulation bee not overslipt. The time by y^r Act expiring at Michaelmas next, and in case no Aunswer should come, I can doe no other than proceed according to y^e significations of his Maj^{ties} Pleasure in these enclos'd L^{res} w^{ch} have as yet received no Countermand.

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The Councell here are almost all unanimous in this matter, and will I believe wth some warmth press y^e imposinge y^e Oath of Supremacy in all y^e Corporacions.

X.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

[Stowe, 499, fo. 24^b]

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Aug. 27, 1672.

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I had lately a L^{re} from my L^d Orrery, wherein hee desird my Licence for the keeping of six Iron Guns^a w^{ch} hee saith are his

^a See Letters VI. and XV. Essex's refusal (August 20) and Orrery's letter of remonstrance (August 23) are both in the MS.

owne, and now planted in the Castle of Ballimartyn. I have absolutely refus'd this Licence, and since that I have rec^d another L^r from him upon the same subject, w^{ch} tells mee hee has a Patent under y^e Great Seale to fortife Charleville (another house of his) wth Forts and Bullwarks, and to mount and use Great Guns on the said Fortifications. My Lord of Orrery, as y^r Lo^p knows, is a person with whom I have had a long acquaintance, and one to whom I shall allwaies bee ready to make expressions of civilitie and friendship, yet in a case of this nature I thinke it my duty to acquaint y^r Lo^p with y^e matter that I may receive his Maj^{ties} commands, for wth out his Maj^{ties} especiall Commission I will never, while I command here, suffer any private men to have possession of a regular fortified Place, furnished with Guns, and if my opinion bee asked upon this subject I thinke it may prove of more dangerous consequence to have it otherwise then at first sight it may seem, for if one noble man bee allowd a strong place, another great man may desire and cannot well bee denied y^e like Priviledge, and if many noble men should have them four or five of these great men, combining, may give the King the same trouble as the Barons of England have in former times their Kings.

All places of strength ought certainly to bee in the King's, and in no other hands, w^{ch} I shall keep entirely soe while I remain in this Kingdome, unless his Maj^{tie} order the contrary.

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XI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD CLIFFORD.^a

[Stowe 499, fo. 28.]

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Aug. 31, 1672.

Y^r Lo^p may bee pleased to remember that near the time of my departure from London, upon y^e closing of y^e Establishm^t for this Kingdome, five hundred Pounds a year were reservd with intention that, if I should find cause to move the King in behalf of this City of Dublyn, it should be restored to them agen. The unhappy differences w^{ch} have bin among them, and were by his Maj^{ties} orders of Reference referd to my self and the Councell here, I find to bee one of y^e uneasiest parts I have to compose at y^e entrance of my Govern^t, and, let it be determind w^{ch} way it will, must leave a very considerable part of this City much distracted. I have, therefore, thought it most conducing to his Maj^{ties} service to make a composure of y^e matter, and having employed some persons to try what either Partie doe insist upon, wee have brought them so neer one another, as I am perswaded it may bee ended, to the satisfaction of both Parties, w^{ch} being done I confess I should bee glad if I might bee instrumentall in procuring the restitution of y^e five hundred pounds a year to this City, and to that end I desire y^r Lo^p will bee pleasd to mind his Maj^{tie} of it, and that I may have an Order to insert them into the Establishm^t, w^{ch}, if I shall see that by their compliance upon this occasion they doe meritt, I will put it in execution, but if not, I will suspend doeing any thing in it.

* * * * *

^a Lord High Treasurer. On the same day Essex writes to Arlington expressing the fear that he may be thought slow, but he is taking time to avoid mistakes. On Sept. 21 Clifford tells him that "there appears to us here another face on all the affaires of that kingdom since your L^{ps} arrival than there hat^a done for many years before."

XII.—CHARLES R. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Vol. i. fo. 192.]

[Essex is to prepare, but not to issue, a proclamation for raising or abating foreign money as he thinks best. The king thinks that the new coining of farthings^a in England, which are to be current in Ireland, will remedy the difficulty Essex mentioned in Letter VII. All licenses for taking money out of the kingdom have been revoked, the Duke of Ormond giving up his voluntarily. The despatch then proceeds.]

CHARLES R.

* * * * *

As to y^e matter of regulating Corporations, wee have considered of y^e principall points represented by you to have bene drawne up & reported to y^e Councell by y^e Co^mittee appointed in that businesse, & are of opinion & accordingly Our Pleasure is, That as to that concerning y^e Oath of Supremacy to be taken in all Corporations it bee fixed as a Generall rule, that noe person whatsoever bee admitted into any Place of Magistrature or Government in any Corporation within that Our Kingdome till hee shall have first taken y^e Oath of Supremacy, except such as Our Lieutenant for y^e time being, or other Chiefe Governor for y^e time being shall think fitt for some particular reasons to dispense wth in that behalfe, & suitable to this Our Pleasure is, that you doe even forthwth & at y^e same time that you shall execute this rule in y^e generall towards Corpora^{ti}ons make use of y^e Power of dispensing in this particular of y^e Oaths with such persons in any Corporations as you shall find qualified for that grace by their Loyalty, Sobriety, prudence, estate in trading, or other particular considerations.^b And as to y^e encouragement to bee given to Forreigners to come & settle themselves in that Our Kingdome, wee think it of great advantage to Our said Kingdome, & accordingly Our Pleasure is, That you doe

^a The Lucas-Farthings. See Parl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 474, 1671, Feb. 22.

^b The Declaration of Indulgence, which claimed the dispensing power, was issued on March 15, 1672.

take care that all Forreigners, as well Protestants as others, be admitted into Corporaçõns, & this is what wee think most necessary to be signified to you at y^e present in those matters.

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Given at Our Court at Whitehall y^e 31st day of August, 1672, in y^e 24th year of Our Reigne.

XIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

[Stowe, 499, fo. 30^b.]

[Urges a speedy investigation into the disposal of lands pursuant to the late Act of Parliament. The people, especially in Kerry, are very intractable owing to the prolonged delay.]

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XIV.--CHARLES R. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Vol. i. fo. 216.]

Charles R.

Right Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin & Councellour, Wee Greet you Well. Whereas Wee are given to understand that the Earle of Orrery hath applyed to you for your Lycence & permission to plant certaine greate Guns in his Castle or House of Ballymartin within that Our Kingdome,^a and that hee doth further pretend to Power under the Greate Seale of that Our Kingdome to fortify one other of his Houses called Charle Ville in Our said Kingdome with Forts and Bullwarkes, and to Mount and use Greate Guns on the said Fortifications, Wee cannot but take notice to you how unfitt Wee thinke it That any such Lycences should be granted,

^a See Letters V. X.

And therefore Wee doe not onely well approve yo^r refusall of the desire he made as to Ballymartin, But further Wee will, and accordingly Wee doe hereby sufficiently authorise and require you to give order for the recalling and revokeing in such way and forme as shall bee found necessary the said Power and Lycence soe pretended to be granted to him to fortify his House of Charle Ville as aforesaid, in case upon enquiry you doe finde that any such Lycence or Authority has been granted to him, which Wee cannot but Looke upon as a surprise of a dangerous nature upon us, if indeed Wee have att any time heretofore made him such a Grant. For which these Our Letters shall bee Your Warrant. And soe Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given att Our Court att Whitehall the 7th day of September in the 24th yeare of Our Reigne 1672.

XV.—THE BISHOP OF DERRY^a TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Vol. i. fo. 235.]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCELL^{CY}, Londonderry, Sept. 13, 1672.

The Applications w^{ch} I have made to my L^d Chancelo^r, haveing carried wth them an Address to yo^r Excell^{cY} by his Grace's co^munication, in y^e whole account of y^e late disorder here in London Derry ;^b It will be but Actum agere to make any further representations of y^e particulars of y^t affaire, especially, if to y^e narrative transmitted, His Grace hath co^municated also to yo^r Excell^{cY} what

^a Robert Mossom, DD., an Englishman. Precentor of St. Patrick's, Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, and Prebendary of York, consecrated April 1, 1616. Died at Derry, Dec. 21. 1679 ; buried in the cathedral.

^b See Letters VII. XX.

is given in Answer to y^e Rioters' Complaints; by which will appear not only y^e innocency but also y^e necessity of mine & y^e Magistrate's proceedings. And however they may seem unseasonable at present, yet (I doubt not) but in a little process of time yo^r Excell^{cy} will experience them very usefull in y^e clear discovery of these (Northern at least) Presbyterians' tempers. I was myself personally employed in all y^e late cōmotions in England from first to last. And from y^e experiences I had of y^e first begininge, I still hinted to y^e L^d Lieut as lately to yo^r Excell^{cy}, what I conceived of the turbulent temper of these persons, w^{ch} would upon occasion break out into tumultuous practices; And this is now made evident in part, & if not nip't in y^e bud, being overaw'd by force, will hereafter shew it selfe to y^e full.

But yo^r Excell^{cy} can by y^e just measures of prudence discern expedite Herculem. And that yo^r Excell^{cy} may not judge me heedles of that transmit to y^e King before my leaving Dublin; It was upon y^t reason, that, in y^e Order of restraint published, it was declared to be only till his Ma^{ties} Lycense should be produc't; And in y^e consult wth y^e Maior & y^e present Governors, we did verily believe, y^t this order would have restrain'd their Assemblies; But their dareing impudence, out vy'd our more modest confidence; & being engag'd by Campsie's^a Menaces, we should have been trod on as dirt (& y^e whole Ministry wth us) had Magistracy been baffled by their bold Attempts. Indeed y^e great learning now is y^t by experim^{ts}, & this hath influence into y^e State as well as y^e Schools. So y^t to confirme y^e Representation made by me to yo^r Excell^{cy}, & by yo^r Excell^{cy} to y^e King, concerning these peoples principles and tempers, this experim^t comes seasonable & patt, wth out w^{ch}, I have reason to imagine, my intimations of danger in this place, & to this Garrison, would be no more credited at Court now then formerly; And so, y^e Insolence of this party become reserv'd to a season in w^{ch} they could not be so easily suppress, as now their late Riott (to shew their conformity to y^e beginnings of

^a Presbyterian minister at Londonderry.

y^e late Comotions) they have back't (on Tuesday last) wth a scandalous & factious Libell, of w^{ch} my L^d Chancelor will give Yo^r Excell^{cy} an Account, transmitted to him by this post. I Humbly beg Yo^r Excell^{cy}s Patronage in this Grand affaire, & protection in this dangerous place ; wth out w^{ch} I must crave leave to retreat to Dublin for security to my selfe & family, where I may doe w^t I cannot here, viz., pray for yo^r Excell^{cy} & preach to the people in safety.

XVI—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 33^b.]

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Sep^r. 14th, 1672.

On Wednesday last, being the eleventh instant, I received two L^{res} from y^e L^p, and y^e same day y^e duplicate of one of them arrived here too. I am very glad they are come, and give y^r Lo^p many thanks for their soe speedy dispatch, for till I had them I would not venture one step in y^e regulation of Corporacions, but now that I am soe completely instructed in that perticular I shall proceed to the perfecting and imposing of y^e Rules, wherein I shall exactly pursue his Maj^{ties} directions signified in his Letter.

The City here, whom I lately believd to bee in a temper of compliance one with another, and that they would of themselves have readmitted their excluded Aldermen,^a and composd all their differences among themselves, are now resolved to come to a hearing before the Councell Table, and in regard tis doubtfull whether the sentence of the board may be gratefull to the commonaltie, and and considering some unhappy Tumults w^{ch} were the last year about a bridge, wherein I am told 7 or 8 men were Kild, the better

^a Before the 28th the Council had, on Essex's demand, restored their recorder and aldermen, accepting the new Regulations, and elected Essex's nominee, Decy, to the mayoralty. fo. 55^b.

to secure this City from any disorder that might possibly happen, and above all that I may not expose his Maj^{ties} Authority to' bee affronted, I have thought fitt to order four of the Army Troops to Towne. I confess I doe not believe there will bee any stirs among them, but, however, I am sure wee shall not be less obeyed by the multitude when they see some Soldiers among them. I have caused it to bee reported abroad that I intend by turns to see all the Army here, and that I will (to that end) constantly order four Troops to bee in Dublyn, and to change them every two moneth, but I shall only doe this till I see the City composd, and settled to y^e Rules w^{ch} I intend to impose upon them. There will bee a necessity of allowing these Troops some thing more then their ordinary Pay during the time They shall quarter in this City. Three Pence a day to each Trooper was the usuall allowance extraordinary upon the like occasions, w^{ch} for the 4 Troops will very litle exceed 600*l.* per Añn, but I am confident six moneths will bee as long as I shall keepe any of them here. This money if his Maj^{tie} please may bee paid out of the five hundred pound pension reserved to bee restord to the City upon my recommendation, w^{ch} I shall never give them till by their obedience and submission to his Authoritie I see they deserve such a favor from him.^a

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^a Permission to give the £500 was granted Essex during the month. fo. 244.

XVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 40^b.]

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Sep^r 17th, 1672.

* * * * *

My L^d Powrs Regiment was yesterday shipt.^a I heard of no disorder among them, but least any thing might happen at parting, as there did at Kinsale, last year upon the shipping of some men for England, I order'd two Troops of Horse to bee drawn up on the Shore, whilst the men were shipping. I am confident y^r Lo^p will hear my character, as of a very severe and ill natur'd man towards the soldierie here, and I confess I am forced in a great measure to bee soe, for there has bin so much remissness in that Part of the Administration of y^e Governm^t, and so much permission of all men to quarter when and where they please, as I find they take it very ill to bee put into a new method. I am almost tir'd with the applications of some to continue in the quarters where they have long bin, and of others, to permitt some files of men to bee guards for their houses,^b but I have bin so hardy as to refuse all suits of this nature, it being very important to his Maj^{ties} Service to keep y^e Companies full in their severall Garrisons, not suffering any files of men to reside by perticular Licence in the Officers' houses (w^{ch} has hitherto bin indulg'd them) for fear, not only of weakening y^e Garrisons, but of giving the Officers opportunite of making fals musters, for no man can know whether these men are in being, while they are kept at their private Houses.

I make no doubt but I shall receive all y^e countenance I can

^a It illustrates the occasional difficulties of communication with England that this regiment returned to Dublin on the 20th, "in an ill condition, many of the men have been mad, and some of them are dead," f. 50. On Jan. 3, 1673, the west wind prevented all communications from Arlington reaching Essex—nine packets were due in Dublin. Power's regiment finally reached England on Sept. 28, with the greatest difficulty.

^b *e.g.* Orrery. See Letter IV.

expect in my Proceedings here, for it shall I hope be allwais found that I direct all to his Maj^{ties} service and to no other end whatever, yet I have bin a litle more perticular upon this subject then the nature of it needed, in regard I know so great a change as tis necessary for mee to make here must of necessitie bring along with it some ill will, but I know in all these cases tis but being a litle resolute at y^e first and afterwards all will comply.

* * * * *

Among other Proposals for encrease of money in this Kingdome, one has bin offer'd to mee w^{ch} meethinks seems the likeliest, but I cannot well judge how practicable it may bee. 'Tis This, Wee suppose here that there will this Winter bee great want of Provision in Holland, and therefore, if there were a permission gain'd from England, that this Kingdome might transport beef and other provisions into Hoiland,^a not wthstanding the Warr, it might return great profit to us; tis certain the Dutch will supply themselves some way or other, and is it not better for his Maj^{ties} subjects to have profit by it then for others to reap the advantage? There are, I confess, some difficulties in the way, but the discour is too large for a Letter, therefore it shall content mee only to have made the Proposition, and leave it to y^e Lo^{ps} consideration; only this I am confident of, that 'tis not any trick, as the raising of the value of money, or any other litle project (w^{ch} can only give a litle relief for y^e time) that can restore plenty of money to a country that wants it, but it must bee some solid Foundation of Trade such as perhaps this may prove that can bring plenty of coine into a Kingdome.

The settling of Rules for the Corporacions makes this a buisy time with us here; the generall ones for all Coporacions were pas'd this morning and sign'd by the Councell; one addition wee have made to them not mentioned in my former Letters, w^{ch} is y^e Oath ag^t y^e taking up of Arms by virtue of y^e King's Authorite ag^t his

^a England had been at war with the Dutch since March.

Person.^a I presume this Addition to this other Oathes here in force will not bee misliked. Wee must make particular Rules for eight or 10 of y^e greater Coporacions, and some peculiar ones for this City of Dublyn; wherein I shall not faile of my care to pursue his Maj^{ties} instructions in this behalf, and to accommodate the Ruls as properly as may bee to y^e constitution of each severall Coporacion, tho' I fear our shortness of time, as the greatest circumspection that is possible will not hinder us from falling into some errors.

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XVIII.—CHARLES R. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Essex Papers, vol. i. 279.]

Sept. 28.

[All prosecutions in criminal causes on account of the "late rebellion" are to be stopped, as previously ordered in the time of Ormond.]

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XIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 55.]

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, 1 Octob. 1672.

* * * * *

I have recd severall L^{res} from his Maj^{tie} concerning the Coporacion of Dundalke. The L^{res} themselvs are some of them so contradictory one to the other as by them it appears to be a matter of intricacy; and upon consideration of the business I am apt to fear, if I should pursue the commands I have recd of renewing y^e charter of this Coporacion, and restoring all their

^a This occurs in the English Corporation Act of 1661.

Lands w^{ch} were enjoyed by them on 22 of Octob. 1641, it would intrench upon some clauses in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation ; sure I am the ^a Presid^t of this will extend further then can be readily foreseen. There are heads enough at worke to take any opportunitie to make a breach into these Acts, and this very thing of Corporacion Lands is the most plausible of any Thing can fix upon to introduce some change in the Acts, and therefore, in my opinion, ought to be y^e more narrowly watcht. I have, therefore, for y^e present respited any proceedings upon this Letter, and have transmitted my Ld. Dungannon's Petition, who will employ some to take care of his business in England, and upon any further signification of his Maj^{ties} pleasure (after y^e whole shall be thoroughly considered together wth y^e consequences of it) I shall readily execute such commands as shall come to mee either by another Letter, or by intimation from y^r Lo^p to proceed upon these w^{ch} I have already rec^d.

Some of y^e Rules for Corporacions are by this Post transmitted to y^r Lo^p; those for Gallway and Limmerick are y^e same, only wth this addition, that for election of Magistrates it shall be by y^e Mayor, Aldermen, and co^mon Councell, and not by a Popular Vote. This we have done conformable to y^e first proposals w^{ch} I sent to y^r Lo^p, and wee have declar'd it only in y^e Rules for these two Citys, in regard that in all y^e other Citys of Note y^e constitution of them is so already, and in Gallway it has bin controverted, whether the Freemen in generall have a Vote in y^e Election of Magistrates or no ; so to settle all we have given y^e Rule.

The Rules for this City doe a litle differ from all the others. By y^e next y^r Lo^p shall have copys of them too.

^a Precedent.

XX.—THE BISHOP OF DERRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.^aMAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCELL^{EY},

Oct. 4, 1672.

Having receiv'd intimation from my L^d Massereen That, to make a composure of o^r contention here should be wth yo^r Excell^{ey}'s allowance, I crave leave to Signify to Yo^r Excell^{ey} y^e Chieftains of y^e P^resbyterians pty here, Mr. Campsie, Mr. Burnside, and Mr. Cunningham, have engaged (in Scriptis), in behalfe of themselves & the rest of their perswasion, that they shall not hold any meetings in their house wthin y^e walls, unless they may doe it wthout offence to his Ma^{tie} & y^e L^d Leiu^t of Ireland. And upon this engagement I cease all further prosecution, if yo^r Excell^{ey} is pleas'd to allow of it. Their Rabbies, who sent me a challing of despuite, have been wth me, & are over come into a Conference of kindnes, upon better advice waveing what might be obnoxious to censure by authority. So y^t I hope we shall return to o^r former friendlynnes of neighborhood. But then I must humbly implore yo^r Excell^{ey} that they may not return to their former meeting house, w^{ch} they engage shall not be, whilst it is an offence to doe it. And may it ever be an offence to yo^r Excell^{ey}, ag^t all y^e importunities of reconciling yo^r Excell^{ey} to it, So shall I & my Family, & those Few Royallists & Conformists here, pray for yo^r Excell^{ey} in peace, as the gratefull returne of yo^r Excell^{ey}'s care & candor in this affaire, infinitely obliging y^e duty & devotion of him who is, &c.

^a See Letters VII. XV. On Oct. 1, Arlington sent directions that the garrison of Londonderry was to be strengthened against the Nonconformists.

XXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.^a

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, 8th Octob. 1672.

* * * * *

I have here enclos'd a Copy of y^e Bishops of Londonderry's Letter, by w^{ch} your Lo^p will find y^e Terms w^{ch} those Non Conformists are at present brought to, w^{ch} I hope for a time may keep them quiet, but y^e cure of that evill must be by another course, for I find that almost all y^e seditious Preachers of Scotland,^b who are so factious and turbulent there as y^e Government will not endure them, do upon their banishment out of that Kingdome repair hither, and these are y^e men who are most followed by y^e multitude. I have employ'd some persons to learn out their Names, and some Accounts I have had of them already, but not so perfect as to instruct me what to offer to yo^r Lo^p on this subject; only this seems to be proper, that a constant correspondence be held between y^e Governor of this Kingdome and those who have y^e management of Affairs in Scotland, that so notice may be given when any of these seditious Preachers are prosecuted and sentenc'd in Scotland, and that their name may be return'd Hither to y^e end they may not harbor in this country.

'Tis apparent that all y^e Inland Counties on y^e North East of Ireland, tho' inhabited by Scots, are yet very conformable good People, whereas all y^e Sea Coast peopled by that Nation are a very factious and turbulent generation, w^{ch} can proceed from no other ground than that w^{ch} I have hinted to your Lo^p. I hope within a weeke or two (after all my intelligence from these parts shall be come) I shall be able to offer some expedient to his Maj^{ties} consideration w^{ch} may be fit to be applied for y^e redress of this growing mischief.

* * * * *

^a On the same date Essex writes to the Bishop approving of the conditions named in the latter's letter, and urging that if the Nonconformists observe the treaty, "the greater tenderness that is used towards them the better."

^b Frequent mention of this occurs in the Lauderdale MSS. (vol. ii. p. 220, &c.) On Oct. 26 Arlington wrote to Essex that he was in consultation with Lauderdale on this point [f. 326].

XXII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Oct. 26, 1672.

I have bin so ill of late as I could not my self give you any account of Affairs here, nor am I yet well enough to doe it with my owne hand.

We have publisht a proclamation in pursuance to his Maj^{ties} Letter prohibiting all persons to commence any suits for any Actions committed in y^e late War,^a a Copy whereof is transmitted to S^r Joseph Williamson.

Yesterday, at Councell, we committed to the custodie of y^e Serjant-at-Arms one Philpott, a person very seditious in y^e time of ye late disorders of this City. The ground of his committment was for contempt of our Order made in determination of those differences, wherein we declar'd all elections of Magistrates since y^e illegall exclusion of y^e Recorder and Aldermen to be voyd, notwithstanding w^{ch} this Phillpott being one of those so illegally elected, comes into y^e Court of Aldermen on y^e 17th day of this present moneth, and places himself there as one of that body, for w^{ch} presumption we have now committed him.

We also proceeded upon y^e deteinder of moneys by y^e Farmers upon pretence of defalcations and we find they have at this present deteind nineteen thousand five hundred p^{ds} in their hands; I have hitherto bin gentle to y^e Farmers in this particular hoping that they and y^e Com^{rs} of y^e Treāry might come to some agreem^t among themselves, but finding no such agreem^t like to succeed I have now put an end to that matter, and order'd y^e Farmers immediately to pay in ten thousand p^{ds} of this money so detein'd, w^{ch} if they doe not perform, I have left y^e Com^{rs} of y^e Treāry to take their court for y^e whole according to Law, indeed I see plainly that money will be wanting here; the Kings rents allmost of all kinds will faile;

^a See XVIII.

and there will be a necessitie of his Maj^{ties} suppli^{ng} y^e want wth English money, or otherwise y^e governm^t will fall into great disorder; I doe not looke upon our want to proceed so much from y^e present war (tho' that too has some share in it), as from y^e generall decay of Trade, and this occasioned principally by a late Act of Parliam^t, w^{ch} so strictly prohibits all Trade between this Kingdome and our West Indian Plantations (upon w^{ch} score y^e Farmers of y^e Revenue doe now demand and must have a considerable defalcation). Before this Act this Kingdome had settled a considerable Trade thither of Beef, Butter, and Tallow, and other commodities, wth w^{ch} this country abounds; but, being now denied all Traffique there, they can find no place to vent it; 'twas believ'd, when this Act pas'd, that y^e prohibiting of Traffique between Ireland and y^e West Indian Plantations would be of great profit to England, if so, I see no wrong England can have in allowing some proportion for y^e maintenance of y^e Governm^t here, w^{ch} I fear y^r Lo^p will quickly find will be necessarie to be done.^a

I have not as yet sign'd any Orders signifying my pleasure of dispensing wth particular persons from taking y^e Oath of Supremacy in case they be elected Magistrates of Towns; but so soon as I had pas'd y^e Rules for y^e Coporacions I sent to those who were y^e Agents here for them of y^e Roman persuasion to give me in some Lists of Names of y^e wealthiest and most substantiall Trades in each Town, w^{ch} Lists were brought in to me just at y^e beginning of my sickness, w^{ch} is ye occasion I have done nothing in it as yet, but I shall now speedily proceed to y^e licensing of such persons as I shall think best qualified for his Maj^{ties} favor in this particular.

From Gallway I hear the^{re} are very great meetings within y^e Town of those of y^e Roman persuasion. They write me word from thence that everie Sunday there meets in one house at Mass much greater numbers then y^e whole Garrison consists of, but I must tell y^e Lo^p withall that They meet very peaceably, and no way disorderly either in words or otherwise.

^a See Report from Commissioners of Customs on this matter, Letter XXXIX.

I am a litle unsatisfied wth those People of Galway who made their complaints to me at my first coming of being beaten and ill-used by ye Garrison and other Protestants there, and I know they have not bin behind hand wth their clamors in England too. I have put their business in a way of hearing, and will be sure to doe them all y^e right and justice They can expect, but they are perpetually putting in new replications, and introducing new matter w^{ch} of forme y^e other side must aunswer in writing before y^e whole can come to a hearing, w^{ch} makes me suspect y^e Complainants only desire to clamour, and doe not care to have y^e Truth of y^e matter lookt into.

These are all y^e particulars w^{ch} at present are worthy y^e giving y^e Lo^p an account of.

* * * * *

I have a Coñson to Coll: Rich: Talbot to coñmand Capt. Davis his Troop.

XXIII.—THE BISHOP OF DOWNE^B TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELL.^{CIE}.

Oct. 29, 1672.

* * * * *

I have been intent as this short tyme would permitt mee, and resolve to waylay all opportunities for y^e future. I have gon to severall Non-conformists ministers, invited them to come to mee, and must leav the issue to God and tyme.

But for the present, though they cement heer, they are really two partyes. One they cald the publike men in Scotland, w^{ch} were for his M^{ties} Restauration, and those are the moderate party ;

^a Thomas Hackett, D.D., an Englishman, educated at Trinity College, Dublin ; chaplain to Charles II., Dean of Cork, 1661, consecrated Sept. 22, 1672 ; deprived 1694, by Royal Commission, for non-residence, neglect, &c. Died August, 1697 ; buried at Lisburn.

The others they call'd here Remonstrators, whoe were against it, very seditious ags^t their governors there—presbytery, Universities—and therefore were driven out hither, whoe are mad, factious, preaching up the people's liberties, spreading seditious books printed in Holland since this War, of w^{ch} some are fixt and some they call Itinerant preachers. A particular character of these (by the best information I could possibly obtaine) I have presented y^r Excell^{cie} by the Hands of S^r Henrye Ford. These excite y^e people to outrages ags^t their legall incumbents, in which some have been beaten and batter'd for doing their duties, and in travelling on the high way, without any provocation given. These Non-conformists likewise performe all parochiall duties heer, and defraud y^r Ministers of their dues (not content wth preaching only as they are in England), and what is of most wicked consequence, after they have marryed persons, the coupled on discontents part, and pretend they were not legally marryed.

Yet I humbly conceiv all this does not amount to y^e fearing any publique trouble, or making soe much as a publique noyse (y^t y^e Irish need bee counteract to ballanc them), for they are but lately come, disowned by all the principall men, and may bee as silently return'd whenc they come, as when they come, if it bee don soone.

For any occasions or scandalls that they may pretend justly to arise from o^r clergy, I hope, by God's blessing, to remove them all from them, and y^e clamo^r from y^r Excellency.

I doe not altogether despaire of bringing some of the moderate to a faire Treaty. Those I have already discorst wth, and they promise to decoy in y^e rest.

I hope likewise to divide them, w^{ch} I have essayed by suggesting to them probabilityes of kindnes for those y^t are moderate, and y^t the violent only hinder them from, and that therefore they will be concernd to dycriminate themselves from y^t party, that soe they may bee capable of y^e favors intended them.

These little things I am at present agitating, suitable to y^e low sphere I moove in; and subjecting all to y^e highest, in which y^r

Excellenc presides, whose influenc we must have to sho, and imploring the guidanc and blessing of God on y^{rs}, w^{ch} shall bee the constant prayers of,

My most Honord L^d,
Y^r Excell^{cyes} most obliged votary & Serv^t,

THO. DUNING.

Lysnegor, Oct. 29.

My humble opinion is, that they overvalue the Nonconformists heer whoe think a tolleration needfull, because they generally did conforme till of late, and the indulging only 2 ladys opened the present gap by giving countenanc to others, and it requires but the courage of denying their intercessions to stop it.

XXIV. ANONYMOUS^a TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Undated.]

Your Ex^{cy} will soone understand (if you doe not already) that his Ma^{ty} is not verry well pleased with the New Rules, &c., concerning Corporations. The best office that your friends could doe you was to lay the Saddle on the right horse by telling his Ma^{tie} this truth (which he believes), that y^e same were prepared by the Councell before your comeing over, and that what you did was at their Instance and by their advice, who have shoulders broad enough to beare it. Remember, that if the Lyon say the Foxes Eares are hornes, thair is noe disputeing the case. Though your Ex^{cy} hath power in many cases, insteede of obeying, to represent the inconveniences of his Ma^{ty}'s Comands, yet under p^etence thereof to serve the turnes of Private interests cannot be verry acceptable. Felix quem faciunt, &c., verbum sapienti.

* * * * *

^a There is no clue to the writer. The letter is in a formal hand. The terms of expression, perhaps, point to Halifax.

XXV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Octo. 29th, 72.

I give y^r Lo^p y^e trouble of this private L^{fe} upon 2 or 3 particulars, w^{ch} your Lo^p may keep to y^r self, or otherwise, as you shall see cause.

In the first place, I cannot but a litle complaine of a Petition of one Patrick Groome o^r Grim, setting forth a judgment obtain'd ag^t him for matters acted in y^e late War, that a Petition should be admitted of in England, and Order given there upon, before he had made any complaint or address to me here, especially since his Maj^{tie} granted his Order before my departure from England (as my Lord Clifford well knowes), that no particular complaint of injustice or oppression be admitted here ag^t any, unless it appear y^t y^e Partie made first his address unto y^e Lieutenant.^a I can assure y^r Lo^p y^t my Lord of Strafford, who had y^e like engagement from y^e King, never fail'd to imprison any whom he perceiv'd were about to make their complaint in England before they had made their address to him. And tho' I have given all ready compliance to his Maj^{ties} commands herein, yet give me leave to tell y^r Lo^p y^t unless this article be kept intirely wth him who governs here, he will be scorn'd by all, and have but an uncomfortable employment. If y^e Govern^t shall give a Judgm^t in any case, y^e Partie y^t thinks himself agriev'd may appeale to his Maj^{tie}, and y^e cause as it stood here, wth its proofs, is to be transmitted into England, and y^e judgm^t may there be revers'd, and this without any dishonor to y^e Lieu^t, for there is no man but may erre, but if once men find a way open to pass by y^e Lieu^t, and have their cause heard at first instance in another place, for my Part I thinke it does litle less then destroy y^e Governm^t here. I desire y^r Lo^p to excuse the having bin so large upon this subject, but truly y^e matter is so essentiall y^t I could say no less upon it. What I have said I speake only to y^r Lo^p in particular, and leave it wholly to y^r Lo^p to doe what you thinke fitt in it.

* * * * *

^a See next Letter.

XXVI.—THE EARL OF ARLINGTON TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Nov. 12, '72.

By last night's post i received foure of y^r Ex^{ty's}; one of y^e 26, two of y^e 29, and one of Nov. 2. The substance of all w^{ch} i will by y^e first occasion i have comuicate to his Ma^{ty} and receive his pleasure upon them, that I may with all speede impart it to y^r Ex, w^{ch} i hope may bee by y^e next post. In y^e meane time i herewith enclose y^e remarques made upon y^e rules for Corporations,^a w^{ch} i promised you in my last, having now y^e King's leave to sende them to you; i doe not answer for y^e sufficiency of them, having but cursorily reade them over, but i suppose, if his Ma^{ty} bee satisfied upon them, most of his exceptions will cease, and consequently those of standers by, who, according to their accustomed liberty, censure this matter as they doe all other, w^{ch} I hope y^r Ex will easily teach y^r selfe to beare, as well as i doe, when you satisfy y^r selfe that you doe y^r duty by serving the King according to his directions; and, having been soe long in that country, you cannot but knowe that nothing can bee done favorably to one party without loosing for that time y^e good will of y^e other, and consequently enduring all y^e ill effects of it, at least from their tounge. Y^e right, I am perswaded, lyes in y^e midle following, which I am perswaded will at long runne bee y^e best course, although for y^e present it have not y^e approbation of either.

Y^r Ex remarque upon his Ma^{ty's} admission of a petition here, w^{ch} regularly should have been first prevented there, hath much reason in it; i promise you that for y^e future I will warr^t y^e observance of

^a On Nov. 5, Arlington had written that the issuing of the rules was to be suspended until the meeting of the Privy Council, where, as we learn from the anonymous Letter XXIV, there was strong opposition. The paper of exception was answered by Essex at once and at very great length. A formal letter of suspension from the King accompanied Arlington's letter. See Letter XXXIV.

that rule as well as I can, but y^e truth is that particular seeming soe greate a point of State, it seemed to require a present remedy, and, perhaps, those in favor of whome it was to be applied doe too much suspect y^e generality of the Counsel to bee too earnestly bent against them, w^{ch} made them come hither.

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XXVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

Dublyn Castle, Nov. 30th, 1672.

[Has received, and will presently answer, the exceptions to the Rules for Corporations; agrees with Arlington as to the "middle course." "If men should be admitted to have reparation for all the trespasses and injuries done in the time of the war here, it would turn the world upside down."]

XXVIII.—THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Exeter House, 13 Dec. 1672.

I returne my most humble thanks to y^r Excellency for y^e favour and honour of y^r congratulacōn.^a I will assure your Excellency the King could not have put a man in this place more your servant. And yet, puting your letter & postscript together, I cannot but apprehend that I have been represented from hence to you as one that hath spoken against your L^v, or some of your proceedings.

If soe, give me leave to say, your intelligence out of England is not soe good as your Excellency ought to have. For I am sure the direct contrary is only true. I am the more jealous that this

^a Essex's letter is dated Nov. 30. Shaftesbury was made Lord Chancellor on Nov. 17.

hath been soe, because I have been served in the like manner with severall other persons, & upon severall other occasions, by some worthy persons here that are exceeding skilful in these lesser arts, but can doe noe business. Besides, my starrs have not been very propitious as to Irish affairs or Governors.^a But I rely upon your goodnesse and wisdom to over-rule those starrs. And that you would believe it impossible for me not to be infinitely ambitious of your friendship whilst you please to allow it me. And that I shall never omitt any thing that may make it appeare how sincerely I am, &c.

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 XXIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublyn Castle, Dec. 14th, 1672.^b

Tho' my recoverie be not yet so perfect as to enable me to undertake a thorough consideration of those Affairs w^{ch} have bin comitted to me by His Maj^{tie} relating to y^e Governm^t of this Kingdome, yet I thinke it my duty to make y^r Lo^p at present this short returne to his Maj^{ties} L^re of y^e 5th of Novemb^r concerning y^e suspension of those Rules for Corporacions w^{ch} have bin publisht since my coming hither.

In y^e first place I beseech y^r Lo^p to acquaint his Maj^{tie} that I am resolv'd, wth all obedience, to observe his Maj^{ties} Commands concerning y^e suspension of these Rules, tho' it be attended wth many difficulties.

The Magistrates of all y^e considerable Corporacions in Ireland have bin elected according to these Rules, and if I should exactly pursue his Maj^{ties} commands according to y^e Tenor of his L^re, w^{ch}

^a He is no doubt referring to Ormond, Essex's predecessor, whom he had, in conjunction with Buckingham, vehemently attacked.

^b On same date Arlington writes to warn Essex that the Dutch are meditating an attack upon Ireland.

requires me to continue them in y^e same state They were in before y^e making of these Rules, then I must put out all ye new Magistrates and replace all that serv'd last year; it will inevitably cause great disorder and confusion, and therefore I forbear acting any thing in y^t particular till I shall receive his Maj^{ties} further pleasure therein; but for y^e future there will be no new occasion of making use of these Rules till Michaelmass next, w^{ch} is y^e Time for y^e Elections of all y^e considerable Corporacions in this Kingdome, so that upon y^e matter They may be look'd upon as in y^e mean time suspended.

The Elections of y^e City of Dublyn are not indeed as yet perfected according to y^e Rules, nor shall I suffer them to proceed therein, only I thinke it fitt to acquaint y^r Lo^p that in this late Election there were eight or ten of y^e Roman persuasion chosen into y^e Co^mon Councell, whom I should have readily dispenc'd wth, and qualified to have bin of y^t number, without exposing them to y^e Oath, w^{ch} They so much scruple, had not his Maj^{ties} L^re interpos'd, w^{ch} has hindred my further proceedings in this Affair.

The whole Co^mon Councell of this City lies at this time at great uncerteintie; For y^e old Co^mon Councell, w^{ch} were for life, and all Protestants, cannot meet by reason of this new Election, and Those newly elected cannot meet by reason of this suspension. I desire y^r Lo^p to move y^e King for an Answer as to this particular Rule, w^{ch} concerns y^e City of Dublyn, in regard y^e City may not too long continue as it were wth out Governm^t.

One thing more I cannot omitt, w^{ch} I am apt to thinke may be some little mistake in y^e Letter, for by a Clause there I am forbid to intermedle in y^e passing of any Charters to Corporacions, w^{ch} for y^e present stops that of Dundalke, for w^{ch} I had granted a Warr^t, and it now stays at y^e Seale till I can receive some directions from y^r Lo^p.

I doe observe that this his Maj^{ties} L^re is not enterd in y^e Signett Office, and yet some out of England have bin so industrious as to send Copies of it hither, w^{ch} are spread all y^e Kingdome over, and

that before I had health enough to peruse it, w^{ch} I had not till wth in this weeke.

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I have now prepar'd Aunswers to y^e objections ag^t y^e Rules, but They are so voluminous as they will require some time to transcribe. I hope to send them by y^e next.

XXX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE MARQUIS OF
WORCESTER.

DEARE BROTHER,^a Dublyn Castle, Dec. 14th, 1672.

My indisposition will not yet permitt me to use my owne hand, tho' I hope I am now in a faire way of recoverie.

If you please to let me hear from you how my case stands in England, and who are my friends there, w^{ch} is necessarie for me to know, you may safely communicate any thing of that nature to this Gentleman, Mr. Godolphin, one of my Secretaries,^b his is a secure hand, and w^tever you thinke fitt to acquaint him wth I dare promise for him hee'll faithfully bring it to me.

XXXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD, Dublyn Castle, Dec. 17th, '72.

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My Lord, I must once more desire y^r Lo^p to get me an Aunswer to y^t one Rule w^{ch} relates to y^e alteration of y^e Coñion Councell in

^a His wife was Essex's eldest sister Mary, widow of Henry, Lord Beauchamp.

^b This is Frank, elder brother to Sidney, the Lord High Treasurer of Queen Anne's reign. He was secretary to Lord Berkeley, Essex's predecessor. He died Aug. 13, 1775, at Dublin. Much of his correspondence with Essex is in the MSS. He signs himself Fra : Godolphin.

Dublyn, for there are great practices on foot here to put this City in disorder, and this morning, there being an Assemblée of y^e L^d Mayor & Aldermen, The Mayor declar'd y^t he would have none of those of y^e Roman persuasion who have bin elected to serve of y^e Coñon Councell, but none of y^e Aldermen, except S^r John Tothill, as I am told, would joyne wth him, nor can he now if he would put them by (if once they had my dispensation from taking y^e Oath of Supremacie), for he himself, in y^e presence of a Table of Aldermen, has already allow'd Them.

My Lord, I have given you y^e Trouble to make a narration of these particulars, because I make no doubt but some of my good Friends here will write to their Intimates in England and make this w^{ch} y^e Mayor has done to-day to be my Act, because I happened to send in y^e morning before their meeting to speake wth him. I doe assure y^r Lo^p it was upon other business, nor did I in ye least knowe he intended to offer any such motion.

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XXXII.—FRANCIS GODOLPHIN TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, Dec. 24th, '72.

I arrived here with much difficulty Saturday last ; my L. A.^a raises more scruples against your proposal then I expected, whereof hee promised mee to write your Ex^{cy} his sence by this post. I hope either to find out some expedient to make it passe, or to bee able to give your Ex^{cy} satisfaction that there will bee noe need of it ; y^e best light I have yet had in your Ex^{cy}'s affayrs here has been from S^r H. Capel,^b who has been very curious and industrious in all your concerns. I can onely say in general, that every thing is better then I

^a Arlington.

^b Younger brother of Essex, and his loyal supporter.

expected to find it, & I hope your Ex^{cy} has but one enemy among us here, whom you will easily guesse.^a My L. M. of Worcester sayes he will make it his busines to give your Ex^{cy} y^e satisfaction you expect from him.^b I have not yet had time to sollicite my L. A. upon any of y^e other points w^{ch} your Ex^{cy} gave mee in charge. I was this day at Chiswick & Zion, where I learnt that my Lady has a quantity of thea that has layn some time at Worcester house, w^{ch} I will take care to have sent to Chester by y^e first convenience. L^{tes} from Flanders confirme y^e relief of Charleroy, & y^t y^e P. of Orange & y^e Spaniards are much dissatisfied with one another.

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XXXIII.—THE EARL OF ARLINGTON TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORDE,

Whitehall, Decemb. 24th, '72.

In my last l^{ter} by y^e last post I told y^r Ex: that M^r Godolphin was newly arrived, since when I have had leisure to heare from him what you intrusted him with to offer to mee, with circumstances of much advantage to my selfe, of which I cannot make any other use then in assuring my selfe anew of y^r friendship which I have never misdeserved yet nor will willingly doe as long as I live, of which I conjure y^r Ex^{ce} to bee most confident, and I say it the more earnestly now because I heare others have malice to suggest y^e contrary.

As to y^e thing it selfe I have had an oportunity of acquainting his Maj^{ty} with y^e pressing instances made to y^r Ex: to allowe of an Agency to support y^e Protestants' interests in that kingdome, and to bee intrusted with some well qualified person neare his Ma^{ty}, y^e supposition of which neede hee lookes upon as an offensive and injurious one, w^{ch} I told M^r. Godolphin I knew hee would doe at his first opening the matter to mee, his Ma^{ty} added, if they have

^a Probably Ranelagh, Orrery, or Anglesea.

^b See Letter XXX.

any thing to complaine of, why doe they not doe it by my Lorde of Essex to mee, from whome I cannot but take well whatever hee represents to mee of that or any other kinde ; in a worde, my Lorde, you will doe y^r selfe the greatest wronge in y^e world if you bee overshie in this. His Ma^{ty} added further, what are these men apprehensive of? it is true I have issued a Co^mission to make enquiry after all landes unwisly possessed by any body, that I might apply the benefit of it to those who weare frustrated of their expectations given them by y^e Act of Settlement, but have upon all occasions declared I would protect and stande by y^e Act it selfe whatever it hath established, knowing what a confusion the breach of it would cause. Hee was pleased to adde further, I have autorised the bringing Roman Catholiques from abroad to live in the Corporate Townes, but I have been content to qualify their admission to beare offices wth stricter rules then weare imposed upon Rome in my father's time, and such as y^e counsel there have in effect advised. My Lorde I neede adde noe more of his Ma^{ty}s discourse upon this subject ; by this little y^r Ex : sees his minde therein, and consequently you must resist with all y^r might the nomination of any kinde of Agency as before expressed, and charge y^r selfe entirely wth making such representations to his Ma^{ty} of all kinde of grievances, assuring y^r selfe and them that you shall procure them full satisfaction upon them.

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XXXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Jan. 18th, 1673.

The last Tuesday's post brought me in 4 L^{res} of y^r Lo^{ps}, being of y^e 14th, 21st, 24th, and 31st of Decemb^r.

I presume I need say no more then what I directed M^r Godolphin to tell y^r Lo^p of y^e confidence I have of y^r favor and friendship, and that nothing that ever I may hear shall ever alter me from that opinion.

As to y^e Agencie^a w^{ch} has bin propos'd, I did before I writt to y^e Lo^p give some discouragement to it by telling some of those who have offer'd at y^e Proposition, that I could assure them in his Majesties name that y^e Act of Settlement would be supported, a breach into w^{ch} is y^e thing they most apprehend, as also that they need not suspect y^e King's care of them in all things; but I found them so instant upon it as I am apt to thinke some particular men will employ persons in y^e Court to be a little watchfull of businesses relating to this countrie, tho' I am very confident I can hinder any from being sent as an Agent for y^e Interest of y^e Adventurers and Soldiers in generall, w^{ch} I shall take care to doe.

I long very much for an answer concerning y^e Rules. I must needs say that y^e Letter for y^e suspending of them, as y^e matter has bin order'd, has bin of great disadvantage to me,^b for numbers of Cōpys (as I have formerly given y^r Lo^p an Acc^t) have bin sent over, and read in all y^e Coffee Houses in Towne, and y^e People by some instruments here have bin dealt with to Petition me for an abrogation of these Rules, wth a clause that if I did not doe them right in this particular, according to y^e King's Letter, they would immediately have right in England. I have, indeed, by some of y^e soberer sort, prevented any address of this nature;

^a See preceding Letter.^b See Letter XXVI.

but I am sure I need not say any thing more to y^r Lo^p to urge y^e inconvenience w^{ch} will come to his Majesties Affairs here, if once those who are employ'd by him in y^e government, should become thus contemn'd.

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XXXV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Jan. 20th, 1673.

I have just now receiv'd y^r Lo^ps of y^e 14th instant, together wth y^e Letter from his Majestie concerning y^e Rules,^a and y^e Acts of Setlement, both w^{ch} are very wellcome to me, and especially that w^{ch} relates to y^e Act of Setlement, for, tho' I have ever since my coming into this Countrie made it my business to confirm all men in y^e belief that these Acts would never be in y^e least measure violated, yet have I allwaies found that ye generalitie of y^e English who enjoy their estates upon these new titles could not shake off their apprehensions of loosing them again.

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XXXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.^b

S^r,

Dublin Castle, Jan. 21st, 1673.

I was surpris'd to find in y^e Gazett, w^{ch} this last post brought, a passage relating to this place, and I thought y^e more strange of its being inserted into y^e Gazett, in regard y^r self, who is Agent for

^a The Privy Council had approved the Rules, though to save appearances they are to be put in action by degrees.

^b Afterwards succeeded Arlington as Secretary of State. He was one of the English plenipotentiaries at the Cologne conference, of which he sends a full account to Essex.

Ireland, has y^e inspection of them before they are made publick; whereas y^e Intelligence it self is a very great falsitie, S^r John Tottye having bin presented wth a chain, but by one Single Guild, cal'd y^e Merchants Guild, and not by y^e whole body of y^e Citty. The ground of presenting him wth it, however it may be cloath'd with fine words, was for his opposing me, and y^e Govern^t here, and, whereas y^e Gazett cal's him a person of known Loyaltie, I know him to be a person of as much disloyaltie as any about this Citty; and one, who with y^e assistance of some others, as ill men as himself, has brought a considerable part of y^e Citty to that mutinous temper, as I fear twill put y^e King for some considerable time to y^e necessitie of keeping more Troops here then has formerly bin needfull. I think I might justly expect from y^e Agent of Ireland, That no intelligence concerning this place should be put into y^e Gazett, unless it comes from me, or one of my Secretarys; and I hope for y^e future there will be better care taken, and as to this w^{ch} is past, I desire y^e justice of you, to examine y^e matter strictly, who it was that occasion'd y^e putting of it in, and that it may [be] trac'd out who gave y^e intelligence from Dublin.

I thinke it very possible you'll find one who now cal's himself Nevill, and has gone here by 3 severall names, to have y^e principall hand in it; if you desire a litle character of y^e man, he was first a Prompter to Plays, afterwards S^r Ellis Layton's^a Broaker to make his bargains, and y^e principall person who put this Citty into that disorder that I found it at my first coming, and continues still by his intelligence to doe what mischiefs he can to y^e Govern^t here.

Tho' this matter may seem but a Trifle (and perhaps is no other in it self), yet I cannot but tell you y^e divulging of it in y^e publick News booke, wth those characters of advantage to persons who oppose y^e Govern^t, is a thing w^{ch} may produce very ill effects in this Countrie, where most of y^e Cittys and Towns are apt to take example from this, and therefore I think it may not be amiss, after you have examin'd and found out y^e persons from whom this fals

^a Leighton.

intelligence came, that something contradictory to it be inserted in some other Gazett.

I have used a great deal of freedome wth you upon this occasion, but in my apprehension his Majesties Affaires here require that you should have y^e Knowledge of all these particulars, therefore I doubt not but you will take it with y^e same good intention as it is written.

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XXXVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Jan. 25th, 1673.

I have communicated his Majesties late Letter to the Lords of y^e Privy Councill, with whose advice I thought fitt to publish a Proclamation declaring his Majesties resolution not to infringe y^e Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and tho' I think it an unreasonable doubt in any that should suspect y^e contrary, yet certainly 'twas no less then necessary to declare his Majesties intentions in this particular, especially since y^e Irish doe almost universally discour that they will have their lands agen; and some of them in y^e remote parts of this Kingdome have forcibly enter'd and taken possession, for proof of w^{ch} I herewith transmitt to y^r Lo^p 1 or 2 depositions w^{ch} have bin taken before y^e Justices of Peace in y^e countrie, w^{ch} among some others of y^e like nature have bin sent to me.

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XXXVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR ARTHUR FORBES.

S^a,Dublin Castle, Jan: 25th, 1673.

His Majesties Letter concerning y^e Rules for Corporacions, but especially that Clause w^{ch} relates to y^e Acts of Setlem^t and Explanation, is receiv'd here with infinite satisfaction, and, that this latter part may be made publick to all people in this kingdome, we have thought fitt to issue out a proclamation, w^{ch} does as closely follow y^e words of y^e Kings L^re, as could be fram'd into a Declaration of that nature, a cōpy of w^{ch} Proclamation I herewth send you.

By a L^re lately writt to my Lord Conway, who is newly arriv'd here, you desire directions from me in order to y^e returne; y^e presence is of great use to me in relation to all our Affaires here, and especially that w^{ch} concerns y^e army; but I thinke, however, since you are on that side y^e water, it may be not amiss that you stay'd a litle y^e beginning of this Sessions of Parliam^t, w^{ch} is now neer at hand, unless his Majestie should otherwise command you.

By L^res from M^r Godolphin I perceive there is much difficultie made of furnishing this Kingdome wth Arms and A^munition; I desire you would make his Maj^{tie} sensible of y^e necessitie of a supply, and especially for that of Powder wth w^{ch} I found y^e stores (as you know) very slenderly provided as to y^e proportion, and that litle w^{ch} did remain grown naught wth keeping. I cannot but much wonder at y^e pretence w^{ch} is used to avoid y^e furnishing us wth these so necessary Provisions, w^{ch} is, that Ireland must maintain it self, w^{ch} no doubt it would doe were not much of y^e money dispos'd of, part for gifts, and part for other occasions out of this Kingdome. And it were worthy y^e representing to his Majestie, that y^e whole revenue is by y^e Establishment dispos'd of, and no sufficient reserve of money to answer y^e supplies of this nature; as also how unreasonable a thing it is to dispute whether Powder and Armes should be paid for with English or Irish money, when as at

y^e same time if any unfortunate accident should happen, the whole Kingdome may be lost for want of it, nor can any man, that is, in my station, be well answerable for his Trust if there be a dificiencie of such provisions. M^r Godolphin will assist you in prosecuting this business.

From all my friends I hear how much I am oblig'd to you for y^e good character you give of me, w^{ch} shall upon all occasions be ever acknowledg'd by &c.

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XXXIX.—COMMISSIONERS OF CUSTOMS TO LORD CLIFFORD.^a

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LOP.

Feb. 10, 1673.

In pursuance of your Lop. reference signified to us by S^r Rob^t Howard, wee have considered of y^e Letter of his Excellency y^e Lord L^t of Ireland & y^e Paper annent to it; and having fully weigh'd y^e matters therein contained, wee doe humbly present your Lop. wth y^e following state thereof.

The severall Plantaçõns in America having been first Planted from this Kingdome of England wth the losse of y^e Lives of many men, & a vast Expence of Treasure, the trade therefore of those plantaçõns hath been by severall Lawes & Acts of Parliam^t appropriated to England alone. And this is also y^e practice of other Nations to keep their plantaçõns enter'd to themselves.

That w^{ch} is now proposed on behalfe of y^e Irish nation, That they may have Liberty for a certain number of ships during the present warre or his Ma^{ty}s Pleasure to trade to y^e Plantaçõns and unlade in Ireland, paying his Ma^{ty}s there the halfe penny p pound, notwithstanding y^e Lawes in force to y^e contrary, because of y^e want of trade in that kingdome by reason of y^e warrs, wilbe very prejudiciall to y^e trade & interest of this nation.

^a See Letter XXII.

For by such an allowance y^e Kingdome of Ireland will have y^e oportunity of vending not only their owne manufactures, but those also of other parts of Europe in y^e Plantaçõs, where only those of England were before sold. And their navigating cheaper then y^e English because of their plenty of Provisions will at least put them in a condition to undersell y^e English, and so y^e manufacture of England must necessarily ly upon their hands, and y^e navigation thereof be much obstructed.

This will unavoydably create y^e setting up of Ireland in Trade and Wealth on y^e basis of y^e Ruine of this nation wthout any increas of Revenue or advantage to his Ma^{tie}, but very much y^e contrary. For all traders to y^e Plantaçõs will more readily goe for Ireland where they may expect better advantages by Bills of Store & otherwise from y^e farmers of y^e Revenue there, then y^e Constituçõn of y^e present management of y^e Customes in England will allow of, & consequently will much lessen his Ma^{ty}s Customes heer in Linnen, Brandyes & other Comodities w^{ch} pay great duty in importaçõn, & are hence exported to y^e Plantaçõs, & make Ireland y^e staple of all Plantaçõn Comodities.

As to what is alledged on behalfe of y^e s^d Kingdome of Ireland in relaçõn to y^e present warre, as an argum^t for granting them y^e Liberty desired during y^e Warre, will easily be answered when it is considered that the whole burden of y^e warre lyes on y^e Kingdome of England, & that it partakes more of y^e effects of y^e warre by hindrance of trade than Ireland can doe.

The danger w^{ch} is intimated in y^e paper, of ships coming from y^e plantaçõs to Ireland, and from thence hither according as they are obliged by their bonds, being chiefly attested on account of Privateers infesting y^e Irish Coast, wee doe for that matter humbly present to your Lop. That no Ship goeing from England to y^e Plantaçõn, or coming from thence, can be any wayes directly bound for Ireland wthout absolute forfeiture of their bonds, & therefore it may be supposed that no ship puts into Ireland but upon some extrordinary necessity, or in expectaçõn of more then ordinary advantages.

Besides all this, If y^e Liberty of twenty ships should be granted w^{ch} is insinuated as ships of small Burden, they would easily be furnish^t wth ships of Greater Burden from y^e New England men, & others who have found y^e encouragem^t from y^e farm^{rs} of Ireland to y^e ruin of y^e fair Trader here. Nor can it be duly kept to a Limited number of Ships considering y^e convenience & number of their Ports, but it would in time amount to a gen^l Liberty. At least y^e charge of collecting y^e halfe-penny per pound in Ireland will neer ballance y^e Revenue that will arise to his Ma^{tie} thereby, and will certainly be a great losse in y^e Customes heer.

All w^{ch} w^e humbly submit to your Lo^p.

RICH. TEMPLE.

WILL. THOMSON.

W^m. GARWAY.

F. MILLINGTON.

JOHN IPTON.

Customs House, London,
10 February, 1672.

XI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Feb. 11th, 1673.

Having lately receiv'd his Maj^{ties} L^re concerning y^e setting out of some Ships to convoy y^e Merchant men wth order to charge y^e Paym^t of them on y^e moneys design'd for y^e Marine Regiment; upon view of y^e Acc^t of what has bin disburs'd here since my coming, and w^{ch} is not compris'd within y^e Establishm^t, together wth y^e severall summs dispos'd of by way of gifts, I find there will be so small a remainder of that money as will doe very little towards y^e carrying on of that worke, nevertheless I doubt not but to find some Merchants who will, upon this occasion, be ready to advance some proportion of money to be repaid out of y^e future paym^{ts} of

this fond, but yet to doe such a business as this is thoroughly, as also to compass another worke, w^{ch} I am mightily inclin'd to have effected, I mean y^e repair of his Maj^{ties} Forts in this Kingdome, w^{ch} lie all in a most miserable ruinous condition. I can think of no other expedient but y^e calling of a Parliam^t, and tho' I will not engage in y^e absolute proposing of a thing of this nature to his Maj^{tie}, untill I have discourst wth some of those who can best informe me what supplys y^e People are able to give, yet I am much deceiv'd if they are not willing to straine themselves very far on any such publick acc^t. Another scruple I have, that it may not be unfit to see what success his Maj^{tie} shall have this Sessions in England, before any such thing be thought of here, for most certain it is that whatever is acted in England will be imitated in this Kingdome; however, I think it may not be amiss if y^r L^p please to know what his Majesties opinion is in relation to it.

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XLI.—

[Interesting news reaches Essex from London. The King, Sir Robert Southwell writes (Feb. 22), in the matter of the Indulgence, is puzzled how "to solve his own honour to the world, and gratify those who can only give him a supply against his enemies." Lord Aungier, ^a (Feb. 22), speaking of the Bill for the ease to Protestant dissenters, says, "when we have finished cooking it we shall throw it out of window." Arlington admits the reasonableness of Essex's reiterated demand that no representations or complaints be allowed to reach Charles from Ireland before having been submitted to himself. On March 8 he hears of Charles's surrender of the Declaration of Indulgence, and of the great joy in London. He himself notes the bonfires and illuminations in Ireland in token of the satisfaction there.]

^a Third Baron Aungier of Longford, Viscount Longford, 1675, and Earl of Longford, 1677. Captain of horse, 1660; commissioner of the revenue, 1682; keeper of the great seal, 1697; member of Privy Council, governor of Carrickfergus, and master of Ordnance. Married daughter of Arthur, 1st Earl of Donegal; died Dec. 22, 1700.

XLII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO FRANCIS GODOLPHIN.

Mr. GODOLPHIN,

Dublin Castle, March 7th, 1673.

I am glad to hear by y^{rs} w^{ch} I receiv'd yesterday, the Powder intended for this place will be sent so speedily.

I have rec'd advice from England that y^e Dutchess of Cleaveland has obtained a Grant from his Maj^{tie} of y^e Phoenix Park here, tho' (as I hear) she has bin pleased to show so much respect to me as to take y^e Grant after y^e expiration of my time, and therefore as to my owne Particular I need to be concern'd y^e less at it; yet, knowing y^e inconveniences that every chief Governor that is sent hither must live under if he be deprived of this Park, I think it were very fitt it were represented to his Majestie before it be too late, for y^e Truth is (as y^e well know) tis y^e only diversion that this place affords, and without it a man must live like a Pris'ner, and in case y^e Govern^r should happen to be sick he has no where to retire to but only one of these Houses, and has not so much as Grass for a Horse, or any convenience but what is afforded by that enclosure; Therefore, I would have you represent it as effectually as you can to my Lord of Arlington, or any other of y^e Kings Ministers, as you shall think fitt, that if possible it may be prevented.

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XLIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR ARTHUR FORBES.

Dublin Castle, March 7th, 1673.

[An urgent remonstrance against the proposed withdrawal of troops from Ireland to England.]

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XLIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.^a

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, March 8th, 1673.

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My L^{ies} tell me y^e Dutchess of Cleaveland has beg'd y^e Phœnix Parke to be given her at my return from this employ^t; I am confident if his Majestie knew y^e inconvenience that every chief Governor must live wth here, if he be deprived of this Parke, he would not pass y^e Grant.

This Castle is, of it self, one of y^e most incommodious dwellings that I ever came in, and there is no Place of pleasure belonging to it, nor any House to retire to for a litle Aire upon occasion of sickness, but only those within y^e Parke; nor will y^e Governor have y^e command of a Buck for his owne Table, nor a litle grass to turn out his Horses, if this Park be disposed off; besides a very great part of this ground, and indeed of y^e very best Land, has ever, for some hundreds of years, belong'd to y^e Sword; so that I cannot but concern my selfe in a thing of this nature, knowing how great a lessning twill be to any who shall succeed me in this Employment, who indeed will live rather like a Prisner then a Govern^r.

This is not y^e first time this Parke has bin in danger to be passed away, for y^e Duke of Monmouth (as I hear) had once a promise of it, but very frankly quitted it.

I hope y^r Lo^p will concern y^r self in y^e stopping of this Grant, for indeed tis one of y^e unseemliest things I have known done, and I am sure 'twill be very much for his Majesties service to prevent it.

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^a Printed in full in Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, Vol. ii., App. iv., p. xlvi.

XLV.—FRANCIS LORD AUNGIER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[E. P.—Vol. ii. fo. 253.]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EX^{CY}E.Lond. Mar. y^e 15th, 1673.

I am but just now return'd out of y^e country, where I have spent fower dayes, & therefore am not so well instructed in y^e affaires w^{ch} have pass'd in Parliam^t since my last as to be able to give y^r EX^{CY}E a particular acc^t of them. But calling upon Sr Arthur Forbes, I have glean'd from him what I am now to tell y^r EX^{CY}E, viz. 1st That y^e Bill for his Mat^{ties} supply was this day reported from y^e Co^mittee, & ordered to be engrost, but not to have its last reading till Fryday next, by w^{ch} time y^e House of Co^mons will see what fortune y^e Bill ag^t y^e groweth of Popery^a is like to have in the Howse of Lords, from whence they will take their future measures. 2^{ly} That there have beene some hints given in y^e howse of y^e late encouragem^t w^{ch} has beene given to y^e Papists in Ire^{la} by admitting them into y^e Com^r of Peace & Corporations. And that my Lord Arundell of Warder, Father Patrick, & Co^{ll} Rich^d Talbot were this day named in the Howse as y^e Cheife promoters of it, & consequently very unfit persons to be so neare His Mat^{ties} & His Royall Highnesses persons. But this was only sayd by one member only, & not seconded by any of y^e Howse. These particulars Sr Arthur desired me to acquainte y^r EX^{CY} wth, he being not yett so well recovered as to be able to write himselfe, and he further intreated me in his name to tell y^r EX^{CY} that since *y^e Papists are fa'u upon by y^r Parliam^t, he fears They may grow desperat and endeavour to disturb y^e govern^t There.* And therefore he humbly submitts it to y^r EX^{CY}S consideration, whether in this conjuncture it be not necessary for y^r EX^{CY}E to *order y^e Officers of y^e Army to their charges and to mind carefully their guards*; w^{ch} I

^a The Test Act.

presume to write to y^r Ex^{cy}e in Cyp^her, because he desired me so to doe, & to beseech y^r Ex^{cy} to conceale y^e advizer. I have directed my Brother Cuffe to attend y^r Ex^{cy} wth his Cypher, w^{ch} will wthout giving y^r Ex^{cy} any greate trouble unlocke what I have written, for w^{ch} notwthstanding I humbly aske yo^r Ex^{cy}es pardon.

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XLVI.—FRANCIS GODOLPHIN TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, March 18th, '72.

* * * * *

This morning y^e condiçõn of Ireland fell under y^e consideraçõn of y^e H. of Coñions, where, after long debate, but with great calmness & moderaçõn, 'twas referred to a Coñittee to draw up an addresse to bee presented his Ma^{ty}, That all Irish Papists may bee put out of y^e Coñissions of y^e peace; That they may not bee admitted into Corporaçõns; That y^e Popish B^{pps} may bee hindred from exercising their jurisdiction in Ireland; That Co^{ll} Rich. Talbott^a may be removed from his coñmand, & not bee permitted to come within five miles of y^e Court. Y^e Coñission o^r inspeçõn was taken notice of with some marks of dislike as tending to y^e violaçõn of y^e Acts of Settlement, & thwarting y^e design of y^e late proclamaçõn; y^e examinaçõn of that Coñission was likewise given in charge of y^e Coñittee. Complaint was alsoe made that y^e protestant interest was weakened by disbanding and withdrawing y^e

^a Brother of Peter Talbot, Titular Archbishop of Dublin; afterwards Earl and Duke of Tyrconnel, Deputy under James II. See Carte's Ormond, vol. iv. pp. 428 *et seq.* He was "a great undertaker for procuring Irish gentlemen to be restored to their estates." His command at this time was that of a troop of horse.

Army, and y^e revenue misapplyed in pençõs to popish Recusants ; ye Riot of Clonmel was toucht upon, & some irregular actings of Peter Talbot, who is to bee particularly named in y^e addresse ^a ; ye King's lfe to my Lord Berkeley for putting Rom. Cath. into y^e Comission of y^e peace was read in y^e house ; and alsoe his Ma^{ties} lfe to your Ex^{cie} concerning indemnity, & to prevent prosecution in criminall causes relating to y^e late Warr was likewise read ; y^e suspencõ of y^e Rules was mencõed & let fall ; ye House of Lords have made several amendments to y^e Bill against Popery ; w^{ch} to-morrow will bee sent downe, viz., provisoes for y^e Queen's servants & y^e Dukes, & for a great many land & sea officers, w^{ch} 'tis doubted y^e H. of Comõs will hardly agree to.

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XLVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, March 22nd, 1673.

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I doe and shall always think it my duty to obey his Majesties commands in supporting my Lord Ranelagh's and his Partners contract, as far is just ; tho' on y^e other hand I am obliged by my Place to hold them to their contract, and see them performe to his Majestie what they have undertaken, nor shall any either threats or civill usage from my Lord Ranelagh incline me to goe out of my way.

As for y^e Caution he gives, that y^e Officers shall not cheat y^e soldiers, I am enough aware of that, and they all know that any Practice of this kind would immediately forfeit their commands, so

^a Carte, p. 477.

as I have a Tie upon those, to oblige them to doe what is just ; but as for him, and his Partners, I cannot deale so with them.

Notwithstanding all his compliments, I know he has another Quarrell to me, w^{ch} is my holding correspondence with y^r Lo^p, or indeed with y^e Secretarys of State, for he has (tho' unsuccessfully) used all y^e artifices he could to prevaile upon me to hold my constant correspondence wth him himselfe, and employ him only in y^e solliciting all businesses w^{ch} relate to this Kingdome. Some-things, as occasion served (w^{ch} I also alwaies acquainted y^r Lo^p wth), I have moved by him, and I find that for anything concerning his owne business, he has bin both sedulous, and successfull enough, but for any Proposals relating to y^e Publick, or y^e benefitt of y^e whole Kingdome, I have not found any satisfactory returne through his mediation.

I have bin y^e more large upon this subject, that I may engage y^r Lo^p upon all occasions to prevent my being imposed upon by orders out of England, for I clearly find as to this person, that as his Interest grows so his ambition encreases, and that in a short time he, by being at hand to direct things at y^e Court, will hope to make himself superiour to y^e Governor here, of w^{ch} if he thinks to make me y^e first example he will find he has fixed upon a wrong man.

* * * * *

Y^r Lo^{ps}
 most faithfull and most
 humble servant,
 ESSEX.

XLVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO FRANCIS GODOLPHIN.

MR. GODOLPHIN,

Dublin Castle, March 22nd, 1673.

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Here is a generall report, as if some Act were preparing to prohibite y^e transportacion of any more Wooll into England. You know well how great a share of my revenue arises from y^e duty on it payable to y^e Sword; if any such thing be in agitation, 'twere necessary some compensation may be thought on for y^e Governor here, w^{ch} may be equivalent to y^e profits of it. As to y^e publick concerne of this matter, were I no ways interested in it I could not but say that such an Act would be most pernicious to England, for if this Countrie be prohibited to carry it into England, they must either vent it in forraine parts or manufacture it at home, either of w^{ch} would be very apparently destructive to y^e manufacture of England.

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XLIX.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Ballymartin, y^e 25th of March 1673.

* * * * *

There is noe doubt but y^e house of Como^s in the First Article of their adres to his Maj^{ty} about Ireland doe as much as they can by an Adress owne y^e Acts of Settle^{mt} & explanation, w^{ch}, if they stand firme, disapoints all y^e hopes the Irish had of more lands.

Their Desyer y^t his Maj^{ty} will Revoke his Letter of Feb. 1671 & y^e Act of Councill & Proclamation thereupon for y^e Gen^{ll} Admittance of Papists into Corporations (if granted) will not only

exclude them from beinge Freemen, but also Inhabitants in thos Corporations.

That y^e Desier of haveinge all Titular Arch B^{ps}, B^{ps}, &c. Pretendinge Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction from y^e See of Rome com^{ed} by Procla^{on} to depart this Kingdom, & on their Faylor to be proceeded against accordinge to Law (if Granted) will exasperate y^e Irish in what is most Tender to all, and exceedingly soe to thos who are most superstitious.^a

That y^e votes (if Granted) y^t noe Papist shall be Officers & Sold^{rs} in y^e Army, that noe Papist be a Justice of y^e Peace or any Civill Magistrat, & that all Papists be disarmed, & that all Convents be dissolved, & all Regular Priests Banished, will at once in their judgm^{ts} Deprive them of their Religion, hoped for Estates, all Impleym^{ts} Civill & Military, all Trade & Freedom, & expell them out of Corporations, & disarme them. Wherby if thes be actually done they will be wholly disabled from any atempts in y^e Townes or Field, w^{ch} probably so many of their Eminentest Clergie, Nobilite & Gentry, who most influence y^e Body of y^e People, will not faile to mind them of, espetially since y^e Dutch are abandoned by y^e Elect^r of Brondenburge, & consequently y^t they must either speedily close with His Maj^{ty} or the French, whereby France, and all other Popish Kingdoms will be at liberty to act against our Religion as vigorously as we act against Popery, & therefore tis to be wished, y^t all callings & Degrees of the Irish beinge thus Exasperated, & haveinge such Powerfull Fomentors thereof, as y^e Universallity of their Clergie, most of their Nobility, Gentry, & all their Merchants &c., they doe not make some atempt; when they are not Ignorant, how many of this small Army have bin disbanded, how many sent for England, & how thinn of Sold^{rs} are y^e Few Garrisons we keepe, & how much wantinge in most of all things to secure them, espetially of Victualls, and how many more of thes exasperated People ther are in them then ther are of Sold^{ts} & loyall Subjects, if this juncture be layd hold of.

^a Charles was obliged to act in accordance with the terms of the address.

I cannot say this they will doe, but I can say to yo^r Ex^{cc} only, that tis likelier they should doe somthinge now then y^t they should attempt what they did 1641; & what they did then attempt we shall not easily forget.

Then they had noe Provocation; now they will beleeve they have.

Then an English Parlm^t y^t were active enough against Popery were sittinge, yet y^t did not deter them then. At that time their Clergie were not neere soe high as now, nor their Gentry soe exasperated as they call it, nor soe much Sold^{ry} then as now ther people are, nor was France and Spain then at Peace as now they are, nor were y^e Forrighn Protestante Princes & States soe disunited & shattered as now they are.

All this and many other considerations, too many for a letter & a gouty hand to write, makes me humbly beg yo^r Ex^{ccs} consideration whether y^e best disposition of y^e small Forces you have, may not be best Employ'd for his Maj^{ts} Service, by placeinge them (till we see what thes votes will Produce) into y^e most important Garrisons only; I meane as well y^e Horse as y^e Foot. And whether it be not for his Maj^{ts} Service, that som quantity of Victualls be sent into y^e most important Cittadels; & som Cannon in them mounted, & y^t y^e Militias be with out noyse inspected; & y^e Officers & Sold^{rs} kept strictly at their Duty, & y^e Go^r of Important Places be Privatly Required to Double their wonted Care & Dilligence. Som wise men doe now much more apprehend y^e Disunited Irish Stirring now then when Indulgences were extended to them.

All this I have written is only to Yo^r Ex^{cs} owne selfe, if any thinge in this letter be worth your consideration I am sure you will thinke on it, if noethinge be, pray burne it, & Pardon my zeale to his Maj^{ts} Service, Yo^r Ex^{ccs} Peaceable Gov^t, & my love to my Country, w^{ch} dictated thes things to me; only I have still observed y^t mischefts are easier prevented then cured.

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L.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO FRANCIS GODOLPHIN.

MR. GODOLPHIN,

Dublin Castle, April 1st 1673.

I know not whether Mr Bruncker^a may have deceiv'd you in his assurances concerning y^e Grant of y^e Phoenix Parke, but I am sure he has not at all me, for I never expected any thing of truth, or integritie from him. I doubt not of y^r care in watching that business, nor doe I thinke my selfe more concerned to have it look'd after, now it appears that y^e intention is to deprive me of it, then if it had bin taken from them, who shall succeed me in this employm^t, for it is clear that whoever should have y^e grant of it after my time, it will create an interest in them to procure my removall as soon as may be; but that w^{ch} I value more then any private concern of my owne, and both doth and will, upon all occasions, engage me much further, is y^e obligation upon me to use my endeavours to hinder a thing so indecent, and w^{ch} will give so universall a distaste to all men in this country; and therefore if it should be offer'd, that my concerne should be provided for in this case, yet I would not by any means consent to it. I am pretty confident that my Commission under y^e great Seale secures it to me, this Employm^t being granted wth all Vailes, Sallaries, etc. thereunto belonging; and tho' his Maj^{tie} may, when ever he thinks fitt, recall me from hence, yet sure, as long as he continues me here on this Patent, y^e accustomed allowances cannot be retrenched.

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^a See Parl. Hist. iv. p. 408.

LI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD CLIFFORD.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Aprill 2nd, 1673.

Having receiv'd advice out of England, that his Majestie hath given, or is about to give away, ye Parke here near Dublin, cal'd y^e Phœnix Parke, I cannot but concern myself to write to y^r Lo^p, as I have done to my L^d Chancellr, and other my friends, to interpose wth his Maj^{tie} that it may be continued (as y^e greatest and best part of it hath ever done) to y^e sword, and without y^e accommodation whereof y^e Governor will be exceeding straitned, and as many of y^e Nobilitie and Gentry who come hither, as well as all y^e Citizens of this Place, will be greatly disappointed of y^e pleasure and satisfaction they find therein; it being as necessary and convenient to this City, and especially to y^e Governor in its Proportion, as y^e Parke of S^t James to you at London. I doe assure y^r Lō^p y^e report of y^e alienation of this Parke from y^e present use is generally apprehended wth as much trouble as anything of this nature can be capable of, and y^r Lō^p will not only oblige me and all my successors, but y^e whole Kingdome besides.

LII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Aprill 4th, 1673.

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Some of y^e Noblemen of this Kingdome are, I perceive, very ill pleased wth me for removing their Troops from their old Stations, and tis possible they may prevaile wth some of their friends in England to move the King in this matter; I give y^r Lō^p this hint, that if you should hear of it you would justify my Proceedings, for I intend to continue this cours of moving them, without w^{ch} y^e

Troops will consist only of Tenants and Servants to some of these great men. I shall in this particular be equall to all, and not favor one Troop more then another, but every one shall take their turne to remove from their old Quarters, and I will doe it wth y^e most conveniency to them y^e security of y^e Kingdome will allow.

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LIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD CLIFFORD.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, April 4th, —73.

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I am very sensible of y^e Publick mischief w^{ch} y^e Kingdome of England may suffer, if some dilligence be not used to hinder y^e Irish Wooll from being sent into forrain Parts, tho' I cannot but owne y^e Profitt is considerable to y^e Governor here, and so considerable, as I believe is scarce known in England, for it amounts not to less than four thousand pds a year, so as it is y^e interest of y^e Governor to give encouragement to y^e exportacion of it, w^{ch} will consequently encrease his gaine ; but I will never doe any irregular thing for private advantage, w^{ch} would be so great a prejudice to my owne country, and therefore y^e strictest course that can be settled, to prevent y^e exportacion of it into forrain Parts, shall be wth all care executed, while I continue here.

If y^r Lōp can, upon these hints or advice wth y^e Com^{rs} of his Majesties Customs, establish any Rules proper to hinder this abuse, I shall not faile in my duty to see them exactly pursued ; and that it does deserve some consideration, and some better methods for y^e future, may evidently appear by some of these Papers, wherein y^r Lōp will find, that of two and twenty thousand nine hundred pds Penalties incurr'd (as is prov'd in y^e Exchequer) since this

Patent was on foot, there has bin recover'd, and brought to account but seven hundred and seventy pds.

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LIV.—THE EARL OF ARLINGTON TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 5th, —73. No. 12.

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Yo^r Ex^{ty} cannot bee ignorant of the grant his Ma^{ty} has made to my Lady Dutchesse of Cleaveland,^a of the Phenix Parke for 99 years to her & his children after her, which he did upon a condicōn that it should not take effect till the expiracōn of the time of yo^r Ex^{ties} Lieutenantcy, & therefore has refused hetherto to signe the Bill till I had acquainted you with his intencōn therein, wherein I assure myselfe you will give him no contradiction, but if you shall thinke fitt to insist upon any written declaracōn of his Ma^{ties} minde herein, I dare charge myselfe with obtaining it for you, although my humble advice to you is to content y^r selfe with what his Ma^{ty} has verbally been pleased to declare in this matter, which I am confident is abundantly sufficient in y^r behalfe.

I am likewise desired by my Lady Dutchesse of Cleveland to enter a Caveat with y^r Ex^{ty} against a patent passing in that Kingdome of the Lordsp of Portlester, in the County of Meath, being a revercōn fallen expectant upon an Estate Taile decreed in the Court of Claimes, & which is within her Grace's grant.

My Lord Grandison likewise in My Lady Dutchesse's behalfe

^a It must be remembered that Arlington had a personal interest in this matter, since his only daughter was betrothed to the son of Charles and the Duchess, created Duke of Grafton.

desires that another Caveat bee entered against a Patent by Coff Grace for lands in the King's County, they being formerly disposed of to his Lordsh^p in trust.

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LV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.^a

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, April 12th, 1673.

In a L^re I lately received from my Lord of Arlington, in relation to y^e Phonix Parke, were these words :

[Here follows verbatim quotation from Arlington's letter, No. 54, down to the words "in your behalfe."]

By w^{ch} y^r L^op may perceive that my interest is more than sufficiently preserved, but by how much y^e securer I am in my owne concernm^t by so much y^e more doe I think myself engaged (if possible) to obstruct y^e passing of that Grant, nay tho' it be even wth y^e Loss of my owne convenience, for I need not mind y^r L^op of a late saying of a wise man and a great Minister—That Magistrates, as well as Merchants, are supported by reputation.

I confess I know this thing to be so universally distastefull to all men here, as I would not omitt, and indeed, in duty to y^e King, I ought not to omitt to use all y^e interest I have, whilst there is any hope. to prevent y^e passing of that Patent, and to tell y^r L^op plainly my mind, I will much rather part with it presently then be bribed to consent to so unhansome a thing.

The Emperor Charles y^e fifth (as y^e History tells us) had a person of extraordinary worth for his Chancell^r, who, having refused to pass an unreasonable Grant, some of y^e Courtiers tooke their opportunitie, when y^e Emperor was pleasant and in good

^a Printed in full in Christie's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. ii., App. iv., p. xlix.

humour among some of his merry companions, to prevaile wth him to send a positive command to his Chancell^r for Passing y^e Grant, w^{ch} still y^e Chancell^r refused. These men of Pleasure (y^e very Pest and ruine of all Courts, where in such insinuate themselves) fail'd not to exasperate y^e Emperor ag^t this Minister, telling him how he was affronted by one whom he had raised from nothing, and that, if he suffer'd this, his servant was Emperor, and not himself, wth many other expressions of y^e like kind, as is usuall upon such occasions; so as there was a 2^d and 3^d positive command wth promises of some advantage, and at last wth threats of loosing his Place in case he refused, but y^e Chancell^r continuëing firme in his resolution, still utterly denied putting y^e Seale to y^e Grant, whereupon those Gentlemen thought they had now clear gained their point, and ridd themselves of this good Minister, whom they alwaies found an Obstructor to their exorbitant designes, urging y^e Emperor to make good his word, and send immediately for y^e seals, to which this great Prince replied: "Gentlemen, you are all mistaken, for this Chancell^r is an honest and true man, and so true to me, as I myself can't corrupt him to be other."

Of what force such an instance as this may be wth y^r Lō^p I cannot tell, nor will I ever censure any for having their reasoning differing from my owne, but sure I am that this and other like examples, together wth y^e reason of them, have fixed me in a resolution never to give up my consent to any thing that in my conscience I know to be notoriously inconvenient.

I ought to beg y^r Lo^{ps} pardon for this so long Story, w^{ch} I have inserted in my L^re, but if you have not met wth it before I hope it may not be unpleasant to y^r Lō^p, nor altogether improper upon this occasion, and therefore I presume you will excuse this freedom in, &c.

LVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

DEARE BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, April 12th, —73.

I have recd y^s of y^e 5th of Aprill, w^{ch} chiefly relates to y^e matter of y^e Phenix Parke. I am confident y^r self and M^r Godolphin have fully made known to my Lord Arlington how generall a distaste twill give to all this Kingdome, and how extremely inconvenient it will be to y^e Govern^{te} to have it parted from y^e Sword; and therefore I conclude I need say no more upon that subject, having so fully set it forth to you and M^r Godolphin in some of my former L^{res}. Yet I cannot but much wonder my temper should not be a litle better known to y^r self and other my friends in England in a case of this nature, then that any of you should imagine I could be bribed by my owne private interest to give my consent to a thing so dishonorable to me, w^{ch} is that I have ever and shall always utterly detest. Nay, let me tell you that I think a prooff given to y^e world of my firmness in so good a resolution is of more value to me then ten times y^e Parke; and therefore I had much rather, if it must be parted from y^e Sword, it were given even in my time, then any of my friends should appeare to sollicite my convenience in it, so that I hope those who are, I will not say kind to me, but kind to y^e King's concernm^t, will not give over to obstruct this so unreasonable a grant.

LVII.—LORD AUNGIER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EX^{CY^E},Lond. Apr. 12th, 1673.

On Wenesday last Coff Talbot^a appeared publicly in His Ma^{ties} Bedchamber, where he attended to deliver his petition, w^{ch} having don as his Ma^{tie} was passing through to Councill, he there waited His Ma^{ties} & Councill's resolution upon it. His Petition purported his greate surprize at y^e severe Sentence of y^e Howse of of Coñons ag^t him unheard specified in their addresse to His Ma^{tie}, wth w^{ch} he humbly beg'd His Ma^{tie} would not comply in putting it in execution ag^t him.^b Because, not being conscious to himselfe of haveing coñmitted any crime, he would give securitye to stande and abide the judg^{mt} of y^e Howse of Coñons at their next meeting, then whome he did not desire to appeare to other or better judges, & to whose judgem^t he had at their last meeting submitted himselfe, if there had beene time or opportunitye for it before their riseing. He therefore humbly beseched His Ma^{tie}, who was no stranger to his loyaltye & services, to suspend y^e execution of y^e severe sentence of Banishm^t out of his Royall presence, till y^e meeting of y^e Parliam^t, before whome he was willing to appeare, & did not doubt but to cleare & justifie himselfe in any crime that should be objected ag^t him. His Petition was that day read at Councill, but other affaires of greater importance intervening, the further consideration of it was putt of till yesterday, when the addresse being taken into consideration, it is sayd the Preamble wh^{ch} mentions y^e late insolencies of y^e Papists grounded upon His Ma^{ties} Indulgencies will be referred to y^r Ex^{cyses} Examination &

^a "Who hath notoriously assumed to himself the title of Agent of the Roman Catholics in Ireland."

^b March 25, 1672. The text of the Address will be found in the Parl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 579. The Commons prayed that he should be dismissed from all command, military or civil, and forbidden the Court.

Reporte thereupon. As for the Comⁿ of Inquirye,^a the extraordinary powers wh^{ch} the Parliam^t observ'd to be in it are referred to y^e Lords Com^{rs}, who calling to their assistance those of His M^{ties} Privy Councill of Irel^d who are Members of y^e Howse of Co^mons, are on Thursday next to take them into consideration & reporte their opinion to His Ma^{tie} and Councill. As for the disarming of y^e Papists, His Ma^{tie} declared his resolution to comply wth the Howse of Co^mons in y^t particular, & in order to it yo^r Ex^{cy} will have directions to disarme theme and all others whom yo^r Ex^{cy} shall finde cause to suspect. As for the discharge [of] all Papists out of all Co^mands both Military and Civill, His Ma^{tie} observed, though the Howse of Co^mons had lesse cause to complaine of this now then in y^e Reignes of any of his Auncestors, there be only one & y^t Cott Talbot in ye Armye, whereas in Queene Elizabeth's time, King-James, & his Father's, there were at all times severall of y^e Popish Religion in y^e Standing Armye, and though he were very well satisfied wth Cott Talbot for his loyalty & good Services, yett he was resolv'd alsoe to give the Howse of Co^mons Satisfaction in y^t poynt by takinge away his co^mand for w^{ch} he would make him a recompence some other way. As for y^e remaineing particulars of the addresse the consideration of it is putt of till Wenesday next, when His Maj^{tie} will declare his pleasure in them alsoe. I had almost forgott to observe to yo^r Ex^{cy}, that it is sayd Cott Talbot withdrew his Petition a few minutes before His Maj^{tie} went yesterday to Councill, w^{ch} makes some conjecture his appeareing in Courte for y^e future will not be very frequent; I beg yo^r Ex^{cyes} pardon for this long lre, & crave leave to hono^r myselfe wth the title of

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The Speaker of y^e Howse of Co^mons was on Wenesday last sworne of His Maj^{ties} Privy Councill.

^a Appointed Jan. 17, 1672.

LVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Aprill 17th, 1673.

Having this opportunite of conveyance by so safe a hand as y^e Bishop of Downe,^a I shall acquaint y^r L^op wth some particulars relating to this country, w^{ch} are fitt for you to know, and such as I was not willing to trust by y^e ordinary Packett.

Since my coming into y^e Governm^t of this Kingdome, here is one Molooney^b, who calls himself Bishop of Killaloe, come over hither. I have spoken wth him severall times, and find him a very discreet, wise man. He is without doubt y^e ablest among all those of y^e Roman persuasion. He has spent most of his time in France, and I am apt to persuade my self is too eminent a man to ly concealed there without being taken notice of; he has employ'd his time since his arrivall here (and not without success) in composing y^e differences, w^{ch} were among those of his owne Religion, as particularly those disputes w^{ch} have bin betwixt Peter Talbot^c and Plunkett,^d their titular Primate, concerning jurisdiction, and also some personall feudes w^{ch} have bin between Coll: Talbot and Coll: Fitzpatrick: I perceive too that he lives in a better condition then y^e small Profitts w^{ch} he can make of his titular Bishoprick would put him into. All w^{ch} gives me ground to suspect he is a Pensioner of France.

As our Alliances now stand I humbly conceive there is no danger of this man, but in case these should vary, and that France and England should not be upon so good termes one wth another, as I presume they now are, this Person may be a most mischievous instrument. I could not, therefore, but think it my duty to acquaint y^r L^op wth these particulars, that y^r L^op may now in time, and whilst you have opportunities of good intelligence in y^e Court

^a See Letter XXIII.

^b John O'Molony, 2nd R. C. Bishop of Killaloe, 1671, and of Limerick also, 1698; d. 1702.

^c Titular Archbishop of Dublin, brother of Richard Talbot.

^d Titular Archbishop of Armagh—judicially murdered at the end of the Popish Terror.

of France, informe y^r self of what value this Molooney is there, and wth whom he holds his correspondences. Only wth this caution that you creditt not too much any informacions concerning him w^{ch} may be sent you from Abbot Mountague, whom I know to be very much a friend to this Molooney.

The Pow'r and Interest of y^e Non-Conformists here, and their greatest strength, is certainly that of y^e Presbyterians, who are of y^e Scotch nation. They are, I confess, a great body of People, and able men to bear Arms such as probably at some time or other may give trouble to y^e Governm^t, but I cannot thinke them altogether so dangerous as some doe imagine, in regard they have no man of eminent popularitie to head them. S^r Arthur Forbesc^a is a man of much esteeme wth his owne nation; but, if I mistake him not, he is very firme to y^e Crowne.

Here is a young Gentleman, my Lord Mount Alexander,^b who indeed is a man of very good parts and industrious, and who doeth and will dayly grow in his reputation. He is a Person, by as much as I can find, of good Principles but of a narrow fortune, and not without Ambition. If some thing were thought of to oblige him it were certainly good Policy to doe it, for I take him to be almost y^e only man among them now growing up who may be capable of raising their Interest to any great height.

But of all that may relate to y^e Non Conformists of y^e Protestant Religion I have directed this Bishop (whom y^r Lōp will find to be a very discreet moderate man, and one not unfitt to be placed in y^e Privy Councell here, where some of his Predecessors have sate) to discour more at large to you then by Līe I can, and if some indulgence be granted them I humbly conceive the methods w^{ch} you may designe for England will probably be y^e fittest to be practised here, for generally the nearer we conforme to England in y^e administration of y^e Governm^t in this country, y^e firmer is y^e Interest of y^e Crowne supported.

^a See note to next Letter.

^b Son of Sir Hugh Montgomery, 3rd Viscount Montgomery, who was created Earl of Mount-Alexander, 1661.

One thing I cannot omitt upon this occasion to let y^r Lōp know. Here is one Chambres (a brother in Law, as I am told, to Bloud) who has lately set up a congregation in this Citty, and preacheth to them ; he was one of those who together wth his brother attempted y^e surprize of this Castle, and doubtless he is a very desperate, bold fellow. Now, tho' by his Majesties grace and favor he has got his pardon, yet surely he ought not to be suffer'd to teach others who has practised so ill things himself. I doe for y^e present let him alone till I can receive some orders from y^r Lōp how I should deale wth y^e whole Party, w^{ch} I am confident you will be better able to give, after you have discoursed wth y^e Bishop of Downe, who has by my advice observed, and in a good measure acquainted himself with y^e temper and disposition of these People.

LIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR ARTHUR FORBES.^a

S^R,

Dublin Castle, Aprill 19th, —73.

I have lately recd 2 of y^{rs}, one of y^e 12th instant and afterwards another of y^e 5th. By that of y^e 12th I find his Majestie has taken into his consideration y^e calling of a Parliam^t ^b in this Kingdome, and y^e advantages or inconveniences w^{ch} may arise from it. The People I confess are generally at present but Poor, and money is extremely scarce here, for to say y^e Truth since y^e War wth Holland this country has bin almost like a besieged Place,^c having had no trade but what has bin by sleath; nor doe I see any remedy for it, unless some men of war were maintain'd here to guard y^e Coasts, and to convoy Merchants Ships, all w^{ch} would cost more then y^e remainder of y^e money by y^e Establishm^t can provide for. There-

^a Second Baronet of Castle Forbes, c Longford; Privy Councillor for Ireland, 1670, and Marshal of the Army; Lord Justice in 1671, 1673; created Viscount Granard 1673; d. 1676.

^b Essex had recommended this to obtain a supply.

^c Compare the statements of Rothes and others, regarding the effect of the war in Scotland, in the "Lauderdale Papers," vol. i. 213, 226, &c.

fore nothing but a Parliam^t can supply this defect, unless his Majesties other Affaires would permitt some of his English Frigates to be commanded upon this service. But besides this and other Arguments used by my Lord Conway for y^e calling of a Parliam^t, one other occurs to me grounded upon y^e proposall Sr William Petty has made, concerning concealed Lands in Ireland, w^{ch} I am confident (whatever he says) can never be brought to any good effect without an Act of Parliam^t, for it will be found that few of these concealed Lands have bin pass'd, but some Clause or other in y^e Act of Explanation does confirme them, and how to clear any Enquiry of this nature from a jealousy of infringing y^e Acts of Settlement^t & Explanation I cannot discern. There may indeed, upon y^e suggestions of these litle Undertakers, be Commissions issued out for y^e searching and raveling into mens estates but of how much vexation this will be to y^e subject, and wth what generall discontent it will be attended, is not difficult to imagine; for I am confident whenever any thing of this kind is put in practice by particular men, scarce any estate w^{ch} is upon a New Title will escape without a composition; besides I am well assured, tho' 'tis only my owne opinion, that if his Majestie thinks fitt to advise wth his Councell at Law they will scarce find it legall to make such bargain as Sr William Petty proposes. All w^{ch} makes me conclude that y^e safest way to attempt a discovery of those great wrongs w^{ch} y^e Crowne has suffer'd would be wth y^e concurrence of a Parliam^t, w^{ch} if his Majestie shall think fitt to call there are severall other bills of publick concernment w^{ch} may be thought on; as one for y^e regulating of Fees in y^e severall Courts, and another for y^e vacating of Reversions on Offices, for want of redress in both w^{ch} cases, this nation groans under many inconveniencies. Having said nothing upon this subject to my Lord Arlington, you may please to communicate this L^{re} to him.

I am now upon y^e distribution of y^e Army into their severall quarters for this next year, wherein I would gladly have y^r advice, for 'tis now near time they should know their severall stations, where

they are like to be, in regard y^e Grass will quickly come on, that they may provide for their winter subsistance; and therefore both for this and y^e satisfaction of y^r company I would be very glad of y^r.returne.

LX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD CLARE.^a

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, April 29th, —73.

I have lately recd 2 or 3 L^res from you, y^e last dated y^e 24th Aprill, wherein you seem to excuse y^r self in y^e matter of M^r Yorke's ship; but let me tell y^r L^op that I know y^e world too well to be satisfied wth a few faire words, & I understand y^e respect due to my Place better then to suffer y^e slighting of it from any man in y^e Kingdome. You dispatched indeed a L^re to give me notice of y^e seisure of ye ship, but sent it in such a manner that it should not come to my hands till y^e ship was conveyed away, w^{ch} Practice I cannot but look upon as a very unhansome dealing, & such as is not suitable to y^e behaviour that every subject of his Majesties ought to bear towards y^e Governour in this Kingdome, & w^{ch} might justly have been expected from you by, &c.

LXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO CHARLES II.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R MAJESTIE,

A L^re from my Lord of Arlington made known to me y^r Majesties intention of disposing y^e Phenix Parke to my Lady Dutchess of Cleaveland, as also y^e consideration y^r Majestie was

^a Daniel O'Brien, 3rd Viscount O'Brien of Clare, d. 1691.

pleased to have of me, by respiting y^e possession of it during my stay here. As I doe wth all humilitie acknowledge y^r Majesties extraordinary favor to me in this Particular, to w^{ch} I shall ever pay a resentment due to so great an obligation, so I cannot thinke of any means more proper to express my gratitude then truly to inform y^r Majestie of y^e state of this matter. A great quantitie of lands now enclosed in this Parke has for many Ages belonged to y^e Sword. These, I presume, y^r Majestie never intended to sever from it. Of y^e new Lands enclosed by my Lord Duke of Ormond, neer one third Part are y^e possession of S^r Richard Parsons, a minor, of 14 years of age, and therefore cannot be purchased these seven years. Upon y^e whole, I find all y^e Nobility & Gentry in this Country so disgusted ^a at y^e probability of this Parke being given away, being y^e only Place of recreation for them when they come to this Towne, that I cannot (wth humble submission to y^r Majesties better Judgment) advise y^e doing of so unpopular a thing. Yet if it be y^r Majesties Pleasure to give y^e Dutchess of Cleaveland a proportion of Lands in this Country (for I look upon y^e designe of this Grant to be no other than Rents), I am very confident it will not be difficult to find out concealed Lands of as good a value as y^r Majesties intended Grant ; or if this should faile (so desirous are all men of preserving this Parke y^t), I make litle doubt, whenever y^r Majestie shall call a Parliamt., they would readily give a small Tax through y^e whole Kingdome to reprieve it, provided it may then be entailed upon y^e Sword. In order to some compensation of this nature, I have transmitted to my Lord Chancell^r Particulars of all y^e Land enclosed,^b from w^{ch} an estimate may be collected of y^e value of y^r Majesties intended Grant, &, if an Exchange of Lands of equall worth wth those new purchased in y^e Parke shall be approved, I assure mysef^e y^t y^r Majesties favor will have an earlier effect then if y^e very thing designed had bin passed into a Patent.

^a This word, of course, hardly bore the aggressive meaning at present attached to it.

^b The list was forwarded to Shaftesbury on May 10.

Some Particulars of concernment relating to Peter Talbott being now under examination here, I have given my Lord of Arlington a full & true Acc^t of them, & therefore, presuming that your Majestie will not faile of y^e knowledge of that Affaire, I shall not repeat it, but should be glad to receive some orders by y^r Majesties directions how I should manage that business, wherein, as in all other y^r Majesties commands, you shall ever find a most ready, faithfull & exact obedience from, &c.

LXII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.^a

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, May 4th, 1673.

[Essex first repeats to Shaftesbury the arguments and suggestions which he has forwarded to the King. He proceeds :—]

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Now that I have had occasion to mention to y^r Lo^p y^e concealed Lands of this Kingdome, I cannot omitt y^e discoursing that matter wth you. We are told here that S^r William Petty and S^r Henry Ingoldsby have made a Proposall of giving y^e King, as some say, twelve, but as others twenty thousand Pds a year for these Concealements. Tho' as, on y^e one hand, I think these Gentlemen have not behaved themselves wth y^e respect due to my Place, in making any Prosposals of this nature without first acquainting me wth it, so I am confident they will never procure what they aime at, viz., a grant of all these concealements at a Rent, for in my opinion nothing can be more illegall & oppressing to y^e subject then such a Patent, whereby opportunitie & warr^t will be given to these Projectors to ravell into y^e Settlement of all men's Estates whatever, who, tho' they had never so just & clear Titles, will much rather

^a Printed in full in Christie.

come to a composition then endure y^e charges and vexations that these men will put them to; besides, if we consider y^e men who undertake it, 'twill easily be foreseen wth what rigour & injustice a Grant of this nature will be prosecuted, for I am confident, in all his Majesties 3 Kingdomes, there lives not a more grating man than Sr Will^m Petty. I dare say y^e Practices of Empson & Dudley would be found nothing in comparison of y^e vexations w^{ch} this poor Country would suffer if such a Patent should pass. The King may, indeed, give any lands that are found to be his; but if there be a Maxime in Law that y^e King cannot be deceived in his Grant, then certainly no Grant can be Legall of concealments at a certain Rent, for no man can say but y^e King may herein be highly deceived; therefore, this Project being in it self soe notoriously illegall, & apparently such as will prove in its execution so very oppressive to y^e Subject, makes me wth much confidence assure myself that it will not take effect. There are without doubt great quantities of concealed Lands to a very considerable value, w^{ch} doe of right belong to his Majestie, but then it must be considered that his Majestie is intituled to them by y^e Acts of Setlem^t & Explanation, & those statutes doe invest them in his Majestie as a Trustee to several particular uses therein mentioned; & if those ends are not yet answered, I offer it to y^r Lō^{ps} consideration, wth what conscience or honōr those concealed Lands can be applied to other uses. I have only said this to shew y^r Lō^p y^e business will prove a good deale perplexed, & that y^e whole ought to be maturely & deliberately considered before it be proceeded upon, & that some men of Knowledge in this Country, & who have well studied y^e Acts of Setlem^t & Explanation, may be consulted wth before any resolution be taken in a matter of so great moment, & of such a generall concerne. For my owne part, I am of opinion that y^e matter of discoverie of concealed Lands will never be solidely founded but by y^e Authoritie & Countenance of an Act of Parliam^t, w^{ch} when ever y^e King shall thinke fitt to call, I believe it will be no difficult Taske to procure such an Act, w^{ch} may method it in that

manner, & regulate y^e proceedings in such formes as may doe y^e worke effectually, & yet wth y^e quiett ease & satisfaction of y^e People.

I have not had time to write to M^r Secretary Coventrie ^a by this Post. I shall therefore beg y^r L^ōp^s favor to communicate that part of this Letter w^{ch} relates to y^e Phenix Parke to him, whereby you will much oblige, &c.

LXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, May 4th, 1673.

It is a great satisfaction to me to hear, as I doe from all my friends, how far y^r L^ōp has bin pleased to interest y^r self in my behalfe in y^e matter of y^e Phenix Parke; & tho' y^r L^ōp may, in my opinion, doe his Majestie a Publick Service, yet y^e kindness you have therein shew'd to me in particular shall never want its due acknowledgm^t, & I doe assure y^r L^ōp that nothing can be a greater contentement to me than y^e Testimonies of y^r L^ōp^s favor & friendship.

I have lately had a complaint from some Friers ag^t Peter Talbott, y^e Titular Arch B^p of this Place, & tho' I am confident his ill usage of them, & by my Lord Dungan's assistance his imprisnm^t of one, has provoked them to make this accusation, ^b yet y^e matters in it are of so high a nature as my duty obliges me not to pass it by without putting it into some way of examination. I give y^r L^ōp this early notice of this, because I know y^e skill of y^e Person concerned, & his Intelligences in England, how forward he will be to invent some Lies upon this occasion; therefore if any reports

^a Henry Coventry was now Secretary of State.

^b His appeal to the Council of Dublin was dismissed. Lord Dungan had been restored to his estate by the Court of Claims, and was now an active "undertaker."

should arrive at Court of my Proceedings ag^t him, y^r Lō^p may rely upon what I now write to be y^e Truth, & y^e whole Truth.

The Substance of y^e Complaint ag^t Peter Talbott may be reduced to these 3 Particulars:

First. That he had exercised forraine Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in this Kingdome;

2^{dly}. That he had pretended his Majesties Authoritie for y^e exercising of this his forraine Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction;

3^{dly}. That he had leavied moneys upon y^e people.

The first of these, tho' it be utterly illegall, yet I did not so much regard as y^e other two. Certainly y^e spreading so scandalous a report as y^e second of these cannot but be a crime of a very high nature. And y^e leavying money upon y^e People may perhaps be of more dangerous consequence then either of y^e other two. I have therefore referr'd it to S^r Hañy Hamilton, S^r George Roydon, & D^r Topham to examine & give me an Acc^t of it. Wherein if any thing shall be proved considerable, I shall not faile of acquainting y^r Lō^p wth it.

LXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR H. CAPEL.

DEARE BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, May 7, 1673.

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[Essex says that his Private Secretary, Sir H. Ford, is treacherously disclosing secrets to Peter Talbot and Moloony. He intends therefore to dismiss him, and asks whether Sir E. Dering will take the place. He proceeds:—]

I have writ my letter such as you may shew it to my Lord of Arlington. Here is another from my L^d Conway to M^r Attorney wth a Flying Seale that you may read it. But you must proceed in this business wth great caution, if you find my Lord of Arlington

& my Lord Treasurer^a cold to one another, & that you are certain their friendship (as the world saith) is broken. I do then make no doubt but my L^d of Arlington will readily put to his helping hand to rid me of this man, who is perfectly my Lord Treasurer's spie upon me; but if my L^d of Arlington & my Lord Treasurer are still upon good termes, 'tis better to stifle all at present, & waite for a better opportunity, till the arrival of w^{ch} I shall so carry my selfe toward S^r Hen. Ford as he shall not perceive the least dislike I have to him.

I am confident I have taken more pains in holding my correspondencys wth the Ministers in England, & particularly in writing constantly to my Lord of Arlington, than any that have ever bin in this employ^{nt}. I would therefore gladly know from you how my dispatches are like, or whether any censures to my disadvantage are given of them either in relation to the matter or stile, that I represent things trivial or in improper & affected expressions, & tho' men are very apt to flatter on such like occasions, yet you may, by some means or other, learn the truth. 'Tis so usefull for a man in my station to know what y^e world saith of him, that I do extremely desire to be truly informed of this particular wthout complement or palliation.

LXV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, June 3rd, 73.

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I have bin much sollicitod of late by severall Persons who have employ^{ts} here to permitt them to sell their commands to others; as S^r Robert Byron for one, who I find takes it ill that I have denied him; but I have severall reasons for my soe doing; one, that if I should suffer men, as in his case, when they grow old or

^a Sir Thomas Osborne, created Viscount Latimer, and later, Earl of Danby.

infirm, to dispose of their commands, I should scarce ever have any opportunitie of obliging any Gentleman in a thing of this nature ; but y^e principall reason was, that y^e person whom he had reco^mended to it was altogether improper for such an employ^mt. Another who would have disposed of his co^mand is Coll^l. Sydenham, and he has agreed wth one Nevill, formerly an Ensigne here, & had procured reco^mendations from some of my friends in England ; but this Gentleman, Coll. Sydenham (what ever his former meritts may have bin I know not), has not come into this country since my being here, & I am apt to think he is either afraid or ashamed to be seen, for his Company lies at Carrickfergus, a place of considerable importance, & is y^e only guard w^{ch} that castle has. I sent privately to enquire in what condition y^e place was, & found that of his whole Company there were but 4 men & 2 boys, & never an Officer that attended there ; since this, he desires to quitt his employment, but I think it more reasonable he should be cashierd then make a benefitt when he layes it downe.

I find many of y^e Captains of Horse much displeas'd at y^e disposition of y^e quarters w^{ch} I have lately made. The Truth is, they have continued so long upon their owne land & in their owne quarters, that they look upon it as almost a right due to them to keep there ; but I am sure tis for his Majesties Service to have them change their quarters, & y^e season of moving them most proper is in May or June, & I permitt them to rest y^e whole year round in their severall stations that they may there make their provisions for y^e winter, w^{ch} otherwise would be difficult to doe. Only each Troop does 2 months duty in y^e year at Dublin. This method, if his Majestie thinks fitt to be continued, I conceive will be of great advantage to y^e Troops, & only cost £600 a year extraordinary (to be allowed for their stay in Dublin), w^{ch} may be paid out of y^e money designed for y^e Marine Regiment. Within a Post or two I shall send y^r Lōp an acc^t of all y^e Quarters that are now designed them. These Particulars I have mentioned to y^r Lōp that you may be prepared, if any application should be made to his Maj^{ty} in either of

these 2 cases ; but I hope his Majestie will referr y^e Governm^t of y^e Army wholly to me, & I doubt not but wth y^e advice of some of y^e best Officers here, wth whom I ever consult in matters of this kind I shall in a little time bring it to a better posture then it hath ever hitherto bin. I confess I have been more strict in keeping them to their duty then others who preceded me in this employment, but then I have bin as carefull of them, in relation to their Pay, that they should be justly dealt wth, both by y^e Com^{rs} of y^e Tr^cary & their owne Officers, as was possible for me to be.

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LXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dnblin Castle, June 10th, 73.

A L^{fe} from my brother Harry, w^{ch} I rec^d y^e last Post, acquainted me wth a Grant, lately passed or now passing, to y^e Duke of Monmouth of £4,000 p^a Añn, pretended to be faln to y^e Crowne by y^e death of y^e late Earle of Northumberland,^a for want of Issue Male. I cannot but look upon it as an act of great friendship in y^r L^op to intimate this matter to my brother, & give you many thanks for it.

Tis well known how probable an interest I have in that Estate, & I am sure tis likewise as far from a secrett how great y^e losses & sufferings are w^{ch} my family has undergone, purely for y^e support of y^e Crowne, &, tho' I am far from urging this last as any way meritorious, but shall ever be ready wth y^e same cheerfulness to sacrifice y^e remainder of my fortune, & my person too, if y^e like occasion should call me to it on so just a quarrell, yet methinks the doeing any thing that may look like an unkindness to me or my family is an usage w^{ch}, I may safely say, we have none of us ever

^a Essex married the daughter of the Earl of Northumberland.

deserved from y^e Crowne, & if there be any thing of hardship to me in this, undoubtedly tis at this time done wth somewhat y^e worse grace, in regard I am now actually employd in his Majesties Service, and cannot, being absent, offer such reasons & press them so effectually as if I had y^e opportunitie to speak them for my selfe.

Should there be any Lands of y^e Northumberland family w^{ch}, in rigor of law, revert to y^e Crowne upon y^e failure of an Heir Male, had that Estate immediately descended to me I could not have doubted, but y^e memory of my father, together wth y^e consideration of my owne endeavors to serve his Maj^{tie}, would have supplied that defect. Nay, as y^e case is, having married y^e Sole daughter of Algernon, y^e father, Earle of Northumberland (as this young Lady who possesses y^e whole fortune is y^e daughter of Joceline, y^e son, Earle of Northumberland), & having sold many large Mannors of my Paternall Estate, meerly upon y^e acc^t of his Majesties Service, I cannot think I am partiall to my self in believing I might have bin as proper an object of his Majesties favor on this occasion as any man living.

I am pretty confident that whoever has a Grant of this nature will not find their account in it, but yet sure I am it will bring great trouble & vexation upon y^e Estate, for y^e Heir will by this means be brought to prove her Title to every Inch of Land she enjoys, a hardship w^{ch} (tho' I presume y^e Lands I now possess to be very secure to me), yet I should be very loath to be put to, for who knows what writings may be mislaid or lost, & consequently what unforeseen flaws or defects may be discovered? Next to a Practice of this sort upon my owne fortune, y^e acting it on this estate, wherein I have a reall & presumptive, tho' not a present or a certain interest, is doubtless as unkind a thing as could possibly be done to me, & therefore no reasonable man can blame me for being effectually concerned at it.

I have upon this subject freely imparted my mind to yo^r L^op, & doe not doubt but you will make use of it to my advantage, w^{ch} if you shall doe wth success, it will eternally oblige, &c.

LXVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.^a

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, 17th June, '73.

Mr Blud being now upon his returne, I have taken this opportunity to give y^r Lōp an answer to y^e Lře of y^{rs} w^{ch} he brought me. I can assure y^r Lōp that whoever told you that there was any particular interrogatory pointing at y^r Lōp, in y^e examination of that business relating to M^r Peter Talbott, did very much misinforme you ; & it was a most malicious invention in them who first reported it, for there were no questions asked but in generalls, as what they who were examined knew concerning M^r Peter Talbott's exercising of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, & of his pretending y^e King's Authoritie for soe doeing, as also of his leavying of money here. That y^r Lōp was named by one of y^e examinants, I writt you an acc^t in some of my former Lřes, but it was only thus : Talbott pretending a superioritie over all y^e Romish Bishops here, Plunkett their Primate disputed his authoritie over him ; & upon this Talbott affirmes he had directions from y^e King or some of his Ministers to overrule all here, and therefore all their Bps were to give obedience to him. Upon this Plunkett writes into England to Father Howard, her Majesties Almoner, to be satisfied whether this w^{ch} Talbott had averred were true, & received for answer that y^r Lōp had bin asked whether any such orders had bin given, & that y^r Lōp denied that ever any such had gone from you. This is all in that matter, w^{ch} appear'd upon y^e examinations relating to y^r Lōp, & I am sure there is nothing in it but of advantage to you, & y^r Lōp may be fully satisfied that there were no questions put leading to y^r Lōp's name ; but I am confident if y^e Truth were fully known (as I have some well-grounded hints, tho' not such as amount to Prooffs), it would appear that father Patricke did write to M^r

^a In a former letter May 13 Essex tells Arlington that the latter has been accused of backing Talbot's cause.

Peter Talbott, as in y^r Lōps name, to encourage him to proceed in his exercise of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, & upon this he founded his pretence of his Majesties authoritie transmitted to him by some of y^e King's Ministers ; but y^r Lōp sees how fully you have bin clear'd of this imputation by Father Howard's answer to Plunkett.

Having told y^r Lōp y^e full of this business, both as far as I know and as far as upon probable circumstances I can conjecture, I shall give you no further trouble, but y^e assurance of my being ever,

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LXVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.^a

S^r,

Dublin Castle, July 8, 1673.

* * * * *

And now that I am upon this subject, I must desire y^r excuse for not making you a returne to one of y^{rs}, w^{ch} I reĉd some months since, wherein you proposed y^e grant of a reversion of an Office for some nephew of Percivall's. The Truth is, could I have complied wth y^r desires I had writt to you sooner, but, having taken up a resolution not to grant any reversion to y^e prejudice of my success^r in this Governm^t, it has disabled me from gratifying you, or any other person in this kind. I am not out of hopes at one time or other to vacate all those reversions, w^{ch} I have found upon almost every Office & Place in this Kingdome, w^{ch} has not only disappointed all those who depend on me, but it is a great mischief to y^e whole Kingdome, making all men careless & lazy in gaining such vertues & qualities as should fitt them for employm^t, since they see all filled up wth reversions, & I doe not know how I can wth

^a The intimate friend of the Duke of Ormond, from whose MSS. a large part of Carter's Life of Ormond was derived. He was for some time envoy at Lisbon.

confidence endeavour y^e revocation of those that are, if I my selfe should create more. For this reason I have kept my selfe free from disposing of any, & hope ere long to reap some advantage by it ; I mean by having of it in my power to oblige some good men, among whom I assure you none has a greater share of esteeme then y^r self, in y^e opinion of, &c.

LXIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, July 8, 73.

There is not any thing since my coming hither has given us more trouble then y^e disputes & differences w^{ch} have risen among y^e Citizens of this Towne. It were too long a Story to tell y^r Lōp y^e originalls and beginnings of their variances, only Y^r Lōp knows that at my first coming I found them all in disorder, but I hoped that by y^e Establishm^t of y^e Rules, w^{ch} by advice of y^e Councell have bin publish'd, all would have bin in a quiett condition, & I am apt to think I should not have bin deceived, had not his Majesties L^re of y^e 5th Novemb^r last interposed to suspend y^e execution of those Rules, & Copies of this L^re (as I have formerly observed to y^r Lōp), tho' t'was but a private order to me, were yet dispersed & scattered throughout all y^e Towne,^a w^{ch} encouraged & animated all those persons who were mutinous & discontented in this City to raise wrangles & cavills at what ever I did. Afterwards, upon y^e receipt of his Majesties L^re of y^e 14 Jan., I ordered y^e Lord Mayor to proceed to y^e swearing of those persons whom he had acquainted me with as elected to be of y^e Common Councell, among whom were ten of y^e Roman persuasion, to every one of w^{ch}, upon y^e L^d Mayors certificate of their election, & in obedience to his Majesties s^d L^re of y^e 14 Jan., & by virtue of y^e Powr reserved to y^e Lieut by those Rules, I gave a dispensation from taking y^e oath of Supremacy. I

^a See Letter XXXIV.

have herewth sent y^r Lōp a Paper w^{ch} gives a clear acc^t of y^e whole matter of y^e Election of y^e Common Councill men of this Citty, & by it you will find there was a double Election of Common Councill men made, one wherein there are Romanists nominated, & another wherein there is none of that religion chosen. The discontented part of y^e Citty press, that y^e Election last mentiond may be confirm'd, being (as they urge) more conformable to y^e Rules, & say, that if y^e Papists be put out, they shall then all be united & act cheerfully & contentedly one wth another; but I know this is only a Snare sett for me, to make it appear as if it were my work to exclude these Romanists, & I am confident y^e Author of y^e objections to y^e Rules, tho' he be in England, was a Contriver, or at least a Promoter, of this proposall; besides, I am not sure that if these men are gratified in what they pretend now to desire, whether they will then acquiesce, or rather will not afterwards pick some litle quarrell to continue on y^e dispute, but I am resolved none of their litle inventions shall entangle me, & for that reason I have herewth transmitted to yo^r Lōp an exact State of y^e business. Whether it be more for his Majesties Service that these men of y^e Roman persuasion be at this time brought into y^e Coñon Councill here, I am not fitt to judge; but y^r Lōp, who is upon y^e place, can best determine how this may suite wth affairs in England, and as for any concernment in this country, I thinke y^e matter soe triviall as 'tis not worth y^e debating, nor can be of any prejudice one way or the other; whatever his Majestie shall resolve in this particular, I will be sure to see is executed.

Should those of this Citty continue factious & disobedient, there is yet another course to be taken wth them, w^{ch}, tho' something harsh, yet, in case they cannot by other means be brought to a compliance, must be made use of, that is, y^e vacating their charter,^a & forcing them to take out a new one, w^{ch} will put into his Majesties

^a This plan was extensively used by Charles in England in 1683, enormously increasing the influence of the Crown.

hands y^e nomination of all y^e Magistrates & Common Councill men. This Citty is growne very populous, therefore I conceive it highly necessary that something may be speedily done to setle y^e govern^t of it, w^{ch} makes me desire y^r Lōp humbly to move his Majestie that, as soon as conveniently may, an answer be given to these Rules. And truly tis high time to put an end to this affaire, for I have had severall seditious papers dropt in y^e Castle, & by other means come to my hands, wherein they seem to look upon themselves as if they were a free State, & y^e severall Corporacions in y^e Citty were in a sort litle Commonwealths, & that their representatives were only accountable to them, not owning that submission to y^e Govern^t as is fitting. The Papers are large, but I have given you y^e substance of them, y^t y^r Lōp may see how necessary tis to have something resolved of, but I am sure, & you may rely upon it, that his Majestie hath entrusted his sword in such a hand who will rather perish then see his Majesties Authority slighted.

I am opinion that, considering y^e greatness of this Towne & how dayly spreads it selfe, it were very fitt that his Maj^{tie} had a good Cittadell built here, w^{ch} would not only for y^e future secure y^e quiett of y^e Citty, but would be so firme a footing in this Kingdome as his Majestie would never be in danger of loosing it, upon almost any revolution whatever. I know y^e same has bin proposed by others formerly, but as y^e Towne grows more considerable, so y^e reasons for it become still more pregnant.

I have yet had no answer from y^r Lōp concerning y^e Farthings.^b They are a great cheat & burthen upon y^e Kingdome as now permitted, therefore I wish y^r Lōp would mind his Majestie of this matter.

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^a On May 17 he had written to urge that the new farthings should be like those in England.

In the 4th Rule for y^e Regulatig of y^e Corporacions of y^e Citty of Dublin, as followeth:—

And wee doe hereby order & establish, That y^e severall Guilds or Corporacions of this Citty, out of w^{ch} any persons are now usually chosen to be of y^e sd Citty, sometime wthin y^e month of Novemb^r next ensuing, & so from time to time wthin every month of Novemb^r w^{ch} shall for ever hereafter be at y^e end of every 3 years, from y^e end of y^e month of Novemb^r next ensuing y^e date hereof, shall elect & nominate double y^e number of persons usually chosen out of each such Guild or Corporacion into y^e Comon Councell of this Citty, & by y^e Masters & Wardens of each such Guild or Corporacion shall, sometime within y^e month of Novemb^r, present y^e names of such persons soe elected to y^e L^d Mayor of this Citty for y^e time being, who is hereby authorised & required in the presence of one of the Sheriffs & eight of the Aldermen, before y^e 24th day of Decemb^r then next ensuing, to elect out of y^e persons whose names shall be so presented y^e number of Persons usually serving in y^e Comon Councell of y^e sd Citty for each such Guild or Corporacion respectively, w^{ch} sd persons so presented & elected shall be by vertue of that Election for 3 years then next ensuing, & no longer, of y^e member of y^e Co^mons or Co^mon Councell of y^e sd Citty.

Conformable to this Rule, y^e Lord Mayor, on y^e 28 of Novemb^r 1672, in y^e presence of y^e Sheriffs & eight or more of y^e Aldermen, & wth their consent, did elect thirty-three, being y^e full number, to serve as Common Councell men for y^e great Guild, among whom were ten or eleven of y^e Roman persuasion. Afterwards, on y^e 18 Decemb^r, y^e Lord Mayor call'd a Table of Aldermen, & one or both of y^e Sheriffs being present, did acquaint them that he was in a mistake in asking their consents to y^e Election, for that y^e sd Election was by y^e Rules solely entrusted in himselfe, only limited to be perform'd in y^e presence of 8 Aldermen & one Sheriffe, & accordingly then proceeded to a new Election, & went through

wth it not only for y^e great Giuld, but likewise for all y^e other Giulds & Corporacions, compleating y^e number of ninety-six, & in this Election left out all those of y^e Roman persuasion. Again, on y^e 20 Decemb^r, my Lord Mayor call'd a Table of Aldermen, y^e Sheriffs too being present, & told them that he found himself in an error in what he had done two days before, & that he was now satisfied he ought to have their concurrence in y^e Election, & then proceeded on y^e worke he had begun y^e 28 Novemb^r, & elected y^e others who were to serve for y^e rest of y^e Giulds, wth y^e consent of y^e Aldermen & Sheriffs, soe as there were then two elections in being, one made by y^e Lord Mayor in y^e presence & wth y^e consent of a Table of Aldermen & Sheriffs, & another by y^e Lord Mayor singly, in y^e presence of a Table of Aldermen & Sheriffs. By y^e former of these, w^{ch} was begun first but perfected after y^e other, there are severall Romanists nominated; by y^e latter, w^{ch} was begun after, but compleated before y^e other, all those of y^e Roman persuasion are omitted. Thus far was transacted purely among themselves. On y^e 28 January following the Lord Mayor acquainted me that in obedience to y^e Rules he had with y^e consent of a Table of Aldermen & Sheriffs, elected y^e Coñion Councill men, & that among them there were ten of y^e Roman religion, w^{ch} I order'd him to certifie under his hand, & upon his certificate I granted my order of dispensation from taking y^e Oath of Supremacy, & directed him to proceed to y^e swearing of them. All those of y^e Roman persuasion have taken their Oaths as Coñion Councill men, but a great number of y^e others refuse to swear, & particularly except ag^t that short Oath enjoyn'd by y^e Rules, viz. :

I A. B. doe declare & believe, That it is not lawfull, upon any Pretence whatever, to take Arms against the King, And that I doe abhorr that traytorous position of taking arms by his Authority ag^t his Person or ag^t those that are commissioned by him, w^{ch} Oath I must observe to y^r Lōp is imposed on all y^e Corporacions of England, by a Statute made 13 Car. 2^{di}, Cap. 1.^a

^a The Corporation Act.

A Lre was lately written by y^e Privy Councell to y^e Citty, recommending to their care y^e making of a way, w^{ch} would be very necessary & of advantage to y^e Towne; To w^{ch} y^e Lord Mayor, & Aldermen made this returne, that they found y^e sd way would be of great use to y^e Citty, but they could not proceed in it without y^e consent of y^e Coñon Councell, who had bin severall times summon'd, but they could not get a compleat number of them to meet; whereupon y^e Privy Councell directed y^e Lord Mayor to make a generall summons of them all, & in case they should not assemble, to returne the names of those who neglected to meet, as also of those others who refused y^e Oaths.

Accordingly they were all summon'd, & on Munday y^e 30th of June, there were assembled 45 Sheriffs, Peers, & Commoners, who, as soon as they were together, voted themselves an unlawfull Assembly, & would therefore Act nothing. The Mayor has since bin wth me, & acquainted me wth their Proceedings, & tells me that he believes, if y^e other Election made by himself, without y^e consent of y^e Aldermen, & wherein all y^e Romanists are left out were confirm'd, y^e Citty would rest satisfied; but finding this matter something intricate, I have forborne to Act any further in it, & doe humbly submitt it to his Majesties consideration.

State of y^e case of y^e Citty of Dublin, enclosed in y^e foregoing Lre
to my Lord of Arlington.

LXX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, July 15, 73.

* * * * *

And now that I am upon this subject, give me leave to offer to y^r Lōp my opinion, what I conceive fitt to be done in cases of this nature. To my best observation, there are few things give

more hindrance to y^e improvement of this Kingdome then this w^{ch} is now so frequently practised. Men pretend discoverys of lands here w^{ch} belong to y^e King, & upon that procure L^{res} to pass Grants for them. When these L^{res} arrive here, their usual Plea is, Let me have y^e benefitt of my L^{re}, & if it prove that his Majestie hast no Title, y^e King has given nothing, & there is no hurt done. This & such other like arguments have, I find, prevail'd to pass many unreasonable Grants here, some wherein his Majesties Title has been dubious, & others wherein indeed y^e King has had no Title at all ; however y^e countenance of a Grant under y^e great Seale has bin so good a colour of Title as to enable them to commence suits wth y^e possessors of these Lands, who, if poor, & not able to contest, have bin necessitated to compound ; nay, there are some cases w^{ch} might be instanced wherin Patents have bin granted for Lands to w^{ch} y^e King had no right at all ; but yet y^e Persons who had these Grants being great men, & those whose Lands were pass'd being meane, & not able to wage Law wth them, have bin forced after many vexatious suits to submit, & part wth their Lands for 2 years' Purchase.

This having bin y^e case of many men here, I shall venture humbly to offer my thoughts what may be y^e most proper course to prevent y^e like hardships upon y^e People. Whenever any of these L^{res} shall be received, I conceive it fitt in y^e first place y^e Lieu^t informe himselfe from y^e severall Offices of y^e King's Title to y^e Lands intended to be given ; & in case his Majesties Right appear clear & undoubted, ye Grant may then pass, but if any question doe yet remaine, it may be proper to have his Majesties Title first found by an Inquisition before y^e Grant be perfected. This, in my opinion, is soe reasonable, & may be of so much benefitt to y^e subject, by preventing many chargeable suits, w^{ch} have bin created in this Kingdome, by reason of Patents surreptitiously gain'd, as I purpose to forme it into a method, such as may serve to direct both my selfe, & others who succeed me in this employment, how to proceed in cases of this nature.

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LXXI.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Ballymartin, the 11th of July, 1673.

I Received last night the Greate honour of your Ex^s letter of y^e 8th present, And in humble Answer to it I Presume to acquaint Your Ex^{ce} That I have bin for some weeks Past Earnestly desyred every Post, by my Friends in England, to hasten for London, which made me apprehend that to obey them I should be necessitated to undertake that jurn'y as soone as I was able to undertake it. In w^{ch} case I Resolved to goe by y^e way of Dublin only to Pay Yo^r Ex^{ce} That Duty, wh: noethinge but my Disability of Performinge it should have soe longe hinder'd me from Dis-charginge.

Wh: Resolution I still continue in. But I must confess I have used all Fittinge endeavours to obtayne from my Friends in England their leave not to goe thither, or at least to have it defer'd as longe as might be, for y^e Ague & the last fitt of y^e Goute^a have made my knees & Ancles soe weeke y^t I am not yet able to goe in or out of my Couch, much less up or downe any Stares but as I am lifted by a Couple of Servants, wh: is a condition wh: makes me both unwilling & unable to goe from home. I did therefore, above three weeks Past, write to my L^d Tresu^r of England^b (who presses me much to hasten to London) to beseech him, untill I were able to walke without helpe (wh: I hope by y^e latter end of next month I should be), y^t he would not condeme me for not goeing for England; but if ther were a necessity to serve my Kinge, my Cuntry, or my Friends, I would goe as I am on a week's warninge. And last night I had a letter from him in Answer to myne, wherein he earnestly desyres me to com over as soone as I can & y^t my health will admitt, wh: God willinge, I entend to doe by y^e way of Dublin,

^a He died of this disease in 1679.

^b The close association between Danby and Orrery, in opposition to Essex, will be noted hereafter.

& am now y^e more confirmed in that Resolution, because I see tis Yo^r Ex^{ces} Pleasure y^t I should doe soe, as well as tis my Duty to waite on Your Ex^{ce} ther. I must confess to Yo^r Ex^{ce} y^t not only y^e ill Habbit of body I am fallen under, but also my minde, Invites me to a Retired Life, for haveinge bin Tost about Three & Thirty Yeers in the world, & beinge tired therwith, tis Time to thinke seriously how to gett to that Haven wher only True Rest can be Enjoy'd. And I believe a Cell is fitter for thos Thoughts then a Court. Besides, I have found soe much uncertaynty in the thinges of this world that, beinge now Fairly gotten out of y^e Tyde of it, I would not seeke to gett into y^e Streame again. And y^e vicissitudes I dayly see confirmes me y^e more in the choice I have made. But since we are not borne for ourselves, If I be put to the sad choice of either breakinge with my Friends or breakinge off y^t quiet course of Life I now am in, God is my witness, if I must embrace the Former, twilbe merely an Act of my obedience, not my choice.

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LXXII.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Ballymartin, the 15th of July, 1673.

Though I Presume to hope That Yo^r Ex^{ce} beleeves I beere a Full Share in all Yo^r Afflictions, yet I Esteeme it a Duty to assure you of That Truth, & y^t noe servant you have does more Really Participate with you in that Greife wh: you are now under then I doe.^a

It were not fitt, perhaps, to write to Yo^r Ex^{ce} what were my supports when I had unexpectedly lost a deere Brother, since y^t might Looke as if what Releevd an ordinary Person would also have y^e like effect on one y^t is Extraordinary, & I know too well y^e disproportion betweene Yo^r Ex^{ce} & me.

^a Essex had lost his younger brother, Edward.

And it were Possibly as greate a Fault to beleve y^t you need any consolation from any Body but yo^r selfe, whos Christianity & Courage are more able to Console you in thos sorrows the hand of God has now layd on you, then what you can Receive from all men, espetically soe insignificant a man as I am.

I will therefore only Pray that God, who has thought fitt to lessen your worthy Father's Sons, will Repare it by Augmentinge y^e number of yo^r owne.

LXXIII. —THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, July 19, 73.

On y^e 8th instant, I writt to y^r Lōp concerning y^e diuisions w^{ch} are among y^e Citizens of this Towne. I find they rather encrease then abate, so as twill be necessary some speedy course be taken therein. That Y^r Lōp may see what good doctrine is taught among them, I have here enclosed a Paper w^{ch} was found neer my Closett door in y^e Castle. There are 3 or 4 persons here whose discourses are much like y^e language of this paper, y^e Principall among them is Dr. Loftus, one of y^e Masters of Chancerie & Judge of y^e Prerogative, who hath of late in severall Companys declared = = That y^e Rules w^{ch} I made are illegall, & that y^e Licu^t & Councell had no Power to establish them; nay, that y^e Parliam^t itselfe could not give Authoritie to any in this case. This, coming from a man in employment & a Judge, is of more weight wth y^e People then if an ordinary person had spoken these wordes; And truly whatever his Majestie shall please to determine concerning y^e Rules themselves (w^{ch} I assure y^r Lōp shall be perfectly complied wth), yet certainly tis not fitt for private men to arraine y^e Actings of y^e Lieu^t & Councell, much less to declare Acts of Parliam^t invalide, & unless some severitie be used upon such like occasions, for my owne part I know not how any government can long support it selfe. I must confess

I have bin a little slack upon affronts of this sort, & it has bin a fault in me, but to give y^r Lōp y^e true reason of it, it has bin out of a doubt whether I should be justified in my Proceedings, had I bin so quick as my owne reason tells me I ought to be, for I find these men have all along bin upheld by some who pretended great Interest wth y^e King, & that w^{ch} I said to y^r Lōp concerning my L^d of Anglesey in my former L^{re}, being then only upon probable conjectures, I can now make it out by substantiall proofes, that he mingles his advices wth these men

I know very well y^e disadvantage any Person that is absent has, & tho' I am extreame sensible of y^e favourable expressions w^{ch} I have heard his Majestie has bin pleased to make of me (& indeed it is y^e greatest satisfaction & comfort I can have in this employ^t to be assured of his Majesties gracious acceptance of my endeavours to serve him), yet I am certaine it is so hard a thing to avoid y^e suspicion of partiallité, that I conceive it will not be amiss for me to send over to y^r Lōp a briefe Acc^t of y^e Originalls & beginnings of y^e disturbances of this Citty (w^{ch} by my next I will not faile to send y^r Lōp), that so you may judge whether I have done any thing other then what, both in justice and prudence, I was obliged to doe.

I may, perhaps, seem to make more of this affaire then it deserves, but if y^r Lōp considers what influence y^e Capitall Citty has upon y^e whole Kingdome, you will easily conclude that some more then ordinary circumspection ought to be used in y^e goverment of it, & indeed this is y^e only uneasy thing that I find in his Majesties affairs here, tho' on y^e other hand let me tell y^r Lōp wth great assurance that these People are not to be overvalued, for whatever his Majestie shall determine, whether it be to make good either of y^e two Elections of y^e Common Councell, or to vacate y^e Rules or put them into any other forme, or whatever else he pleaseth, I have power enough & will see it done; And you need never question but upon this & all other occasions, let but my orders be possitive & his Majestie resolve to stick to me, I will go through wth it, & not fail to see them obey'd.

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LXXIV.--THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, July 22, 73.

I have herein enclosed a briefe Narrative of y^e proceedings of y^e Citty in relation to y^e turning out of y^e Recorder, & seven Aldermen, as also what pass'd afterwards in order to y^e restoring of them; but because it is not fitt to conceale any thing of this matter from y^r Lōp, tho' it may reflect upon some persons of eminent qualitie, it will be necessary I beginne a litle higher, & shew y^r Lōp y^e true originall of their dissentions.

The Citty of Dublin is now very neer, if not altogether twice as bigge as it was at his Majesties restauration, & did till y^e Dutch War began every day encrease in their buildings, & by this means y^e Revenue of y^e Water w^{ch} serves y^e Towne yearly improved, & was already grown very considerable. y^e profits of w^{ch} did of right belong to y^e Citty it selfe, but some men finding how great an advantage was likely to arise from such a farme, began to designe y^e getting a long Lease of it at an under rent from y^e Citty, & perceiving that y^e Common Councell too well understood their owne Interest to part wth so good a Revenue, they then found there was no way soe ready for them to compass their ends as upon y^e ground of that Act of Parliam^t, w^{ch} empower'd y^e Lord Lieut & Councell to Establish Rules for y^e regulating of Corporacions, to procure such Rules to be framed as might reduce y^e disposall of y^e Citty reveuue into a few hands, & those such as would serve their turne. And to this end y^e Rules first mentioned in this enclosed paper were prepared, w^{ch} would infallibly have done y^e worke, had not y^e Citty, by some application to S^r Ellis Leighton, prevailed wth my Lord Barkeley to make them but temporary, & as y^r Lōp may observe y^e time so short that they expired before they could be executed.

There are those who say that this Lease for y^e water would have bin worth at least four or five thousand Pds a yeare, & that it was contrived y^t y^e Recorder, S^r William Davys, should have

a long lease of it at fifty Pds p Añn Rent. Little doubt is to be made but some others were under hand joyn'd in y^e profits of it, but because this may a litle touch upon his Father in Law, my Lord Chancell^r ^a (who as to y^e maine of y^e King's business I have found a very good man, & have all waies lived very well with him, as 'tis necessary I should in y^e Station I am in), I have rather chose to mention these Particulars in my private L^re, then to insert any thing of them in y^e Narrative.

By this it does clearly appeare that y^e Commons were in y^e Right in not suffering y^e revenue of y^e Citty to be misapplied, but it can no way justify them in y^e turning out y^e Recorder & these Aldermen without hearing them, what they could say in their owne defence. I must also observe to y^r L^{ōp}, that after I had replaced y^e Aldermen w^{ch} I found thus illegally turned out, y^e Commons of y^e Citty, influenced by 3 or 4 factious persons, grew soe refractory in all things w^{ch} might be expected from them by me, as upon every litle occasion they denied their concurrence wth y^e Mayor & Aldermen. One instance among others I will name, & y^e rather because it may & will certainly have operation upon all y^e Garrisons of this Kingdome =. This Citty, as all other Garrison Townes, have ever allowed fire & candle in y^e Winter time to y^e Guards that are in their Citty, but this last Winter y^e Commons refused in this to concurre wth y^e Mayor & Aldermen, & so y^e Soldiers went without it. Other things I could also mention, but upon y^e whole it appeared plainly that that Common Councill, as then constituted & influenced, were absolutely resolved to refuse every thing that y^e Governor should propose, soe as I could not but judge it necessary that some new constitution should be erected, or otherwise y^e Governor here wou'd be lyable to be affronted by them upon every occasion; & indeed it seems one of y^e most arrogant things that I have ever knowne, that because y^e Privy Councill would not justify these men in what they had irregularly done, that

^a Michael Boyle, successively Archbishop of Dublin and Armagh.

therefore they should refuse all manner of compliance (as indeed they did) to y^e Lieu^t & Councell.

But to tell y^r Lōp truly (for since I am upon this subject I resolve to open all) upon what acc^t these men were thus puff'd up, 'twas clear they were in great measure animated by Coll. Talbott, to whom they perpetually made their application, & he on his part encouraged them, & told them very freely, had he been in London, those new Rules w^{ch} I framed had never bin imposed, & that he doubted not but by his interest they should quickly see them vacated. All this I speake not without booke, but can bring proof for every particular.

And now, having in my two L^{res} of y^e 8th & 19th instant, & also in this w^{ch} I have now written, together wth y^e severall Papers enclosed in them, given y^r Lōp a true prospect of y^e whole matter, & not concealed y^e faults of any, I shall be very glad to receive, as soon as may be, his Maj^{ties} co^mmands what he will have done thereupon; but if any Orders shall arrive to y^e first representation that I made of this matter w^{ch} was by my L^{re} of y^e 8th, I shall (unless some eminent necessitie should intervene, in w^{ch} case much ought to be left to discretion) respitt y^e execution of them, till I hear that y^r Lōp has rec^d this, hoping when you shall have time to compare y^e whole, & all my Proceedings herein shall be considered, You will find me free from all partialitie; & whatever his Majesties finall determination shall be in order to y^e Government of this City shall be most punctually observed & performed.

In y^e time of my Lord Berkeley's Lieutenantcy, a direction came signed by S^r James Shaen (but by what Authoritie I doe not well know) that his Lōp should forbear passing of any Patents upon Certificates from y^e Court of Claims; & tho' to y^e best of my remembrance I have not rec^d any Orders to prohibite me from passing of such Patents, yet I have hitherto forborne y^e granting of any. I might I thinke very safely upon this opportunitie, now that y^e Committee of Inspection is superseded, proceed to y^e passing

of these Grants, but I am unwilling to doe any thing of this nature wthout his Maj^{ties} permission, notwithstanding it is only a thing of course, & such as an Act of Parliam^{nt} does order to be done, wherefore I humbly desire y^r L^{ōp} to acquaint his Maj^{tie} therewth, & signifie his pleasure to me in this matter.

* * * * *

The State of y^e Recorder of Dublin's case, etc., enclosed to y^e Earle of Arlington, July 22, 73.

On y^e 24th of November, 1671, Rules were made by y^e Lord Berkeley, then Lord Lieu^t, & by y^e Privy Councill of Ireland for y^e better regulating y^e Corporacion of y^e Citty of Dublin, whereby among other things it was declared that y^e Common Councill of y^e s^d Citty should be for ever afterwards annually chosen by y^e Lord Mayor, wth y^e advice & approbation of y^e Aldermen, out of such persons as should be presented to them by y^e respective Corporacions of y^e s^d Citty.

Afterwards, there being severall objections made against y^e said Rules, It was on y^e second of March, 1671, Order'd by y^e late Lord Lieu^t & Councill that y^e s^d Rules should continue in force untill y^e 24th day of March, 1671, & no longer, & that in y^e mean time other Rules should be consider'd of at y^e board for regulating y^e said Corporacion.

Afterwards, at an Assembly of y^e s^d Citty, held y^e 29 March, 1672, upon a Petition offer'd by certaine of y^e Commons of y^e s^d Citty ag^t S^r Francis Brusler, Richard Tigh, Daniel Hutchinson, Marke Quin, Lewis Desmineer, Enoch Reader, & Josna Allen, Aldermen of y^e s^d Citty, concerning their Actings in relation to y^e making & imposing y^e s^d Rules, It was order'd that y^e s^d Petition should be referr'd to a Committee of y^e s^d Assembly, to report their conceptions therein at y^e next Assembly.

Whereupon y^e s^d Committee met on y^e first of April, 1672, &

without summoning or hearing y^e s^d Aldermen made a report, that they were guilty of y^e matters whereof they stood charged by y^e s^d Petition, And that they should answer y^e same at y^e next Easter Assembly, or els should then be suspended, if y^e s^d Assembly should thinke fitt.

The next Easter Assembly was not to be held till y^e 19th of Aprill, 1672: Yet at another Assembly held y^e 3rd of Aprill, 1672, y^e s^d seven Aldermen were, by y^e order of y^e s^d Assembly, dismiss'd from acting any further as Aldermen, & others order'd to be elected in their places.

And by another Order made y^e s^d 3rd of Aprill, 1672, S^r William Davys was, upon a Petition of certaine of y^e Commons complaining of severall crimes committed by him, dismissed from his Office of Recorder, & y^e s^d Office was y^e same day granted to S^r Ellis Leighton.

And y^e Office of Clerke of y^e Tholsell, then held by Sir William Davys, was also by another order, made y^e s^d 3rd of Aprill, conferr'd on Alderman Totty, then Lord Mayor.

Afterwards, upon a Petition preferr'd to his Majestie by S^r William Davys & y^e s^d seven Aldermen, complaining of their being illegally turned out of their Places, His Majestie was pleased, by his Order in Councill dated y^e seventeenth of July, 1672, to referr y^e hearing & determining of that matter to y^e Lord Lieutenant & Councill of this Kingdome. Upon w^{ch} Reference all Parties were fully heard severall days at y^e Councill board here.

And upon y^e s^d hearing it fully appear'd y^t y^e s^d Recorder & seven Aldermen were turned out without hearing of them, concerning y^e severall pretended crimes that were objected agst them, & also without any prooff made thereof, or summoning them to make their defence thereto. And also that there were not above four Aldermen of y^e s^d Citty present at y^e making of y^e s^d Order for turning out y^e Recorder & these seven Aldermen, whereas by y^e Customs of y^e s^d Citty y^e number of eight Aldermen hath bin held necessary to

make up a Table of Aldermen, who have a Negative Vote in all Affairs that pass y^e Common Councell of y^e s^d City.

Whereupon, on y^e 20 Septemb^r, 1672, It was declared by y^e unanimous consent of y^e whole board, That y^e s^d Proceedings ag^t y^e s^d Recorder & y^e s^d Seven Aldermen in turning them out of their respective Places were irregular & not warranted, either by y^e Laws of this Land, or by y^e Customs & Constitutions of y^e s^d City, & therefore they did thereby restore them to their s^d Places.

Which Resolution & Order of theirs was no other than what by Law they were warranted & obliged to make in this case. It having bin formerly adjudged, That in case a Corporacion have lawfull Authoritie by their Charter or Prescription to remove any Persons from their freedome or Places in such Corporacion, & have also just cause to remove them, Yet if it appears that they have proceeded ag^t them without hearing them answer to what is objected ag^t them, or without reasonable warning given them, such a removing of them is ag^t Justice & Right & Voyd, & shall not bind y^e Party.

LXXV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO CHARLES II.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r MAJESTIE,

Since my coming hither I have allwaies chosen rather to represent things to y^r Majesties Ministers that at y^r leisure y^r Majestie might from them understand y^e state of y^r Affairs in this country, then too often to trouble y^r selfe wth my L^res; but there being something now of importance in relation to y^e Government, w^{ch} in my opinion deserves y^r Majesties serious consideration, I conceive it my duty humbly to lay before you in briefe some particulars concerning it.

The City of Dublin, y^e Capitall one of this Kingdome, must needs, upon that score, have great influence on all y^e other Corporations, & it being y^e residence of y^e Governor, if he cannot be obey'd here as he ought, it may well be feared y^r Majesties Authoritie will be in great hazard to be slighted in other more remote Quarters. The originalls & beginnings of their dissentions among themselves, & y^e differences between y^e Aldermen & Commons of this City, together wth my Proceedings thereupon, have bin at large explain'd to my Lord of Arlington, from whom y^r Majestie may please to be informed of all y^e materiall circumstances of these disorders. I cannot absolutely excuse either side, both having bin in some measure faulty; but yet this I find, that the Recorder & those Aldermen that were excluded, together wth all their Party, are ready & willing to submit to what ever I shall ordaine, whereas y^e Comions, or rather those few factious Spiritts who inflame them, are very obstinate & refractory to all my determinations & decrees.

To a Prince soe wise & experienced as y^r Maj^{tie}, I need not enlarge upon y^e danger that may arise from suffring y^e Co^mon people to know their owne force, or y^e inconveniences that may follow from yeilding any thing to a Populace, while they continue perverse & disobedient to Authoritie, who attribute all they soe acquire to their owne strength, whereas they ought never to hear any other doctrine but that their freedoms & immunities are y^e favors & gracious concessions of their Kings.

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As Citys grow more populous, so commonly they become more untractable, & therefore, as well upon that acc^t as on another of more concernment, w^{ch} is y^e safety of y^e whole Kingdome (in all ages subject to insurrections & frequent Rebellions), I could heartily wish y^r Majestie had a good Cittadell built here at Dublin, & indeed not only on my owne opinion, but in y^e judgement of all I can speake wth, tis y^e most necessary worke that could be undertaken,

& will in all probabilitie for ever secure this Country to y^e Crowne of England. To w^{ch} good end, if any of my endeavors can be contributory, they shall ever be emploï'd to their utmost by me, who am with all submission.

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Dublin Castle, July 22, 73.

To The King.

LXXVI.—WILLIAM BIDGEMAN^a TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 22th, 73.

Yesterday and this day a Coñmittee of the Council for the affairs of Ireland mett, and my Lord Arlington laid before them the whole matter of the Rules made by y^r Ex^{ty} and the Council there for regulating Corporaçõns. and also comunicated to their Lordsps̃s the account you sent him about the late disorder in Dublin. Upon the whole of which my Lord coñmands mee to acquaint y^r Ex^{ty} that he questions not but by the next to bee able to send you the King's directions in these matters, and his resolutions upon the report the Coñmittee have resolved to make, but it being not yet digested in that manner they intend to present it to the King, I can give y^r Ex^{ty} but this imperfect account of it, that I am very confident they will advise the King immediately to withdraw the suspension upon the execution of the Rules, which upon reading most of their Lordsps̃s seemed entirely to approve of. Att the Coñmittee were present My L^d Chancell^r, L^d Privy Seale, Duke of Ormond, Ea: of Arlington, Ea: of Craven, My Lord Halifax, and S^r Thomas Chicheley, besides 4 or 5 Privy Councillors of Ireland, and I cannot but observe to y^r

^a Private secretary to Lord Arlington.

Ex^{ty}, that no objection or exception was made to any Part of the Rules but by my L^d Privy Seale,^a though I thinke with no great successe.

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LXXVII.—PROCEEDINGS IN THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND
REGARDING THE RULES FOR CORPORATIONS.

[Forwarded by Sir R. Southwell.]

26 July, 1673.

Upon Wensday morning were Read before his Maj^{ty} in Councell Two Reports from y^r Irish Co^mittee, touching the Rules for Corporacions and the late disorders at Dublyn, against w^{ch} no body opposed any thing but one who could not supprete the opposition so long studied against them, w^{ch} made my L^d of Ormonde in some heat declare that the Rules were so good as none but such could serve the turne if they were to be made a new, and that he saw nothing against them but y^e opinion of one Lord in opposition to his Maj^{ties} two Councills of England and Ireland. My Lord Chancelor and Lord Halifax did also touch the point of my Lord L^{ts} reputa^on in it, and that great Officers must be supported, especially having proceeded with such Regularity that all those things were approved before their publishing. But the said Lord, disowning any animosity against y^e Lord Lieut, did by way of reply to that declare that the approba^on his Maj^{ty} gave was before y^e publishing and not since, and that if this Report must passe, yet he would advise that the suspension should be barely taken off,

^a The Earl of Anglesea.

and the Rules left to their owne validity in law ; but after a very long and single opposition against them the Report was approved, as was likewise the other, but wth like contention Copies of both doe goe herewith, where you will also see what words were used to incorporate all into Orders of Councell, w^{ch} the clerk exposing on Friday morning to my Lord Chancellor and Lord of Ormond, their Lōps well approved the same ; but the other Lord demanding to see the Order if it were drawne barely to take of the suspension, it being not to his minde, he contended a-new with the rest of the Lords, all w^{ch} was before the sitting downe, and this caused the clerk to be cautious in issuing the order till read before his Maj^{ty}, whose not coming to Councell caused this matter to be put off till Wensday next. On Friday in the afternoone the Committee met touching the Commission of Enquiry, and many points were debated touching a New Commission, and whether any thing could be found (unles in Connought) worthy of a new Enquiry, declaring it their unanimous sense that what ever might be recovered must first be applyed to the uses of the Acts, but their Lōps did put off the busines till Wensday next, hoping by that tyme to come better prepared to speake upon this doubtfull Argument.

LXXVIII.—CHARLES R. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

CHARLES R.

Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin & Counsellor, Wee greet you well, Whereas Wee were pleased to referre the examination of the late difference arisen in the Corporaçon of Our City

of Dublin in that Our Kingdome, about the Election of Coñion Councell men out of the severall Companies, to the Coñittee of Our Privy Councill for the affaires of Ireland, and they having reported their opinion thereupon to us, and Wee considered & approved of the same, Wee have thought fit in pursuance thereof to signify to you Our Pleasure that the last choice made by the Lord Mayor of that Our Citty of the compleate number of Coñion Councell men all at once, leaving out the ten or eleven Roman Catholiques that were chosen at the first choice, shall stand and be confirmed, and Wee doe hereby require and direct you to doe all things, and give all necessary Orders for the speedy settling of this affaire accordingly. And for soe doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the day of August, 1673, in the Five and Twentieth yeare of Our Reigne.

LXXIX. THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH^a TO THE EARL OF
ESSEX.

An Account of the Publique Schooles within the
Province of Ulster.

DIOCESSES.

MEATH.

There is a free schoole for the Diocesses of Meath, with a Salary according to the Act, from the Bishop, Clergy, and Impropriators, of about 40*l.* p añn, of which but few of the Impropriators pay any thing, which neglect tends to the discouragem^t of the School-master.

^a James Margetson, D.D., a native of Yorkshire, educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and brought into Ireland by Strafford in 1633. Succeeded Dean of Waterford, Derry, and Christ Church, Dublin; Treasurer of Saint Patrick's, 1660; Archbishop by patent, dated May 29, 1663. Died at Dublin, August 28, 1678.

This schoole hath been hitherto settled at Trim, but without any publique place or schoolhouse there, the providing whereof (if at the charge of the schoolmaster) would render his salary lesse considerably.

This County of Westmeath, which is part of the Diocesse of Meath, complains of their want of a publick schoole within that County & part of the Diocesse; touching which (as I am informed) severall presentm^{ts} have been made by the Grand Jury of the said County to the Judges of Assize, they offering to build a schoole house att Mullingarre (the shire towne for that County), if the free-schoole might be there settled; whereas the County of Meath hath been backward in building a house, for the schoolmaster att Trim, for that part of the Diocesse; And I understand that the Bishop & Clergy are contented there may be two schooles within that Diocesse att the charge allowable by the Act of Parliam^t, if soe be that Mullingarre will build a school house, & accept of that part of the Salary which the Impropriators are to pay, the Bishop & Clergy paying to that of Trim, if that County please to build a schoolhouse there, otherwise it is desired it may continue as it is.

I finde there is also about 200 Acres of land, or more, sett out about Bannagher, ats Fortfalkland, in the King's County, within the Diocesse of Meath, which land is diverted to the maintenance of a schoole in the towne of Bir or Parsons towne, within the Diocesse of Killaloe, about five miles from Bannagher. And whereas there is great want of a schoole in that part of the Diocesse of Meath, that being farre from Mullingarre or Trim, It is desired, according to his Maj^{ties} Royall intention for the endowing a schoole at Bannagher or thereabouts in the Diocesse of Meath, that the land alletted for it may be disposed for that use onely within the said Diocesse, The Diocesse of Killaloe being left to that provision for a free-schoole by the Bishop, Clergy, and others, as is by the Act appointed.

KILMORE.

In the Diocesse of Kilmore, at Cavan, there is a free schoole of King James his foundation, endowed with lands to the value of 40*l.* p añn, whereof James Sheridan is schoolmaster, who is not resident, but hath been long in England, soe that the schoole is onely supplied by James Maxwell, the Usher, who (as I am informed) is insufficient for the place.

ARDAGH.

In the Diocesse of Ardagh, in the Corporaçón of S^t Johnstown, there is a schoole endowed with lands worth foure pounds p añn, whereof Nicholas Fagan is Master.

There is also in the same Diocesse a freeschoole at Jamestown, in the County of Leytrim, endowed with lands, whereof William Hall is Schoolmaster.

CLOGHER.

In the Diocesse of Clogher there is a free schoole att Eniskellin, endowed with lands to the yearly value of 120*l.* p añn, whereof M^r Thomas Dunbarre is Master.

RAPHOE.

In the Diocesse of Raphoe there is a freeschoole endowed with lands to the value of 45*l.* p añn, whereof M^r Richard Aytón is Master, who teaches & resides in Raphoe, but there is noe publicke schoolhouse built there or elsewhere in that Diocesse.

DERRY.

In the Diocesse of Derry, att Lifford, there is a free schoole which was heretofore endowed by the Hangards with 50*l.* yearely in lands, viz., 30*l.* for the Master & 20*l.* for the Usher, whereof M^r Shortall is now Master.

There is a schoolehouse erected att Derry, & a Schoolmaster placed there, which is intended to be endowed by the Society of London.

I finde likewise a complaint, that there is a Schoole att Strebane taught by a Fanaticke person, which tends to the further perverting of the people.

DOWNE & CONNOR.

In the Diocese of Downe & Connor there is a freeschoole at Belfast endowed with 40*l.* yearly by the Earle of Donnegall, as also a faire Schoolhouse, Mr Edward Fisher Master.

There is also a free schoole att Lisburne well endowed by my Lord Conway.

There is also a free schoole setled att Carickfergus, which is maintained by the Bishop, Clergy, &c., according to the Statute of the 12th of Elizabeth, the towne adding 20*l.* a yeare thereunto, whereof William Henry is Master.

There is also a Free Schoole at Downe Patricke, maintained in like manner by the Bishop, Clergy, &c., according to the said Act.

DROMORE.

The Diocese of Dromore is a very small Diocese, taken out of the Counties of Armagh and Downe, wherein I finde there is noe publicke free schoole, nor noe complaint of the want of one.

ARMAGH.

In the Diocese of Armagh there is one Freeschoole att Dunganon endowed with lands to the value of 60*l.* p añn, whereof Mr Francis Fletcher is Master, where there is also a good Schoole House.

There is also in the said Diocese a Free Schoole, at Armagh, endowed with lands to the value of 40*l.* p añn, & a good Schoolhouse there; Mr Thomas Mabb is Master.

There is also a Free schoole setled att Tredagh, endowed by Alderman Erasmus Smyth; But is not fully compleated.

This is the best account I can certainly give of the Severall Schooles abovesaid, pursuant unto your Ex^{ciēs} Command unto
Your most humble & obedient Servant,

JA: ARMACHANUS.

28th Aug: 1673.

LXXX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR ARTHUR FORBES.

S^R,

Dublin Castle, Aug: 16: 73.

Yesterday I rec^d y^{rs} of y^e 11th instant, w^{ch} gives me an account concerning some Torys in y^e County of Fermanagh; That two Macguirs, whose brother was lately murder'd by y^e Tories, offer to bring in all that Knott, either alive or dead. You know how tender a point it is to put y^e power of killing into any man's hands, & it is possible that if these Macguires lately had a brother slaine, he might be killed upon some private quarrell, & that these brothers may take this opportunitie for revenging it, & justifie themselves by an allowance from me. This I say may, for ought I yet know, be y^e case; but, however, y^e destroying of those vile sort of people is so good a worke as I desire you will give them all y^e encouragem^t that may be to induce them to apprehend as many of those Tories as they can, & in case any should happen to be killed, if it be made apparent that he is a Tory, it would be but reasonable to pardon them.^a

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To S^r Arthur Forbes.

^a This language about the Irish Tories should be compared with that used by the Earl Kincardine, another humane man, concerning the Highland "thieves."—"Lauderdale Papers," vol. ii. p. 136.

LXXXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF
ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Sept. 2nd: 73.

Yesterday at Councell we tooke examinations concerning D^r. Loftus's practices in fomenting y^e differences now in this City, & encouraging them not to give obedience to y^e Rules, & after having heard him what he could say for himselfe, we committed him Prisoner to y^e Castle. I have directed M^r. Aldworth^a to transmitt to M^r. Bridgeman Copies of y^e examinations of this business, w^{ch} if y^r Lōp please to cast y^r eye upon, They will themselves speak his crimes: All w^{ch} he was so far from excusing or denying, as, when he came to be heard, he would have justified all y^e materiall Parts of them, & particularly that concerning y^e Power of y^e Parliam^t, a pointe surely too high for any private man to define.

The enclosed is a Copy of a L^re from y^e Officers of y^e Customs in y^e Porte of Corke, written to y^e Barons of y^e Exchequer. I thought fitt to send it to y^r Lōp that it may be considered of, in regard y^e transportation of woollen Yarne therein mentioned, if permitted to be conveigh'd to forreine Parts, may have great influence on y^e Cloath Trade of England. For my owne part I am glad to see this Nation advance so far in their industry as to worke their Wooll into Yarne, & I am of opinion that all improvem^{ts} of this kind tending to manufacture, ought to be cherish'd and encouraged by y^e Governm^t, & I shall most willingly give my assistance, as far as his Majestie shall thinke fitt, to y^e promoting of it, tho' every Pack of Yarne exported is somewhat of loss to me, in regard by this means they avoide y^e duty payable to y^e Sworde on Wooll & Sheepskins.

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^a Private secretary to Essex. The copies of Essex's letters are in his writing.

LXXXII.—SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Sept^r. 10th.

Upon the visits I made last weeke at London, I tooke occasion to make a short compliment from your EX^{cy} to my Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, and Secretary Coventry, w^{ch} was no more than to tell them that I left y^r Lōp in all the dispositions of service to them, and with all confidence of their friendship and good offices to whatever concerned y^r Lōp in Ireland. My Lord Chancellor returned the compliment with much civility, but in words, of course, enquired of y^r health, and fell into other talke. My Lord of Ormond^a told mee hee did not thinke the King had a better servant than y^r Lōp; that for his owne part hee would serve you both there and anywhere wherever it was in his power. Hee said hee knew you were a man of justice and honor, and 'twas for that reason hee believed there had been heaving at you, but hee thought that was left off for the present. Hee exprest a good deal of sense at the hardships of y^r Governm^t, and said that for his owne concernments in that Kingdome hee could never thinke them safer nor better then under y^r hands. All this was said with so greate heartyness, that I beleeve y^r Lōp may reckon it was what hee meant, and what you may grounde upon if there bee occasion. M^r Secretary Coventry returned what I said with expressions of kindness and esteem, and in a manner that seemed to mean what hee said. Hee talked with concerne of the hard part you were putt upon there, how little was left you to dispose of, and to keepe up the dependance of people upon you, w^{ch} hee said was contrary to all former method, that had raised the formes necessary to the support of authority rather higher in Ireland than they were in England. Hee fell into a great deale of talke about the present

^a Ormond was always loyal to Essex.

state of the Treasury and some shifts w^{ch} y^r Lōp has by this time been acquainted with, though there are some who will not see through them heer how plain soever. My Lord Tresurer tooke occasion to speake of y^r Lōp and with much esteem, though as a person hee was not much acquainted with. My Lord Halifax, with many inquiryes and wishes for you heer, as a place where you might bee of more publique use, and for the rest, He is in all points just where you left him. I will onely say further, from the compass of my conversation heer, that no person can have a better and more generall reputation then is fixed of y^r Lōp heer in all those qualityes w^{ch} in all times make up the honor, and in some times the fortunes too of great men, and w^{ch} I am sure have, without any helpe of the figure you make in the world, gained upon mee an esteem so particular and inclination so devoted to y^r person and interests. The same effect I am confident they must have upon all other honest men that know you, and therefore I think y^r Lōp has all the reason that can bee to bee satisfied with the course you have hitherto runn and the reputation has attended it, however it may have fayl'd with some sorts of men, from whom you can never have it at the same time you possess it with the rest. And therefore to mortifye you a little I will tell y^r Lōp how good a friend you have lost of in my Lord Clifford, who, a little before hee left the Treasury upon a letter it seems y^r Lōp had written to desire his inspection into that of Ireland before hee left the Staff, and an expression in it that without some methods the King would bee forced to runn out there, fell into a fitt of raillery before the company that was there, saying, among other things, My Lord of Essex would be taken for a Gentleman that is resolved to live within his compass, the good man must needs have his butter and his bread meet ; but hee's out of the story, wee runn out heer and hee must runn out there in spight of his teeth ; with a good deal more of this kinde, w^{ch} was told mee by one that was there and heard it all. For ought I hear hee practised as hee preached, for one of his best friends told mee hee might be arraigned for the bountys hee used

in the disposall of the King's money about six weeks before hee left the staff, and all has gone at that rate, that I heare by a state of the revenue lately brought in the King wll owe at the ende of this month five hundred thousand pounds more then hee will have to receive, and all since the stopp in the Exchequer.^a Yett my Lady Cleveland has, they tell me, a patent now passing for that branch of the revenue w^{ch} arises out of the Wine licenses, and in requitall of w^{ch} the Duke had, as I remember, 24 M. pounds a yeare settled upon him out of the Exchequer. But the East Indy ships that are now come in will, I hope, make amends for all.

I sente y^r Lōp last post a Copy of Mons^r Martel's letter, and what news I knewe of by the same head, w^{ch} is, I thinke, commonly the better way. The French behavior is grown so notorious that 'tis out of all allay, and the seamen are grown to that pass that as a French Ship comes by one of ours the Captains cannot make six men in our ship give them a cheare, as is usuall from all the Crewe.^b Yett the King very wisely suppresses whatever hee thinks of it, But the French take so much notice of the humor of the Nation, and so much apprehend what influence a Parliament may have upon Counsels, that they say they make difficulty in the hundred thousand pounds that they are to pay us the end of this month, and if they should continue in that humour it might help all the rest to breed some ill blood in spite of all patience and care to prevent it. The Dutch continue very high, w^{ch} makes all conclude they can make no peace without securing the interests of Spain & the Empire.

I finde M^r Bridgeman is very particularly a servant to my Lord Rannelagh and all his interests, and thinks hee owes his employment to that Lord's Friends of the Councell in Ireland.

I choos to write particulars that I mett with at my being in

^a January 2, 1672.

^b This feeling was caused by the want of co-operation on the part of the French fleet. Rupert, in especial, was so annoyed at it that he became the leader of a pronounced anti-French party.

Town, and thought worth y^r Lōps reflection, because I doe not thinke to bee much there, nor consequently to trouble y^r Lōp very often.

LXXXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Sep^r 13, '73.

'Tis now a fortnight since we have had any Līes out of England, y^e winds being very strong Westerly, w^{ch} has hinder'd y^e passage of any boates. I have not bin idle in searching out for some Lands for y^e Dutchesse of Cleaveland, in compensation of y^e Parke, w^{ch} was intended to have bin given her Grace; & I have already found above 39,000 Acres w^{ch} are in his Majesties dispose, but these being lands lyable to Quitt-rents, and many of them in themselves unprofitable, & dispersed through severall Counties of y^e Kingdome, I have bin loath to propose them, hoping in a short time to find out others more entire, & which may be better. This business I have put into such a way as I doubt not, within a month's time, to send over a Particular to my Lady Dutchess of Cleaveland of lands worth her acceptance. But now, whilst I am upon this worke, & doe thinke my selfe engaged by promise to serve my Lady Cleaveland y^e best I can in this affaire, I hear from England that y^e Duke of Monmouth is preparing a Grant of all y^e Lands in his Majesties dispose in this Kingdome of Irelande, w^{ch}, if it should pass, as it may, under y^e great Seale of England, without any notice to us here (besides y^e many inconveniences & mischiefs to his Majesties affairs, w^{ch} a Patent of that extent would bring along wth it, all w^{ch} ought to be heard & debated), it would inevitably prevent me from performing my promise to my Lady Cleaveland. I hope y^r Lōp will be pleased to be watchfull in this matter, that I be not hinder'd in my intentions, & in case Līes

should come from his Majesty to dispose of any of these Lands, w^{ch} I have already found out & designed for this purpose, I hope I may take y^e libertie to stop y^e passing of any Grants upon them, for otherwise 'twill be impossible for me ever to fullfill my word, if, as fast as I discover any thing, it be beg'd away by others.

This afternoon I have appointed to hear y^e business between my Lady Cleaveland and M^r Cooke, concerning some Lands in y^e County of Wicklow. The reason I have delay'd it so long is, because my Lord Aungier, who seems to be concerned on my Lady Dutchesses part, has bin in y^e Country & is but lately returned, & I was unwilling to hear it wth out having him present.

There hath lately faln an Employ^{mt} here of some value in my dispose, w^{ch} is y^e King's Remembrancer's office. I have given it to M^r Godolphin. There is upon this place, as indeed upon all others, a reversion granted; but it being to S^r Richard Kennedy, one of y^e Barons of y^e Exchequer, 'tis ye opinion of most Lawyers, y^e employ^{mt} he now enjoys being judicall, he cannot have an Office ministeriall in y^e same Court, & therefore his Patent is voyd. I know no reason why I should not take y^e advantage of y^e Law where I finde any flaw of this nature, For I am sure I have disposed y^e office into a very good hand, M^r Godolphin being a Person very deserving.

I am now goeing a journey into y^e Country to spend a litle time in hunting there, w^{ch} will interrupt our correspondence for a few days; but where ever I am y^r Lōp may assure y^r selfe of y^e realltie of my being.

LXXXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Oct. 12th, '73.

I have had severall complaints from some of y^e Scotch Nation of their persecution (as they terme it) upon y^e score of Nonconformitie, divers of those people who are dissenters from y^e Church having bin (as they say) excommunicated, & Writts de Excommunicato Capiendo taken out & executed upon them, to y^e great disquiect of that nation, & hindrance of y^e Trade of y^e Kingdome. I thought it my best cours my self to examine some one case of this nature, to see how their complaints were groundd. The first w^{ch} offer'd it selfe was of one Martin, an inconsiderable fellow in all respects. They call'd him a Merchant, whom I find to be but a very mean Pedlar. However, tho' he may be of no value himselfe, Yet in regard y^e whole Party seems to concerne themselves in his cause, I thought it not improper for me to informe myselfe fully of all y^e Proceedings w^{ch} have bin ag^t him. That I might y^e more clearly understand what ye Points are on w^{ch} these dissenters insist, & if not be able my self to prescribe some way how these matters might be accommodated to their satisfaction, & wth y^e support of y^e Church Government, yet at least I might be so instructed as to give such an Acc^t to his Majestie, as he might thereupon order what he should think fitt to have done in relation to them.

The State of this Person's case I have here enclosed, drawn up by one of y^e King's Councill, wherein y^r Lōp will finde, that 'tis not for Nonconformitie that this man has bin excommunicated, but for contempt, he neglecting to make appearance to a citation out of y^e B^ps Court upon y^e Acc^t of Fornication; And y^e Truth is, I doe not think any of them are prosecuted purely upon y^e score of Nonconformitie, at least some care has bin taken that none should be soe, for they are indulgd their meetings on Sundays,

provided it be in convenient places, & that they doe not affront y^e publick worship established. But if men (as this Martine) shall take y^e libertie to live wth what women they please, & then contemptuously refuse to give any Acc^t to y^e Judge proper in that case for their soe doing, & shall goe away wth this unpunished, I doe not see how y^e Govern^t of y^e Church can long subsist; & besides y^e wickedness w^{ch} it would countenance, such a Licence as this would also, without doubt, be a great inducement to many men to goe over to their Party. These men pretend indeed a scruple to our Ceremonies of Marriage, looking upon that of y^e King as a piece of Idolatry, & soe will only marry their owne way, w^{ch} if they should be indulged, they ought certainly at least to give an Acc^t what way & in what manner they marry.

I confess 'tis hard what to advise upon this occasion, for that People are to a Miracle encreased in this Kingdome, & grown very Powerfull; by some of my Lord of Strafford's^a L^res, w^{ch} I have here by me, I find that in y^e beginning of his time there was a view taken of all y^e British (including English & Scotch) in y^e Province of Ulster, & by that Returne there were then only thirteen thousand & some odd hundred persons of all sorts of y^e two Nations, whereas now of y^e Scotch Nation, by y^e best Estimates I can make, there are not fewer then fourscore or an hundred thousand Men fitt to bear Arms. These are for y^e generallitie, & I thinke I may say all upon y^e matter, except y^e Gentry, Presbiterians, some of them more moderate, & others of a more violent sort. They being now soe considerable, I humbly conceive it will require some care & prudence how to deale wth them, especially in regard of y^e present conjuncture of Affairs, his Majestie having a war wth a Forreigner. I shall not presume to offer my opinion in this case, but having observed to y^r L^op these particulars, & instanced in that concerning their marriages, w^{ch} doubtless is y^e most difficult of any to accommodate, I shall pursue such commands

^a Whom Essex calls "the greatest Governour."

as his Majestie shall thinke fitt to send. In order to which I have for y^e present dismiss'd this Martine, allowing him six weeks time from y^e 27th of Sep^r to make his Peace wth y^e Church, or otherwise to returne to Prison as I found him.

D^r Loftus is still in custody, & will not be brought to acknowledge his fault. The Lieut & Councell here may, & I believe will, suspend him of his Employments; but in regard he has a Pension upon y^e Civill List as one of y^e Masters of Chancerie, That cannot be alter'd without a L^re from his Majestie, a draught whereof I hope to send y^r L^op by y^e next, & y^e Person whom I shall reco^mend in his room will be D^r Topham, already one of y^e Masters of Chancerie, but paid y^e like Sallary by Concordation.

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LXXXV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

DEARE BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, Oct. 13, '73.

Here is one Oliver Plunkett, y^e Romish Titular Primate of this Kingdome, who seems to be one of y^e best men of his Persuasion I have mett wth; & tho' I doubt not but he is industrious enough in promoting his owne religion, yet I could never finde but he was of a more peaceable temper & more conformable to y^e Government then any of their Titular B^ps in this Country. I know not well what Proceedings may be in Parliament in relation to us here, or how far y^e matter of religion may be concerned in it, nor is it fitt for me to offer my Judgement at this distance in a cause of that nature. This only I shall say, that in case any debates should arise by way of discriminating of Persons, & putting banishments or other Punishments upon Particulars, I should be glad for y^e reasons above-mentioned you would y^r selfe, & some of our Friends, secure this Gentleman from any such severitie, w^{ch} should be singly & personally inflicted on him.

LXXXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

S^a,

Dublin Castle, Octobr 25: 73.

I lately recd a L^re of his Ma^{ties}, under y^e Signett subscribed by y^r selfe, w^{ch} relates to a Patent granted many years since to S^r Nicholas Armorer & S^r Gabriel Silvius of y^e forfeitures of all bonds enter'd into for y^e exportation of wooll. This L^re, among other things, has directed that for y^e future no securities for y^e due exportation of wooll be taken, but wth y^e privity & approbation of y^e substitutes of these Patentees, & this upon pretence, that oftentimes his Ma^{ties} Officers of y^e Customs in y^e severall Ports of this Kingdome doe take bonds from Persons who are insolvent, & so when y^e Persons have carried out y^e wooll into forreigne parts contrary to Law, no Penalties can be recover'd for their soe doing.

I confess for my owne part I doe not see how this can be a remedy for that mischief; nay, I am apt to believe it will by experience be found rather to multiply those cheats & elusions of y^e Law then any way to redress them, for when I observe that these Gentlemen have a clause in their Patent authorising them to compound wth those whose bonds are forfeited, what will y^e effect in probability be of consulting them in taking y^e securities for prevention of undue exportation of wooll, but putting it into their power to compound y^e Penalties, even before y^e bonds are enter'd into, & be so far from hindring y^e inconvenience, w^{ch} y^e Trade of England suffers by y^e exportation of wooll out of Ireland into forreign parts, as t'will settle a more ready way for men wth impunity to violate such Laws as doe here provide ag^t it. Possibly, if it were strictly enquired into, it would be found that not y^e insolvency of securities, but y^e compounding of forfeited bonds may have bin y^e principall reason that his Ma^{tie} has had so ill an Acc^t of these Penalties (for y^e 8th part of them reserved as his Ma^{ties} due, w^{ch} should be accounted in his Exchequer, will not be a justification to y^e Patentees so long as y^e Court of Exchequer is so slack as they are in their duty).

It has bin my observation, that most Patents of this kind, however specious y^e pretences are upon w^{ch} they were gained, have ever proved most mischievous in their execution, &, for instance, I shall mention one to you now in this Kingdome w^{ch} was granted to S^r George Hamilton = Tis of all Penalties incurred for ploughing wth y^e Horse Taile, w^{ch} is expressly Provided ag^t by an Act of Parliam^t, & has in all times bin looked upon, not only as it is, a barbarous Custome, but in many particulars very inconvenient to y^e Publick; but this Patent is notoriously found to destroy y^e good intent of that Law, for those who have a mind to continue their Ploughing by y^e Horse Taile doe only compound wth S^r George Hamilton before hand, & are then by him priviledged so to doe, & in effect it makes that Statute no other then an opportunitie of some gain to y^e Patentee, but of no force to reforme y^e Irish from their ill Habits.

As to this of y^e wooll, I rec^d a L^{re} from my Lord Clifford, late Ld. Treas^r of England, and returned him an answer to it, wherein I have offer'd as much as I can say upon this subject. You will have herewth enclosed a copy of his L^{ops} L^{re}, together wth that of mine, for y^r perusal. The Truth is, I cannot thinke of any properer way for prevention of that abuse, then that y^e Lieut here doe impose some certain Rules upon y^e King's Officers for y^e taking of these bonds, & that great rigour & severitie be used for y^e neglect & breach of them. The rules may be such as these.

In y^e first Place, I conceive that mention'd in his Maties L^{re} concerning y^e obliging them to Shipp all in such particular Ports as shall be nominated for this purpose, may be very necessary. They are limited by this L^{re} to six in number, but considering y^e severall Countrys w^{ch} produce wooll, there cannot be fewer then seven allow'd, namely, Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Corke, Youghall, Limerick, & Gallway, & for some reasons Ross may also be added, w^{ch} will make eight.

Next, that all y^e Officers of y^e Customs, who are entrusted to

take their securities on proof' made that they have accepted any insolvent, y^e Officer that accepts them should lose his Employ^t.

Thirdly, that in case it be proved any wooll be exported into forrain Parts contrary to Law, there be no Remittall of y^e Penaltie incurr'd thereby, nor any composition to be made for y^e same, but y^e securitie prosecuted to y^e utmost extremitie; & in case he shall not be able to satisfy y^e bonds enter'd into, that his body ly in prison till he pays y^e debt to y^e full.

Lastly, that y^e Com^{rs} of his Ma^{ties} Customs in England doe constantly, at every six months end, make a returne to y^e Lieu^t here of all y^e wooll landed in England, w^{ch} returne should particularly mention y^e Time when, y^e Posts where, each proportion of wooll was landed, & y^e persons in whose names y^e entry was made. That y^e Lieu^t doe take y^e like Acc^t, from y^e Officers of y^e Customs here, of all wooll exported, so that, comparing them wth y^e Licenses w^{ch} he has granted, He may discover any fraud of this kind.

I know very well it has bin y^e usuall practice of those who carried this commoditie to Flanders & Holland to stop as they pass by Eng^land & get Certificates from some Officers of y^e Customs of their landing of it there, but to prevent this, w^{ch} I looke upon as y^e main contrivance they have to doe their worke, his Ma^{ties} principall Com^{rs} of y^e Customs may take care to entrust this business in those Ports in England where usually wooll is landed to some Officer of known creditt that may give them a due Acc^t of it. These are y^e most materiall Rules that for y^e present I can think of, to w^{ch}, if upon Perusall & advice wth such persons in England as are proper to be spoken wth upon this subject, any thing further shall be added, my part shall not be wanting in y^e due execution thereof.

LXXXVII.—SIR W. TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, Oct^{br} 25.

Finding myself possest heer in Town of one from y^r Ex^{ty} of the 2nd, and that you seemed therein not displeas'd with the notices transmitted to you in some of my former letters, I resolv'd before I left this place in such a conjuncture to give y^r L^{ōp} a short account of what humors and dispositions the scene next weeke is like to beginn with, that so you may the better judge of what you shall hear acted upon it, and from what springs most of the motions will arise. The vote past last Munday was a good deal surprizing to the Courte, and extremly sensible to the Duke,^a who saies that if the King should hinder the Princess from coming into England Hee would go and marry her in France. But many of the House imagine the thing was not very displeasing to *the King*, becaus S^r Ro. Howard promoted it; and with expressions of His not onely desiring the Duke should not marry a Roman Catholique, but wishing none of that profession might ever be marry'd to any of the Royall Family. Mr. Powell began the business and was seconded by Thomas, and followed with such warmth by the whole House, as none spoke against but some of the Duke's servants, and *Sec. Coventry* a little to temper it.

The same humor seems still to continue in the House, and some of them say, though they cannot hinder the Duke from marrying her, yett they will address to the King to hinder her from coming into England. They talke likewise of desiring the King to marry, or if not, that after a peace with the Dutch, Hee will send over to the *P. of Orange* to come & marry the *Duke's daughter*. They

^a For an address to the King praying that the intended marriage of the Duke of York with Mary of Modena should not be consummated, and that he should marry no one but a Protestant.—Oct. 20, 1673.

seem very fierce in the points of *Religion*, and aime at removing all, without exception, twenty miles from the King who have refused the late oaths, and to have the penall laws putt strictly in execution, and the care of it left in the hands of certain L^{ds} and Commoners, so as the King may not have it in his power to dispense with them, or remit the penaltys.

They talke of putting Sr John Coventry, Sr Solⁿ Swale,^a and another of their members, who are turned Papists, upon the last test, & in case of their refusall to putt them out of the House. They are so hott and so unanimous in nothing as the resolutions of breaking the *Warr with Holland, and alliance wth France*, but disagree in the manner. Some would beginn with desiring the *King* to recall all his *Forces* from *France*; others with entring upon the *Warr* itself, or the carriage of the *French* in the *Fleet*, and of this the *House of Lords* desire *P. Rupert* may give them the relation; but there seem to bee already four partys formed in the *House of Commons* one would runn up to the height and fall upon the Ministers, especially *Buck., Arling^t, Loddadate*, and their carriage, particularly in the business of the *Warr*, so as absolutely to breake all the present sett both of men and business at Courte, and bring some of themselves in their room, and of these *Sr William Coventry's* brother^b is the head, and is thought will bee very busy this Session; but his carriage in the last and extream ambition, so generally believ'd, has lost him a good deal of credit in the *House of Commons*, and so *Hallifax* too, who is in the same designe, and so they say will *Garaway* bee, and *Thomas*, and *Socheverell*, L^d *Cavendish*, and *Will Russell*. Another party is more moderate, would onely secure the business of *Religion*, breake the *War* with *Holland*, but both thees with all the good measures that can be to the *King*, and no violent ones to the Ministers, and of this *Strangways* and *Powel* seem the heads, but strong in the numbers of the

^a Sir Solomon Swale was Member for Aldborough, in Yorkshire; he was expelled from the House, June 19, 1678.

^b i.e., Sir Henry Coventry.

House. Another, upon pretence of not exasperating *the King*, are for voting money, but with pretence of not perfecting it unless *Peace* be made, though this be understood to be a way of securing the business of money under a show of moderation and popular aims, and of this S^r John Holland is the head. The last party is made chiefly to carry on the business of the *devorce*, and this is headed wholly by *Shaftesbury* and S^r R. Howard, who carry it on both with *the King*, and *Lords* and *Commons*. *The King* seems sometimes very earnest in it, and sometimes cold, and in all thees matters is either so *uncertaine* or *disgusted* that those who are *nearest* him know not yett what will be the issue. But hitherto seems resolved to goe on with *France*, will not receive overtures from *Spaine* or *Holland*, and talks of setting out the *Fleet* next year without *money* from *Parliamt* if it fails, and in this minde none seem now to be left but *the Duke* and *Arling*, w^{ch} may doe the last very great wrong in *Parliamt*, since *Buck*. pretends to have wholly left that seat, and will, they say, take an occasion to come into *the House of Lords* and clear himself, and throw it all upon *Arling*.^a *The Queen* saies *shee* reckons upon being *sent away*, and is prepared for it; but all the *women* are against it, as you will easily beleeve. *The Duke* is unmoov'd by all conferences about *Religion*, and ends all in saying hee is fixed. *The Duke* of Ormond is in great credit with all partys and firmly principled for *Religion* and against the *War*, and so is *P. Rupert*, but, for the rest, engaged in no partys.

The Court's business in the House seems to be much wanting in point of men to manage it of credit and abilities, for besides M^r Secretary Coventry and M^r Attorney,^b who are reckon'd to speake as from their places wholly, there is none of much talk that undertake it but S^r Ro. Carr & S^r Rich. Temple, who are the worst heard that can be in the House, especially the last. My Lord Treasurer seems to be yett but discovering the coosts, and

^a As he did.—See Letter CVI.

^b Finch. He became Lord Keeper of the Seals immediately after this debate.

not resolved what course to steere, and is, I doubt, something disadvantaged by the beleef of beeing so much in with *Buckingham*. My Lord Clifford's death hath, I thinke, been a very great loss to *the Duke* and to the *Papists*. I doubt *Arling*. can never quitt *France*, and you will judge, I suppose, the reason. My Lord Arlington's beeing Chamberlain^a is a little dead for the present, My Lord Chamberlain beeing, when it comes to it, very loath to parte with the Staff, though saies his worde is past, and hee will doe it if hee bee prest, and the conditions proposed at first bee performed.

Y^r Lōp is much wished for by y^r friends heere at this time, and if you were so, I should not have refused an election w^{ch} has been offered mee in the House against this Session, though I have done it absolutely upon the reasons I so often talkt over in Irelande. I am ever with passion and truth, &c.

* * * * *

LXXXVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF
ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Oct. 28. 73.

I have herewth enclosed a L^{re} to y^e Lords of his Maties Privy Councell in England giving an Acc^t of all my Proceedings here in relation to y^e Adress of y^e House of Cōmons.^b Tis sent wth a flying Seale that y^r Lōp may peruse it, & if you think fitt shew it to his Matie, & then either deliver it to y^e Councell, or lay it aside as you

^a He sold his Secretaryship to Sir Joseph Williamson on September 17, 1674, and was made Lord Chamberlain, in succession to Ormond.

^b The letter to the Privy Council recounts the measures he has taken to carry out fully the terms of the address.

see cause ; only I conceive it my duty to make a returne to y^e same Place from whence I recd his Maties commands.

There are but two things in my Orders w^{ch} seem of difficultie to be executed ; one is, so to disarme all Papists, according to former Presid^{ts}, as they may not be dangerous to y^e Governm^t. Herein I observe y^e addition of y^e words = According to former Presidents = w^{ch} being joyn'd to those limitations mention'd in y^e Adress, viz., soe to disarme, etc., you leave me in such difficulties as, let me doe what I will, I may be lyable to blame one way or other, for should I performe this too remisly, y^e House of Coñions may take check at it & y^e fault would rest upon me, as if I had not done my duty. Agen, should I be strict in y^e execution of this, I might be condemned for not proceeding according to former Presid^{ts}. I doe wish y^r Lōp would only wth y^r self recollect who y^e person was that proposed y^e addition of these words, not that I care or desire to know it, but only that y^r Lōp may satisfy y^r self whether t'was done wth friendly intentions towards me.

Presid^{ts} of disarming Papists are not so ready to be found, yet here-to-fore, as I am informed, there have bin searches made for Arms, but this, tho' done by surprize, has seldom had any effect. How then can I promise my self success by such a method when so long warning has bin given of this intention to disarme them ? Besides, y^e Army is so small as tis impossible for them to doe y^e worke, And for y^e Justices of Peace, I conceive they are not Ministers proper for such an affaire ; But above all, that w^{ch} makes me shun this course of searching Houses is my knowledge of y^e animosities that are among men of this Kingdome, & how forward many of them would be to lay hold on an opportunitie to show their litle spights & Malices upon their Neighbors ; and I am sure, should this way be taken, I should soon hear hundreds of complaints of injuries & insolencies, nay, perhaps, sometimes of robberyes done under colour & countenance of these searches. I have, therefore, chosen y^e method mention'd in this enclosed Lre of issueing out a Proclamation to summon all Papists, by a certain day, to deliver up

their Fire Arms to some persons appointed by me in each County to receive them, & I shall be very carefull in my choice of these Gentlemen entrusted in this business that they may doe their worke discreetly & yet effectually. I doe not find any President of y^e Papists having their defensive Arms taken from them, save only in y^e Time of y^e usurpation, when none either of them, or Protestants who had served y^e King, were suffer'd to weare Swords, w^{ch} I looke upon as no Presid^t. Upon this ground I have, according to my Orders, limited y^e disarming to offensive Arms. The Peers of y^e Kgdme (tho' Papists) have ever bin allow'd some small proportion of Fire Arms, as also other Gentlemen whom y^e Lieu^t should think fitt to licence. Herein likewise I shall observe former Presid^{ts}, & grant particular Licences, wth such limitations as to y^e numbers of Arms, as I shall see cause, respecting each man's qualitie & condition.

The other point wherein there seems some difficultie in y^e execution of y^e Adress, is that w^{ch} concerns y^e Papists not inhabiting in Corporacions, & in this I must observe to y^r Lōp, that y^e House of Cōmons it selfe were doubtless in some mistake in their Adress, for they seem to suppose that y^e Law here prohibites all Papists from inhabiting in Corporacions, w^{ch} I doe not finde provided ag^t in any of these Acts. The Clause w^{ch} they would referr to in their Adress is that in y^e 31 Page of y^e Act of Exptn, w^{ch} provides = That no Papist or Popish Recusant shall be permitted to purchase or take Leases from any of y^e 49 Interests of any Houses in Corporacions wthout y^e Licence & leave of y^e L^d Lieu^t & Councell = so as there is no generall Prohibition of their inhabiting in Corporacions, but only that they shall not buy or rent any Houses in Corporacions w^{ch} belong to y^e 49 men. The direction I have given in order to this affaire will, I hope, enable me both to fulfill y^e ends of y^e Act, & likewise to doe it in that manner as will be most agreeable to his Maties intentions; For when I am informed who y^e Persons are that are admitted to live in Corporacions, by what Licences enabled so to doe, & what stock they employ in Trading, I shall then be

prepared to judge w^{ch} of them are fitt to enjoy this Priviledge of being continued Inhabitants therein.

This only I must acquaint y^r Lōp as a reall Truth, that there is no nation under Heaven where y^e Coñion People of y^e Romish Religion are so absolutely led by their Priests as in this Kingdome, for 'tis most certain that in those Corporacions w^{ch} are placed in Countrys inhabited for y^e generallitie by Papists, if there be any one of that religion who sells any commoditie, no Protestant of y^e same Trade can subsist or live in y^e Towne wth him, for y^e Priests doe enjoyn y^e people not to buy any thing but of those of their owne religion. This may seem at first a little strange, but I doe assure y^r Lōp of y^e veritie of it, & I doe tell it you y^e rather that y^r Lōp may see some care & circumspection is requisite in a matter of this nature, for as I would be loath y^e King & Kgdme should loose y^e benefitt of any considerable Trader, be he Papist, or of any other religion whatsoever, so I would be carefull in all cases, if it should be in my powr, w^{ch} I am confident it doeth not on this occasion, so to mix y^e Traders that they may all live one by another.

Some doubt may be raised whether any Persons at all can now be denied this Priviledge in Corporacions, in regard to y^e Powr reserved to y^e Lieu^t & Councell for licensing of them, w^{ch} powr being executed & extended to all by virtue of his Majies Lre of y^e 26 Feb., 1671, cannot agen be revoked, but observing that his Majie being desired in y^e Adress to recall y^e aforesd Lre, & y^e direction of y^e Councell being express, that no Papist be admitted to inhabite in any Corporacion, but only such & in such manner as y^e Laws in force doe allow, I doe presume it is his Majies Pleasure that this Lre be, as much as in him lyes, superseded.

Yet, should I humbly offer my owne opinion, I cannot thinke that if y^e Act of State made here upon that Lre were at first legall, it can now be reversed, for that Act of State constituting Rights in severall Private men, w^{ch} they had not before, those Rights when granted can no otherwise be recalled than y^e Act of Parliam^t it selfe by w^{ch} they are confirmed; & as y^e Lieu^t & Councell cannot, after granting

Licence to any single person to purchase or take Leases of these Houses in Corporations, by any Order repeale this agen, but that single person will for ever after enjoy this Priviledge, so I conceive y^e like will hold for all in generall, if y^e Act of Parliam^t does justify y^e admission of them all together. But there will be time enough to debate this after I have y^e returns from y^e severall Corporacions, before I proceed to y^e Exclusion of any one man.

Having just now recd y^r Lo^{ps} of y^e 21 instant, I shall deferr y^e answering y^e particulars in it till y^e next opportunitie.

LXXXIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Novem^r 14, '73.

* * * * *

The execution of y^e late Adress will, I conceive, putt an end to all relating to these Titular B^{ps}, who now must quitt y^e country; & I hear they are all preparing to be gone in obedience to it. One thing of difficulty I have had lying upon my hands in this Article of y^e Adress, w^{ch} I do not make known to any of my friends in England, but y^r Grace only; It is this: Soon after my coming hither, Moloony, Titular Bp. of Killaloe, whom I look upon as y^e most dangerous (because y^e wisest) man of their Clergy, made a composure of all y^e differences among y^e men of their religion, particularly of y^e disputes w^{ch} were between their Titular Primate & Peter Talbot, as also of y^e dissensions w^{ch} were between Coll: Talbot & Coll: Fitzpatrick, and had upon y^e matter well neer made an union among them all. I soon found that if this proceeded I should have no Intelligence of their practices & Actings, & believing it to be one of y^e most important things I could doe, both for his Ma^{ties} service and securitie of his Protestant subjects here, either to keep these men divided, or, if they were united, to break

them agen, I made use of some Fryers, who all ways have their litle wrangles wth y^e secular Clergy, to sett up Factions ag^t some of their Bishops, &, by encouraging these litle animosities among them, brought them at last to that pass, that they openly accused one another of exercising Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, contrary to y^e Laws of y^e Land; severall examinations were taken, and y^e Bishops brought in to swear one against another, all w^{ch} has renewed their divisions to that heigth, as I believe they are now irreconcilable. By ye Adress of y^e House of Coñons, all y^e Regulars are to be Banished; & should I putt this exactly in execution, I must send all these poor Fryers abroad who have done us this service, & expose them to great severities there; Indeed, I believe some of them have acted soe far, as they will certainly loose their lives should they be sent beyond sea. There are but very few—I am sure not above six or eight—who have bin principally instrumentall in this affaire; & for these, tho' I will not give them any publick protection, yet my intention is to connive at them, & to give some Gentlemen in y^e country charge to take care of them, that they be not troubled; for doubtless, in all these cases, 'tis impossible but something must be understood to be left to y^e discretion of a Governor.

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XC.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR OLIVER ST. GEORGE.

S^r,

Dublin Castle, Novem^r 15: '73.

There is one Martine French,^a a Fryer, who has bin soe usefull to me, both by privately giving me Intelligence of all y^e proceedings of their Clergy, & by appearing sometims & giving assistance to prosecute some of y^e Romish Bishops, that should I send him

^a In a later letter Essex asks that a reward may be paid this man, and protection given him.

abroad, as y^e late Proclamation enjoyn's, I am confident y^e poor man could not escape y^e Inquisition, or goe of wth his life; w^{ch} I look upon to be soe great a barbarity for me to be an Instrument in making him suffer, & of so ill an example to all others, who should be employ'd (as some must allways be) in this kind, as I would rather run y^e hazard of shaying a point of my Orders then be guilty of doing anything w^{ch} for y^e future I know will be most notoriously prejudicial to y^e Kings service; I doe therefore desire you would send for this Martine French, & let him know that you have direction to take care of him, and I conceive it will be his best course to keep some where neer you in y^e country, that you may protect him and those wth whom He abides from any Question or Trouble. This L^{ie} you are to keep secrett to y^r selfe.

XCI.—LORD CONWAY^a TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

November 15, 1673.

I came to this towne the 15th instant; my Lord Ranela met me at Wickham, and M^r Speaker^b at Uxbridge. On Sunday I kist the King's hand, dined with my Lord Treasurer, and sup^t with our new Lord Keeper.^c Yesterday I waited upon the Duke of Yorke

^a Earl of Conway, Viscount Conway of Conway Castle and Killultagh, Baron Conway of Ragley; born about 1623; Captain of Horse, 1660; Justice of the Peace for Warwickshire, 1661; Joint Commissioner to examine the War Accounts, 1661; Governor of Armagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, and part of Down; Joint Commissioner of Customs, 1673-1675; Lieut.-General of Horse, 1674; Earl of Conway, 1679; Lord-Lieutenant of Warwickshire, 1681; Secretary of State for Northern Department, 1681-1683; Privy Council, 1681; died August 11, 1685. The confidential letters from London now begin.

^b Seymour.

^c Heneage Finch, in succession to Shaftesbury. who has been dismissed.

and my Lord Arlington, as also upon my Lord of Ormonde and my Lord Ossory.

L^d Trear. told me that *Essex* was soe lock't up in a box with *Arl:* that *He* could entertaine no correspondence with *Essex* but civility. My answer was, that *Essex* entred not into any intriègues with *Arl.* but only transmitted affaires by *Arl:* to *King*; he replied that, that was *Arl:* greatest support. *Hen. Finch* is brought in by *Osborn* & *Seymour*. *King* was alter'd six times in six hours about it. Two days after *Osb:* *Speaker* were jealous, *Hen:* *Finch* closed with *Arl:*; this made *Speaker* meet mee, and *Comw:* keeps them united. If *Kg.* *France* furnishes *King* a million of our money besides our salary,^a then *Parl^{mt}* will not meet, & all these will fall, but if *Parl:* sits *Duke*, *Anglesey*, *Arl:* will be in danger. *S^r II. Capel* spoke much in *Parl:* against giving money, and aggravated grievances; this reflects so far upon *Essex* that *Ormond* was spoken of to succeed him. *Herbert* was more violent, and hath reudred himselfe odious to *King.*^b *Du:* *Cleveland* is with child, by *Moulgrave*, & in no favor with *King*. *King* fears & hates *D:* of *Yorke*, yet is wholly govern'd by him; *Lodd* is in with *Treasurer*, *Ormond* wth *Arl:* *Buck:* is in horrible apprehensions of danger.

I wish I had the honor to discourse of these affaires more particularly to yo^r Excel^{ce}. While I am here I shall seperat my selfe from all things but those w^{ch} relate either to yo^r service, or yo^r comãds; tis that w^{ch} I have profest to yo^r Excel^{ce}, and w^{ch} the obligations you have layd upon me, requires of me, and the affection I beare to yo^r personall merit exceeds all other obligations, but after all this I shall only represent things as truly to you as I can, w^{ch} when you have compared with what you receive from others, you will be best able to make a judgement upon. I shall never presume to offer any of my owne.

I suppose yo^r Excel^{ce} will send me yo^r congratulatory Letters to

^a The annual subsidy from Louis XIV.

^b Letters XCII. and XCIV. show that this means William Harbord, at this time a violent member of the anti-court party.

my new Lord Keeper, who did me the honor yesterday to give me a visit at my Lodging. This night I am to meet *Treas.* and *Speaker* in a place where none else can finde us out. I shall yet have a tug for the M^r of the Ordnance place.^a Yo^r Excel^{ce} knowes who are my friends, and consequently you may easily imāagine who will be my enemies. I suppose yo^r Excel^{ce} heard by the last of the conditions upon w^{ch} Bonne was surrendered, very dishonorable termes. The French had layd in there a vast Magazeene of Provisions, Ammunition, Armes, and Cannon, and Clothes for their Armyes. They begin now to say that Turenne is old, and dotes.^b I suppose yo^r Excel^{ce} will be no more troubled about Cap^t Barclay; he is heere solliciting for a Letter for the next company shall fall, but, upon the character I gave of him, my Lord Arlington promist me to stop it.

I am affrayd I have coñmitted many falts in my Character,^c w^{ch} I hope yo^r Excel^{ce} will pardon, because I am not yet practised in it. Upon notice of my errors I shall endeavour to mend them, and be alwayes zealous to assure yo^r Excel^{ce} of my being, &c.

XCII.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Essex Papers, vol. iv. fo. 194.]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R. EXCEL^{CE},

November 22, 1673,

My last to yo^r Excel^{ce} was dated the 18th instant, and yesterday, having the honor to wait upon *Sr H. Capell*, I desired him to write severall things to yo^r Excel^{ce} w^{ch} I thought would shorten my worke this Post. I am every day with *Osborne*, *Speaker*, *H. Finch*, and *Buckingham*, and they entrust *Conway* in their *councils*.

^a Sir Thomas Chicheley obtained the place to Conway's disappointment.

^b The winter campaign of 1674 in the Vosges was, perhaps, the most masterly he ever carried out. It ended in the complete rout of the Grand Elector of Brandenburg and the Allies.

^c The cypher.

They are confident that *Arl*: and *Duke Y*: will fall, w^{ch} I doe not beleve; *some words of King* is the ground of it, *who will speake to Duke: Arling: as bad of the others.* *Osborne* told me that if *Herbert* was about, *Essex*—though he should put all the confidence in *Essex* w^{ch} *Conway* desired, yet he was sure *that other would betray him to Arling.* *K: of France* doth offer the mony *King demands,* 'tis pleasant to see how *our party* bestirr themselves to be at him for it; I was last night with *Shaftesbury*, and made all the complements I could to him in behalfe of *Essex*; he hath been twice commanded by *King* to goe out of *Towne*, but will not stir. *Orrery* is in towne, somewhat unsatisfied with *Essex*, but I hope he will not expresse it to any but *Conway*, who hath assured him his apprehensions were groundlesse.

* * * * *

XCIII.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Warrick house, the 25th of Nov^{ber}, '73.

I esteeme it a Duty to acquaint your Lp. that on Wednesday I got to this Place, But I am soe newly com hither, & have my Time taken up soe much with Receivinge of Visits, as I am yet unable to Inquire after newse. Only I shall give yo^r Ex^{ce} a Relation of his Ro: H^s: Marriadge at Dover, as I received it, from a Nephew of myne, who has the honour to waite on Him & who was all y^e while present.

The Bp. of Oxford First asked his R. Hig^s if he had the Kings concent to marry Mary D'Estee, Prin^s of Modena, to w^{ch} the Duke Answered, Yes. The Bp. then Asked y^e L^d Peterborough if he had Authority from His Maj^{ty} & Power from y^e Duke to contract y^e said Marriadge, & if his Lp. had observed all y^e Instructions given him in y^t Behalfe. His Lp. Answer'd, Yes. Y^e Bp. then asked

y^e Duke if he were content to marry Mary D'Estee, Princes of Modena. The Duke Answer'd, Yes. The Bp. then asked y^e Dut^s. if she were content to marry James, Duke of Yorke; she said Yes (in French). The Bp. then Declared them Man & Wife, in the name of the Father & of y^e Son, & of the Holy Ghost. This he assured me was all y^t passed, in y^t Action & Sollemnity.

* * * * *

XCIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD CONWAY.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Novemb^r 29th, '73.

I have rec^d two of y^r Lo^ps, one of y^e 15th, & another of y^e 22th instant, in both w^{ch} are severall particulars of great use to me, & y^e continuance of y^r correspondence will enable me from Time to Time to know y^e Temper of Affairs in England.

It has ever bin my method in all matters to keep y^e plain way, & so long as my Lord of Arlington continues in y^e station where He is I can doe no other than hold y^e same measures wth him as formerly; besides, my Lord Arlington has ever bin a Friend to me, whose maxime is not to lessen my respect to those that are my Friends but upon very good grounds. As for M^r Will Harbord's succeeding S^r H: Ford, I did from y^e very first give caution to my brother S^r Hen: Capell, that by no means He or any other should come that was not agreeable to y^e King; but for M^r Harbord's betraying any thing to my Lord of Arlington, you may be assured, & may also assure y^r Friends, that I never entrust him or any other but my owne Closett Secretary,^a wth my correspondencys in England, & I take Will: Harbord to be a very quick man for dispatch of business, & having experience of his integrity towards me upon

^a Aldworth, in whose hand these copies of Essex's letters are written.

other occasions, I am confident He will be a very usefull servant to me in y^e station I designed him,^b & you will know what want I have of one in that employ^t.

Pray acquainte y^r Friends that upon all occasions of y^e Revenue I shall not faile to communicate them to my L^d Treār: for matters of Grants to my Lord Keeper, & for other intelligences by y^e Kings especiall command I am to apply to my Lord of Arlington, & doubtless 'tis best for y^e frame of his Ma^{tie}s business that his Ministers doe impart his affairs respectively to ye persons properly employ'd, according to their severall & distinct Trust: w^{ch} I am sure shall be my Rule, so long as I serve his Ma^{tie}: & should I doe other, it were making my selfe judge who were fitt for y^e King to employ, & not leaving it to his Ma^{tie} to distribute his owne business into ye Hands He thinks most proper to manage it.

And by holding this course I cannot see but I may preserve y^e Friendship of all, whatever disputes or Factions there may be one among another. Therefore, as opportunity serves, you may tell y^r Friends, particularly Ld. Keeper, Ld. Treār, Mr. Speaker, & Orrery too, if you think fitt, that I shall not be wanting in my respects towards them, suitable to y^e stations wherein they serve his Ma^{tie}, nor in any offices of friendship wherein I may be in a capacity to evidence it; And for y^r selfe you may ever rely upon my being wth all Truth, &c.

XCV.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

November 29, 1673.

I have presumed to write to y^r Excel^{ce} the 18th and the 22th, and to S^r Arthur Forbesse the 18th and the 25th, so that I have not

^a His London secretary.

omitted any post since I came to towne, nor shall I omit any, if my Letters are of any service or entertainment to yo^r Excel^{ty}.

The Dutchesse of Yorke came to Whitehall on Wensday last. The King brought her up from the Barge to the Queen's Presence Chamber, and stopt in the outer drawing-roume till the Queen came to the dore of the Presence Chamber to meet her; the Duke of Yorke led up the Dutchesse of Modena, and as soon as they were entred the Prescence Chamber the King called for a chayre for her, upon w^{ch} my Lady Suffolke, my Lady Falmouth, and the rest of the Ladyes to the number of 20 that were of the Nobility ran out of the roome, as thinking themselves of equall quality to the Dutchesse of Modena; and that night the King sent to the Duke to desire that she might not be in the Roome when the Ladyes came to kisse the Dutchesse of Yorke's hand, w^{ch} was order'd accordingly. I went with my Lord Keeper and my Lord Treasurer on Thursday morning, when they kist her hand. She is a proper hansome Lady. She hath very good eyes, very good features, and a very good complexion, but she wants the Aire w^{ch} should set off all this, and having been bred in a Monastery knows not how to set one foot before another with any gracefulness. I observed that though many comended her in their discourse to the Duke, yet none wisht him joy, nor would the City be brought to make Bonfires.

What I writ last to *S^r A. Forbese* I had from *Speak.* and *Trear.* but *Orrevy* is of opinion *Parlim^t will sett,* and that *King having made sure the money of France, wil endeavor to get more of Parlem^t.*^a *Spe.* and *Trear.* are enemies to *Herbert,* and swore to *Con.* that from the day he was *Secretary to Essex* they would *push at Essex.* I have had many debates with myselfe whether I should write this to you or not, and at last I resolved that though it should ruine me in yo^r favor, yet I would preserve my integrity, and tell you truth.

^a A vote was carried, after a prolonged and most interesting debate, to refuse supply before the danger from Popish councillors, and other grievances, were removed, unless the obstinacy of the Dutch should render it necessary.

I cannot omit one passage w^{ch} probably yo^r Excel^{ce} will not have from any other hand, it is that upon Wensday last, before the Lords Com^{rs} of the Admiralty, S^r Tho. Littleton reproacht my Lord Treasurer, and calt him a cheat, upon w^{ch} all the Lords Com^{rs} rose up in great disorder. The occasion of it was this, The Victuallers of the Navy were turned of, and a new contract made with others; the old ones were all admitted to speak to the King, except S^r Tho. Littleton, who, it is thought, will be sent to the Tower next Councell day, w^{ch} is not till Wensday.

* * * * *

On Munday next the King hath appointed to heare it debated before the Co^mittee for Forrain affaires, whether the Office of M^r of the Ordnance in Ireland shall stand, or fall into the office under S^r Tho. Chicheley in England.

Last night my Lord Treasurer carryed me to my Lady Shrewsberrys, where there was Nell Gwyn, the Duke of Buckingham, and M^r Speaker. About three a clock in the morning we went to supper, were very merry, and drank smartly. I wish I knew how to write yo^r Excel^{ce} all our good discourse, for I assure yo^r Excel^{ce} that I am, with the greatest sincerity in^{ag}inable, &c.

XCVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO CHARLES II.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R MAJESTIE,

December 1, 1673.

There hath bin of late some discourses here as if it were necessary for y^e welfare of this Country that y^e Lieu^t & Councell did now make some representation to y^r Majestie of y^e State of this Kingdome, & tho' none as yet ventured to move it in Councell, yet I know severall of y^r privy Councell^{rs} are much inclined to promote an Adress of this nature, if it were once brought into debate; but I am confident I have Interest enough to prevent y^e progress, & I hope even y^e offering any such thing to be considered off at y^e board, & at y^e last I am entrusted wth a negative upon y^e whole

Table, in case y^e major part should be induced to offer any thing of this nature to y^r Majestie, for when I consider y^e proceedings w^{ch} have bin in England, and those seconded in y^e same manner in Scotland,^a I cannot but judge that, should any Adress of y^e like sort come from y^e Lieut^t and Councell here (who in y^e Intervalls of Parliamt are looked upon as y^e publick intrusted persons of this Kingdome), it would certainly adde much fuell to that fire w^{ch} seems too neer kindling in those other y^r Majesties dominions, & would render y^e jealousies & misunderstandings (if any there be) between y^r Ma^{tie} & y^r people in a yet more perplexed & entangled condition. I shall therefore apply my selfe, wth all circumspection, to prevent even y^e mention of any motion that may tend to y^e promoting of any Publick Adress to be made by y^r Majestie. Nor doe I indeed know what these men have to say, unless it be to represent y^e poverty of y^e country occasioned by y^e present War, or y^e mischiefs w^{ch} some men suffer by y^e frequent robberys that are dayly committed. For the first of these, w^{ch} is y^e only one thing that may carry wth it a colour for a publicke Adress, y^r Ma^{tie}, I am sure, cannot but be sensible that y^e interruption of Trade must needs cause a failure of Rents in all men's Estates, & it hath already bin made evident to y^r Ma^{tie} how much our Losses are by this war, when you were graciously pleased to allow twelve thousand Pds to y^e Farmers, by way of defalcation, out of ther Rents for y^e Customs, w^{ch} is more then one-fifth part of this whole revenue; so as y^r Ma^{tie} having y^r selfe given a sufficient prooff how affected you are wth y^e sufferings of y^e country in this kind, there needs not any representation of this matter, or if there did, I humbly conceive it were much more for y^r Majesties Service that you should receive information of these grievances, rather by a private L^{re} from my selfe, then by a publick Act, w^{ch} in such cases carrieth too much a shew of discontent. As for y^e robberys committed in this Kingdome, they doe dayly increase, and are, I confess, grown to such an height as they are become a reproach to y^e Government, & look almost like petit

^a See Lauderdale Papers, vol. ii. p. 241.

rebellions, they going by 20 or 30 in a company, breaking open Houses even in y^e day Time. Many complaints of this kind have bin brought to y^e Councell, & upon every information of this sort y^e generalltie of y^e Privy Councell^{rs} immediatly move for y^e setting up of y^e Militia here in y^e severall Countys, & press it wth great earnestness; but for my owne part, when I reflect upon y^e present posture of affairs, both in England & Scotland, & consider that as to y^e English here, they are many of them y^e remains of Cromwell's Army, & as to y^e Scotch, they are for y^e most part Presbyterians, & that these are ye men who will have arms putt into their hands & be formed into bodys, I cannot judge this of all others a seasonable Time to establish a Militia, but conceive it much more advisable for y^r Ma^{tie} to depend upon y^r Army, whom I look upon as very entire & secure to y^r service. I must confess y^e humour of men runns so high for this Militia as I cannot positively deny y^e promoting of it without giving a jealousy that I am not a favourer of y^e Protestant Interest, & therefore I doe entertaine them upon this subject wth some discourses, as if I were going in hand wth it; as enquiring where y^e Arms are w^{ch} belong to y^e Militia, & giving out some litle proportions of Powder to those who have bin Captains in order to y^e defence of their Houses, tho' I really intend nothing less then y^e forming of this Force, being very confident that wth those few Troops, w^{ch} y^r Ma^{tie} has in pay here, I shall be able to keep all quiet. And for y^e suppression of these lawless people who committ outrages in y^e country, who have already done some service in y^e apprehension of these Torys; but should this evil continue, there must be some sharper course taken to correct it by commissionating Marreschales, wth powr to proceed ag^t these Malefactors by Martiall law, w^{ch} tho' it be not altogether agreeable to y^e Laws of y^e Kingdome, yet in case of necessitie has ever bin indulged & practised here. And this I conclude, wth y^r Ma^{ties} approbation, will be a much better course to be taken then y^e establishing a Militia at this Time, when I am so far from assuring my selfe of their obedience that I am confident, should there be Troubles in

England, those of Cromwell's Army would be forward enough to give y^r Maties affaires disquiett here, as y^e Scotch would likewise undoubtedly follow y^e patterne of those of their owne nation, in case any disorder should happen in that Kingdome.

Some late L^{tes} from England doe informe me, that y^r Matie has a proposall before you for y^e resignation of my Lord Ranelagh's undertaking, as also that of y^e Farne, & so y^e revenue to be brought into y^r owne management. I cannot so far neglect my duty as not to tell y^r Matie that, in my apprehension, I scarce know at this conjuncture a Councill more hazardous to y^e welfare & quiett of this Kingdome then this seems to be, for should y^r Matie resume y^e revenue into y^r owne hands, all changes of this nature must, as I conceive for some space, cause a stop to all Paym^{ts}, and it will be many months before it can be settled from y^e course wherein now it is into another; therefore I humbly offer it to y^r Maties consideration, whether this season, when affairs are so cloudy in y^r Maties other two dominions, can be proper to endanger y^e putting things in disorder here too. If y^r Matie shall thinke fit for some litle time to respitt y^r resolution of altering y^e methods y^r revenue is now in, I hope y^e weather may prove fairer in England and Scotland, & then it will not be so much materiall what is done in relation to us, but truly at y^e present, as I am very confident of preserving ye Publicke Peace & quiett here in y^e posture we now are in, so I am very apprehensive of what will follow in case y^r Maties revenue should be at this moment discomposed.

The particulars I have troubled y^r Matie wth are of so high a concernment to y^r Maties service, as I chose rather to represent them to y^r selfe then to goe through y^e hands of any of y^r Ministers. As to my carriage in y^e two first of them mentioned in this L^{te}, viz., concerning a Publicke Adress & y^e establishing of a Militia^a here, I shall attend y^e signification of y^r pleasure by one of y^r Secretaries, & as y^r Matie shall thinke fit to approve or disallow of my Proceedings, I shall for y^e future conforme my selfe to y^r Maties commands wth that duty w^{ch} becomes, &c.

^a See later letters on this matter.

XCVII.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE}

London, December 6, 1673.

* * * * *

The Parliam^t will certainly meet the 7th of January. *Treas.* hath infinitely eclipsed *Arling.* with *King.* *Keeper, Treas.,* and *Speaker* doe play a cunning game, for they are intimat with *Duke,* and labor to be popular in *Parliam^t.* If next Sessions be favourable to them they will be great.

* * * * *

XCVIII.—THE DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Clarendon House, 9 Dec. 73.

The changes of persons & things in that Kingdome have bin so great since I came hence, that any information from mee can bee of very litle use to y^r Ex^{ncy}; but when any thing comes in my way or into my thoughts that I can conceive may contribute to the service of the King in your management, I shall with all freedome imparte it to you.

It is without doubt needefull that y^r Ex^{ncy}, & whoever Governes for the King there, should have good intelligence of the temper and designes of the severall partys there, of whom there are non so numerous, so agreeing in principles of Religion, or so unsatisfied with their condition as the Irish Papists, and therefore y^r Ex^{ncy} does most prudently to continue such differences as arises amongst them in poynt of secular intrest, for to that all their contentions referre. When I had the honour to Gouverne in that Kingdome, I found meanes to devide them upon the subscription of a certaine

Remonstrance^a declaring their fidelity to the King in temperalls in such termes & to that degree that was not agreeable to the pretences of the Pope. This Remonstrance with the countenance given to the subscribers & discountenance to the refusers got ground very fast; but after I was recal'd this cours was neglected if not inverted, & the subscribers were exposed to the persecution of the refusers even in Ireland; if this test had bin continued, it would have made a more usefull & reasonable distinction then that betwixt Regulars & Seculars, for, as many Regulars are well affected to the Government, so divers seculars are as dangerous to it; but it was not easy to make this understood in an English House of Commons, nor was there time for it. As the case stands y^r Ex^{ncy} is certainly in the right to give those you have found usefull such a protection as you mention.

I am beter acquainted with the clauses in my Lord of Ranellagh's, &c. contract then I am of late with his Lo^p or any of them, but that whole affaire is transacted so totally betwixt the King & them that there is rarely so much as any mention made of anything that relates to it where I am. I should think that if there were no such clauses in the contract, yet the naturall Authority of a Cheef Governour would intitule you to such an inspection into their proceedings, & subject all that have to doe with the Revenue to such & so often accountts as you shall please to call for, of w^{ch} certainly a charge is as necessary a parte as a discharge. I would, therefore, if it were my case, call for such an accountt as might as well informe mee what has bin received as what has bin pay'd, from whence only it may bee collected what probabillity there is that the contractors will performe their undertaking; and if my L^d of Ranellagh shall get positive coñands to supercede so faire a way of accountting, y^r Ex^{ncy} will bee discharged, & it will bee argument of suspition that all is not lyke to goe well with those that desire to obstruct it. This my Lo^d is on this subject the sence of, &c.

^a See an account of this 'Remonstrance' in Ingram's *Two Chapters of Irish History*, pp. 16 and following. This statement of Ormond gives a somewhat different complexion to the affair.

XCIX.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, December 13, 1673.

* * * * *

I^d Keeper commanded *Conway* to tell *Essex* that he could not do any thing more acceptable to *King* then to write to *S^r Hen. Capell* to comply with *Court* p^rty in y^e *House of Comons* in things moderate and reasonable,^a and *Keeper* will informe *King* of it, with all advantage to *Essex*. This is the only way for any man at present to ingratiate himselfe with *King*, who hath ordered *Trear. Keeper, S. Coventry, Speaker*, and others to use all their skill to make his interest good in *H. of Comons*. Upon this account it is that *Speaker* is ordered to keep the chair, w^{ch} he thought to have quitt. They all disposed of this course, and are ignorant whether *King* will comply with *Parliam^t* or not, in relation either to *France* or *Duke*, but tis certaine they cutt *Arlington* with his owne weapons by complying in both with *King* humour, and may probably by this meanes bring *King* off from both.

Keeper is a reall friend to *Essex*, and I am confident that *Trear.* will be so at least while *Conway* is here. He hates *M^r Harbord* above all mankind, and I cannot tell the reason. I believe *Speaker* is a great cause, but not all.

* * * * *

King hath shewed *Ranelagh* a Letter of *Essex* wherein he says that *Ranelagh* is breaking, and selling his farme. *Essex* may hurt himselfe, but not *Ranelagh*, with *King*, who stands faire to succeed *Arling^t*; and is in with *Trear. Keeper, Speaker, Duke, etc.* It reflects upon *Essex* that, at the same time, He wrote obligingly to *Ranelagh*.

* * * * *

^a On Dec. 30, Essex wrote refusing to influence Henry Capell's conduct or votes.

C.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, December 20, 1673.

* * * * *

King is firme to the Interest of France ; if Parliam^t be so calme and prudent as to give him mony they may buy him off from France and Duke, otherwise they will not sitt long, both will create alterations ; Trear. and Duke push hard at Arling. Trear. designs the place to Orrery, but I am confident it will never be. Ranelagh will shortly be of the Privy Councill.

* * * * *

CI.—SIR W. TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, Decemb^r 25th, 1673.

I received not long since by my Brother's letter something like an excuse for y^r EX^{NEYS} not writing to mee so often as you intended, w^{ch} I shall onely returne with assuring you that the least thought of that kind is more then needs. I should bee very sorry to faile of a letter from y^r L^{SP} whenever you thought I could bee of any use to you, or to receive one whenever it costs you the time should have been spente upon those that can. Upon my coming to Towne I finde such a scene as makes every bodys head turne round that did not foresee it, all that flatter'd themselves with the imaginations of a generall peace are but too much disabused. And those who reckon'd about a weeke agoe upon our being content with our owne separate from France, are for the present at an ende of their accounts, though all the personal attempts that can bee have been made, and so much light given into the generall posture of our

affairs as has served to trouble and perhaps dasle, though not to guide those who receive it. The Parlement will certainly meet, and a tryall bee made upon them for money with all compliance they can desire in any point besides that of going on with the Warr and the French Alliance, but I doe not yet discerne any appearance of their beeing satisfied without those two forbidden points. Nor doe I finde how elegantly soever the Ministers defende the necessity or prudence of those late counsels, that they themselves beleeve any body is persuaded by what they say, or the humor of the Parlement or Nation is like to bee at all either sweeten'd or changed in what concerns them.

Last Munday the French Ministers heer thought their game plaid ill, but on Tuesday they recover'd, and the answer to the Spanish Am^{bis} Memoriall came out in the style w^{ch} is by all interpreted to signifye no peace but in conjunction with France. Upon this the talke is of y^e French furnishing their 600 M. Pistoles towards the charge of the Warr, with forty ships for the next flete, and of the Duke's commanding it. But the ill humor of the Seamen is such that the best friends of this design promise themselves little success, especially if *II. of Comons* make *any sharpe Vote* upon that occasion as is feared, and for prevention whereof the first strength of *Court* will bee employed to keepe *Speaker in Chair*. contrary to what was resolved about a fortnight since. I will assure Y^r L^{SP} S^r Harry Capel is a Gentleman much more known in the nation then you left him, and much more considered at Courte as well as in the country since the last session, though in different kindes. I thinke y^r L^{SP} need not trouble y^rself much about it, but leave him to his good senses and his good starrs, Hee is yett very young in the busy world, and must have many such heats and colds as thees before hee is at his journey's ende. The shorte of our present story seems to bee that the Courte will upon no tearms fall out with the French Alliance, and the Nation will upon no tearms fall in with it; and what the issue of this must bee in the success of our next expedition to sea, or in the consequences

of any misfortune there arriving upon our losse of trade by a breach with Spain, I leave to Y^r L^{ty} to imagine, that w^{ch} makes *this obstinacy in the Court* is not onely the violence of Duke, but the dread of having all that *has passed between them & France published* if they *anger France*, and how this will bee remedied, God of Heaven knows. *Buckingham* gains ground every day of *Arlington* with *King* and *Duke*. Hee and *Treasurer* and *Speaker* are, I thinke, at this time the persons of greatest power as long as 'twill last, for 'tis very transitory upon this scene. My *L^d Conway* is absolutely in with them and the Court and *Ranelagh*, so is *Orrevy*^a with all those persons, but pretends to hold off from designs of *Court*, unless *King* shall agree with *Parlmt*, in w^{ch} case hee may bee a reserve to the rest of his friends that might bee broken. For the foreign affairs there is very little this weeke of new. 'Tis thought the Duke of *Lutsemburg* has escaped from the Imperialists and the Counte *Mountarey*, who design'd to have cutt off his retreat to *Mastricht*, w^{ch} will, I suppose, ende the action of this campania unles the Dutch attempt some Towns upon a hard frost if it arrives this winter. I never heard worse descriptions then are made of France by all that come over as to their great wante of men as well as money, and the decay of all trade. I give the more credit to it from a letter I saw to-day, whereby I finde that the Courte there has absolutely taken off the 30 per cent. w^{ch} was laid severall years since upon all foreign Manufactures and enacted with the greatest rigor, but they have given liberty for the Spaniards and Dutch subjects to come and fetch off what wines they please out of that Kingdome, paying one crowne upon every Tunn beyond all the former dutys, but this condition is put in onely for a good pretext, whereas the true reason is the extrem ill effects they feele already by the wante of trade, and this letter adds

^a On Jan. 31, W. Harbord writes to warn Essex "how ill a man Orrery is, and how false to Essex." On Feb. 3, he warns Essex similarly against Ranelagh as being "as dangerous a man as lives," and "so slippery." Conway, on the other hand, is "studious in Essex's service."

they are so greate, that if their wines lye upon their hands another yeare, some insurrection of the people will not bee avoyded. On the other side, they tell mee the Count Montarey is agreed with the Dutch for the absolute prevention of this trade into Flanders and Holland, not onely to confiscate what shall come from France (w^{ch} they finde will not extinguish it), but to breake up all Vessels of Wine and let them runn out in the streets, and burne the other forbidden commodities. To ende this trouble, give mee leave to tell y^r L^{sp} that in the midst of thees traverses w^{ch} are many upon the scene, and may bee many more, I conceive y^r interest is to stande wholly upon y^r owne leggs, and the merits of a prudent, diligent, and disinterested management of the affairs in y^r circle, to live well with those you were well with when you left this place, to live fairly with any new Ministers the King has or shall thinke fitt to bring into play, but to change no correspondences or applications you have been used to unles by the King's command, and perhaps to let the King in particular know y^r resolution in that pointe, and in this train, if the Nation has any good stars, I know not why Y^r L^{sp} may not come to bee as necessary to the greatest Ministers heer as any of them to you, at least this is the opinion of a very faithful, humble servant.

CII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF DANBY.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Dec. 30, 1673.

I have lately had y^e favor of receiving two of y^r Lōps, one of y^e 4th & another of y^e 12th of Dec. In y^e latter of w^{ch} y^r Lōp hath bin pleased to give some directions concerning y^e examination of

losses sustained by y^e Farmers of his Maties revenue, upon y^e occasion of this present War, all w^{ch} shall be punctually pursued.

My Intelligence from England tells me, that y^e King is not yet resolved as to y^e disposall of y^e Master of y^e Ordnance Place here; I have taken a litle pains to examine whether it were ever under y^e charge of y^e Master of y^e Ordnance in England, w^{ch} I had bin told it once was, but cannot finde that in any former Times this Kingdome was without a distinct Officer in that Employ^{mt}. And to say y^e Truth, I am for my owne part somewhat unwilling any thing belonging to y^e greatness of this Govern^{mt} should be lessen'd in my Time. I know it may be sayd, that in case this Office be supply'd wth a Deputy, & made subordinate to y^e M^r of y^e Ordnance in England, such a Presid^t may reach as a patterne, & perhaps wth more reason, to many other Officers here, as Chancell^r, Chief Justice, etc, whose judicatures, noe doubt, are subordinate to those of y^e Courts in England, & Appeals from these to them. Now, y^e M^r of y^e Ordnance Place was ever (as I am informed) independent of that in England, & being a Military Officer absolutely under y^e Lieu^{ts} command, tho' y^e Person all ways of y^e King's nomination; but sure I am, 'Tis very probable that inconveniences may hereafter follow upon such a change; for should y^e Lieu^t here, and y^e M^r of y^e Ordnance in England (who commonly is a great Man, & all ways present at Court, & at hand to support his owne Interest), be upon any ill Terms one with another, y^e Stores would infallibly be ill provided, & such a Deputy be employ'd, as would cross & thwart y^e Lieu^t, so as in cases of War it may happen to be very fatal to y^e Kings Affairs; whereas when that Office is executed by a person here upon y^e place, & so immediately under y^e Lieu^{ts} command, without dependance on any other. He may be kept more strictly to his duty, & not be able to support himselfe in opposition to any of y^e Lieu^{ts} Orders. Much of this exception I confess for y^e present is not in y^e case, in regard of y^e worthyness of y^e person, who enjoys that Place in England, & y^e particular

good correspondence w^{ch} I have for a long time had wth him, there being not a Gentleman I know, whom I better esteeme, yet methinks in all consults of this nature, wherein y^e Setlement of a Kingdome is concern'd. great regard ought to be had to y^e future, for surely Governements would not be long lived if the Establishm^{ts} of them be fram'd only for ye present convenience.

Having given a hint of these arguments to y^r L^öp for y^e continuance of that Office, I am sure I have placed them in a hand who will much improve them, & adde reasons of more strength then I can pretend to offer ; I shall only say this further. that observing how much his Ma^{tie} has bin wrong'd in that Office, & taking y^e best measures I can, from whence those Abuses arose, that for y^e time to come they may be prevented, I humbly propose that whosoever his Ma^{tie} shall think fitt to appoint for y^e execution of that Employment, He may be absolutely prohibited from selling any places under him, or to make any profitts to himselve by sale of any Amunition, or Cast Arms, etc. And truly I think this latter more especially necessary, for since his owne substitutes are Judges, what Arms, Amunition, etc. are unserviceable; it may easily be guess'd what acc^t y^e King is like to have of his Stores whilst y^e partys concerned in y^e profitts may carve & take what they please to their owne advantage.

CIII.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

December 30, 1673.

* * * * *

We have little news stirring, all being preparatives for the sitting of the Parliam^t. Captⁿ Titus told the King that no body doubted now of the sitting of the Parliam^t, because the Duke of Buckingham

was at Church twice upon Christmase day, and received the Sacrament.

In Scotland, my Lord Lauderdale hath issued a more severe Proclamation against Roman Catholicks then any of ours.

The Dutch have also conveyed over a printed Letter, by way of Reply to the King's answer, thinking thereby to insinuat to the Parliam^t their readinesse to give all manner of satisfaction and compliance. I have read the Letter, but could not get one to send yo^r Excel^{ce}.

Keeper is to acquaint Parliam^t that King leaves it to them to secure religion and property by the old or new Laws, and there will be private informations that King will breake the French allyance by Michelmas; all this is to get the French money, and to preserve our greate men, but if that will not doe, He will leave them. Keeper told me this, and that Arlington, Anglesey, Buckingham, Lodderdale, and possibly Ormond, are the men in danger.

The Dutchesse of Modena is gone away this morning in great wrath and displeasure with most of the Ladys of our Court, and the Duke hath already made his visitts to Mrs. Churchill.

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CIV.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, January 10, 1673.

I have had the honor to receive yo^r Excel^{cies} Letter of the 30th past, and have delivered that enclosed to my Lord Treasurer. I doe acknowledge my selfe extreamly obliged to yo^r Excel^{ce} for it, and the same day that I delivered it, w^{ch} was last Thursday in the afternoone, I stayed with his Lords^{sh} in discourse only till 2 or 3 a clock in the morning. *Orrery* came in, and was much dissatisfied that *King* had not given him directions how to *governe himselfe in II.*

of Comons. Buckingham came in and told us He should be impeached on Munday next in H. of Comons. King designs the Master of the Horse place to Monmouth. Ormond and Arlington will be impeached next week, one in H. of Lords, ye last in H. of Comons.

I would have enclosed the King's Speech and my Lord Keeper's, but that I am sure you will receive many of them from other hands. The Howse of Coñons adjourned presently till Munday next. The Howse of Lords were entertained with a Petition against the Duke of Buckingham and my Lady Shrewsberry, setting forth the killing of the late Earle of Shrewsberry, their open and scandalous way of living together, and the publick enterment of their bastard child in Westminster as Earle of Coventree. This Petition was presented by 5 or 6 Unckles and Guardians to the present Earle of Shrewsberry; the Howse rec^d it, and required them to put in their answer next Thursday, but my Lady Shrewsberry is fled. I suppose the intention of this is only to usher in something else. Yet I cannot chuse but tell yo^r Excel^{ce} that I saw the Dutchesse of Buckingham crying and tearing her selfe, and doth solicit with the greatest passion both for the Duke of Buckingham and my Lady Shrewsberry that can be in the world.

After this the Howse of Lords voted their humble thanks to his Ma^{tie} for his gracious Speech.

Next day they voted an Adresse to his Ma^{tie} for banishing all Papists, or reputed Papists, who are not Howsekeepers or Meniall Servants attending the Peers, 10 miles from this city during this Session, with a Provisoe that 6 of the Cowncell may give License to such as they think fit. The Duke of Yorke was gonne to dinner when the Lords took up this debate, and my Lord Anglesey sent a Messenger after him to call him back to the Howse, where, after great contest, there were no other Negatives but these two, and my Lord Northampton.

Yesterday it was presented to the King, and his Ma^{tie} promist to issue out his Pr^eclamation accordingly.

I beseech Yo^r Excel^{ce} to consider *the last part of King speech. It was the consultation of many days and nights that produced it. He fumbled in delivering it, and made it worse then in the print ; yet there you may observe 'tis incoherent, and all this is for fear of D. of Yorke.*^a

I doe beleve the Howse of Coñions will Vote the King a Supply when their grevances are redrest, but not particularise the sune, and I have great reason to hope they will carry themselves with moderation and affection to the King. I could say something of the hopes and fears of particular persons, but I suppose it will be more proper to acquaint you with them when they are reduced to certainty, and as they happen.

It is sayd my Lord Chancelor of Ireland will be questioned for some things, and I find it reported that I have a hand in it, and that I have procured Mr. Sacheverell to undertake it. I doe, therefore, assure Yo^r Excel^{ce} that I have never spoke a word to any man since I came into England to injure my Lord Chancelor. It is true Mr. Sacheverell came hither to me upon Tewsdays last, but he did not speak to me, or I to him, either concerning my Lord Chancelor or any person or affaires of Ireland. I was employed by *Treasurer* to speak with him upon other matters. 'Tis thought there did not appeare lesse then 400 men in the Howse of Coñions the first day of the Sessions. The Howse of Lords also is very full.

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CV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR WILLIAM SEARLE.

S^r,

Dublin Castle, Jan. 10th, 7³.

I have lately rec^d severall L^{res} from you concerning y^e Torys, &

^a This is a notice of much interest. Hitherto Charles II. in his speeches to Parliament had not told any open and deliberate lie. On this occasion, however, Jan. 7, 167³, he did ; and Conway's note is the only record of his embarrassment.

am very glad to hear of y^e good success that y^r selfe & others employ'd in those parts have had ag^t them. In y^r last, dated Jan. 6th, you make mention of one Owen More Magunshannan, who you tell me has bin som way instrumentall in discovering those sort of people; if this man, or any other we can finde not guilty of murther, will doe such considerable services for y^e apprehension of others, who have committed robberyes or Facts of that nature, as may deserve his Majesties mercy, I shall extend it towards two or three of them; but I conceive it a litle too far to engage them to bring in any man dead or alive, being y^e last remedy, w^{ch} I am not willing to apply till I finde other means faile for reducing these lawless people to their due obedience. However, I desire you would give all reasonable encouragem^t to such of this sort as you imagine will be assistant to y^e finding out & apprehending of any of these Robbers.

CVI.—LORD AUNGIER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EX^{CY}E,

Lond. Jan. y^e 17th, 1673.

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On Wenesday the Duke of Bucks desired to be heard againe in y^e Howse of Coñons, where upon Recollection he spoake wth more assurednesse & temper. But y^e drift of all his discourse tended to cleare himselfe of breakeing the triple Alliance, framing or advizing the Declaration concerning Religion, and being y^e authour of y^e New Alliance wth France. But in doing this he forgott his oath of a Privy Councillour haveing neither the Kings leave to reveale his Councill, nor y^e leave of y^e Howse of Peeres to attend y^e Howse of Coñons. And in endeavouring to cleare himselfe he layd all y^e load he could upon my Lord Arlington, not only in his owne discourse,^a but in answereing severall questions were

^a See Letter LXXXVII.

asked him. And in y^e close of all desired y^e Howse not to consider him as a Peere, but as a Gentleman of Engld, sayeing that if notwthstanding what he had sayd for himselfe they should conclude him a Greevance, He must saye & he hoped they would beleeve he was y^e cheapest greevance Engld ever had. But I forgott to tell y^e Ex^{tye} that when he was asked whom he meant by those who had gott from one to 5 hundred thousand pound, & by what meanes they gott it, He sayd that by y^e 500000^l he meant my Lord of Ormond, w^{ch} was upon Record; And my Lord Arlington by y^e Rest, but how they both procured such vast Grants to themselves he knew not, for he never understood the wayes of getting. Soone after His Grace was retired the Howse fell upon the Debate, & after 3 howres spent in it they came to this Vote, That the Howse should humbly Adresse to His Ma^{tie} to remove His Grace the Duke of Buck. from all y^e employm^{ts} w^{ch} he holds dureing His Ma^{ties} pleasure, And from His Ma^{ties} Councils & presence for ever. And y^e reason why y^e removeall from his Employm^{ts} was limitted to such as he held during His Ma^{ties} pleasure, was that there might be roome for his selling y^e M^r of Horse's place, w^{ch} cost him so deare.

On Thursday the enclosed Articles ag^t my Lord Arlington were brought in by S^r Gilbert Gerrard, seconded by S^r Charles Wheeler. And my Lord Arlington haveing asked leave of His Ma^{tie} & y^e Howse of Lords upon his l^r to M^r Speaker was admitted into y^e Howse of Coñons, where in a very handsome discourse, exprest wth greate temper & prudence, he gave so good an acc^t of himselfe, that he not only wiped off all that dirt the Duke of Bucks had cast upon him the day before, But gave y^e Howse a very good impression of his partes & capacitye for businesse, And had not his Generosity carryed him too farre in owning a concurrence in those councilles w^{ch} have given so greate distaste to y^e Nation, no parte else of his charge would have done him any greate harme. Yesterday was spent in debate upon y^e last Article concerning treason, And upon a Motion of S^r Gilbert Gerrards to have time till this

Morning to consider whether he would undertake to make it good, the debate upon the whole charge was putt of till this day, when Sr Gilbert inform'd the Howse that there was a Gentleman wthout who would undertake to prove y^e Article, who, being called in, told the Howse there was a Gentleman, now in France, who could & would make proofe of y^e Article; that he was upon his returne into Eng^{td}, & he expected him every day, but could not ascertain y^e time. This person was one Capⁿ Palden, of whom a good Character was given in the Howse; But since, I have learnt he is a meniall serv^t of y^e Duke of Bucks, from whom he has all his subsistence.

Then y^e Howse proceeded to y^e rest of y^e Articles, And Sr Charles Wheeler undertooke y^e mennagem^t of y^e first concerning Religion, w^{ch} tooke upon y^e rest of the Morning, only upon that Article of imprisoning persons contrary to law, Sr Thomas Muddeford & his son were named, & y^e Howse desiring to see y^e War^{ts} by w^{ch} they were comitted appoynted a Co^mittee to attend y^e Lieu^t of y^e towne home there, to take a view of them, & reporte them on Munday till w^{ch} time y^e further debate of this matter is adjourned.^a

CVII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

Jan. 24, '73. London.

* * * * *

The Differences among y^e great ones increase daily; & *Essex* getts ground in y^e opinion of all good men, & Every body will have him *Treasurer*, as in Sick bodies so in Sickly goverments Change is desired; *King* sticks very close to *Arlington*, who hath a faire game to playe, & professeth all imaginable service to *Essex*;

^a Arlington went free, in a great measure through the exertions of Henry Capel.

Mr. [illegible] is Chosen for Oxford in y^e Ld. Keeper's place; a new Test is proposed where in y^e Papist Lds. are concerned. The Lds. have made an order y^t no peer shall come into y^e Howse of Commons upon paine of being sent to y^e Tower; I have this day received a perwig for y^r Excell^{ce}, & shall send it by y^e first opportunity, & take all ye Hast I can to attend y^e Service there; I feare *Treasurer* will not be able to playe his part wth any successe; & *Orrery* is much dissatisfied & disappointed: his Lady takes upon her to speake very meanly of y^e manner of living of *Essex*, & some other Defects she findes, or at least thinks so. And in truth the *Orrery* aimes mightely to succede *Essex* in his poore Employment. I know not what weather you have in Ireland, but our Country is all drowned wth Floods. This is all y^e trouble I shall give yo^r Excellency at present.

CVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

M^r HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, Jan. 25, 73.

* * * * *

We have of late, from severall of y^e Justices of Peace of this Kingdome, re^{cd} an Acc^t that they have apprehended severall Friers & Priests, who in contempt of y^e Proclamation have presumed to stay longer then y^e Time therein limited, & more particularly from four Justices in y^e County of Donegall we had information that they had apprehended two Priests & committed them to Gaole, one of them a Deane & y^e other a Frier, and therefore desired to hear from my selfe & y^e Councell what directions we would give concerning them. To w^{ch} we returned Answer, that as for y^e Deane if he were only a Secular & had never exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (of w^{ch} they ought dilligently to informe themselves), he was then not within y^e Proclamation; but if otherwise, he & y^e Frier (w^{ch} last was certainly within y^e Intendment of that Act of

State) should remain committed, & be proceeded ag^t at y^e next Assises according to law.

These are y^e Orders w^{ch} we have issued out upon all occasions of this nature, & indeed whoever scans y^e words of y^e Adress cannot, to my apprehension, putt any other construction upon them then such as we have done.

As for y^e banishing of these Bps & Friers, together wth all such as have exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, whatever may be apprehended at a distance, I am confident it is so far from causing a discontent, even among y^e Papists themselves, that I am sure they are rather glad of it, these being a great burthen to them in y^e collection of money, w^{ch} were perpetually made for their support, but should it be resolved to use y^e like measure wth all y^e Seculars, I am not without apprehensions what y^e consequences thereof might be, there being severall hundred thousands of y^e Popish religion in this Kingdome, & should any such thing be thought on, it were fitt y^e King had a standing Army of at least fifteen or twenty thousand men in constant Pay & upon duty, for I would be loath to be answerable for y^e peace of this Kingdome wth a less force, in case I were putt upon y^e execution of such orders.

In y^e Instructions w^{ch} I gave you at my parting, I directed you to carry copies of y^e severall L^{res} & Orders of Councell w^{ch} were from time to time issued to y^e respective Magistrates for sending away these Priests & Friers. We still find new inventions of these Priests to evade y^e execution of y^e Proclamation. As particularly from Ross I hear that severall Friers being there putt on board some Ships in order to their transportation into forrein parts, were by y^e Owners of y^e Ships sett on shoar within ten miles of y^e place, for w^{ch} these Owners are like to answer at their returne. And truly I perceive plainly, that unless his Ma^{tie} send some Ships, or Orders to hire them, here on purpose to transport these people, we shall not be able to gett y^e country clear'd of them.

The Lord Mayor of this Citty brought me a List of about 30 or more Priests & Friers who had given their names to him as being

in this Town in order to their transportation, & there being a Fleet of seven or eight merch^t men to goe for France, I directed him to see them putt on board & sent away. All w^{ch} he assures me is executed.

You may, when you have an opportunitie, show his Majestie this L^{re}.

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CIX.—LORD AUNGIER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EX^{CY^R},

London, Jan. 27th, 167³.

* * * * *

There seemes to be now a greate propensity towards y^e repealing of the Act ag^t Irish Cattle, complaints coming from all partes of Eng^d of y^e greate mortallity of Sheepe & Cattle, in so much that as soone as the more publique affaires will give leave, some attempts will be made to repeale y^e Act of Prohibition.

The Duke of Bucks is become a greate converte, & to give a publique testimonye of it he went wth his owne lady to St. Martin's to Church in y^e afternoone on Sunday last. In the mean time his Grace & my Lord Shaftsburye are reconciled, & both labour hard to gett him fairely quitt of my Lady Shrewsburye's businesse, w^{ch} is still depending in y^e Lords Howse.

CX.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, January 27th, 167³.

* * * * *

The King's last Speech hath been the subject both of the privat

caballs and the Publick debates these two last dayes. Those who thought the French Allyance a Grievance, doe now think a Peace, nay, a separat Peace, to be the greater grievance,^a so that one may see they designed only to fetter the King and take their advantages, but though this Party be very prevalent in both Howses, yet I am confident we shall carry the point, and advise the King to make a Peace.

This bone was cast before Parliamt. by advice of Trear., but I think Arling. broke the French Allyance.

The Parliamt, I beleeve, will sit a great while and give money, but with great opposition. They know their owne strengths so well that Mr. Sacheverell told me he was confident they would carry the point of money only by five votes.^b

The Caball is kept at Lord Hollis' House, Hallyfax and Shafetsbury are of it, and Buckingham is got in. Orrery shewed Trear. the copy of a Letter written to the Deputy Governor of Limerick by Mr. Godolphin, wherein he writes, as from Essex, that it was King's intentions to allow secular Priests to say masse publicly, or to that effect. Orrery thought Arling. was at the bottome of it, and had given such directions, and would have had it sifted in Parliamt. Trear. replied, that if such a thing were started in Parliamt. Essex would be torne in pieces, and desired Orrery to write that he burne the Letter, and give no coppies of it. This I had from Trear. Orrery never spoke to me of it, and I told Trear. that if such a thing were, it was occasioned by the Adresse, and not by Arlington; but there ought to be a distinction made in Letters of that nature, betweene passing a thing over by way of Connivance and giving a Publick Liberty, and upon the whole matter you may see that Trear. was very friendly to Essex.

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^a The Shaftesbury opposition was now in alliance with Louis XIV.

^b No money was granted.

CXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Jan 28, 73.

Captain Crofts being just going off, y^e news arrived of those transactions w^{ch} were in y^e House of Com^{ms} relating to y^r Lo^p, I could not let slip this opportunitie of telling y^r Lo^p how much I rejoice at y^e good success you have there had, & I confess my satisfaction in it is much encreased by what I heare, that some of my neerest friends & relations have had an eminent share in doeing you right upon this occasion. The Times are so nice & difficult that I durs't scarce write such expressions as these by y^e ordinary Post, being very confident that some foul play hath bin used, even in y^e opening of y^r L^{ps} L^{res} & mine, w^{ch} passed betwixt us, & therefore, if there be less of complement in what by y^e ordinary way I write to y^r Lo^p then is usuall, I hope you will not from it judge my affection to y^e service, but wth all assurance believe & rely upon me to be ever, &c.

CXII.—LORD AUNGIER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^{rs} EX^{tye},

Lond., Jan. 31, 1673.

Since my last there has not been anything of greate moment transacted in y^e Howse of Com^{ms}, only this day they have voted that the addresse for removeing y^e Duke of Lawderdale from all his Employ^{ts} & from His Ma^{ties} Councils & presence for ever as a person obnoxious & dangerous to ye Govern^t, should be forthwth made to his Ma^{tie} in order to w^{ch} y^e members of y^e Privy Councill are directed to acquaint His Ma^{tie} with it, & to knowe what time His Ma^{tie} will appoint for y^e Speaker wth y^e whole Howse to attend him wth y^e sayd addresse. Immediately after this the addresse concerning His Grace of Bucks

was proposed, w^{ch} begott a debate whether we should not in his case desire the concurrence of y^e Lords in regard he is a Peere, & y^e day being farre spent, y^e further debate of it was putt of till Thursday next. This morning the Lords alsoe spent upon His Grace's affaire wth my Lady Shrewsburye, in w^{ch} His Grace at first made an ingenuous confession, & beg'd pardon of y^e Howse, And out of his great generositye & kindnesse to y^t noble family desired that all mention of y^t affaire should be taken of y^e file and razed out of y^e Records, w^{ch} request of his Grace's being not complied wth, He then retracted his confession, because he has owned more then y^e Petitions ag^t him could prove, w^{ch} begott a debate whether the Howse should accept of his submission or reteine y^e cause any longer, w^{ch} spunn out their time till two of y^e clocke, at w^{ch} time they adjourned the further debate of it till Tuesday next. This day, upon a discourse accidentally started concerning a coñon Fame that severall Members had received Money and Pensions, and y^t it was reported a Member should say he hoped to make this Sessions worth him 5000^{li}, The Howse have appoynted a coñmittee to examine this matter, and to prepare some test for y^e members to take & vindicate themselves from this scandalous imputation.

In the Lords House the preservation of y^e French allyance was a considerable parte of y^e debate concerning y^e addresse to be made to His Ma^{tie} about a peace wth ye States Gen^{tl}. But it was overruled there as well as in y^e Howse of Coñons, And I suppose on Tuesday both Howses will agree on y^e manner of their Addresse, there havinge beene already interchangeable messages sent to one another. The newes from Holland is that y^e Prince of Orange & his posterity are declared State Holders for ever.

CXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD RANELAGH.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Feb. 5, 1673.

* * * * *

From severall hands I hear that y^r Lo^p hath thought fit to lay y^e blame of y^e nonpaym^t of some moneys due to y^e Office of y^e Ordnance in England upon me, by telling his Ma^{ties} that y^e money was ready, but my Ord^{rs} upon his Ma^{ties} L^{tes} were wanting to authorise you & y^e partners to make paym^t thereof, whereas I doe assure y^r Lo^p these L^{tes} were never delivered. That only w^{ch} related to y^e Arms & Amunition sent in my Time, indeed, I once saw, but it was not left wth me, & for y^e other w^{ch} concern'd ye 3000^{li} to be payd in part for Arms sent in my Lord Robart's Time, it never came to my hands, nor I believe had it now, but that upon notice out of England I made strict enquiry after it, and found it among y^e Partners here.

I cannot but tell y^r Lo^p upon this occasion that I doe abominate all Artifices of this kind,^a & have just reason to take it very ill at y^r hands, that you should endeavour to lay y^r owne faults upon me, & make any representations, as if I were negligent of my duty in a matter wherein y^e blame is wholly y^r owne. If you have any imagination that Practices of this sort will pass upon me, you will finde y^r selfe mistaken in y^r man, for as I have ever used plain & clear dealing wth all, so where I finde other then y^e like, I am not, nor ever shall be, scrupulous of telling them their owne, whoever they are, that endeavor to circumvent me by their subtleties. Nevertheless how disobliging soever these y^r proceedings have bin, I doe & shall look upon y^r undertaking to be a branch of y^e King's

^a On February 17, Ranelagh wrote to Essex utterly denying the charge contained in this letter.

business committed to my charge, & as such shall not faile to give it all due and just encouragement, It being my Principle never to suffer his Ma^{ties} affairs to be prejudiced upon any Acc^t of my owne.

CXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

M^r HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, Feb. 11th, '73.

All men here have great hopes that a bill will pass in England this Sessions to take off that restraint, w^{ch} for some years hath bin upon y^e importation of Catle ;^a w^{ch} bill, if it should pass, would in some measure prejudice y^e proffitts of my place here, for when Catle went free into England I cannot learn that any more then 1500^{ld}, or at most 2000^{ld} a year, was ever made for wooll dutys to y^e chief Govern^r ; but since this prohibition of Catle that income hath advanced to 4000^{ld} p^a Añn ; & y^e reasons of this Improvem^t are evident, for while y^e exportation of Catle from hence into England was free, great numbers of Sheep were sent over, w^{ch} payd no duty for y^e wooll upon their backs. This in so many thousands, as were carryed, amounted to a reasonable summe ; but y^e great Improvm^t arose from this cause, that y^e importacōn of Catle being prohibited, men changed their methods of Husbandry, from their breeding of great Catle into breeding of Sheep, & this they did because they carryed y^e Wooll out, & made money of it in England. Tis also well known how infinitely y^e breed of Sheep hath encreased since this prohibition, all w^{ch}, if y^e former Libertie of carrying Catle be allowed, will soon fall agen to its old rate.

I am not willing that a particular concerne of mine should any way hinder a publick good to this Kingdome, & therefore I would not by any means upon such an Acc^t as this obstruct y^e bill ; yet

^a This did not take place.

however, in case it should pass, I conceive it may not be amiss for you to represent to his Ma^{tie} y^e damage it would be to me. My L^d Duke of Ormond had 3000^l a year constant pay upon y^e Establishm^t more then y^e present Govern^r. This was first taken off when my Lord Robarts came. I am very fully satisfied, & that by experience, that y^e revenue belonging to this Place, as now it is, may wth good management maintaine y^e Lieu^t in that splendor as is fitt for y^e King's Minister to live here; but sure I am this is all it will doe, & therefore if any diminution should happen to y^e present Income 'Twill not bee possible for me to uphold y^e dignitie of my Employ^mt, & at y^e same Time keep my selfe from doing irregular things, or making litle gains unworthy my Place, by selling Offices, etc., all w^{ch} I have absolutely resolved never to doe.

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CXV.—LORD AUNGIER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^{OR} EX^{CYE},

Lond. Feb. 7th, 1673.

* * * * *

Yesterday the Duke of Bucks made a very submissive recantation to y^e Howse of Peeres, acknowledging y^e miserable & lewd life he had led; And though it was a very heavy burthen to lye under the displeasure of y^e Howse & the sence of his transgressions, Yett he had reason to give God thanks for it since it had opened his Eyes & discovered to him the foulness of his past life, w^{ch} he was resolved for y^e future to amend; & haveing added severall other patheticke expressions to testifie y^e sincerity of his Repentance, The Howse at last absolved him upon promise never more to converse wth my Lady Shrewsbury; forwth both His

Lord^p & my Lady are to enter into bonds each of 10000^{ld}, & a Coñmittee of Bpp^s appointed to draw up y^e condition wth all y^e caution & stricktneſſe imaginable. I had all moſt forgott to tell yo^r Ex^{cy} That ye Howſe will once more Addreſſe to His Ma^{tie} for y^e ſending back y^e Iriſh Forces into Ird. My Ld. Arlington's Coñmittee have often mett, but have not made one ſtepp towards an Impeachm^t, for w^{ch} in y^e end they will not find y^e leaſt matter y^t can be proved.

On Weneſday next the Coñt^{tee} of Greevances ſitt againe, by w^{ch} ſeverall are all ready allarumed.

CXVI.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, Febr. 10, 1673.

* * * * *

I ſee no appearance that *Parliam^t will give money, and feare of Duke makes them every day fetter y^e Crowne*, ſo that I think *they will be ſoone prorogued, and Osborne will make it his buſineſſe to keep King within the compaſſ of his revenue, but if Scotland reſent the keeping in of Lodderdale, and that the Parliam^t takes no notice of it, that it may be ſo, it will breake the meaſures of our Court.*

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CXVII.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^{OR} EXCEL^{CE}, London, February 17, 1673.

I should willingly have omitted troubling yo^r Excel^{ce} this post, because to-morrow is appointed in both Howses for Irish affaires, with this distinction only, that the Howse of Coñions goe upon Irish Grievances, and the Lords upon those heads that may be fit to advise the King for security of the Kingdome, and of the Protestant Religion in it. And though it might be more materiall to let yo^r Excel^{ce} know what had been donne in these things, yet I was loath to neglect my duty so long, and the rather because I believe that when *Peace is ratified with Holland,^a Parliamt will be prorogued, and some months after dissolved by Proclamation. One blow Court party in House of Comons is afraid of, that Holland will insiste upon it to have the Peace ratified by Parliamt.*

The King of France hath written the most complementall Letter to the King that ever was seene, lamenting the necessity w^{ch} made him forsake his allyance, and assuring him that he retained the greatest confidence in his friendship, and was certaine that nothing but the difficulty of his affaires at home could have made him with draw from that entire union, w^{ch} he would still preserve. But our Ambassad^r, S^r Will^m Lockart, writes, he never saw such a consternation as was in the French Court upon the news of o^r Peace with the Dutch, and that if he may judge of men by their lookes, they threaten us with the highest revenge. My Lord Tresurer hath given yo^r Excel^{ce} another opportunity of writing more fully yo^r judgement concerning the M^r of the ordnance in Ireland, w^{ch} he did by desiring M^r Harbord to write to yo^r Excel^{ce}, so as that you may have no occasion to name or take notice of S^r Tho. Chichely or me in it, and I suppose he will write to yo^r Excel^{ce} this post. Great

^a Charles had been compelled to make a separate peace with the Dutch, which was signed at London, Feb. 19, 1674.

dissentation there is betweene *Treasurer* and *Sir Robt. Howard*,^a too long to trouble yo^r Excel^{ce} with the Particulars. *Keeper* is so much concerned for *Trear.* and the unworthy dealing of *Sir Robt Howard*, that he told me last night he should never rest in quiet till he had gott *Sir R. Howard* turned out of all. I was hindred from writing to yo^r Excel^{ce} last post by attending upon M^r Harbord at my Lord Treasurer's, where all yo^r affaires had a very good despatch, and I shall always neglect every thing in the world when there is any concerne of yo^r Excel^{cies} where by I may shew my selfe, &c.

CXVIII.—LORD HERBERT TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, Feb. 21, 1673.

There have bene & are very serious Considerations had about Irland, how to make y^t a peaceable Kingdome, & to make out y^t all disturbances there must arise from y^e native Irish, & not from those creatures they would have Fanatickes, y^t is, all y^e English y^t fought under Cromwell. Now y^e Court begins to beleve as y^e Parliament, y^t y^e first are onely dangerous, & other very usefull against y^e Coñon Enemy as long as they have possessions of lands. The King, in order to quiet y^e minds of his English subjects here & there, has designed 36 Companies of foote & 4 Troopes of dragoons to march imēdiately from hence into Irland to fill up y^t Establishment, w^{ch} I conceive will be joyfull newse to your Ex^{lcy}, & when they come over, w^{ch} will be as soone as they can be paid here & have good weather for to passe y^e Sea, I suppose they will be joyfully received by y^e English in Irland. I beseech your Ex^{lcy} to consider y^e County of Kerry, from whence I have noe account of my concernes, because 'tis s^d y^e Tories are soe numerous y^t they

^a He had been a leading member of the opposition in the early days of the Parliament, but had now "ratt'd" to the Court.

hinder all com̄erce twixt y^e County of Corke & y^t place. I understand from my L^d Orrery y^t hee purposes to move y^t 2 or 3 companies of foot & one Troop of horse or dragoones should be quartered in y^t county for y^e safety of it, & y^t Rosse Castle ought to be garrison'd, being y^e onely Teneble place in y^e county & fittest for a few to guard a good Magazine. Your Exelency knowes I moved this to you my selfe ere I left Irland, & withall to desire your care for Sir Valentine Browne, whose house it is, y^t hee may have a good rent for it; w^{ch} Garrison & force in y^t country with y^e country Militia, w^{ch} is forthwith to be array'd & put in order, will be sufficient for a good Governor to undertake y^e safety of y^t quarter. If your Exelency will give mee y^e encouragement of a Troop of horse & some proper Stipend for y^e Governour, as it has bene in former times, as I am informed by y^e Carewes who have governed there, I should take it for an honorable imploy & a convenienc to doe my selfe some good. If your Exelency purpose any such thing, I pray signify your pleasure in one word to my cosen Badurda, who will conveigh it to mee. I begge your Exelency's pardon for this boldnesse, but as I was sufficiently ashamed to be soe often in Irland without com̄and, soe would it be more shame to now that I know Irland suites best with my occasions. Wee are very vigorous in asserting our Religion, & find little assistance from those we might most justly expect it from (y^e Lawne Sleeves); but all these things you heare from better hands, soe y^t I begge your Exelency's pardon for taking up your time with such rudnesse.

CXIX.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.^a

MY LORD,

Warwick Howse, y^e 21st of Feb. 1673.

Yesterday the Howse of Com^s was Resolved into a Com^{tee} of y^e whole Howse to consider Ireland. After som Discourses at large,

^a This letter fills a gap in the Parliamentary history.

my L^d Abricon^a charged my L^d Ranelagh by name for haveinge Put y^e L^d Augier out of his office, for haveinge Ingrost y^e whole Revenue, & for som mismannedgments in it, &c, I stood up & moved, y^t what had bin confusedly deliver'd might be Reduced into Forme, & y^t a Com^{tee} might be Apointed to search y^t business to y^e bottom; That if my L^d Ranelagh were unjustly accused, he might have Reparation, if justly, to be punished accordinge to law. The whole business of y^e Revenue of Ireland was at last Referd to a Com^{tee}, but was my L^d Rane^h soe much as named in y^e Reference. Only my L^d Augier said he could not give a Relation how he was outed of his Patent, without his Maj^{ty}'s leave, w^h he would humbly beg, & then he would declare it. My L^d Ranelagh has begd of y^e Kinge to giue him leave, & y^e Kinge him selfe told me this morninge he had given him leave, Addinge, that y^e L^d Augier had better have left that business alone. M^r. Speaker, in a long & Ex^t discourse, did open y^e business for Thorrby, y^t it was much damped in y^e howse. When y^e howse Rose, my L^d Abrican came to me & ingeniously acknowledged to me, that my L^d Augier y^e night before came to him, & to my L^d Candish,^b & desyred them both to call him up to That Point, & he would Tell severall things of Importance, but when it came to y^e Push, he flinched; at w^{ch} y^e L^d Abrican gave him aprobrious names; but this is only for yo^r Lop, That you may y^e better know how this little affare was mannedged. After this Thing was over, we had many Debates concerninge Ireland. The Result of all (about Two a Clock) was thes 2 votes Inclosed. The howse divided on thes words in y^e last vote, viz. [with their opinions to y^e howse how y^e same may be best served], but it was carryed in y^e affirmative, And Munday, y^e 23^d Instant is appointed for ye Com^{tee} to sit.

I had this morninge y^e honour to be alone with his Maj^{ty}'s neere an houre. Your Ex^{ce} will now have hastened over to me 34 foot Companys & 4 Troops of Prince Rupert's Dragoons, my L^d Bucking-

^a Abercorne.

^b Cavendish.

ham's entire Regt, y^e L^d Tironc's entire Regt, 5 companyes of y^e L^d Witherington's Regt, & one Loos Company, w^{ch} will make up y^e 70 Companyes of y^e Irish Establish^t with y^e 33 now ther. Y^e Kinge Assured me they should be hastened to yo^r Ex^{ce}.

I had almost for-gott to tell yo^r Ex^{ce} y^t severall leading men of our howse desyred often I might give an accounte of y^e state of Ireland, &c. But I desyred it might be rather refered to a Com^{tee}, wher it might be more fittly consider'd & digested.

The Ratification of y^e Peace was not com to his Maj^{ty} this morninge at Aleaven of y^e clock, but He hourelly Expected it, & he told me when S^r G. Silviers landed in Holland with y^e newse of y^e Peace ther was neaver such joy Exprest; Bon fires & beinge Drunke were but two of ye lest signes of it. I have Ground to beleeve, as soone as the Ratification of y^e Peace coms, His Maj^{ty} will set a day for y^e endinge of this Sessions, y^t we may make into bills what hitherto we have discoursed of & debated.

The Lds are this day also on y^e affaires of Ireland.

My L^d Shaftsbury did me y^e honour y^e other day to give me a visit, & amonge other discourses he assured me he was convinced he had bin misinformed in many things touchinge Ireland, but y^t now he was of my opinion.

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CXX.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, Febr. 24, 1673.

I need not use many words in acquainting Yo^r Excel^{ce} with the surpris w^{ch} all men have had at the Prorogation of the Parliam^t this morning to the 10th of Novemb^r next. I shall only say, that all o^r great men have taken occasion to professe publicly they knew

nothing of it. I never saw such a consternation as was among the members of both Houses; every man amased and reproching one another that they had sat so long upon Eggs and could hatch nothing. I have now obeyed Yo^r Excel^{ties} comānds in my continuance heere during the Session of Parliam^t, and in giving Yo^r Excel^{ce} the best account I could of their transactions, but I have many reasons to believe they were not serviceable to you, my abilityes to performe this being much lesse then my affections. The season of the yeare drawing on, I thinke to goe shortly into Warwicksh^{re} to drink Birchwater, and from thence Yo^r Excel^{ce} may dispose of me where you please. For it is my ambition and desire to be serviceable to you; but if I cannot be so happy as to attaine it, I shall then only look after my owne little affaires. 'Tis true that now there will be a new Game play'd at Court, and the designes and Interests of all men will be different from what they were, and of this I beleeve in a few days I shall be able to give Yo^r Excel^{ce} some information, for in all things to the utmost of my power I shall endeavour to give Yo^r Excel^{ce} assurance of my being, &c.

CXXI.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, Febr. 28, 1673.

My last of the 24th gave yo^r Excel^{ce} an account of the Prorogation of the Parliam^t. We were all surprised and in a hurry, so that I could not finde out the bottome of that affaire, and now, although I beleeve I know as much of it as most men, yet I dare not comit it to Paper, but when I have the honor to wait upon Yo^r Excel^{ce} I shall acquaint you with it.

The Ratification of the Peace arrived heere last night; it is already Proclaimed in Holland, and this morning his Ma^{tie} Suñond a Councill in order to the Proclaming it heere.

Since the Prorogation, his Ma^{tie} hath received at least ten Letters in a disguised hand and without any name, giving him information that there were attempts designed upon his Person, and advising him to be carefull of himselfe, and particularly on the 27 Febr., w^{ch} I thanke God is past without any danger to him. The whole businesse is thought to be a trick, and it is above me to know what to say to it.

The Court seemes to have no other Interest but in contracting of expenses. They will discountenance Papists, make the late violent men Sheriffs, and call a new Parliamt. when King hath not immediate want. King says, He had rather be a poore King then no King. Presbyterians will be most prevalent in the next Parliamt. It is also designed, before they meet, to have a Treaty of Marriage on foot between Prince of Orange and Duke of York's daughter.^a

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CXXII.--THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, March 17, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I doe acknowledge y^r receipt of two of y^r L^{ps} of y^e 2^d & 3^d of March. That of y^e latter date, among other things, reco^mends to me one Mr. Morrice, for y^e paym^t of 300^{ld} to him. Y^r L^p fully understands y^t y^e King's revenue is now out of his Majesties hands,^b

^a On March 3, Ormond wrote that the prorogation was not known, nor who counselled it. On the 7th Aungier reported that Buckingham received 6000*l.* for his place as gentleman of the bedchamber, 4000*l.* for the mastership of the horse out of the Irish establishment, and 1500*l.* a-year for life. On the 10th William Temple wrote that "The Duke is fixt and has great power." On March 20th Conway is appointed Lieut.-Gen. of Horse in Ireland. On the 21st Orrery warns Essex against believing the reports of a dissolution, and on the 25th Harbord reports Danby's intention of managing without a Parliament.

^b Since it was farmed by Ranelagh.

& there is nothing here but y^e Concordation Moneys in y^e Licu^{ts} dispose, w^{ch} are so very narrow as I cannot wth them answer even y^e necessary charges of y^e Govern^t. The King's Houses ought to be repair'd, but I found them in such ruine, as even this Castle it selfe would require more to putt it into reasonable Ord^r then y^e clear Income of them (y^e constant yearly paym^{ts} of these Concordations being deducted) would for some years amount to ; besides, I hope y^r L^p will be pleased to consider y^t, if at any Time I exceed y^e summe allotted upon this fund, I am by y^e Rules of y^e Establishment to repay it out of my owne purse, so as in Truth I doe not know what course to take for this Gentleman's satisfaction.

By y^e last Packett I desired M^r. Harbord to acquaint y^r L^p y^t I began very much to apprehend a failure in my Lord Ranelagh & his Partners, y^e symptomes whereof doe still encrease, for I find them very backward & shuffling in all their Paym^{ts}, & indeed I can scarce walke through y^e Gallery here but I meet wth some or other attending to complaine of them. The Army are not yet answer'd their last Quarter's pay ; S^r Thomas Chicheley's three thousand p^{ds}, one thousand of w^{ch}, by his Majestie's L^re of y^e 14th of July last, ought to have bin pay'd out of y^e Quarters Rent at Midsu^mer, another thousand out of y^e Quart^r's Rent at Michalm^s, & y^e other thousand out of y^e Quarter's Rent at Christmass, is by them disputed, alleging that by their Contract they are not lyable to make paym^t of any of this money till y^e expiration of their Terme. There are also divers other paym^{ts}, w^{ch} I could instance, wherein they have not yielded such compliyanse as I conceive they ought ; but that w^{ch} troubles me most is to see them come so heavily off in discharging y^e Twelvemonths Arrear due to y^e Army, y^e paym^t of w^{ch} ought to have begun at Christmass last was twelvemonth, & from that Time forward to have clear'd at Every Quarter one month of these Arrears. I have favoured them so far as to respit it till this last Christmass (at w^{ch} Time four months were payable), upon promise then or about that Time they would pay two months downe, & about Feb. or March two months more, but unless it be to eight Troops of

Horse or thereabout, to whom they have given Assignm^{ts} to receive y^e money in y^e country, none of this is answered. The Army, for ought I can find, are obedient enough to my commands, but I fear there is a great share of discontent among them for want of their growing pay, & a despair of their Arrears; petition they dare not (nor indeed in a matter of this nature is it fitt they should), well remembering in what manner many of y^e Officers were dealt wth for representing their case in my L^d Berkeley's Time, & therefore I esteem it a duty so much y^e more incumbent upon me early to explain this their condition to his Majestie, who only can redress it.

Of all y^e parts I have to serve his Matie in y^e Employ^t where I am, I know not any of more difficultie then this how to behave my selfe towards my L^d Ranelagh & his Partn^{rs}. For on y^e one hand, if I too hastily represent their Undertaking as breaking, I shall, should they happen to continue, both raise great enemies to my selfe & also incurr much discredit by being found in y^e wrong. Agen, if I be too late in giving notice of their failure, It may be much to his Maties disservice, & my selfe may be exposed to censure, for want of circumspection in his Majesties Affairs. Whereas, indeed, 'Tis impossible for any man to have a true prospect of what will become of their Undertaking. And y^e reason is this: They are accountable to none for their Receipts, & much of y^e money being collected by Officers of their owne & putt out of y^e course of y^e Excheq^r, none can devine what summs they have in their hands. The best conjecture then that can be given of their abilities to performe must be collected by being watchfull how they keep touch in their Paym^{ts}, wherein observing at this time a more then ordinary faltering, I think I can doe no less then communicate it to y^r L^p, that so his Matie may know my apprehensions of y^e maine. To w^{ch} this also may further be added, y^t now above three years of y^e five of their Undertaking are expired, & 'Tis probable y^t most of y^e solvent Arrears are already gather'd, w^{ch} Arrears were intended to answer y^e Debts, & I doe not finde that any considerable part of these debts are yet clear'd. How is it possible then for any reasoning man to

be other then apprehensive of their failure, since I see so litle advances in y^e discharge of their debt undertaking, now more then halfe their Time is spent, & probably (as hath already bin said) all most all y^e solvent money of extraordinary is by this Time collected.

I know my Lord Ranelagh will object y^t y^e Farm^{rs} are short in their Paym^{ts} to him, but having enquired into that matter I doe not perceive that of this Quarter there is above nine or ten thousand p^{ds}. or very neer there abouts, due to them, w^{ch} tho' I acknowledge this too great a sum for y^e Farm^{rs} so long to deteine, yet y^e Excuse of these Farm^{rs} is (w^{ch} we must all allow to be true), that y^e weather hath of late bin so very bad as their Collect^{rs} could not travaile to gette y^e money together; yet, however, they will not faile to answer y^e whole within ten days' Time, & this they have engaged to doe, tho' they borrow y^e money. All w^{ch} when performed will not, I am confident, more then answer (nay, I wish it will answer) y^e large bills drawn out of England upon y^e Com^{rs} of y^e Treāry, so as I doe not see how their condition will be at all amended when these moneys are payd, nor they enabled to goe through wth y^e great debt they have Undertaken. The Acc^t between y^e Com^{rs} & Farm^{rs} to Midsuñer last is stated & passed in y^e Excheq^r, & my L^d Chief Baron tells me (for I have not yet perused y^e Acc^t it selfe) y^t y^e Farm^{rs} are found to have overpayd twelve hund p^{ds}. Thus much I thought fitt to adde, because I fear there is none in England to represent y^e case, & all may be taken for granted that my L^d Ranelagh shall assert.

When Mr. Harbord went over, I instructed him y^t, in case my L^d Ranelagh's Undertaking should be questioned in y^e House of Coñons there, He should be ready to speake favourably of it, & to give my sence therein to this effect, That however this method of y^e revenue might seem to be a diminution to y^e powr of y^e Lieu^t, & (to such who had conscience large enough to reap irregular advantages) a lessening to his profitt, yet I was fully of Opinion y^t if these men went through wth their business, y^e Undertaking would be much to

y^e King's service, both in regard it would clear him of a great debt & reduce y^e receipt of y^e publick mony into a good method for y^e future. That these men were so dextrous & industrious in their way. as they would bring in many summs impossible to have bin collected, had this, as formerly, bin under y^e charge of y^e Lieut. That I did not look upon their project to be so wild a Thing as many men imagined. That this War hath bin a great hindrance to them, & in case they should break, I could not but attribute y^e hastning at least, if not y^e reason, of this their failure, in a great measure to this misfortune. All w^{ch}, as I am told, M^r. Harbord hath performed there, not a litle to y^e credit & advantage of these Undertakers. This I did, both because I was unwilling for his Majesties sake y^t this business should be too far looked into by y^e House of Coñmons, but chiefly in compliance to y^e Coñmands I rec^d from his Ma^{tie} when I left England, that I should by no means be wanting on my part to countenance & support this Affaire, & as I have not failed in giving y^e utmost of my assistance towards it hitherto, so neither can I answer it in duty to him I serve, if I should not truly acquaint his Ma^{tie} wth y^e apprehensions I have of them.

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Since I writt this L^{re}, I also find y^e Farm^{rs} are in Arrear four thousand p^{ds} upon y^e Customs.

CXXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF
ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, March 20th, 73.

The Unquiet Temper, wherein you have bin during y^e last Sessions of Parliam^t in England, hath not wanted its influences here, for in this City (w^{ch} seemed before reasonably well disposed

& quiet under y^e Rules that were established by my selfe & Councell) severall of their factious & troublesome men, encouraged as I believe by y^e forwardness of y^e House of Coñions to harken unto any complaints, began to stir agen, & were making a party to represent their grievances (as they call them) to y^e House of Coñions. The principall thing they then fixed upon in their litle Caballs^a was ag^t that Rule of admitting others as well as Protestants to a freedome of Trade here. This they thought would be a gratefull complaint to those to whom they intended their Adress, but after y^t y^e Parlm^t was prorogued, having gain'd a good number to their party, they chang'd their course & designed y^e making their application to his Ma^{tie}. Soe far had these men prevailed among y^e Citizens, y^t divers petitions have bin exhibited to my L^d Mayor from severall of y^e Corporacions, a Copy of one of them is here enclosed (in substance they being all y^e same), by w^{ch} you will see their intention was to apply to his Ma^{tie} for vacating y^e Rules. The whole number of y^e Corporacions are twenty, of w^{ch} five had petitioned, and a Coñittee of y^e Citty did meet on Tuesday last upon these Petitions, &, as I hear, many of them, in a most tumultuous manner, clamord out for a generall Assembly to be called on Fryday; afterward five more Corporacions came in & petitioned. Upon notice of this, I thought it was full Time for me to interpose, & truly I conceive Petitions from great numbers of men in any Govern^t are of dangerous consequence, & can only tend to y^e disturbance of it. But especially as this case stands, I apprehended it more particularly my duty to shield his Ma^{tie} from such complaints, for should they be permitted to exhibite the intended Petition, his Ma^{tie}, if he denied their request, would take upon himselfe y^e disobligacōn, w^{ch} I think is much fitter, if it should raise any ill will, to have it rest upon me, his Minister, then himselfe, & if his Ma^{tie} should graciously please to grant their Adress, He would then (y^e Rules being, by y^e express words of y^e Act, made as good

^a Essex had been uniformly indulgent to the Catholics. On Feb. 21 he wrote to Harbord stating that he had refused to disarm them.

& effectually, to all intents and purposes, as if y^e same had bin specially & particularly established by authoritie of that present Parlim^t) by his owne powr vacate a Clause in this Law ; & how this would be resented & sound at y^e meeting of y^e Parlm^t in England, Y^r L^p, who was an Eye Witness of y^e Exceptions taken ag^t y^e Committee of Inspection in y^e late Sessions of Parlm^t, only upon suspicion that that Comissⁿ was intended to infringe this Act, can best judge. Besides, should these Rules come to a particular debate, that Clause of them of admitting as well others as Protestants into Corporacions would be discused, & then it would appear that y^e word (Others) was inserted by his Ma^{tie}'s particular directions. All w^{ch} I fear would be an occasion of breeding no good blood among y^e people of England, so as Take it either way, whether his Ma^{tie} granteth or refuseth their Adress, it could not, in my humble opinion, prove other then inconvenient to him ; nay, perhaps 'twas so designed by y^e Promoters of these petitions.

For these reasons, therefore, it seemed best to me to stay y^e progress of this matter, at least in y^e way it was now sett on foot. And to this end I this day sent for y^e L^d Mayor, Aldermen, & Masters of y^e severall Corporacions, & spake to them, as is express'd in the enclosed paper, wherein y^r L^p will finde I have not altogether precluded them of all manner of application.

I am very apt to believe y^t some of these men have encouragem^t out of England, & have more then probability to suspect y^t my Lord Privy Seale^a doth underhand animate them ; a litle time will shew us what Temper they will be in, & in case they should persist in their former practices, y^e persons who are y^e principall movers, being not above three or four, I desire to know whether his Ma^{tie} would be willing I should send them over into England to answer their faults at y^e Councell board there, for I am confid^t, were they putt to y^e charge of a journey & some attendance, & returned but wth a reproof, they being poor men, it would quiett all for ever after. This I shall not doe without necessitie inforceth me, & in y^e

^a Anglesea.

mean Time I shall be glad of an intimation how his Majestie would like such a course, as also how he approves of what I have done hitherto.

From Sligo I hear y^t Francis Bodkin is convict & condemned for Pyracy, y^e evidence being very full & clear ag^t him; y^e Com^{rs} are there proceeding ag^t others of his Accomplices.

That w^{ch} I writt to y^t L^p in mine of y^e 17th, concerning my L^d Ranelagh's Undertaking, is not at all intended either to disparage it or bring any discredit upon the undertakers, but only truly to represent y^e case to his Ma^{tie} as I finde it here. His L^p residing at London, & being alwaies neer y^e Court, hath y^e opportunitie to urge y^e slackness of paym^{ts} on y^e Farm^{rs} part, & to procure L^{res} to press them to a more speedy performance, all w^{ch} I conceive doth not a litle further his Majesties business; but there being none except my selfe to observe his & his partner's failings, who indeed require some quickning, I have taken upon me in that L^{re} to make known their present state, wth my conjectures thereupon, y^t his Ma^{tie} being thus informed may give such Orders in relation to this Affair as his Ma^{tie} shall thinke fitt.

CXXIV.—SPEECH OF THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE
CITY COUNCIL OF DUBLIN.

March 20th, 1674.

I hear y^t Petitions have bin lately proferr'd by some of y^e Corpora^{cons} of y^e City to y^e L^d Mayor to have Liberty to petition ag^t y^e Rules w^{ch} have bin established for regulating this Corpora^{con}. Copies of y^e Petitions themselves have bin scattered up & downe in severall mens' hands, & read at Coffee houses, by w^{ch} means I came to be informed of them.

'Tis well known that these Rules were made by virtue & Powr given by Act of Parliam^t to y^e Lieu^t & Councill, & that they are now by virtue of that Act of y^e same force as an Act of Parliam^t.

It may not perhaps be taken notice of what sort of offence it is for many persons to meet together, & joyne in framing or preserving Petitions to have any of y^e Constitutions of this Realme either altered or repealed, especially at such a Time when there is no Parliam^t sitting, by whom such alterations or Repeales may be made

It ought likewise to be considered by all his Ma^{tie} good subjects ag^t what Acts this Complaint this directed, I mean y^e Acts comonly called y^e Acts of Settle^{mt}, y^e basis & foundation of y^e quiett & peace of this Kingdome, & w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} hath very lately, by a publick proclamation, declared most inviolably to observe. Now if these Acts should be broken in one part, why not in another? If Petitions should be preferred ag^t these Rules, w^{ch} are confirmed by one Clause of them, why may not all these persons, who have lost their Estates or suffered any prejudice by these Acts, take y^e like course (nay, are they not even by y^r example encouraged?) to gather hands to petition to be restored agen to their lands, w^{ch} have bin thus disposed to others? And to have such dispositions as have bin made by these Acts alter'd, of how dangerous a consequence this will be every man may easily judge.

Such Petitions can only serve to manifest y^e factious & seditious spiritts of those who promote them to raise Tumults & disorders in y^e Citty & discontent ag^t his Ma^{ties} govern^t, by whose Authoritie these Rules established. Therefore, It is not to be suffered y^t an Assembly of this Citty should meet to any such purpose, or should joyne in any such Petition, not being consistent wth y^e duty they owe to his Majestie, or wth y^e quiet & repose of y^e Citty.

I doe for these reasons expect from you, my L^d Mayor, y^e brethren, y^e Aldermen, & all other y^e good & Loyall Citizens of this Citty, that you suffer not any further proceedings hereupon, & that you doe not permit any meetings to frame such like Petitions. And I doe declare, y^t if any hereafter shall endeavour to promote them, I shall look upon them as persons designing some disturbance to y^e Govern^t, & they shall be proceeded ag^t & punished accordingly as y^e nature of such a Crime does deserve.

Sufficiently sensible I am y^t this Citty hath ever bin famous for their Loyaltie to his Ma^{tie}, & for y^e respect they have shewn to those who have by his Ma^{tie} bin placed in y^e govem^t of this Kingdome, nor is it to be doubted but they have y^e same affections still & will not doe any thing that may give occasion to alter y^t opinion w^{ch} hath bin held of them. I conceive there ought to be a particular regard had to y^e welfare of y^e Citty, & none shall be more ready then my selfe, upon all opportunities, to doe any thing (consistent wth his Ma^{ties} service) that may tend to ye promoting y^e happiness of you, or removing any inconveniencies from you.

These Rules were designed for y^e benefit^t of y^e Citty for y^e advancement of y^e Trade thereof, & for y^e encouragem^t of more Traders to come & setle here. However, if there be any thing in them that doth not answer these good ends, & that upon experience it is found that these Rules, or any part of them, are really prejudiciall to y^e Citty, or y^e good Govern^t of y^e same, some few particular may meet together as private men, & may, without any Petition, reduce those matters into writing w^{ch} they apprehend to be of any publick prejudice or disadvantage, wth y^e grounds of their exceptions to them, & when these shall be so offered to me, such an Answer shall be given thereunto as by reasonable men may be expected.

CXXV.—TO THE R^T HON^{BLE} JO: ALLEN, ESQ^R., LORD MAYOR
OF Y^E CITY OF DUBLIN.

The Humble Petition of y^e Masters, Wardens, & Brethren
of y^e Holy Trinity Guild.

Sheweth,

That whereas his Ex^{cic} y^e L^d Lien^t & Councill of this Kingdome have lately made severall Rules, Ord^{rs}, & directions as their L^{ps} conceived for y^e better regulating of this Citty of Dublin & y^e severall respective Guilds & Corpora^{co}ns therein, & y^e electing of

Officers & Magistrates there, & forasmuch as y^r Pet^{rs} doe humbly conceive y^t y^e s^d Rules, Ord^{rs}, etc., are inconsistent wth & destructive to y^e many Chartres & priviledges granted to this City, & to y^e severall Guilds & Corpora^{co}ns therein, by his sacred Ma^{tie} that now is & his Royal Predecess^{rs}, under w^{ch} they have bin alwaies Loyall & prosperous, his Ex^{ci}e & Councell (as is humbly conceived), not being fully informed, have established y^e s^d Rules, Ord^{rs}, & directions for ever, notwithstanding any Charter or Charters, to y^e great discouragem^t of this auintient & Loyall City.

Y^r Pet^{rs} therefore humbly pray y^r L^p forthwith to call an Assembly for making humble application to his Ex^{ci}e for leave to petition to his most sacred Ma^{tie}, y^t He would graciously please to restore y^e Mayor, Sheriffs, Co^mons, & Citizens of this City to their auintient priviledges & Imunities, or if y^r L^p thinks it not fitt to call an Assembly for that purpose, y^t then y^r L^p will not ill resent it if this Corpora^{co}n doe make their humble Address to y^e ends aforesaid.

And y^r Pet^{rs}.

CXXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO W. HARBORD.

M^r. HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, March 21, 1673.

I have by these Packetts written at large to my Lord of Arlington concerning y^e unquiet motions w^{ch} have of late bin in this City, together wth an Act of my proceedings thereupon; some few particulars I think convenient to adde, w^{ch} I desire you to communicate to my Lord of Arlington, for I am sure y^e representing Truth, & y^e whole Truth, is both y^e best for his Ma^{ties} affairs, & likewise y^e safest course for me to pursue. I have acquainted his L^p wth y^e number of those Corpora^{co}ns who petitioned y^e Lord Mayor to have libertie to make application to me to grant them leave to adress to

his Ma^{tie} for vacating y^e Rules. Since y^e writing of that L^re, I rec^d this paper enclosed, w^{ch} names y^e severall Corpora^{co}ns who thus petitioned, together wth y^e dates when they presented them, wherein 'Tis observable that these Petitions came in by some litle Intervalls of Time one after another, & y^e one halfe of them after y^e meeting of that Committee w^{ch} seemed not to disallow of these Petitions. I have made some enquiry this day what effect my speech had among them, & doe finde y^t they are accusing one another of their goeing up & downe & persuading men to engage in this business, & many of them doe owne that they had not done it, but upon y^e vehement importunitie of some others. The number of y^e Corpora^{co}ns who first & last brought in these petitions are ten, being just halfe of y^e full number of all in this City, but then I must tell you y^t y^e Corpora^{co}n of Trinity Guild ^a is more considerable then any other four of y^e Corpora^{co}ns, so as I look upon it that by much y^e major part of y^e Corpora^{co}ns have appear'd in this Affair, & 'Tis not strange that so many men are drawn into these practices when four or five men, Sr John Tottie, Mr. Philpot, etc., have made it their whole business, ever since y^e first beginning of this late Sessions of Parliam^t in England, to incite y^e Citizens to these disturbances. These have bin observed never to be in their Shops, but all day long at Taverns or Coffee houses, perpetually sending about for severall Citizens, persuading them to further and promote these seditious designes, w^{ch} prime movers are men of small Estates, & no doubt their Aime was to have bin employed as Agents in England, thereby to have gott some collection of money from y^e City, as a litle before my coming one Nevill (an unworthy Instrum^t of Sr Ellis Leighton's) did, when y^e matter of turning out y^e Record^r & eight of y^e Aldermen was under consideration. Upon y^e whole I make no doubt but that, if his Majestie please to stand by me, I shall reduce them to a compliance.

A late Mutiny concerning y^e building of a bridge here (since w^{ch} indeed they have never bin in perfect Ord^r) could not be suppress'd

See last document.

but by force, some companys of y^e Guard being comanded together to quiet y^e Tumult, where severall men lost their Lives. And Truly in all these cases I conceive 'Tis best narrowly to watch y^e beginnings of them, however not to overvalue y^e discontented people of this Citty, his Majestie may rely upon it y^t they are not able (his Army being in so good a posture) to doe any harme, unless it be to themselves. Nevertheless I shall be glad to know his Ma^{tie}'s pleasure, w^{ch}, whether as a publick minister or a private person, shall ever be a guide to my Actings in Ord^r to his service.

There are some Things of moment w^{ch} I would gladly have dispatched before you leave London. I hope within one post or two to send you full Instructions concerning them, & therefore I desire you will not beginne y^r journey till you hear agen from me.

Before you leave England, I would have you take some Time to speake wth y^e King alone, & take his Ma^{tie}'s directions what he would have me doe in relation to y^e banishing Priests & Friers here. I finde they will not goe unless they be absolutely taken up & forced away. I am also fully assured there can be no danger or discontent arise by sending them away, provided y^e Parish Priests are indulged, for y^e Friers & y^e others exercising Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction are a burthen & charge to those of y^t Religion, & I am confident y^e being freed from them will be much to their satisfaction, for indeed they have almost beggar'd them. However, I should be glad to have some private directions to guide my proceedings in this particular.

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CXXVII.—NAMES OF Y^E CORPORACIONS WHO BROUGHT IN
PETITIONS TO Y^E LORD MAYOR, ETC.

Feb. 15 th , 1673.	The Trinity Guild, not signed, but brought in by—	S ^r John Totty, Kn ^t , Natha: Philpott, Will ^m Gressingham, William Eager,	} Masters. } Wardens.
March 4 th	The Corpora ^o n of Taylors,	Matthew Nulty, Will ^m Crawford, John Kennedy,	} Master. } Wardens.
March 5 th	The Corpora ^o n of Glovers, signed,	Will ^m Wemersley, Will ^m Miles, Will ^m Metcalfe,	} Master. } Wardens.
March 5 th	The Corpora ^o n of Brick Layers, not signed.	Forster,	} Master.
March 16 th	The Corpora ^o n of Smiths,	Nich: Banks, Borland, George ,	} Master. } Wardens.
March 16 th	The Corpora ^o n of Painters & Stayners, not signed.		
March 19 th	The Corpora ^o n of Sheermen, signed & brought by—	Will ^m Lingar, John Prue, James Carr,	} Master. } Wardens.
March 19 th	The Corpora ^o n of Shoemakers under their Seale.		
March 19 th	The Corpora ^o n of Weavers, signed.	John Walker, Tho: Mitchell, Daniell ,	} Master. } Wardens.
March 19 th	The Corpora ^o n of Goldsmiths, under their seale.	Richard Long,	} Master.

CXXVIII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

24 March, 1673.

I gave you an Account by the last post at large of what I had donne in pursuance of y^r Directions, since w^{ch} yesterday, after y^e King's Dinner, I went with my Lord Arlington to reade y^r Excellencie's Report to his Ma^{ty} about y^e Mills of Kilmanham, who was pleased to heare it wth patience & Attention, saying y^t he had now gratifyed S^r Maurice^a by hearing what were his pretension, but y^t you should now goe on to Recover his Right by Lawe, & bid my L^d Arlington & my self signifye his pleasure to y^r Excellency accordingly; his Ma^{ty} was very well satisfyed wth y^e Account you had given, & said my L^d of Essex is a man y^t may be believed blindfold; whereupon I tooke y^e liberty to saye, y^t I was extreemly glade to finde his Ma^{ty} satisfyed wth y^e Government; he answered, not only satisfyed, but abundantly satisfyed. I further told his Ma^{ty}, that y^e Voyce of y^e Towne was y^t you were to be Recalled; his answer was, y^t they w^{ch} said so were Rogues, & bid me Laye a Wager of it, & y^t he would goe my halves.

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CXXIX.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

28 March, 74.

I received yesterday y^{rs} of y^e 11th instant, & according to y^r Excellencie's Directions I have comunicated y^e Contents of it to S^r Henry Capell, & wth him discoursed y^e same wth my L^d Arlington,

^a Sir Maurice Eustace, formerly Lord Chancellor.

who gave me a sight of those 2 y^r Excellency w^rtt to him upon the undertaking & y^e seditious petition. I gave you my weake opinion by y^e last post as to y^r proceeding upon y^e first, & how cautiously y^t matter is to be handled; but I finde my Lord Arlington resolved to show y^r Letter upon y^t subject to his Ma^{ty} by y^e very first opportunity, so y^t you will quickly finde what Impression y^r thoughts make upon his Ma^{ty} thereupon. I can not well judge, I confess, of any thing *Ranelagh* saith, finding him a very bold affirmer of things & as forward to sweare as to speake of y^m; but I know 'tis his Interest to keepe *Essex* in his place, & I feare that *Ormond* is not of y^t minde as to his particular, nor 82,^a who is Extreemly Sick of y^e Gout & not out of great danger, as likewise is *Treasurer*, I can not tell whether y^e latter will dye; but he will not last long, labouring under greater difficulties then I feare he will ever master. The other day, discoursing wth *Ranelagh* upon y^e generall opinion how unable he would be to goe through wth his undertaking, he said y^t by his Ma^{te}'s orders he could quickly discharge himself, & if . . . would dispose of y^e money any way 'twas all one to him, & y^t he could produce orders for what he had donne, & prayed you to dispatch his account, & y^t if he thought himself in any danger he could quickly gett himself d charged. Pray saye nothing of this, for I make good use of these things here to doe you service, I assure y^r Excellency, & I hope y^r Excellency wilbe no looser by my being here. The other day, walking in y^e Mall wth King y^t I might discover whether *Ormond* was tampering, wth y^e assistance of *Duke*, to give *Essex* his place, being informed that *Carlingford* had bin *employ'd* to Duke for y^t purpose, I asked King whether it was pleasing to him y^e removing of y^e Troops; he said Yea. I asked him whether he thought it not best to remove some of y^e Companies of y^e guards upon duty to y^e Frontiers of y^e Irish? He said Yeas, by all means, for y^t he heard many of y^m were Tapsters, Hostlers, & Shopkeepers, w^{ch} would be easily seen. Then I proposed to him y^e Removing 4 Companies at first, w^{ch} he Exceedingly aproved off, & bid me tell you so. I had

^a Orrery.

some particular reasons for this, w^{ch} I will give you at my coming over, & by divers other discourses of y^t kinde I finde that King will never heare of *Ormond's* his pretensions y^t way.

I have by y^e Tuesday post to give y^r Excellency an Answer about y^e Friars, &c., & if not y^t day by y^e next of y^e other affaires, & to see y^e promoters of y^t petition put into y^r Hands y^r owne way after a long & chargeable journey.

I will not stirr till I receive y^r leave for y^t purpose, but most readely doe you all y^e service in my power, either here or there.

S^r Maurice Eustace hath been wth me, & desires y^r Excellency not to take any ill Impression of him, but y^t he willingly will submit y^e Mills to you; however, I advise y^r Excellency to goe on & Seize y^m into his Ma^{ties} hands. *Arlington* had a Cruel dispute wth *Anglesey* yesterday, & told him y^t he was a Knave, w^{ch} is too true. His Ma^{ty} went this day to Hampton Court, & Returns to night. Next Thursday he intends to Newmarket for 20 dayes, & L^d *Arlington* promiseth to give his resolution about y^e petitioners before his departure. I dout not but y^t his Ma^{ty} will stick to y^r Excellency^a & bring y^m to reason, to their shame. This is all at present from, &c.

CXXX.—CHARLES R. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Charles R.

Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin and Councillour,
 * Wee greet you well. Whereas Wee have been informed of certaine disorders fomenting in Our Citty of Dublin to create disturbances upon y^e account of y^e late Rules for regulating that and the other

^a Confirmed by letter from *Arlington*, of March 31.

Corporations of Our Kingdome of Ireland. And Whereas the procuring of hands to a Petition against a Law is in it self an Act of Sedition, especially when prepared to be addressed to such a Power as cannot change the Law, though never soe greivous. Wee having taken the same into Our consideration, and that the said Rules, as farre as wee can take notice of them, are extreamey usefull to Government in many respects, and that if Wee should think fit to give way against any complaints, though they may seem very specious, might yet in the consequence disturbe Our whole Government there. And that the said Rules are of equall credit and Authority with the Act of Settlement, the attempt of breaking any part whereof Wee look upon as very dangerous and prejudiciall to Our Service. Wee have, therefore, thought fit to direct and require you, as Wee doe by these Presents, to use such means as you shall think fit for the effectuall suppressing all Preparations to such a Disorder in the same manner as you would doe any other Sedition, and that you give Order to Our Attorney or Sollicitor Generall there to proceed by information against the Principall movers in this businesse, if you should think it for Our Service. Neverthelesse, Our pleasure is, that you enquire and certify unto Us, with what convenient speed you may, what Numbers there are of persons living in any of the Corporations of that Our Kingdome within the benefit of the words [and others] in the second Rule, that may give occasion of offence, to the End that Wee may be informed whether there may be any seeming grounds for these complaints. And for soe doing this shall be your Warrant. And soe Wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 31st day of March, 1674, in the Six & Twentieth yeare of Our Reigne.

CX XXI.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r EXCEL^{ce},

Ragley, 31st March, 1674.

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I told yo^r Excel^{ce}, in my last from London of the 24th instant, that I had sent away my Character into these parts, yet I suppose my relations will not be prevented by others. In my Letter of the 28th past, I acquainted Yo^r Excel^{ce} that the project of all Affaires at Court depended upon the Regulation of Expenses. When this was searcht into, it appeared that every yeare since the King came in, he had exceeded his constant Revenue a Million of Money, except one yeare that it was but halfe so much. *Treasurer*, who took much paines to see through the bottome of the cheat, desired *King* that the Fleet might, in the first place, be pay'd off, and that the King might be moved to put a stop to all Salleryes and Pensions till the Seamen were pay'd, and all Mony taken up upon Credit to have them repay'd, for that the King was at 1500^ld a day charge extraordinary till this was donne. Great perplexityes ensued for some days. It was given out in the City that there was a generall stop put upon the Exchequer, and many Bankiers who were known or suspected to lend mony to the Court, had all their mony cal'd in, and this was by the Art of those that labor'd to break the Regulation. On the other side, the Courtiers were enraged, and *Anglesey* swore he knew not how to goe to Markett. *Keeper* grumbled as much as any, and *Arlington*, I heard, took it ill *his private intelligence mony* should not be reckoned upon as an indispensable thing. The *Dutchesse of Portsmouth* was advised by *King* to make a friendship with *Trear*. She had bought a *Necklase of Pearle*, 8000^ld price, of a Marchant, and a *payre of Diamond Pendants*, 3000 Guynyes, of *Elder Lady Northumberland*, but neither of them would part with them without ready mony. I left *Trear*. and the

afores^d person in treaty, and I suppose they are both able to make their bargains. The intentions of *Ormond* to goe into *Ireland* made his followers give it out that *Essex* was to be recalled. This alarmed me so much that I had little rest till *Trear.* spoke with *King*, who assured him of the vanity of it, and say'd much more concerning *Ormond* and *Orrery* then I need to repeat. I am sure *King* is very glad of the departure of *Ormond*.

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CXXXII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

MR. HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, March 28, 1674.

On ye 13th of Octob^r last I re^cd a L^re from my Lord of Shaftesbury, then L^d Chancell^r, a copy whereof is here enclosed, by w^{ch} you will finde y^t his Ma^{tie} did then designe some inspection into y^e disposition w^{ch} hath bin made of lands here ; & I am also thereby directed y^e holding correspondence upon this subject wth his L^p, & none other. I have taken care to employ some persons wth great secrecie about y^e worke, & doe not finde y^t any are allarmd wth it, or in y^e least suspect what is doing. D^r Gorge, so much commended in my L^d Shaftesbury's L^re as a man very skilfull in y^e whole compass of Irish Affairs, appears to me no very extraordinary person, & as for his knowledge in matters of this Kingdome, here are severall infinitely beyond him, only they have not y^e luck to be known on y^e other side ; so as this D^r being better able to speake upon subjects of this sort than others who appear there, is, I believe, y^e ground of putting so much value upon him.

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His Ma^{tie}'s designe by this search, I presume, was to bring all these Lands so discoverd into a Co^mon Stocke, to y^e intent they might be applied to y^e ends of y^e Act, & y^e Remainder to be an additionall revenue to y^e Crowne ; but now, whilst I was thus far

advanced, there came severall L̄res under ye Signett, for y^e grant of Lands to persons who shall discover them : one L̄re for my Ld. Kingstown, bearing date 23rd Feb. ; two on y^e behalfe of Coll. Dillon, of y^e 29th Jan. & 2^d of March ; & one for my Lord Mount Alexand^r of ye 29th Jan. 73. Many others, I hear, are ready, & no doubt of it will be gained ; & I cannot but say that by this course y^e King hath brought, as our English proverb is, “ An old House on his head,” for here are abundance of men preparing to goe into England upon these designs, & I finde severall of them have already bin advising wth Councill to frame L̄res to this purpose, so as his Ma^{tie} must expect disquiet enough by these solicitations. These L̄res being utterly incompatible with y^e other designe, I desire you will get a Time to speake privately wth his Ma^{tie} & know his pleasure what He will have done, for if his intentions continue to prosecute these discoveries in y^e manner my Ld. of Shaftesbury’s L̄re directs, & to proceed to an orderly disposition of such Lands as shall be found out, there must be one L̄re drawn to suspend all these Grants, & all others of y^e like kind that shall be obtained ; but if his Ma^{tie} shall rather thinke fitt y^t every man who hath a pretention gett what he can, ’Tis necessary I should herein know his pleasure, that so I may desist from y^e other worke, & putt his Ma^{tie} to no further unnecessary charge upon the enquiry.

The Truth is, y^e Lands of Ireland have bin a meer scramble, & y^e least done by way of orderly distribution of them as perhaps hath ever been known, w^{ch} makes all men soe unsettled in their Estates & soe unquiet in their possessions. And this hath been a ground for projectors to worke upon ; w^{ch}, considering Ireland as a plantation (for in reallitie it is litle other), cannot but be so great a discouragem^t to all people from coming hither, & to those who are here from laying out moneys on Improvem^{ts}, as this alone is obstacle enough to y^e flourishing of it. I could heartily wish that one way or other there were an end of these discoveries, for better were it for y^e Crowne to be cheated of its Right to divers parcell of Lands, than by perpetuall Inquisitions so to harass men’s

Estates, and disparage their Titles to them, as all men are afraid to deale, and, consequently, both y^e Increase of people and Improvem^t of Trade, to y^e greater damage of y^e publick revenue, is hereby most notoriously hinderd. Therefore I doe humbly propose, that wth way soever his Ma^{tie} shall take for y^e clearing these doubtfull Titles, there may at length be an End; and that after a year or two, or such other Time as his Ma^{tie} shall thinke fitt, there may be no further vexation of this kind upon y^e people. All this I would have you discourse wth y^e King, but not communicate it to any other person whatever, and return me an Answer as speedily as may be. In case his Ma^{tie} approve y^e satisfying private men's pretentions separately, I have herewth sent you one, being as just as any, and exactly pursuant to y^e Acts of Settlement.

This I desire you would get signed. Here is a province in this Kingdome, I mean y^e province of Conaght and County Clare, y^e new Estates whereof are as yet wholly unsettled. I have sent over y^e case to my Lord of Arlington, and desire you will sollicite y^e dispatch of it, Summer being y^e Time most proper to send out Com^{rs} for such an Affair.

CXXXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

MR. HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, March 31, '74.

* * * * *

The discours you tell me you had wth his Ma^{tie} concerning my administracõn of Affairs^a here gives me great satisfaction.

'Tis very strange that this country cannot be furnished wth small money, but still one obstruction or other intervenes to hinder it. I have been above a year labouring to gett some here. At first we were told that some of those made for England should be sent

^a See Letter CXXIX.

over, w^{ch} I approv'd & desired might come; afterwards these were refused. Then, as you know, I propos'd that if they would not serve us out of England, it might be left to me to provide y^e Country wth them, w^{ch} (as you best understand) I intend'd to doe wth litle profit to my selfe, & most advantage that could be to y^e publick. Now that this is almost consented to (as this last L^re of y^{rs} tells me) a Patent of S^r Thomas Armstrong's is started up to obstruct it. I am certaine y^e poor Kingdome suffers extremely for want of small money, & are miserably cheated by every fellow that coyne what he pleaseth, & I wish y^e King would putt it in some way, that y^e Country might be supplied. But then it must be considered that if it falls into y^e hand of this Patentee, or any other of mean fortune, if he be not tied strictly to Rules of what value to make them, He and his partners will only intend their owne profit, & y^e people be much abused by that coyne.

I confess I have a great desire to doe some publick thing here for y^e advantage of y^e Kingdome, & have bin often much troubled to see how every of these intentions for y^e co^mon good are so strongly hedged up by patents, Grants, and other Incumbrances, as 'tis almost impossible to breake through them.

You may observe an instance hereof even in these Farthings, but there is a greater, & such as no man almost can guess at y^e value, & that is y^e Mines of this Kingdome, w^{ch} I am confid^t for Lead, Copper, nay, and perhaps Silver, may be equall to any in y^e World. The working of all w^{ch} are discourag'd, & indeed totally suppress'd, by a Patent of S^r George Hamilton's for Mine Royall. so as no man that hath any Mines but useth his utmost endeavours to conceale them. This I only mention by y^e by, but perhaps on some further enquiry I shall make a more serious representac^on of it.

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CXXXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

MR. HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, March 31, '74.

The severall discourses that have bin in Towne of my removal from this Govern^{mt}, tho' I am confid^t there was no ground for them, yet I would be glad that before you leave London you doe engage my Lord of Arlington, or Secretary Coventry, or some other whom we may be sure of that should be watchfull, if at any time hereafter such an intention should be, that I may have timely notice thereof. This I thought fitt to let you know by a safe hand, & pray setle it with some person before you come away.

CXXXV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY Y^T PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

4th Apr. '74.

I writt to you at large by y^e last post, & gave you an Account of our affaires here. There came in a packet this weeke from Ireland dated 24^o of y^e last month, but I had none int, where off I desire y^e Excellency to take advice, least, comming under Mr. Bridgman's care, I might misse y^m, not by accident, & I am the more suspitious because of y^e last Letter you writt to Arlington about Ranelagh, where off I suppose Arlington will give Essex notice this night, and what directions King gave int. I feare y^t y^e Farmers doe think y^mselves hard used by Lord Ranelagh, & y^t Essex is too greatly inclining to Ranelagh in their opinion. They have taken y^e whole Farme upon y^mselves, & D^r. William Sleare & one Muschiampe are their partners; but they endeavour to rout Sleare & Muschiampe, if possible. They are also in hopes to gain 5 yeares added to y^e present terme, & offer for it upon y^e same Coverments

to paye 229,000*l.* & 20,000*l.* to y^e privy purse yearly. Y^e last is a strong motive in this age, & to advance 100,000*l.*, repaying y^mselves yearly 20,000*l.* for 5 years till y^e same be repaid, I feare this will take, though certainly more might be gotten for it, ready money well placed being a great promoter of buisnesse here.

Mr. Bridgman will send y^r Excellency this night his Ma^{ties} Directions how to proceede against y^e Arch. Bish. etc. *King* doth on all occasions expresse so great a value for *Essex*, y^t he may have any thing donne y^t he shall advise, so as it be delivered to *King* fairly; but I think, wthout vanity, y^t y^e best way is to write what ever you have a minde to in a distinct clause by itself, & send it me to reade to *King*, & I doe almost engage y^e any thing reasonable wilbe granted; but I cannot finde cleane hands, from some little interest or another, to put it into. The King went to Newmarket on Thursday last, & wilbe back next Saturday.

My Lord T^rear is better in health, but looks ill & unhealthy. I shal be glad to receive y^r comānds by y^e first, y^t so I may be moving from hence.

Mutton is here at 8*d.* per pound; Beef, 4*d.*; Corne for bread, 10 s^b per Bushell, & all things to be eaten proportionable. The Dutch Ambass^s are expected daily. We are in great streights for money, especially the Navy; & tis y^e generall opinion y^t ye parliament will hold, such are our necessities.

CXXXVI.--WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY Y^r PLEASE Y^r EXCELLENCY,

7 Apr. '74.

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To the end that no time may be lost for y^e Dispatching y^e Instructions, I am just going to Newmarket to deliver his Ma^{ties} Letters to him, & to discourse wth him upon those points wherein y^e Excellency Desires his present Direction, & to me y^e proposalls & advice

seem so discreet y^t I hope to finde successe, & I am the more encouraged to hope so by y^e great readinesse I find in *King* to receive any account from me of y^e manner of Government, & so frankly on every occasion to seeme quiet & satisfied wth y^e trust he has reposed in you, though you can not but believe y^t many persons are both ready & willing for divers ends & Designes to doe a man in so considerable a post as you are in all the Ill effects they can ; &, wthout flattery, *Essex* is by all the best men here in great credit, & wilbe so in despite of all men, so long as he promotes *the Protestant Interest*. I hope y^e letter concerning y^e proceedings upon the Adress, & sent away last Saturday, will come safe to y^r hands, & not be unpleasing to you, & tis my humble opinion y^t you may make good use of it, not only in point of reputation to y^r self, but by y^r prudent conduct in it, his Ma^{ties} affaires there may Receive great Benefitt, & y^e Kingdome both a security to one & a satisfaction to y^e other party.

I begg y^r Excellencies pardon for this degression, &, in obedience to y^r co^mands, shall reminde his Ma^{ty} of y^e Letter writt to you by Shaftesbury by co^mand for King, & of y^e contents thereof, And endeavour to obstruct in the first place this Torrent, w^{ch}, in my poore opinion, Threatens disorders as well as the Disquieting of men's mindes & futures, but if that can not be then, I will get the Letters y^r Excellency hath sent signed, & Returne y^m to you by y^e first oportunity.

* * * * *

I did y^e last night discourse wth Arlington at supper wth him about these Murdering Letters. He Excuseth himself ritely as Keeper, but—*Dulce est Lucrum, etc.*; & I finde y^t Ingredients moves y^e great ones as well as y^e Little here. I will Employ all y^e Credit & understanding I am Master of to Convert this affaire either to y^e good of y^e King and his affaires there preferable to all other considerations or to y^r Reputation ; y^t so no blame may lye at y^r Excellencies Doors, for not having done y^r part. I have

advised wth Sir Hen. Capell and S^r Ch. Harbord, whome I dare saye may be benefited, & shall take my measures accordingly.

* * * * *

I confesse 'tis a wonderfull thing to see that nothing y^t is either good or great can be designed for y^e publike, but some pattent either Illegale or Inconvenient stands in the way; though I confess I am convinced y^t the coyning of Farthings & half pence, such I meane as y^r Excellency would owne for countenance in Ireland, is not practicable, wthout putting his Ma^{ty} to a great charge, & y^t a 3^d part & lesse of y^e expense will bring great quantities out of England, such as will give you security & quiet, w^{ch} in this age is perhaps preferable to y^t generosity w^{ch} Invites y^r Excellency to have y^m coyned there for y^e good of y^e Kingdome during y^r Government of it. At my coming over I will more particularly informe y^r Excellency of this affaire, & I hope satisfye you y^t no care nor paines have been wanting to observe y^r Commands int. As for what relates to Kilmainham Mills, I hope by Lawe they wilbe his Mat^{ies}. S^r Maurice insists much upon a pattent he hath thereoff, and y^t confirmed by y^e Act, but shows none, & sometimes 'tis in Ireland & sometimes here. *Arlington* used to tell me y^t his Interest arose from *Dutchess of Cleaveland*, but I have often had of late an opportunity to speake wth *Dutchess of Cleaveland*, & finde that S^r Maurice is pursuing a buishiness there, but 'tis of another nature. And I am assured y^t 'tis his money that gives him that favour he meets wth, but whether he give it to *Arlington* or *Bridgman* or both I know not, but believe both. I shall satisfye his Ma^{ty} of his Right to those Mills by y^e 2 Certificates your Excell^{ty} hath sent.

* * * * *

I hope to see y^r Excellency at y^e Head of some very good & publicke thing in that kingdome, though y^r Designes for coyning of Farthings answer not y^r Expectation, but his Ma^{ty} Inclining to

trust wth a Parleament there, w^{ch} he hath often exprest to me, I hope y^r credit wth them will incline them to assist his Ma^{ty} wth money for y^e building of some shipping for the Defence of their Navigation, upon the welfare whereoff depends y^e value of all their Estates, and indeed their common security, and the fortifying their harbours, providing stores for their Defence & places proper to Lodge them Inn safely against all Events. Of those heads I have discoursed wth his Ma^{ty}, who seems infinitely satisfied wth you, & Resolves to put y^e Conduct of a Parliament into y^r Hands, saying y^t you could govern it better than himself, & y^t y^r t^lent laye y^t way, and much more to this effect, whereoff at my comming over I will give y^r Excellency a more particular account.

* * * * *

Here hath been on Sunday last some disturbance among 2 Companies commanded by Lord Mount Alex^r & Captain Swiftnan, y^e famous Robber, but It seems he hath bought M^r Wicherley's Company in y^e Duke of Bu^{cks} his Regiment. These 2 Companies coming from Winchester in their way to Chester were much dissatisfied wth their officers ill paying of y^m & some ill usage about their last Expedition at Sea, fell into disorders, thereupon tooke ye Colours, & 85 of y^e whole number came away to London to complaine, whereoff y^e officers giving notice to y^e Lord Craven, a party of y^e Guard House were drawne out, & sent to meet y^m at Brainford, commanded by Collingwood & Hewett. They mett y^m there, inclosed y^m, & taking away their Coulers & Armes inquired into the thing, seized on 5 of y^e most guilty, brought y^m away to y^e Horse Guards, & sent y^e other 80 on their march wth their Armes. Ranelagh was there to vindicate himself last night y^t he had paid the officers w^{ch} he hath done to y^e 7th of March; but Savage, Predecessor to Ld. Mount Alex^r & Wicherley, have not been so just to y^e Soldiers.

* * * * *

I finde y^t *Ranelagh* & *Bridgman* are laying a plott to divide

Arl. & Essex, & to make *Essex* jealous of *Arl. & Will. Harbord*, hoping, I mean Ranelagh, thereby to shelter and save himself; but I pray believe y^t W. Harbord is & wilbe to y^e last hour of his Life faithfull to you. I dare pawne my life for him.

CXXXVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF
ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, April 9th, '74.

In y^r L^{ps} of y^e 31 of March you gave me a hint of my Ld. Ranelagh's having some knowledge of y^e substance of my L^{re} dated y^e 17th of March (wherein I discoursed something concerning his L^{ps} Undertaking), & that even before y^e L^{re} went out of my owne pockett. I have long had an apprehen^{cion} that his L^p hath practised y^e opening of L^{res} (w^{ch}, if you please but to aske my Lord of Ossory, he can tell you how dextrous he is in things of this kind). I formerly gave y^r L^p some intimacions of my Jealousies herein, by a L^{re} dated y^e 28th of Jan., & sent by Cap^t Crofts. Here is one Dorilaus (son, as I am informed, to Dr. Dorilaus, who, in y^e Time of y^e Troubles, was killed beyond y^e seas). This man hath very good skill in opening & decyphering L^{res}. He hath bin observed to be often about y^e Post Office, & if he be not employed by y^r L^p, or any other Secretary of State in England for Intelligence here, I have a great suspicion he is made use of by some others for that purpose, & very possibly by my Lord Ranelagh, for things of this nature are commonly carried so in y^e darke, & under such disguises, as 'Tis not easy to discover y^e Truth.

I thought it not amiss to give y^e L^p notice of this, that you might guess w^{ch} way Intelligences of this sort may come, & to doe it by a very safe hand, such as I know this Gentleman to be.

CXXXVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

MR. HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, April 11th, '74.

Having lately bin a hunting journey in y^e country, I found those parts where I was soe excellent for sport, as indeed I know none equall to them in England. I have now bin twice there, and doe perceive that by my giving countenance to those sort of recreations, it begins to incline people to keep Horses more then formerly was accustomed. Upon this occasion there is a plate sett up at Kildare to be run for constantly every year, & I hear there is eight or nine Horses in keeping for that Match. Now, besides y^e particular pleasure that I take in hunting, I am apt to believe that such meetings & recreations are not without their use even to y^e publick, it giving opportunitie for good company to meet together, & for y^e Lieu^t to be better acquainted wth severall persons & gentlemen of y^e Country, w^{ch} otherwise he would scarce know ; but above all it will most certinly encourage y^e breed of good Horses, w^{ch} may perhaps be as good an Improvem^t to this Kingdome as anything that can be thought of ; & if any man did but reflect how much y^e Horses of England are mended since y^e King himselfe used to goe to Newmarkett, from what they were before, it may easily be guessed what impression such a sort of encouragem^t here would make in y^e like kind.

* * * * *

Perhaps my owne inclinations to Field sports, of w^{ch} I have ever bin a Lover, may make me, in partialitie to my selfe, a litle more desirous of such an accommodation, & Truly (as I have already observed) I conceive even from these Entertainm^{ts} moderately used & well applied, y^e publick may reap a considerable benefit ; besides, I would be glad to leave this Government to whomsoever shall succeed me, better supplied wth conveniencies then I found

it, & I thinke it is both for his Majesties honour & service that whoever has so great a Trust should have y^e encouragem^t of living easily & wth pleasure, whilst he undertakes so much business.

Pray let me know how his Ma^{tie} relisheth this & y^e other proposall of getting those Lands within y^e Parke, for if these two can be compassd (& as I designd them without charge to his Majestic) I know nothing further I can have to offer for y^e accomodation of this place.

CXXXIX.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCELLENCY,

14 Apr: 1674.

Since my last of y^e 7th instant, I have waited on his Ma^{ty} at Newmarket, & there delivered to him y^e Excellencies, w^{ch} he read very distinctly before dinner, & after dinner was pleased to call me into his Closet, & there to hear me Read to him y^e Copy of my Ld Shaftesbury's Letter to y^r Excellency, & y^t w^{ch} you were pleased to write to me about y^e present promotes of Deficiencies; whereupon he also read y^r Excell^s writt to him then upon y^t subject, & did very much approve of y^r method, & resolved that a Letter should be immediately writt to y^r Excellency, wth directions to stopp all proceedings upon y^e former letter to y^t Effect.

* * * * *

Those I take to be y^e Directions I then received from y^r Excellency. As to y^e first, I herewth send you a Letter to put a stop; & it's his Ma^{ty}s pleasure y^t you proceede wth y^e account you are preparing to give him of all y^e Lands w^{ch} will come wth y^e Crown stock, & y^t wth y^e very first opportunity you can, & y^t such Account may be brought over by some person you can trust, & he was pleased to think 3 monthes a reasonable time for y^e protecting of it.

His Ma^{ty} did likewise give Directions y^t a Letter should be sent to y^r Excellency for y^e proceeding against Skiddy, &c., & seizing of their Estates for his Ma^{ties} use ; but M^r. Secretary Coventry makes some scruple of sending such a Letter, saying y^t y^e forfeitures belong to Ld Ranelagh, & y^t his Ma^{ty} may pardon the offenders, but y^t their goods goe to his Lop ; but I dare saye I have laid yt foundation wth his Ma^{ty} y^t If they be his nobody will give y^m from him.

I delivered also y^r Excellencies to *Duke*, who read it, but gave me no manner of answer. He was in the Closett all the time, & I could perceiv listen'd all he could at that distance, w^{ch} made me speake softly.

At my returne last night I went to see *Arlington*, & found him very much displeas'd y^t you should in so great an affaire, & wherein he had had so great a hand, proceede wthout him ; & really, But y^t y^r Excellency had been pleas'd to give me y^r Commands int, I was in great debate what to doe ; but having foreseen the discontent this would give him, To take all, I asked his Ma^{ty} wth whome you should now correspond upon this matter, his Ma^{ty} having been pleas'd to take y^e seale from my Ld. Shaftesbury, & propos'd y^t it might be *Arlington*, w^{ch} he readily consented to. My reason was that by y^t means I might be necessitated to acquaint his Lop wth what Directions y^r Excellency had heretofore receav'd upon that subject, y^t so he might see y^t you did not decline him, w^{ch} I found tooke hard wth him till I had esclarcy that matter, & then he was infinitely satisfy'd both wth y^r advice & arguments against y^e Letters & y^r manner of proceeding with him. I then also did understand y^t my Lord Kingstone, by y^e help of his Friend *Portsmouth*, did endeavour to give a salvo for his pretensions, whereupon this morning I went to King & discours'd that whole affaire again wth him, & he told me y^t nothing should be done therein till y^e whole laye before him, & y^t he, being prest y^e last night by *Cleveland*, he had given y^e same answer, & bid her to be quiet till then, & y^t others should be so likewise ; And I believe y^t It hath already had that effect, for

comming just now inn to dinner, I finde y^t Kingstone hath been twice to hunt me out, & desires me to be w^hin at 3 a-Clock ; what his buisnesse is I know not.

* * * * *

I did at Newmarket touch upon y^e part of *Essex* his Letter about *Anglesey* having an underhand dealing in y^e disorders N^r Dublin, and found an easy matter of it ; & had not *Duke* bin there I would have prest it. I am troubled to finde how great an influence *Ranelagh* hath on *King*, w^{ch} makes me fear storms that way ; but when the Parliam^t meets, of which there is no danger, considering the present necessities, that walk will be easy, & *Essex* must take his measures accordingly. The Dutch Embassadors are not yet come, w^{ch} hinders S^r William Temple's going over. Tomorrow my Lord Arlington goeth to Euston for 10 dayes.

CXL.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF
ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Aprill 18th, '74.

Since my last here are severall other Companys arrived ; in all we have come into this Kingdome 33 Companys.^a We finde y^e men a litle disorderly, particularly Cap^t Eustace & Cap^t Creighton's Companys have bin in some mutiny, but I orderd two of their principalls i^mmediately to be layd in y^e Marshalsea in Irons, & since that they are all very quiet. I am pretty apt to thinke that y^e slackness of dicipline used in England towards Soldiers makes these understand themselves not so well as they ought, & am also in some doubt whether all y^e Officers have dealt fairly wth them, there

^a The total number of companies sent over was 41. They were set free by the peace with the Dutch.

being many complaints of that nature among them ; but I question not in a litle time we shall bring them to better Terms, there having always bin a greater Latitude permitted to y^e Lieu^t here of punishing of Soldiers then would be born wth in England. My first care is to place them in commodious Quarters, & herein I doe not at present dispose of them to such parts, as I intend standing Garrisons, but rather send them to such Places where provisions are most cheape, for indeed in many countrys, & more particularly in Connaught, people are in a starving condition. I doe very much fear a Famine this summer, their Corne being all spent & their Cattle dead. This makes me loath to discourage any of these new Comers at y^e first by placing them where they should endure any hardships. I doe also take care to quarter most of these new men in open Villages, rather then places of strength, & that neer some Quarter where our Troops of Horse ly, that they may be ready to suppress any sedition that should happen among them. After I am for some months acquainted wth their humors, I shall then, towards y^e end of y^e summer, remove them to such Garrisons as are of most importance.

CXLI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

21 Apr: 1674.

I gave you an Account of what passed at Newmarket, and sent you his Ma^{ties} Letter for stopping all proceedings upon those Letters for allowing Deficiencies to Coll: Dillon, &c., w^{ch} I hope came safe to y^r Excellency ; since w^{ch} my Lord Arlington, by his Ma^{ties} Command, hath read y^r Letter to him concerning my Lord Ranelagh's proceedings upon his undertaking, & y^r observation & thought thereon, w^{ch} did at first very much disturb his Lo^d,^a and he, wth

^a *i.e.* Ranelagh.

passion enough, exprest his sence of it, & pretended y^t he would be heard by his Ma^{ty} at y^e Coñmittee for forrain Affaires, & y^t he did not dout of being able to satisfye his Ma^{ty} of his having performed wth his Ma^{ty}, & though in some part his Covenants had not been so fully performed, according to y^e Letter of his Covenant, as he wished, yet in other things he had for his Ma^{ties} Especiall service, & by his particular direction, so much overdonne his other failings, y^t he hoped & did not dout but that upon the whole his Ma^{ty} was abundantly satisfyed thereby. And nobody defended these Arguments & this cause so briskly as Bridgeman, & Essex must be mistaken, he was sure. In order that no surprise might be put upon y^r Excellency by the defered hearing, I made application to all y^r officers, y^t hearing y^t my Lord Ranelagh had received y^e Heads of y^r Letter, I desired y^t he might have liberty to be heard as he desired, & y^t his answer thereunto might be given in writing & transmitted to y^r Excellency for y^r opinion and answer, y^t so both lying before him he might examine the truth on each side & make his judgment upon y^e whole matter; but being this day at my L^d Treãrs, I mett wth my L^d Ranelagh, who pretends to have no dissatisfactions any wayes considerable, but saith y^t this night, by y^e post, he will acknowledge y^e same to y^r Excellency, & y^t he will ever submitt all his pretensions to you; but what judgment to make of him God he knowes. I am sure that his friend Speaker Seymor^a doth wth great concern doe Essex all the ill effects he can, & particularly about the Connaught Letter. I was in hopes this evening to have gotten an Audience of his Ma^{ty} upon some particulars, but could not possibly have an opportunity; to-morrow I hope I shall, & laye the thing plainely before him. This Letter of y^r Excellency hath very much shaken his partner's Creditt, but all y^t either see it or reade it are abundantly satisfyed wth y^r Excellencies conduct in this affaire. He is willing to have a Letter sent over to command his partners to laye before you y^e state of all such monies as they have receaved & paid, & what they are still to paye & to receive,

^a Who was in close alliance with Danby.

towards y^e doing of it; & y^t you may be also directed to passe their accounts, & then to state their failings, w^{ch} I will accordingly endeavour to procure by y^e next, if possible, & to give a dispatch of y^r Letter about Connaught w^{ch} hath been referred to my L^d Keeper, & some additions made to it by his Lordp., whereoff y^r Excellency shall have an Account by y^e next.

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CXLII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Aprill 25th, '74.

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The last week's Packett brought over a News L^re, w^{ch} hath bin dispersed through all y^e country & read at severall coffee houses in this Citty. It begins wth y^e mention of some Orders lately sent to me from England, & for y^e first part of them, concerning y^e banishing y^e Roman Clergy (other than that I thinke it may be very inconvenient for his Ma^{ties} service to have such Ord^{rs} as are sent me made publick), there can be no harme in it; but then for y^e second part, w^{ch} pretends to mention y^e L^re I had concerning y^e Citty of Dublin, y^e matter is quite mistaken, & if this recitall of y^e substance thereof be such as any sense can be drawn from it, it can only serve to incite & encourage people to make their Exceptions ag^t y^e Rules, w^{ch} y^r L^p well knows was y^e intention of that L^re to obviate & prohibite.

I finde it hath left some of y^e Citty a discoursing one wth another what it might mean, each man making a construction according to what he would have it. I sent for y^e Post master & examin'd him how this L^re came to be dispersed, & he told me that y^e Originall of it was from Mr. Ball, an Under Clerke of S^r Joseph Williamson,

that y^e L^re was writt to one Burroughs, of Kinsale, to whom Mr. Ball does constantly write y^e ordinary news of y^e Towne, and Mr. Burroughs permits him to open that packett & copy y^e L^re & divulge it here; y^e Master of y^e Packett hath promised me y^e Originall, but cannot have it returned from Kinsale till y^e next weeke. However, in y^e mean Time I have sent y^r L^p a copy of it, & scored that part wth a pen at w^{ch} I take exceptions, & submitt y^e whole to y^r L^{ps} consideration.

I have made enquiry what persons have bin admitted to their freedoms in this City since y^e publishing of y^e Rules, & if any have come in upon y^e Acc^t of y^e words (or others). My L^d Mayor hath assured me that not any one person hath bin brought in upon that score. One single man, a Protestant, who says he was borne in Amsterdam, but of English parents, hath petitioned for his freedome, w^{ch} is not yet allowed him, in regard there hath, since his application, no Assembly mett who could grant it; but excepting him there is not any hitherto hath so much as desired it. I am also confid^t that there is none in y^e other part of y^e Kingdome who upon this Acc^t have bin priviledgd.

* * * * *

Whitehall, 11th Aprill, 74.

His Ma^{tie} hath sent his Co^mands to my L^d Lieu^t & Councell of Ireland to take some speedy course to banish all y^e Popish Titular Clergy out of that Kingdome, & *to examine y^e late misinterpretation of his Ord^r about regulating Corporacions, that all imaginable satisfaction may be given to his people there.*

Last weeke dyed y^e Earle of Denbigh, etc.

CXLIII.—SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Shene, Apr. 28, '74.

Since my last I have mett with very little that was worth y^r Ex^{cy}'s trouble, and less that was very fitt to pass in this comerce; besides, I knew you were so well informed by my Excellent Neighbor heere, that it would have been a wrong to him to offer at it while wee were both together upon the same scene, as we have commonly been of late, either in the Towne or Country. I thought it, therefore, the least troublesome parts to y^r L^{sp}, as well as the most neighbourly to y^r Brother, to talke over to him any thing that came in my way, and that I imagine was worth either of y^r knowledge, w^{ch} Hee tells mee hee gives you parte of among those better lights hee draws from other hands. All the present talke is about the great preparations on all hands for this present Campania, w^{ch} will beginn with great forces and expectations, and, without the fortune of great battails or great sieges, may very well ende in the French being putt upon a defensive parte. This inclines them very much to a peace, and the pointe of trade falling so unavoydably into our hands by the continuance of a warr, disposes the States and people of Holland as much toward it on their side, though the Prince of Orange bee not in the same dispositions nor interest. Our Courte and Sweden seem both desirous of the peace so by our mediations, but neither Spaine nor Holland having yet accepted the offer of His Maj^{ty}'s, I doubt the events of this Campania must governe it, since the Empire being now united, Spaine must bee unwilling to loose the occasion they think they now possess of reducing France to the dispositions of leaving the world in quiet and their neighbors in the enjoyment of what they take to bee their right by the Pyrenean peace. I have very narrowly escaped the being hurried away into Hollande last weeke, even without the formality of staying for the arrivall of the Dutch Am^{brs}, but I doubt I shall not bee able to deferr my going many days after they are come, w^{ch} goes a little

cold to a man's hearte, so turned as mine for so long past to the ease and leasure of this aire. All I see of good in the change is that my Ambassage being Ext^{ry}, it looks not like a thing of very long breath; and, besides that, my imployment in it is a thing that all men and partys seeme to have conspir'd in except myself, and to presage no ill from or make ill reflections upon it, w^{ch} y^r L^{sp} would say were a great piece of luck if you saw our Scene.

When I come into Hollaud, if you desire it I shall furnish y^r L^{sp} with the current of what passes under my eye or in my reach there, and if I needed any body to answer for mee, y^r brother should doe it, that wherever I am y^r L^{sp} may reckon upon a person that is with all the truth, esteem, and affection you can wish,

My Lord, y^r Ex^{cy}'s most faithful, humble servant,

W. TEMPLE.

CXLIV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCELLENCY,

28 Apr. '74.

* * * * *

I am infinitely sorry to finde how hardly *Monmouth* presseth upon *Essex* in these 2 Letters, but I hope to put a stop to this before y^e next post, & I despair not of getting y^e futritures hired during y^r Government towards y^e purchasing y^e Hunting place you desire. I did Intend to have begun my Journey on Monday next, but I will delay it for some dayes in Expectation of Doctor Gorges, as you are pleased to Command, & to finish all y^r Commands before I leave this place. I am surprised to heare how ill Coll. Sandys payes his men, & shall acquaint his Ma^{ty} wth it. *Ranelagh* is very well wth *King*, & Governus *Treasurer* absolutely, & I think y^t It is *Essex* his Interest to keep up the dispute and Animosity between *Ranelagh* & *Ormond*; for though *Ormond* be more a man of Honour, yet he is

very Desirous to my knowledge to go into Essex his place, and did employ *Carlingford* to *Duke* for y^t purpose. S^r Henry wilbe here on Thursday in order to y^e Settling a future Correspondence, in case *Id* of *Arlington* leave his place, & to create a good understanding between *Sec. Coventry* & *Essex*. I finde y^t *S^r Rob^t Southwell* is very affectionate in the concerns of *Essex*. I would advise *Essex* to acknowledge it by y^e next. My Lady Duchesse of Somerset is dead, but how she hath disposed of my Lady y^e neece I can not yet learne. *Lodderdale* is expected either here or at Ham to-morrow night. I will endeavour to make him *Essex* his friend in regard y^t *Duke* depends much on him. Lord Martial^a is gonne to Brussels, and from thence to Rome, to sollicite a generall peace. France is Lowe, and Germany growes united against France, to y^e great satisfaction of England.

CXLV.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

Though I have had the honor to receive yo^r Excel^{cies} most obliging Letter of the 11th past, yet I did not thinke to have given yo^r Excel^{ce} the trouble of my acknowledgement till my arrivall at London, w^{ch} will not be yet these ten days; but having bin acquainted with some affaires wherein yo^r Excel^{ce} is concerned, my inclinations to yo^r service are to passionat to delay the presenting of my thoughts upon them to yo^r Excel^{ce}.

I have seen the copy of yo^r Excel^{cies} Letter to My Lord Arlington of the 17th of March, and my Lord Ranelagh's Answer to yo^r objections, as also an Account, by way of Estim^t of his Under-

^a Marischall.

taking, presented to his Ma^{tie}, and the copy of the King's Letter to yo^r Excel^{tee} bearing date 23rd April.

I wish that those who importuned yo^r Excel^{tee} to this Representation had consulted yo^r Interest as much as their owne little advantages, For I thinke the Preservation of yo^r Excel^{tee} in that Government is infinitely more to be valued among us for the good of that kingdome then the payment of the 12 months Arreares to the Army, w^{ch} was the cheefe matter complained of. Yo^r Excel^{tee} may observe upon the King's Letter that you have gained very little ground in this matter. The Letter was drawn by *Keeper*,^a and written every word with his owne hand.

In my' opinion there could not be a more ready way taken to loose all those Arreares then by this way of proceeding, for if my Lord Ranelagh be prest and complained of, he will certainly place, by way of Defalcation upon those Arreares, all the Payments w^{ch} he hath made above his Contract, and all mony w^{ch} hath been stopt from him by reason of the War. So that that w^{ch} he would otherwise place upon the King's 80,000*l.*, and other Particulars, because he thinks it for his Reputation to pay off the Arreares of the Army, he will cast it upon them if they prove uneasy to him. And if he brings the 80,000*l.* cleere to the King's Privy Purse, I assure yo^r Excel^{tee} it will sway more then the consideration of those Arreares, or a much greater matter. I have heard that it was only this money paid to the privy purse which made King so unwilling to part from the Alliance of France.

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^a Finch.

CXLVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.^a

DEARE BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, May 2^d, '74.

I have recd y^{rs} of y^e 18th of Aprill, w^{ch} gives me a full Acc^t of many things relating to my selfe. As for my owne particular, I confess I am not so ambitious of Employ^{mt}, or so extremely delighted in it, that I could not at any Time wth much ease (& if it be more for his Majesties service) very cheerfully lay it downe. I am sure it is not my desire to continue in it to y^e disadvantage of y^e publick. I doe not at all wonder that every now & then there are discourses of my Removall, nor am I one whit startled at it, neither doe I in y^e least believe, notwithstanding any Reports, it is intended, his Ma^{tie} having bin graciously pleased at my taking leave of him to assure me that, whenever he found it necessary for his service to recall me, I should hear of it from himselfe, or his Order, w^{ch} I shall entirely depend upon, without regarding any blind discourses of y^e Towne. I know very well that one in my station cannot but be envied by many, & y^e design of getting themselves into y^e place will encourage divers to doe me spightfull Offices. You instance y^r apprehensions of my L^d Ranelagh upon y^e acc^t of a L^re I writt to y^e Earle of Arlington, & I know that my L^d Kingston, Coll. Dillon, etc., who had procured L^res for Grants upon discoveries, & multitudes of others who were preparing to gaine L^res, cannot be without their ill will towards me, since their Agents doe informe them all that I am y^e person who have given an Interruption to all their projects (of this business my L^d of Arlington knows y^e bottom). There is also another party w^{ch} I am sure is inveterate towards me; they are such as for my owne part, upon y^e principles I act, I glory to be in defiance wth them, & that is Coll. Talbot & Father Patricke. If these men doe only designe that those of their owne persuasion (for religion I am confid^t they have none) should live at ease & quiet in this country & enjoy y^e equall benefitt of y^e Laws now

^a The chief part of this letter is in cypher.

established as others, I doe most heartily joyne wth them, & as I have hitherto bin, so shall ever bee carefull to doe impartiall justice to y^e Papists as to y^e Protestants; but if their aime be to introduce those of their owne persuasion & nation into powr & coñiand, & to make them snperior to y^e English & Protestants here, I am not a man for their turne, & I care not if it be published to all y^e world that I would, by all ways & means consistent wth my allegiance, oppose & obstruct them. These two men have from my first coming given me all y^e disquiett they possibly could, by L^{tes} & severall Emissarys animating all y^e disconted people here ag^t me, & fomenting all litle divisions & disorders wthin y^e Kingdome. How this is consistent wth y^e duty of a good subject, I am yet to learne.

You see how many there are who take themselves to be engaged ag^t me, & none of them I am sure upon any other grounds then for y^e exact performance of my Trust, from w^{ch} no consideration whatever shall divert me; and tho' (as I have said already) I have not y^e least imagination that it is intended by his Ma^{tie} I should be recalled, yet all late L^{tes} are so filld wth it, & those dispersd to all parts of y^e Kingdome, as y^e noise of it is a reall disadvantage to his Majesties service. The people here are a rough kind of people, & very apt to contemne their superiors, so as unless they be governd wth a good strict hand there is no dealing wth them. I have I confess by this year's experience masterd my owne Temper, & am upon occasion now & then harsh enough to some of them, as I see cause, & I doe finde y^e benefitt of it. I doe therefore conceive that, since it is so much grown y^e Coñion Talke of my removall, it may not be amiss my Lord of Arlington did move y^e King. He would please upon some opportunity to say something to discourage y^e believe of it in y^e world, for I doe assure you, if men here have those imaginations in their heads, they will in a great measure withdraw y^e reverence & respect for me w^{ch} is necessary to support his Majesties Authority here.

* * * * *

This L^{re} you may, if you thinke fitt, coñunicate it all to my Lord of Arlington.

CXLVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

DEARE BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, May 9th, '74.

[After complaining that an officer has been allowed to sell his command, without previous application to himself, Essex proceeds :—]

* * * * *

Yet I wish you would a little discourse this matter wth my Lord of Arlington, that this Gentleman is not y^e first who hath served me thus, for some others, knowing I doe not like this bartering for commands, have asked my leave to goe into England, & then gett his Majesties consent for this purpose. If you did but know wth what contempt & scorne my Lord Berkeley was used by all people here, after they found He was not supported at Court.^a It would not be thought strange if I have a more than ordinary concerne at these Things w^{ch} seeme so litle in themselves, for indeed y^e nature of this people is very apt to trample on their superiors, & unless a man be thoroughly countenanced in England, there is no dealing wth them ; therefore I would be glad some of my friends there would, as much as they could, prevent these inconveniences, for no man that doth not see it can tell how prejudiciall it is to his Majesties service, w^{ch} is impossible any Lieu^t can goe through wth it as he ought, unless y^e world here doe believe him absolute in relation to those affairs that are under his charge. I may, perhaps, take y^e libertie to speake more plainly upon this subject then another, having no concerne of proffit therein. It is my principle to bring in as fitt men as any I can finde to serve in y^e Army, but by no means to make y^e least benefit (as some others have done) of those places.

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^a He is again urgent upon this point in a long letter to the king, on June 8, 1674.

CXLVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.^a

May 16, 1674.

Essex has certain intelligence that *Renel*. about a fortnight since did resolve to endeavour *Essex* his removal; *Treasurer*, *Speaker* joyned in it. These resolved to get *Lauderdell* his concurrence. *Conway*, too, is not out. They intended to propose to *K.* the placing of *Justices*.^b *Essex* also knows who they propose to name. *Essex* is not certaine whether they will still continue this their design, but *Essex* is sure 'twas once resolved by them. I think 'twere fitt *H.C.* acquainted *Arlington* or *Conway* with this, & desired them to be watchfull of the proceeding. *Ranelagh* has some reason to get *Essex* displaced at this time if he can, for he is now paying y^e arrears to *Orrery*, & I find endeavours to compound it, by which they will save sixty thousand pounds at lest. *Essex* has alwise vigorously obstructed these actings, they being by covenants obliged to pay this without deduction, composition, or defalcation. *Essex* has found two men in this town, one servant to *Major Deane*, Commissioner of treasury, the other to *Champanty*, their paymaster, who deale for these compositions, and have already bargained with many souldiers & officers for arrears. *Essex* is apt to beleeve if *K.* be thoroughly sensible of these trans-actions, & thereby understands the true grounds of these men's plots against *Essex*, *K.* will not harken to their projects on that side. *Ranelagh* seems to play a subtil game, for being at Court he has often advantages of gaining orders in relation to his affaires, & if his partners here committ any gross faults, his excuse is easy, for he may disowne any knowledge of them, and in appearance seem most innocent. Let *H. C.* be expectant in this affaire, & advise wth *Arlington*, *Essex* his just & true freind, to whom this may be shewed.

^a This is a loose leaf in *Essex*'s handwriting among the copies of his letters by his secretary *Aldworth*.

^b i.e. superseding him by Lords Justices.

This paper will *unriddle many* to you of the second of this instant May. The newes *dispersed here of my removall came from Trear. Orrery, Renella, or their servants.* As for the first, Captain *Fitzgerald can tell II. C.* what he knows of it.

CXLIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

DEARE BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, May 16, '74.

I have this day recd a Lre from M^r Harbord dated y^e 9th instant. wherein he tells me that Essex House is now to be sold, & valued at about 7000*l.* Tis a Purchase, I confess, w^{ch} I had rather make then anything I know, and it seemeth to me not to be overrated. I am very cautious of undertaking great things or plunging my selfe in debt, yet, could I be sure of continuing here one year, or a year & halfe longer, I doubt not of means to compass it. I would therefore be glad you entertained some Treaty of it, & finde to what Terms they can be brought. It ought to be considered in y^e Purchase whether y^e House be in good repaire, for if 'Twill cost a man any thing extraordinary to sett it right, that by so much will lessen y^e value. I know my Lady Dutchess was careless enough in her business, & therefore I suspect y^e Timber & other things, if they come to be searched, will be found very faulty. As for money to defray y^e purchase, I would straine my selfe, as far as I could well be able. Thus much I can propose to doe: I have 2,500*l.* now ready by me to returne upon any warning, w^{ch} may be paid downe, & I shall be able about Michaelmas to pay 500*l.* more. Soon after Christmas I believe I can pay 2,000*l.*, & by Midsummer following I doubt not to gett together so much as will discharge y^e rest, so as y^e whole may be thus compleated in one year's Time, w^{ch} I conceive is very good payment. This I can doe, & yet send over now and then one or two Hunderd pds to raise & cover y^e building of that wing w^{ch} is begun at Cassioberry, but then I must resolve to stop

my building there for this & ye next year, & only cover what is begun, & leave y^e Inside finishing to some further opportunity, all w^{ch} I would be very glad to doe. This you must apprehend upon supposition that I stay here a year longer, & tho' no such thing can enter into a bargaine, yet you can best judge upon y^e Place of y^e likelihood of my continuance, & accordingly guess what may most prudently be done. If you finde it likely, You may conclude for this House, w^{ch} truly is y^e most convenient thing to me I could have; but then you must stop y^e bargaine I am treating wth M^r Fotherley for his Land, &, if it be not already concluded, I would be glad to break off that wth M^r Hogsden for y^e litle parcels of Land neer y^e Bowling ground at Cassioberry; but as for Higby's, close—y^e purchas is but 180*l.* at most, & it lyes so very convenient for me—as I would have that goe on.

Tis possible you may bring y^e price of this House to 6,000*l.*, &, if soe, & that they require ready money downe, you see I shall be able to pay halfe immediately, & for the other halfe, money may be taken up & y^e House engaged for it. My Lord Conway is never wthout such a summe, & I am sure He would be very willing to putt it into my hands. I doe imagine this being a Noted House it will not be difficult to let it to some Ambassador, or that from year to year, or perhaps two years, or some such short time, & that y^e Rent may answer y^e Interest of y^e whole purchas money, soe as I doe not well see how I can be a Looser by it, if y^e bargaine be carefully made. Pray take S^r Charls Harbord's advice in all y^r Proceedings upon it.

I confesse there hath not any thing of this sort come in my way that I have so great a mind to as this, it being necessary for me to have a House in London, & I am sure, take all circumstances, none can be so fitt for me as this will be.

CL.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, 19 May, 1674.

I came to this towne last Friday, and I found my friends in a better condition then I left them: *Treasurer is esteemed the great support of the Crowne, Arlington makes his Interest amongst the discontented Members of Hous of Comons, and Duke^a & Lodderdale are his mortal enemies.* If Ormond goes into Ireland, he will be commanded to stay there, and not returne into England. *Keeper,^b not knowing the mistery of things, had like to have ruind himselfe for moving in the proclamation against spreaders of false news, yet you will not finde any thing in it which says parliamt shall meet.* *Keeper is now as ill with Arlington as any of the rest, and how ill Arlington is* You will know it by this, that he will not be permitted to part with his Secretary's place to Williamson, though he offers the mony demanded for it. I wish that *Treasurer* and *Essex* were as intimat as I have always desired, and if *Conway* could compasse it without the assistance of *Essex*, it had been long since effected. *Trear.* told me that *Essex* had not delt well with him by writing to him in a Letter dated the 30th or 31st of March, to quicken *Ranelagh* in his payments, for otherwise *Essex* should be obliged to make a Representation of it, and when *Trear.* went to acquaint *King* with the contents of that Letter, *King* called for a Letter to *Arlington* of the 17th of March, wherein the Representation was made so many days before.^c If Yo^r Excel^{ce} will take my word for it, you cannot split upon any other Rock then by running a tilt at *Ranelagh*, and by being thought too much of a party with *Arlington*. 'Tis true that *Orrery* doth *Essex* all the ill offices he can, but he hath lost himselfe beyond imagination, and hath no

^a i.e. the Duke of York.^b Finch.^c This only took place Sept. 11, 1674, for 6,000*l.*, when *Arlington* was made Lord Chamberlain.

credit, and Trēar. tells me all his complaints. But *Ranelagh* is a man of great action, and it is his Intrest to be well with *Essex*, and you may perceave it is not a small matter will make him otherwise. I wish Yo^r Excel^{ce} had a Letter w^{ch} I writ to you the 2nd of May I heare it is kept from you ; possibly, if you speak to my Brother Rawdon, he may get it. I have no designe but to leave yo^r affaires heere in a good posture, and in order to that I should be glad I could deliver a Letter from you to *Trear*. that might cordially assure him of yo^r friendship, and also that you writ some Paragraph in yo^r Letter to me to signify yo^r esteeme and readinesse to be favorable to *Ranelagh*. He hath now obtained what he so long aimed at, w^{ch} is the Vice-Tresurership. The King refused to give it him for Life, but only during pleasure, and he hath a Liberty to hold the Chancellorship till he comes into the Execution of the other.

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The Parliam^t in Scotland is suddenly to be dissolved, and Duke Hamilton is coñing to London to be reconciled to my Lord Lauderdale.^a

* * * * *

CLI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, May 23, '74.

This Country hath long layn under great Oppressions by y^e Extortion of y^e Clerks of y^e Crowne, Clerks of y^e peace, & other like Officers. I have severall times bin made acquainted wth y^e practice of these men, & have often told those who moved me in relation to these grievances, that if a Complaint were brought in a Regular Way by petition, I would redress it, & make those who

^a Hamilton's real object was to complain of Lauderdale.—*Lauderdale Papers*, iii. pp. 41 seq.

were faulty in y^e Execution of their Office smart for it. One practice of theirs is y^e multiplying of frivolous Indictments, & I have known Instances of it to so great a degree, that one person hath had almost threescore brought ag^t him, who, tho' he were acquitted of them all, yet y^e charges of y^e Fees to y^e Clerke of y^e Crowne hath ruined y^e poor man. For redress of this I have ordered y^e Judges that in their severall Circuits they should discountenance, as much as they could, all vexatious Indictments for petty Crimes; But, besides, these Clerks of y^e Crowne doe likewise make y^e poor people pay double, treble, nay, sometimes six times y^e value of their due Fees. This, by Law, is a forfeiture of their Office. The first petition w^{ch} hath bin brought to me upon this subject was y^e last weeke, ag^t S^r John Eustace (brother to S^r Maurice), Clerke of y^e Crowne for y^e province of Leinster, & I am now upon examination thereof; but I know they are so quick in getting pardons out of England, that I doe expect y^r L^p will hear of some applications made there, even before I can come to a true knowledge of that matter. I doe therefore desire y^r L^p, that if any thing of this nature should be offered at, you would please to obstruct it, & that there may not be any L^{re} signed either to pardon faults past, or to grant any Reversion of this Office. The Truth is, y^e people here are miserably impoverished by the exactions, & unless some example be made there will never be any reformation, as I am sure, on y^e other side, a litle severity will infallibly cure it throughout y^e whole Kingdome, & I know not any thing will so much recomend his Ma^{ties} Governm^t to y^e people as y^e punishing of some of these oppressors. M^r Godolphin is very suddenly going for England, therefore, if y^r L^p will please that any thing of his buisness may be suspended till you speak wth him (who will informe you more particularly then I can by L^{re}), it will be of no small benefit to his Ma^{ties} Service.

I doe also intreat y^r L^p will appoint Mr. Bridgeman to putt a stop to any thing of this kind that may pass at y^e other Secretary's Office.

CLII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR OLIVER ST GEORGE.^aS_R,

Dublin Castle, May 23, '74.

There was one Martin French, a Frier, whom I have formerly recommended to y^r protection. He is very usefull to me, & hath lately given us very good Intelligence of ye Actings of Priests & Titular Bpps in those parts. Having about a month since published a second proclamation for all Romish Titular Bpps, etc., & Friars to depart, & y^e day limited for their goeing being past, I now remind you of this Martine French, to take care of him & see that no harm happen to him. I also desire you to give him ten pounds, either all at once, or five pounds now and two months hence five pounds more, as you thinke convenient, & if you please to appoint any body in Dublin to receive it, I shall there repay it to y^r use.

You may doe well to give y^e Mayer of Galloway a litle hint of this man, but it must be kept secrett, or otherwise He will not be able to furnish us wth such Intelligence as may be of advantage to me.

I have ordered M^r Beecher to send you y^e protection you desired for one of y^e Torsys.

CLIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD CONWAY.^b

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, May 26, '74.

I have rec^d y^r L^{ps} of y^e 19th of May, & have also recoverd y^e other of y^e 2^d. I presume that before this L^{re} will arrive, my L^d T^{rear}. & my Lord Ranelagh have both of them recd my L^{res} dated y^e sixth of this month, wherein I am sure I have fully demonstrated

^a First Baronet of Carrickdrumneck, 1666; Commissioner for settling the affairs of Ireland; d. 1695.

^b See Conway's letter of May 19.

my sense concerning y^e support of my Lord Ranelagh's Undertaking, & in such Terns as I conceive cannot be displeasing to any reasonable man, & have therein said nothing but what both is, & ever was, my opinion, viz., That I doe not know a better piece of service that hath bin performed since his Majesties restauration then this, in case they goe through wth it, yet I must confess I have ever bin uneasy to finde things in so much obscurity, that neither his Majestie nor myselfe could upon any solid grounds understand y^e State of y^e Treãry. I am sworne by y^e Oath of my Office to doe Justice to all his Majesties people, & I am sure no consideration whatever shall ever bribe or terrify me from doeing my duty. My Lord Ranelagh hath undertaken severall Debts & other Paym^{ts}, & if I mistake not, It is my part, being Lieutenant, to see him performe. How is it possible, then, for me to doe that Right to all men, w^{ch} my Place obligeth me to doe, unless I know in what state their Undertaking is, & what materialls they have to compleat their worke, for w^{ch} I am glad we have at length obtained an Ord^r? As my Lord Ranelagh hath found y^e Utmost of my assistance hitherto for y^e carrying on his buisness, so neither shall He ever finde me failing to him in any thing that He can reasonably aske. This I have said so often, as I thinke it needlesse to repeat.

Y^r L^p tells me that my L^d Treãr. is not alltogether satisfied wth something that I writt in a L^{re} of y^e 31 of March. The Truth is, having then an occasion to make a Return to my L^d Treãr. of some Ord^{rs} relating to y^e Farm^{rs} & to quicken them in their paym^{ts}, I tooke that opportunity to tell his L^p that My Lord Ranelagh, too, and his partners, were not so forward as they ought to be, & did adde, that in case they should not for y^e future take a litle more care, I should be forced to make some formall representacõn to his Majestie of that matter. This I did after my L^{re} of y^e 17th to my Lord of Arlington. Yet did I conceive therein shew nothing of disrespect to my L^d Trear, for it is my Rule to obey my Master's Orders punctually. At my coming away out of England, I desired y^e King to tell me what person I should hold my constant Intelli-

gence wth concerning affairs in Ireland, & he directed me to my Lord of Arlington. How should I my selfe make choice of any to my owne liking for holding correspondence wth, & not obey his Majesties comands? I should make myself Master, & not Servant, & dispose y^e buisness into another Tract then his Majestie himselfe thought fitt. I confess, for my owne part, I have ever bin of opinion that his Majesties affairs receive much prejudice by not suffering them constantly to run in their owne channells; that is to say, Matters of y^e Revenue perpetually to run through my Lord Treasurer's hands, Questions of Gifts and Grants through my Lord Keeper's, Affairs of State & Governm^t through y^e Secretary's; and of this my opinion I have four or five months agoe given his Majestie a hint in one of my L^{tes}, but having never rec^d any direction to communicate his Majesties buisness to any other then my Lord of Arlington, I have constantly (as a good servant ought to do) kept that course; nay, that I have bin so far from declining my Lord Treasurer, that I have taken all advantage to reduce y^e buisness into his hands.

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Next as for y^e representac^õn w^{ch} I made in my Lord of Arlington's L^{re} so long before that to my Lord Treasurer, w^{ch} seems to be y^e point ill taken. I say this, that my Lord of Arlington, as Secretary of State, is y^e private way of conveyeing my observation of Things here to his Majestie; that that L^{re} was not a formall representac^õn, such as I meant in my Lord Treasurers L^{re}, where I said that unless they tooke more care I should be forced to make a formall representac^õn, w^{ch} I meant a representac^õn from my selfe & Councell here upon Examination & prooffs of those points wherein we should have found them failing in their performances. Upon y^e whole, it hath never bin my way to make large professions, or use much Courtship towards y^e persons themselves, how great soever, tho' I will never be wanting in all civilities as are fitt, especially towards y^e present Lord Treasurer, for whom I have a great value, & I doe assure y^r L^p in some of my L^{tes} to his Majestie (whereof one is

here instanced) I have not neglected to doe my Lord Trear. right, w^{ch} I take to be a more generous way of shewing my respect to him then by smooth or flattering expressions directed to himselfe; & y^r L^p may upon all occasions confirme him in y^e beliefe that I am very trully his faithfull Servant, as you may likewise depend on me to be, &c.

CLIV.—LORD AUNGIER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r Ex^{tye},

London, June 6th, 1674.

Some comānds from y^e Duke of Ormond haveing kept me here a few dayes longer then I intended, I cannot forbear, while I am in this place, giving yo^r Ex^{ty} my observations. The Duke of Lauderdale is created Earle of Guilford, Viscount Netlebed,^a & Baron of Petersham, & it is given out by his friends that this is done to qualifye him for y^e Priviledge of being tryed as a Peere, that he may not be run down by a Vote of y^e House of Comōns. Others imagine It is to qualifye him for some greate Employ^{mt} out of his owne Country, and there are those who will have him be Lieut of Iretd. But they who have an opinion of his Judgm^t believe he aymes not at it, And some of yo^r Ex^{tyes} friends thinke this reporte is given out by some of yo^r Ex^{tyes} Enemyes, concluding your Ex^{ty} may take it tenderly, & upon it take some hasty resolution w^{ch} may displeas His Ma^{tye}, & give them opportunitye of making roome for themselves.

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CLV.—CHARLES R. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

CHARLES R.,

Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin and Counciller,
Wee greet you well. Whereas, by Our Letters Patents under

^a Sic.

Our Great Seale of England, bearing date the first day of December in the 23rd yeare of Our Reigne, Wee have given and granted unto Our Deare and Entirely Beloved Cousin Prince Rupert, his Executors, Administrators, and Assignes, the Sole Power and Priviledge to use exercise and enjoy the new Arts or Inventions of converting into Steele all manner of edged Tooles, Files, and other Instruments forged and formed in soft Iron, or any part of the said Tooles, Files, or other Instruments after they are soe forged or framed ; As also for the like converting of all manner of Iron Wier after it is drawne, and alsoe of preparing and softning all Cast and Melted Iron, soe that it may be filed & wrought as forged Iron is ; and of tincturing of Copper upon Iron as to him or them shall seem meet ; To have and enjoy the same for and during the terme of fourteen yeares according to the Act of Parliament in that case made and provided. Our will and pleasure is, And Wee doe hereby require and Authorise you to give Order for y^e passing of Letters Patents under the Great Seale of that Our Kingdome, containing Our Grant unto Our said most Deare Cousin Prince Rupert, his Executors, Administrators, and Assignes of the said Exercise and use of the said Arts and Inventions in that Our Kingdome for the terme of fourteen yeares in the same manner, and as fully and beneficially as is contained in Our said Letters Patents under Our Great Seale of England. And for soe doing this shall be unto you and to all other Our Officers and Ministers whom it may concerne a sufficient Warrant. And soe Wee bid you heartily Farewell. Given at Our Court at Windsor the 11th day of June, 1679, in the Six and Twentieth yeare of Our Reigne.

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CLVI.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CE},

London, 15 June, 1674.

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In the evening his Ma^{tie} cald me into his Bed chamber, and spoke to me of many things to be co^municated to yo^r Excel^{ce}, and co^manded me to remember him to you very kindly, and afterwards did me so much honor in parting from him that every body in the roome wondered what the matter was.

After this I waited upon *Williamson*,^a who is struck in with *Trear.* and *Lodderdale*, or makes them believe so, and that he will abandon *Arlington.* towards whom *Duke* is implacable, and will not let him rest till he be sent *on an Embassy.*^b

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CLVII.—SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Shene, June 20, '74.

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I thinke, of all persons, I need make you the least professions, because y^r L^{SP} knows, very well, upon what titles you are long since posses of my service and esteeme, and how particular a man I have ever beene in the choyse of those persons to whom I profess them. How I doe it to y^r L^{SP} upon all occasions were better told you by any other man; 'tis enough for mee to say how confident I am you will ever keepe them by the same qualities they were at

^a Williamson was a cypher in the Government.

^b He went with Ossory, in November, to the Hague, to treat for William's betrothal to Mary, and to induce him to make peace with France.

first required, and that how often or seldome wee may meete in the course of our lifes, yet whenever wee doe wee shall bee the same wee parted.

* * * * *

Because I see, in a letter of my Lady's to my sister, what opinion she has received from the talke has bene heere of *Loderdale's* succeeding *Essex*, and suddenly; I shall tell y^r L^{sp} that I cannot beleve wee are at all ripe for such resolutions, though some, perhaps, may have had it in design, as of a piece with more of that kinde; there are others would perhaps bee glad to see *Essex provoked* to doe some *peevish* thing to anger King—w^{ch} might bee made use of to *remove* him and clap *Orrery* in, but this I have answered to one of my friends will not bee done, and without it I doe not see how either of the other can. Upon many discourses that concerne y^r L^{sp} heere I resolved to take occasion to know the King's thoughts of you in generall before I wente, w^{ch} I thought might bee for y^r satisfaction (and the King's service) to know at a time when I finde you are entertained from other hands with discourses very different. The last time I saw the King, upon His saying, that when hee wente to looke for a person that was both a wise and an honest man, hee did not know where to finde him, I tooke occasion to say, I was sure hee had one in His service that was both, and that deserved to bee valued the more for these qualitys that were so seldome mett with, and named my Lord of Essex. The king said hee was as worthy a man as any hee knew, and served him as well as any man in his service. I said I was sure he was not only very fit and able to serve his Maj^{ty} there but heere too whenever there was occasion. The King said Hee was of my minde, and should bee very glad to have him heer, but that Hee did not knowe how to spare him in Irelande. I tell y^r L^{sp} thus much of the very words that past, by w^{ch} and by the rest I am confident you are what you desire to bee in His Maj^{ties} esteeme, and that is the pointe I think you had best trust to, and to the preserving it by the same

means you have gained it; for the rest to make courte as much and as personally as one can to the King, to live fairly with all the Ministers in the charges of a Courte, but to stande upon one's owne legs and the merits of serving well, and where all thees will not carry one the best I thinke is to bee content to alight and bee quiett at home. The men of Courte and ambition can talke of other ways, but none into w^{ch} I believe y^r L^{SPS} temper and thoughts can runn, and besides, the servitude in them is not to be endured by a man that has bread enough at home, & I doe not thinke they agree either with the distance you are at or the uncertain changes of our scene at Courte.

I wish y^r L^{SP} very heartily the advances of honour and fortune you propose to y^self, and wherever I am shall bee glad of the occasion to express the esteem & passion wherewith, &c.

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CLVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

S^R,

Dublin Castle, June 24, '74.

In y^e y^{rs} of y^e 15th, w^{ch} I have but newly received, you gave me an intimation of a warr^t or Letter coming to y^r Office to renew that part of my Lord of Orrery's old patent concerning y^e Comand of y^e Militia in Munster.^a I returne you many thanks for this signification. Pretty confident I am that, if y^e King will consider it, He will not think fitt to renew this power to his L^P. It hath bin, I confess, one of y^e most troublesome parts I have had to deale wth here, to quiet y^e importunities of people for setting up this Militia, & indeed I have bin faine to use all y^e Artifice I could in it, so to shift it off as men might not have a jealousy of me that I did not sufficiently favor y^e Protestant Interest. I writt a Letter to his Majestie on y^e first of December last past, a great part whereof was

^a On August 22 Essex writes to thank H. Coventry for using his influence in this matter.

upon this very subject, wth I have here caused to be transcribed, that you may mind his Majestie thereof, & in it have said as much as I can upon this occasion. My Lord of Orrery has often by his L^{tes} solicited me to forme this Militia, & I know, if he be empowered to command that in Munster, y^e first thing you will hear of, so soon as he arrives, will be his calling of them together, & I am sure it will necessitate me to be afore hand wth him, & to doe y^e like to all y^e military throughout y^e Kingdome, or otherwise He will be looked upon as y^e great Patrone of y^e Protestant Interest.

In my Lord of Ormond's Time, upon occasion of some plotts, his Grace thought some of these men so far from being fitt to be trusted as he disarmed many of them, & by that means he lost so much of his creditt among y^e Protestants here as he will hardly ever recover a thorough esteeme of being truly affected to that party, & I know that, even to this day, It is objected to him that he disarmed y^e Protestants. I would be loath to be involved in y^e like difficulties, & therefore I conceive Tis better to foresee a Thing & prevent it, then to hazard y^e entangling my selfe in perplexities. Tis very obvious what my Lord of Orrery aimes at in y^e Thing, namely = y^e putting Arms into y^e hands of Cromwellists,^a wth whom he has yet some litle remains of Credit, & likewise to make himselfe popular, as if by this Militia (whereof He would appear y^e first mover) y^e Protestant Interest were more now then ever strengthened. Adde to this, that y^e proposall of Trained bands here hath bin touched upon by y^e House of Commons, in this last Sessions, wth some approbation, & so by this He would make himselfe a litle y^e more gratefull there. But by what I have already said you may discern into what inconveniences this will bring me, & indeed I know y^e Temper of men's minds here so well, as I must not suffer him to have y^e Credit of Establishing this Force; besides, I must be very tender in appearing any waies to obstruct it. For these reasons I desire, when you speake wth his Majestie upon this sub-

^a On August 22 Essex says he has heard from both Conway and Ranelagh that this is Orrery's intention.

ject, that by all means it be not known to any that I doe stand in opposition to it, for should it in y^e least take Vent, all y^e Repute I have since my coming here gained wth y^e Protestants would at one stroak be destroyd; and if my Lord of Orrery in y^e least apprehends that I have thus appeared in it, I am certeine He would quickly blaze it abroad to lessen me here. Having, therefore, shewd you how tender y^e point is, I shall leave it to y^r own managem^t as you thinke best for his Majesties service.

In case of any Invasion, I conceive this Militia may be of great use, & upon such occasions y^e men, doubtless, will fight well enough for y^e preservation of their owne Estates; but as for any Thing at home, y^e Army is now abundantly sufficient to keep all quiett, so as considering y^e circumstances of Affaires in England, & also y^e present motions in Scotland, his Ma^{tie} may, in my humble opinion, be pleased to take agen into consideration what I have offerd in my L^{re} of y^e first of Decem^{br} to him, herewth transmitted, & I doe not desire that any Thing, as coming from me, should therefore have y^e more sway, but receive its force so far only as it is grounded upon good reason. S^r Arthur Forbese, being now in England, knows this matter very fully, & all y^e care & caution I have used in it. You may communicate things freely to him; if his Majestic shall thinke fitt to speake wth him in this business, I conceive He may explaine it more perfectly then any other that I know.

* * * * *

Here is, wth a flying Seale, enclosed a L^{re} to S^r Arthur; if you finde cause you may please to give it him, or if this matter of y^e Militia be asleep, you may then throw it away.

CLIX.—FRANCIS GODOLPHIN TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, July 16th, '74.

Y^e convenience of this bearer gives mee y^e liberty to write y^r

Ex^{cy} more freely of our affairs here then I could well doe by y^e Ordinary pacquet. It seems to be y^e interest of those people who desire y^e breaking of y^e parliam^t that your Ex^{cy} were recalled from that governm^t, and as they, despairing to divert y^e King from his resolution of their meeting in November, doe by all means labour to render that meeting ineffectual, by doing those things in y^e mean time which they imagine will soe far disoblige & exasperate them as to make a rupture between his Mat^{tie} & them almost unavoidable (I might instance in a late proclamaçõn, whereby y^e penalties of Recusants, upon conviction, are made much lighter then they formerly were by law), soe they, distrusting to obtain y^e King's consent to your Ex^{cy}'s removal, doe underhand foment & countenance any little complaint against you, give about reports to your disadvantage, & procure such grants and Orders from hence as they imagine will bee displeasing to you, & by these means endeavour to render y^e government soe uneasy to you that you shall petition to bee recalled, of w^{ch} sort I reckon y^e last Order concerning y^e armies march into y^e North; y^e Author of w^{ch} council, I suspect, designed as much your Ex^{cy}'s trouble as y^e King's service, in w^{ch} cases your Ex^{cy} might possibly find very good effects of applying your selfe immediately to his Mat^{tie}, with whom your opinion would weigh more than most of your Adversaryes. especially in matters relating to that Country, whereof your Ex^{cy} must needs be a better judge; and at y^e worst you will disappoint them of their chiefe ayme when you seem to approve what you cannot remedy; your most friends not having credit enough to prevent such hardships from being put upon you as they desire, & as your Ex^{cy} may perhaps expect, for y^e Duke governs absolutely, & I think my Lord Treâr. & D. of Lauderdale derive all their favour from his countenance, & will signify noe longer then they are subservient to his designe, yet y^e former of those two seems to stand a little more on his owne bottome, & dislikes among his friends every thing that is done, though people think, with reason enough, his Lop^{pp} has a good share in y^e advice, & however they may differ in their private capacity, in Council

those three are very unanimous & scarcely ever disagree. M^r Sec^r. Coventry does little more then y^e necessary busines of his Office. S^r Jos. Williamson is understood to bee a creature of Lauderdale's, as he was before of Clifford, who made him Plenipot., not onely without My Lord Arl. help, but agst his consent, though they are willing to have it thought (as likewise his new intended promotion) y^e sole acts of his old master. Lauderdale, Northampton, & of late Anglesey, have been publickly voyced to succeed your Ex^{cy}, though I cannot learn that any one but Seymour was ever proposed in Council, who was never talkt on for it in publick. L. Anglesey, L. Ranelagh, L. Conway, or y^e Speaker, they think may serve their turn well enough in Ireland, but they will find difficulty in bringing it to effect while your Ex^{cy} continues soe well in y^e King's esteem, unlesse it move first from your selfe. Most people think y^e houses will meet at y^e time appointed, but not sit long. L. Lauderdale does undertake to endeavour to clear himselfe to several eminent members of those aspersions for w^{ch} hee conceives hee had incurred their displeasure y^e last Session. I heard my L. Berkeley had offered y^e D. of Portsmouth his house at Mittenham, on condition hee might bee sent once more into Ireland. I have herewith sent your Ex^{cy} a few new books & fashionable Pamphlets, some of w^{ch} may deserve your Ex^{cy}'s perusal. S^r H. Capell & S^r Arthur Forbes are still at y^e Bathe, in whose absence I have ventured y^e rather to give your Ex^{cy} this Account of y^e present posture of our Court, for which I humbly beg your Ex^{cy}'s pardon & fayr interpretation.

CLX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, July 18th [1674.]

In my last to y^r L^p I promist to send y^r L^p a List of y^e Non-Con-

formist preachers of y^e Scottish Nation, as have bin forward of late to returne home.^a

The enclosed papers will informe you of something of this kind, as also y^e news, w^{ch} is spread among them; there is likewise a Copy of a Letter of y^e ArchB^p of St. Andrews to y^e ArchB^p of Canterbury, wherein is not any great matter that I can observe, & whether there were really such a Letter writt or no I cannot tell, but if there were, you may see what Intelligence these men have, & if not, Tis maliciously suggested to disquiet y^e minds of people. As I hear any thing further that is of moment, I shall not faile to communicate it to y^r L^p & remaine.

[Enclosure.]

COPY OF FORGED LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO THE
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R GRACE,

Albeit I kept long silence, & my correspondence with y^r Grace hath not bin soe frequent as formerly, yet like y^e son of Croesus I must cry out when my Mother y^e Church is in hazard, & I believe if I should hold my peace y^e very stones would speake, for y^e gospell is now at stake; we are assaulted not only by Foreigners, our old enemies y^e Phanaticks, who were never of us, but also alas my Lord there is Fire in our owne bedstrawe, they are all crying for a generall Convocation of y^e Clergie upon no other Acc^t, but that to shake off our Yoak, & break our bonds asunder. I hope y^r Grace will consider y^e owne hazard, & not forgett what disorders followed in England upon our distempers in Scotland; when our Neighbor's House is a Fire Tis Time to looke to our owne, their great aime and designe is at me, who God knows like Paul have spent myselfe in y^e service of y^e Church & am willing yet to spend what remains, & I believe that no man can say I have run in vain. If I be not supported by his Maties speciall favor through

^a This was sent July 13.

y^r Graces recomendation I shall inevitably suffer shipwreck, w^{ch} I doe not value upon my owne acct, but that I see through my sides y^e Church will be wounded. The only remedy is to procure a L^re from his Majestie to discharge y^e Convocation, w^{ch} will calme this storme, & quench all these ambitious & seditious designes, w^{ch} are now on Foot to disturbe y^e peace of y^e Church; they are already come to that height of insolence, that one M^r Cant a presbyter hath shaken off all fear of God and his canonically Oathes & did call me a great grievance of y^e Church. My dear Lord & brother, bestirre y^r selfe in this matter, & remember y^e woe that is pronounced ag^t them that are at ease whilst others are in distress for recommending this to y^r care.

I am, my Lord,
Y^r Graces affectionate brother &
faithfull servant,

ST. ANDREWS.

To the
ArchB^p of Canterbury.

CLXI.—SIR ARTHUR FORBES TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EX^{cy},

Bathe, This 25 Juli, 1679.

Nowe King, Duke, Treasurer sime resolved to invite *Parliam^t* to toune, all speeke kindly of him [Essex] ase of a parson yusefule to the Kinge's sarvise. *Lodderdale*, who is hire, simes to be of the same mind, professes kindness to *Essex*, and desired me to asure him the reportes wiche ware rased ware malisius.

Arthur Forbese expecktet sudanli to leve this kingdom, *King* having signified so muche to him latli. *Scotch* are note in a good yumor buy whate I can lerne.

Essex is well here. All his frendes wish his still continuing whare he is ase a parson yusefule bothe to the Kinge and kingdom.

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CLXII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, July 28, 74.

In a Letter from my Lord of Orrery, dated at Marleborough y^e 17th of July, there was this passage :—“On Wednesday y^e 15th of July, in y^e evening, my Lord Treasurer brought me y^e King's Order, signed by his Majestie, directed to M^r Attorney Gen^{ll} or M^r Sollicitor, forthwth to prepare a patent to give me all those powers in Military Affairs in y^e province of Munster, under y^e great Seale of England, that I had formerly, while presid^t of Munster, under y^e great Seale of Ireland.” Upon y^e receipt of this I sent for a Copy of my Lord of Orrery's Commission, & upon perusall thereof I finde He has, in y^e absence of y^e Chiefe Governor out of that province, y^e comand of all Forces there as Generall. The words are, “To raise, gather, levy, & assemble from Time to Time such of our subjects within our s^d province of Munster as to you or either of you (viz., Himselfe or Vicepresid^t), shall be thought expedient for y^e service afores^d. And also to have y^e leading Govern^t & Comand of all our Martiall forces already residing & placed within y^e s^d Province.” His L^p hath very often since my coming presst me, wth much earnestness, to put y^e Militia in a posture there, & indeed I have bin in some difficultie to know how to answer him, and yet not appear unwilling to forward that worke, w^{ch} y^e generallity of y^e protestants in this Kingdome are vehemently sett upon. My reasons ag^t y^e forming of this Force were so fully expressd in a Letter I writt to y^e King himselfe as I can adde litle to it, & therefore for that part I shall say no more, but herewth transmitt you a Copy of so much of my Letter as concerned this subject. Now, should his L^p come over armed wth such a Commission as He pretends to, He would undoubtedly, so soon as he arrives, call together y^e Militia of that province & exercise them, & then I shall be putt upon this streight, either to deny doeing y^e like in y^e other three provinces, & thereby loose all y^e Interest

I have bin gaining with y^e protestants, or by forming them into Troops & Companys, to putt Arms into such men's hands, as should any disorders happen in England or Scotland I dare not rely upon; & whether I doe y^e one or y^e other this will certainly fall out, that my Lord of Orrery first setting up that Militia in Munster, He will be regarded as y^e great patron of y^e protestant Interest, & thereby become popular wth that party, & I shall be looked upon, if I refuse to doe y^e like in other parts, as a man ill affected to them, or if I doe it, as one who was necessitated thereunto by his example.

The misfortune of this Affair relating to y^e Militia is such as I dare not seem to oppose it, & yet I am sufficiently convinced of y^e hazard & danger thereof to his Maties service, & have therefore all along managed my selfe, so as in appearance to approve of & like it. However, in my thoughts I was utterly resolved ag^t it, & truly I have bin soe lucky as at present to lay it asleep in all men's minds, none having for these three or four months so much as spoken of it, nor I believe will, till his L^p revive that matter againe.

I looke upon y^e Army now here to be fully sufficient to keep all things quiett at home, yet if any apprehension should be of an Invasion by a Forreigner, this Militia would doubtlesse be of very good use; but as to our selves, especially whilst there are any discontents either in England or Scotland, it will certainly be y^e most pernicious Thing imaginable. If his Majestie doe therefore resolve to proceed in this Comission to my Lord of Orrery, y^e only Expedient I can thinke of to obviate y^e raising y^e Militia will be this, that an order be dispatched together wth y^e Comission, or at least sent so soon as may be after it, requiring his L^p not to Act any thing in relation to y^e Militia of that province without a particular Comand from his Majestie, & that I may have a copy of that Ord^r sent to me.

Your L^p may perhaps thinke of some properer course, but this is y^e best that occurs to my apprehension, & I earnestly intreat y^r L^p that it may not be known whence this Advice comes, for

should it ever take vent twould turne much to my prejudice, & make me less able to doe his Majestie service here among his Protestant subjects.

4CLXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR ARTHUR FORBES.

S^r,

Dublin Castle, July 30: '74.

I have rēd y^{rs} dated at Bath y^e 18th of July, & have according to y^r advice spoken wth Captain Cunningham to settle a correspondence in y^e North, that I may have what notice he can give me of Motions there. I have had Intelligence from thence of divers of y^e phanatick preachers, who of late have bin observed to goe back into Scotland, & some of them are returned hither againe, & I doe know they are at this present a litle more then ordinary busy among y^e people; about a week since I gave my Lord of Arlington a List of severall of their names, & that part of Scotland they did frequent, so that if they thought it worth y^e doing, some of those Incendiarys might be apprehended.

I perceiv there are those in England, and such as have great influence on Affairs at this present, who are not at all pleased wth my being here, & tho' I finde they cannot alter y^e King in relation to my Removall, yet they doe prevaile to have many Things done that may give me distaste, and this I am confident wth an Intent to make me so weary of y^e Governm^t as to desire a dismissal; but since this is their Aime, I doe assure them I will be no Lord Robarts, for when I once finde that things are done on purpose to make me angry, I will not be provoked, if it be but to disappoint those who designe my prejudice.

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Tis somewhat strange to me that when a Thing is well it cannot be let alone. Is not y^e Nation here in perfect quiett? Are not all men satisfied that the Army we now have is more then sufficiently

able to keep all secure within ourselves? Is not every body sensible too that this Army now is in a much better posture then ever it hath bin since his Majesties restauration? Nay, as to my L^d of Orrery's particular, does not He as Major Gen^l comand not only y^e Forces in Munster, but elsewhere, why then this extraordinary Commission? or indeed, since his Majestie hath bin pleased to trust me in y^e Govern^t, it may seem a litle strange that I was never consulted therein before It were ordered. I write freely my thoughts to y^e you, having so good an opportunity for their safe conveyance. These Expostulations are only between you & me, for, as I said before, lett them doe what they will, I will be so cross as not to shew my selfe froward upon it; only when a thing happens as this relating to y^e Militia, w^{ch} I conceive may be mischievius to his Majesties affaires, my duty obligeth me to represent such inconveniences, but as to any affront to my selfe, I shall waite my own opportunitie to doe my business wth that circumspection as may make it more successfull.

You see y^e freedome wherewth I impart my mind to you, & by it you may judge y^e reallity & Truth of my being.

CLXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR A. FORBES.

Dublin Castle, Aug. 11. '74.

[Essex perceives that there is much communication going on between "the discontented party now in Scotland" and their friends in the north of Ireland, and a "perpetual going to and fro of those preaching fellows"; he has therefore strengthened the garrisons in Londonderry, Charlemont, and Carrickfergus.]

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CLXV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF DANBY.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Aug. 11, 1674.

By the hands of my Lord Ranelagh I received y^e favor of y^r L^{ps} most obliging Letter, dated y^e 30th of July, wherein you are pleased to give me so many assurances of y^r kindnesse, as I confesse I cannot wish for more, &, indeed, Tis one of y^e greatest satisfactions could befall me, who have long desired y^e honour of a firme & settled friendship wth y^r L^p, to find it now so well established; & since those Two worthy persons you name, my Lord Conway & S^r Arth^r Forbese have bin instrumentall & usefull to me herein, I doe assure y^r L^p that this part they have done shall much endear them to me.

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CLXVI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY, Windsor Castle, 22 Aug. 1674.

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This day I gave his Ma^{ty} y^r Letter w^{ch} he was pleased to reade wth great patience, & afterwards expressed all the kindnesse Imaginable for you, saying That he was abundantly satisfied wth your cominge & care of His affaires, & y^t he heartely wished he could have you both there & here. *King* told me y^t he would in a few dayes discourse wth me about the *regiment*, & *privately betwixt us two give you directions int*, & that he had spoken somewhat to *Forbese* of it already. *Fa. Patrick* was extremely inquisitive whether that I had not brought him any Letters from *Conway*, & whether *Conway* had not writt to *Kg* by me, whereby *Essex* may be able to finde y^t tis a plot laid by *Conway* to runn *Essex*^a into

^a The first distinct notice that Conway is in the scheme against Essex.

some inconvenience about *Fa. Patrick*, and undoubtedly *Con., Ran., Or., & Trea.* endeavour all they can to weaken *Essex* wth *King* and *people*; & though I could not, by reason of y^e great Company, speake much to *ArL.*, yet he told me y^t he was wounded by his Enemies, but y^t *Essex* was wounded by his friends, & promised me this evening to come to particulars, but the post going away by 7 o' Clock, I must differ it till y^e next post.

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CLXVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF DANBY.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Aug. 23, '74.

On Fryday last I received y^e favour of y^r L^{ps} dated y^e 14th of this moneth, y^e substance of it relating to a Comission intended to be granted to y^e Earle of Orrery, w^{ch}, importing more then was designed by his Majestie or known to y^r L^p, has, I finde by y^e Letter, receivd some stop. I must also acquainte y^r L^p that some or other have not dealt well wth you in telling y^r L^p that my Lord of Orrery did voluntarily surrender his patent of y^e military power in Munster, whereupon y^r L^p writes that his Majestie would be glad to gratify his L^p herein, especially because his L^p did surrender that patent of y^e Govern^t of Munster without being demanded of him, & w^{ch} He might have kept wth very extraordinary powrs, whereas indeed his Military Comission, as well y^e others, was by his Majesties Comand to be vacated, and had he refused to surrender, care would have bin taken to supersede it, as will appear by my Instructions, & M^r Attorney & M^r Sollicitors Advice how to execute them (here inclosed). The words of my 18th Instruction are these:

Whereas we have thought fitt, for divers good considerations us thereunto moving, to suppress y^e Civill Courts & Military powrs of y^e Two Presidents of Conagh^t & Munster in that our Kingdome (as (we shall more particularly by our royal Letters signify to them),

we have thought fitt hereby to direct you to proceed to y^e suppressing of y^e s^d powers accordingly. And we doe therefore hereby authorise & impowr you to conforme y^e practice of Civill causes in those our said provinces to y^e method of y^e Laws generally observed through y^e whole Kingdome. And for y^e due regulation & ordering of y^e Military powr there, to erect, instead of y^e said Presidents, Governors or Deputys of Countys for that purpose, wth such pow'rs & Instructions for y^e Administration of their respective charges as you shall thinke necessary for that end, & as near as you can agreeable to y^e powrs given to y^e Deputy Lientenants in England, & to name thereunto persons of known Loyalty, Courage, & prudence in that our Kingdome, To be continued during our pleasure.

By all w^{ch} It is apparent that his Majties resolutions were totally to suppress these Presidencys, & for y^e Military part thereof to leave it wholly to me to erect & nominate Govern^{rs} of Countys wth such powrs as I should thinke necessary for that end. I did proceed to y^e execution of that part, w^{ch} related to y^e presidencys; my Lord of Orrery being then in y^e Kingdome did readily resigne, my Lord Berkeley & L^d Kingston being both in England, I transmitted copies of what my L^d of Orrery had done, as formes for their resignation, they making some difficulties have not yet as I hear complied, nevertheless my Lord of Kingston hath obtained a Letter for a compensation, altho' y^e patent be still in being. For y^e constituting of Govern^{rs} of Countys in pursuance of y^e latter part of my Instruction the paper I have herewth enclosed will show y^r L^p what progress I have made in it, & upon what Acc^t I desided.

If his Majestie shall thinke fitt to grant my Lord of Orrery a Comission, as others have for y^e Govern^t of Countys, & this to extend to two, three, four, or all y^e Countys within y^e Province of Munster, that his Majestie may be acquainted wth y^e formes (now in Use) of these Comissions, & y^e scope of y^e powers conteyned in them, I have herewth transmitted a Copy of one (There are some few others of an antiquated Stile, of that sort my Lord of Donegall has one for Carrigfergus). I confess I doe much wonder why my

Lord of Orrery, being Major Genr^{ll} of y^e Army, should desire any such Comission, w^{ch} is looked upon here as very insignificant, & indeed is soe; for I believe a man may be chiefe Govern^r seven years, & not know unless by Accid^t who are Governors of Countys. I have bin now above Two years in this place, & I am sure I cannot tell who they all are, for they never act or doe any Thing. However I concieve for his Majesties sake it may be most proper that y^e Comission doe pass here, & this because it may be enquired whether some nobleman (as, for instance, my Lord of Tyrone hath for y^e County of Waterford) have not already comissions for y^e same, w^{ch} should they be thus superseded, would unnecessarily disoblige those persons, who are at present possest of these Comands, how inconsiderable soever in themselves, yet could not but take it a litle to heart to be turned out of them. I cannot conclude without giving y^r L^p my humble thanks for y^e favor you express in these words of y^e Letter, That you are ag^t any Thing new without my approbation to it.

CLXVIII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EX^{CEL}LY,

London, 25 Aug. 1674.

* * * * *

I am more & more convinced y^t *Tr: Orr: Con: & Ran:* are in Combination against *Essex* & endeavour to put all the tricks Imaginable upon him, & have attempted to set up an *Irish secretary* for that purpose, but I cannot as yet learne the man.

At Windesore I found great Complaints, y^t *Essex* his *lady* had not visited *Queen*, & y^t If it were not donne It would be ill taken, where upon I gave my thoughts freely to *her* about It, and *she* doth intend to doe it.

* * * * *

If you have not already, I think It necessary that y^r Excellency send y^r thanks to M^r Secretary Coventry for his great Care of y^r Concerns at Court on all occasions, & particularly about *Orrery*; To-morrow Sr. Arthur, Sr. Henry, & my self meen to put things in a way upon his going away, w^{ch} he designes on Thursday next; I dare assure you that *Ran:* is much weakened in his Interest both wth *Kg.* & *Trea:* & y^t *Orrery* is much worse then he, & *Kg.* hath declared his thoughts of both upon this last occasion frankly, & to me he called it a *dirty trick*; This is all at present from &c.

* * * * *

All my Letters shalbe sealed this Seale to y^r Excellency, & I will use it to nobody else.

CLXIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR. WILLIAM HARBORD.

MR. HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, Aug. 31, '74.

I have rec^d y^{rs} of y^e 22 & 25 of Aug. I approve well of what my brother proposes concerning M^r Coke, & have writt to him to that purpose.

On Saturday last M^r Justice Johnson & M^r Justice Cusack, returning from their Circuite, gave me an Acc^t that among other persons condemned there was one whose name was Brown at Trim convict for murder in Time of y^e Rebellion, & accordingly sentenced. Enquiring of y^e particulars they made me this relation. This person, being a soldier in y^e English Army, was appointed wth others by y^e Govern^t of Trim for y^e guard of a litle Castle near that Towne, for y^e convenient bringing in of Corne & other provisions to that Garrison, & he finding an opportunity to deale wth some of y^e Irish betrayd that place to them, who, when they enterd, putt all y^e others to y^e sword. I asked y^e Judges whether they

had given any Order for y^e Execution ; they told me they had, & that that day was appointed by their Warr^t for it, but yet they had left a latitude to y^e Sheriff to respitt y^e execution three or four days if any of y^e prisners should desire a longer Time to prepare themselves to dy. It being about Ten of y^e clock when I came to y^e knowledge of this, 'twas too late for me to use any means that day to reprieve this prisner, so as I sent immediately for y^e Copies of y^e King's Letters, w^{ch} I knew had bin writt hither both in former times, & in my owne upon this subject. On perusall of them I found it clearly his Majesties intention that there should be no prosecution of persons for crimes committed in y^e late war, & therefore very early on Sunday morning, without any petition from y^e Prisner, or application of any body from him, I dispatched a messenger wth an Order for his Reprieve, but whether it will come Time enough or no I cannot tell, y^e messenger being not yet returned. I am sure I have not neglected any Thing on my part for me to doe therein, & indeed were there nothing of y^e King's Comand in y^e case, I am clearly of opinion that proceedings of this sort ought absolutely to be forbidden, for if after soe many years & such diversities of changes as have happend in this Country there should be now a ripping up of Crimes, & punishm^t executed upon y^e Offend^{rs} according to law, no man can see where it will stop, & y^e insecuritie of multitudes of people, who would be awakened by such like examples, could not but endanger y^e quiett of y^e Kingdome.

I conceive 'twas necessary to give you a knowledge of this particular, lest some clamer might be raised in England concerning it, & that you might know both my part herein & my sense thereupon. I shall answer y^e substance of y^r last Letter in my next, & remaine, &c.

CLXX.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

London, 1 Sept. 1674.

On Saturday last Sir Henry Capell & my self waited on my Lady to windsor, where she wth great prudence paid her Devoirs to his Ma^{ty}, Queen, Duke, & Duchesse, & resting there all Sunday begann the journey to Alisbeury yesterday morning; I protest she did so extreamly want somebody to take care of her Equipage & to provide necessary accommodations for her, that had I not been engaged in unavoydable buisnesses I would have seen her Lad^{ys} on Ship Board; I beseech God to send her a good journey by Land & a safe passage for Sea. Y^r Excellency may remember the complaint I made to you of y^e hard usage I had received from *La North^a*, she having given my Lady some account of those my pretensions, I thought it best to acquaint her also wth what severity she had used me; I was surprised to finde at my comming over what a kinde message *La North* sent me by *S^r H. Ca.*, expressing a great desire to speake wth me; whereupon in obedience to *Essex* his Commands I went over to her wth *S^r H. C.*, & then after a long Funnige^b & abundance of Laughing at *Essex* his Lady for altering of her Resolutions, & twenty other inventions, she found out to make faults wth Freedom before me surprised me. She began a story how much she valued & Loved *Essex*, and that she had lately given a testimony of it; for that whereas she had Contracted wth *Pourtsmouth* for many *jewells* for four *thousand pounds*, *Trear.* refused to make any payment for the same unlesse the money could be raised in *Ireland*; that *King* had consented to it upon those Termes; that y^e *order* was *ready*, but that *La North* out of her abundant care of *Essex* had refused to conclude upon that way of payment till she could heare from *Essex*; that, so it could not be done, *Essex* might not draw the Hatred or Displeasure of *Ports*. But to be short, her great Trust I finde is in *Orrery*; for *Mr. Harb.* his part I dare assure *Essex*, that though probably he might make

^a Northumberland.^b *Sic.*

his Court & phaps advantage out of this Coniuncture, yet he will Ever prefer the *interest* of *Essex* before all Earthly considerations, & upon serious thoughts *Mr Harb.* doth *advise Essex* not to have *any hand in*; for I finde that *he* doth use all the *tricks he can* to make *Essex* uneasy, Let *Ran.* or *Con.* say what they will; And if *Essex* should advise or Consent to y^e Disputing of so great a summ, when phaps *the army* may want it, It might move *Essex*; & considering to whom It is to goe or the benefitt the noise of It in *Parl.* might *doe the same.* *Tis below Essex* to stand *by such wayes* If there were no *hazzard*; these are my thoughts & *humble advice*, & much more I could saye, and in God's name Let *Ran.* have the good and the ill of it, for I am confident tis a *moustrap* laid by *Orrery* & that *gang*, and therefore tis better to saye that the affaires of that kingdome are so much in want of help rather than otherwise that It cannot be doone wth safety to his Ma^{ty}s affaires committed to y^r Care. Yisterday y^e Duke and Duchesse left windsor, y^e latter being bigg wth Child, went by water to Ham & then they both dined, & this day y^e King & queen did the same; tomorrow I intend to be at y^e Kings Rysing to see how matters goe; Its believed of all Hands that y^e Parliament will meete,^a & therefore Let *Essex* take his measures accordingly. The Ld. Trear. is yet at y^e Bathe & S^r John Duncombe, L^d Arlington fallen ill of y^e Goute at Goring House. The Seals being signed the white staffe is to be changed; *Fa Patrick* hath changed his Resolution of Comming for Ireland, but *S^r H. C.* my self know perfectly well that that project was contrived by *Con* and that *Essex* may judge of his good will. Its uncertain who will be Governor of Tangier, Inchqueen, Holmes, Cholmondly, Windsor are the Competitors, but the king hath not as yet declared himself. The Confederates both in Germany & flanders presse hard upon the frinche, & will its thought attempt some Considerable places to invite them to a 2d fight. The last hath put all the best families in France into Mourning, about 800

^a It did not meet until April, 1675. Charles kept his intention of delaying its meeting absolutely secret, even from Danby.

of ye best officers & noblesse having lost their lives,^a & Its thought near 6000 of y^e soldiery. The prince of Conde is much blamed for pressing so farr and so long whereby y^e Germans had time to come in; & as soon as they did nothing stood before them; & indeed they gave no quarter, & particularly to y^e Suisses, w^{ch} was thought a designe to fright that people from fighting against y^e Emperor & to unite y^e Germans in this quarrell; the prince of orange hath gotten great Reputation in all the Courts of Europe, & particularly at home; this is all at present from, &c.

CLXXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR. WILLIAM HARBORD.

MR. HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, Sep^t 2: 1674.

* * * * *

You mention a proposall of a bleu ribbon & something of proffit wherein my Lord of Arlington is willing to be instrumentall. For my own part I have neither coveteous nor ambitious aimes, yet, however, any favour that his Majesty shall thinke fitt to confere on me cannot but be extream wellcome. As for the first of these, my estats being (as you know) but in a moderate condition, I fear, unless joyned wth y^e other, 'tis somewhat too great for me; but as to the other, it may be a considerable convenience to me; but whether either or both or neither be don for me, I shall not be the less dilligent in his Maj. service. I have never envyed those who attain to great dignitys, or who acquire vast fortunes, being perfectly contented with my owne. However, a moderate & prudent care of a man's private concerns & family is not only allowable, but commendable, & indeed a duty. Upon this account, as I shall not be wanting for any acknowledgments for favours of this kind, so neither shall I be forgetfull of my respects towards those who propose to promote things of this nature for my advantage.

^a This refers to the murderous battle of Seneff, August 11, 1674. It went on for three days, with a total loss of 25,000 men.

CLXXII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

London, 5 Sept., 1674.

* * * * *

The other day, talking wth King, I asked him about the *sitting* of *Parl*: and whether he thought *W. H.* could be useful to him; he said *yea*, and that he would have me stay, and would consider me for it. I told *Arl*: of it, and he advised me to write to *Essex* that he would desire *Arl*: to recommend me to *Kg.* for some recompence for the last jurney by *Kg.* his commands and attendance, & also for this if I did stay; out of w^{ch}, if any thing Considerable be gotten, *Cooke*, *Elliot*, & *Chijjims* may be sharers, w^{ch} is humbly submitted to *Essex* his pleasure.

* * * * *

I would have *Essex* cautious, for *Lauderdale* is so insolent in his behaviour and words that wise men feare^a the Parliament will not meete; he hath this seems his olde allowance of forty pounds a day as if commissioner, at w^{ch} men are in amaz; he is raising a thousand foote & 300 horse in Scotland.

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CLXXIII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

London, 15 Sept., 1674.

* * * * *

As to our matters here, most men have their heads full of fears, & y^e wisest most, that the thoughts of army and popery are still a foote; *Duke*, *Tre*: *Laud*: governe all. *Tre*: layes about him & provides for his family, so y^t if Ever he come to be out wth y^e king

^a See Burnet, *Own Times*, i. 369.

his Enemies will Maull him. The publique Expense is farr short of y^e Revenue,^a by y^e last Computation above 10,000M. weekly, so y^t the king will quickly have money in his purse; And it is feard that y^e parliament will not Sitt, though they meet. If so, & y^t the Frenche keep their ground, *Essex will be removed next spring*. I heare from a good hand that Coventre is willing to *sell his place*, w^{ch} is a terrible Signe, for *you two must goe together; he complains that nobody takes his part since Ormond went away*, and saith that he will *leave his place rather then doe an ill thing*, which agrees wth the former story.

Williamson waited the other morning, *since secretary*, 2 Houres at Treay. before admitted, so y^t I can not tell what Course he wil shew.

Keeper acts very fearfully & warily. *Laud. braggs like a mad man*. Treas. is ill in health.

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CLXXIV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

London, 21 Sept., '71.

This Bearer, Captain Crofts, going this day for Dublin, I thought it best to write by him my thoughts to you upon the present occurrences here, that so you may take y^r measures accordingly, for I dare assure you I am not mistaken in mine.

First, the King y^e last ffriday in Councell declared his thoughts of proroging the parliament till spring,^b not ascertaining the time, but yisterday his Ma^y, Duke, Trear. & Williamson mett at Mr.

^a It was Danby's usefulness in this respect that enabled him to maintain himself so long.

^b Charles was now acting as his own Foreign Minister. His intention of proroguing once more had been carefully concealed, even from Danby, and the announcement created consternation in the Council. The time named for the meeting of parliament was first November and then April, 1675.

Coventry his office, & I believe there it was agreed, & this day, or on wednesday, It wil be declared, I suppose, in Councell. Coventry hath stoutly opposed it, but could not prevaile.

The french have Labored int, and I am apt to believe that a stratagem was made use off to bring it about, w^{ch} was the opportune contriving a story of a great victory procured by y^e frenche, & y^e Boats stopped 2 or 3 dayes y^t so It might not Admitt of a suddain Contradiction, for Lockart, from Paris, writes only of y^e Raising of y^e Siege, & yet y^e french Ambassador pretends to have Letters, of y^e same date, of a great Rout given to y^e Confederates, & in so improbable a Manner y^t It Lacketh Even Creditt here. You can not Imagine how great a Surprise this Actt of Councell hath made among the people who talk very broad, And may perhaps prove fatall to *Trea.* & *Laud.* My Ld. Treâr. eldest sonne is admitted into y^e Bed Chamber, & waited this day; this is donne by y^e help of 90,^a & Its wonderfull to see his good fortune in ye Marriage of his Children & settling his family in order; And many are of opinion that when y^t is donne he will stop this Career. He hath greater Creditt wth the King then any man Ever had, & if he continue the way I heare he hath proposed of saving yearly 500th, & laye it up in specie, Land will fall, I dare be bold to saye, in 4 yeares, to 10 yeares purchase, & rents one Moit^{ie} of what they are now, all for want of Boullion to drive the Trade of y^e kingdome, and then all ye nobility & Gentry must be Courtiers, or weare sabotts at home. This is the greatest blow y^t can be given you, & I can not see a possibility of y^r staying where you are longer then the spring, if those Councells hold; And, therefore, for God's sake let us apply ourselves wholly to y^e payment of y^r Debt, wthout w^{ch} I feare your family wilbe ruined. However, when Mr. Hine commeth to towne, I will send you his particular, but I expect y^r Excellency to give me Leave to Labour y^r being out of debt, & y^t that have pretenses before all other considerations, & I assure you I will Labour it wth all Immaginable Industry.

^a Duchess of Portsmouth.

I plainly perceave *that king speakes well of Essex to cover his other designes*, And I believe you wilbe of my minde ere long.

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CLXXV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

London, 29 Sept. 1674.

* * * * *

The Duke of Monmouth was Confined to his Chamber, at y^e Request & pressing of my L^d Montague, for some words his Grace was pleased to speake of my Lord, & those grounded upon y^e late stopping of my Ld. Montague's by y^e Guard by y^e Duke's Command as he came from M^{rs} Kirk's; but is released again. The (*illegible*) hath gotten him great kindnesse among ye Generality of people by the other being so terribly hated, & y^t Duke, *Lau: Tre: appeared for him. There is a great feud between York & Mon: the whole Court backs M., & Arl. hath wisely made him head of the party, wich wil give him credit now and in Parl. All their hopes is peace*, where in I hope they will faile.

My Lord Arlington is returned from the Bathe & bears his great losse patiently, thanking God y^t his Child was not there. This is all at present from, &c.

CLXXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

DEARE BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, Octobr 3, 74.

I have received y^{rs} of y^e 20th of September; I am confident y^e prorogation of y^e parliam^t will much alter y^e face of things, in consequence to w^{ch} if any change should arise in relation to my selfe, Twill not in y^e least surprise or discompose me, being resolved

never to doe any Thing unjustifiable upon y^e Acc^t of Keeping my place. I doe believe I shall be able to clear my debt by y^e next Spring, & as for my building at Cassiobury I have done enough already to make it an excellent House, & in such a manner as I can make use of it without doing any more, & therefore if matters doe not succeed wth me I will let that rest as it is, but if I continue in y^e station where I am, I will by degrees doe more.

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CLXXVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE BISHOP OF DOWN.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Octob^r 19th, 74.

Twas some weeks since that I rec^d a Letter from y^r L^p wherein were severall Things relating to y^e Nonconformists who are in those parts where you reside concerning their Intelligences wth Scotland. The Acc^t w^{ch} I had from you I communicated to S^r Arthur Forbese, who was then goeing into that country, & tho' Things doe not at present looke very well in Scotland, yet I hope there will be nothing to disturbe y^e peace there, or bring any inquietnesse here; however, I conceive y^r L^p does very well in y^e moderation w^{ch} I hear you use towards dissenters, this not being, in my opinion, a season proper to struggle too much wth them.

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CLXXVIII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

Ye last of Oct., '74.

I writt to you by y^e last post concerning *Brockley*,^a & have endeavoured, both by my self, S^r H. Capell & friends, to finde out

^a Apparently means Berkeley.

the bottom of it ; & although from severall hands its plaine that King hath been tampered with, yet Tweedale hath prest Kg so hard that Kg did in anger saye that he had not promised it to Brockley. D Ham. Tweedale^a are Essex his friends ; & so is Arl., Cov. most faithfully, and, indeed, the man proposed adds much to Essex his fame. Arl. may rest satisfied That nothing wil be done till spring nor till the three yeares be out. Tweedale tels me that when Kg and he spoke o' this, Kg said all the good things of Essex immaginable, but he can not resist the importunities of Portsm., nor is to be trusted. Sr H. Cap., W. H. use their utmost care, & nothing shaibe omitted. If Essex can but have it 4 yeares, and his condition easy, I should be glad to see him at home and out of this court. The dutch Ambassador came to me & assured me that Orange did extreamly value and Desire Essex his friendship. Sr H. Capell is gone home, & wilbe here again on Thursday & write at large.

* * * * *

And you can not Imagine how *fair all Orm. his friends are to Essex, and particularly Ossory, who hath taken upon him to speake to Portsm. about this ; & therefore I pray by some publique civility let the world see the good understanding that is between you, for all good men desire it.*

Lady Pembroke hath said such words to Kg upon this much as wold make one tremble.

* * * * *

CLXXIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF TYRONE.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Novemb^r 10, 74.

I have recd^d y^{rs} of y^e 6th instant, w^{ch} gives me notice of severall persons who doe much damnefy y^e people in y^e county of Waterford

^a *i.e.* the "party" lords opposed to Lauderdale.

by robbing & spoiling them. The usuall course I have taken in cases of this nature is to direct a Lfe to Three or four of y^e principall Justices of peace in y^e County, who are most active & diligent, to make it their particular buisnesse to apprehend such mischievous persons, wherefore, if y^r L^p please to send me y^e names of some whom you conceive fittest for this worke, I shall order a speciall Letter to them in this case. As for granting a warr^t to bring men in dead or Alive, 'tis somewhat a dangerous Thing to trust such a powr wth any, till by some Tryall of Law y^e Offenders have bin proceeded ag^t, & to this end I have severall Times appointed y^e Judges that Indictm^{ts} should be preferrd ag^t y^e men who were thus suspected, & if y^e Grand Jury find y^e Indictm^t upon y^e returne thereof, proclamation issues giving them a certain space of Time to render themselves, whereof if they faile powr is given to any of his Majesties subjects to bring them in alive or dead; yet, however, in regard men of this sort are comonly desperate, & not easily apprehended, if in taking of them such a Accident happens as one of them is killed, if he prove a Tory we take care to indemnify y^e persons who killed him; therefore, so soon as y^r L^p shall let me know who are fitt to be employed in this affaire, I shall send directions to them to quicken them in y^e execution of their Trust, & use all means to pursue & take these Malefactors.

CLXXX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

M^r HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, Novem. 14. '74.

In y^r Two late Letters of y^e last of Octob^r & 3^d of Novem: there was much said concerning my Lord Berkeleys coming hither; I am still of y^e mind I was in before, that Tis impossible he can be y^e man, whatever people may imagine, or himselfe believe; you tell me that by y^e means of Duke Hamilton you have made y^e

Dutchesse of Portsmouth my friend; for my owne part I cannot desire y^e friendship of any of that sort. To keep faire wth them & all y^e world I shall be glad to doe, but to make any such friends so as to be usefull, or a support to me, will necessarily oblige me to be assistant to them in finding out money, or other advantages for their qualification, & if once I should begin there would be no end of it; However, I desire you to returne my humble thanks to Duke Hamilton, L^d Tweedale, for their kindness to me, & to all others whom you see friendly upon these occasions.

As to my stay here for 4 years I desire no proposall of that nature should ever be made on my behalfe, & I cannot imagine what it is makes men in England believe y^e Govern^t of Ireland to be for a Limited Time of Three Years; for y^e Comission is during his Majesties pleasure, & if they regard y^e practice my L^d Arthur Chichester was here seven or eight years; my L^d Strafford six or seven; my Lord of Ormond as long; my L^d Robarts but seven months; my L^d Berkeley not full three years; nor is any series of Governors to be found where this of Three years Time was observed.

His Majestie may please to continue me here so long as he finds me usefull in his service, & when ever Tis more convenient for his Affaires to send another, it may be either before or after y^e three years; Truly for my owne part I doe not desire to stay longer then my Actings are gratefull to my master. That y^e Emplaym^t is convenient to me in relation to my private Affairs you well know; The pains are so great w^{ch} must be taken in it, that truly unlesse it be performed to his Majesties satisfaction in such a manner as without y^e extraordinary pressing of friends I cannot remaine in it, I cannot thinke it worth y^e labour to continue upon these Terms.

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CLXXXI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCEL^{CY},

London, 14 Nov., 1674.

* * * * *

Having with all care & Dilligence attended the Report of y^r removal, & *employed* 96 97 Chiffing & others to discourse it wth Kg, & *finding* by y^m all y^t Brock had prest to succcede, & thought himself so sure that Leyton bragged of it on Monday morning last, I thought it time to trye, & waited on Kg; & knowing that the question about the guards and countrie companies would please him, I began wth that. He said much upon that subject as to the practice in forrain parts, & his owne opinion was that It was the priviledge of y^e regiment, & that they ought to have it.

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Then of himselfe told me that he had been asked by severall if he had any intentions to remove Essex. He swore it never came into his thoughts, and that He would be glad to have Essex here & there, but that till he could doe better for Essex He intended to continue you there; That he wished wth all his Soule he had sent Essex over at his first coming over; That he was abundantly satisfied wth your Conduct, & thought Essex y^e most considerable and weighty man in the kingdome. Thereupon I thought fitt to give him an Acc^t how much Essex Family had suffered, & y^t Essex had contracted a great Debt by giving Three portions to younger Sisters; That by the helpe of Essex his Imployment Sr H. Capell & M^r Harbord out of y^r Estate payd part of y^r Debts, & y^t in 1 or 2 years more, if King did continue Essex, his Family would in some measure be repaired, & Essex also to serve King on any occasion. I could not perceave but that this discourse was greatfull enough to him, for King continued to say kind Things of Essex & his Father. Then I proposed to call parliament in Essex his Time, and read to him a part of y^r instructions to me about it, & urged the bennifitts I thought he might reasonably expect from one, & in how unsafe a posture his Affairs were in there when his Subjects were unsafe in their Lande &

properties. That now, all the *Defects* in the former *Acts seen*, that *Essex* understood them very well, And would be able to propose such *Expedients* by *new Taxes* as would give him & his subjects great security and safety both in their *Minds & Estates*, so as private men did not prevaile & give *provisoers*, as in the other *Acts*, destroying y^e very intentions & scope of the same; that the *English* had great trust & confidence in *Essex*, and y^t the *Irish* were satisfied wth yr Justice to them on all occasions; That they Enjoyed the benefitt of the *Laws* equally wth any of his other subjects; That the *Army* was uselesse for want of it, for till 3 Monthes *paye* were always locked up in the *Castle* the *Army* could doe little or noe Service; That if his *Revenue* increased, so might his *Troops*; That in probability a means might be found to ease him of a great part of his charge at *Tangier* by sending thither yearly store of *Salt, beef, pork, bacon, pease, wheat, & barley*, w^{ch} the people were much better able to spare than money, & would equally be usefull to *King* his *Affaires*; That now was a very fit *Time*, y^e *Nation* beginning to finde the Effects of *peace*, the *Exchaynge* being at *parr* betwixt y^e *Kingdomes*, whereas it used to be at *Tem p Cent.* & upwards of the *English* side; That the *Dutch Commissioners* were in *Treaty* wth *E. Ossory* for ye taking yearly a great number of *Cattle* at a certain price, weighing such a *weight*, a thing infinitely to be sifted, w^{ch} would not only Obstruct the *Trades* y^t then *Danes, Holsteiners, & Hamburgers* now drove wth their *Cattle* there, but bring the *Dutch* to have a great dependance upon that *Kingdome*; That the *forts & Garrisons* now in great decaye, and y^t nothing but a *parliament* could repair them, *King* his *Revenue* being unable to doe it; That it was absolutely necessary to have *Parliament* before the renewing the *Farme*, because if the *Revenue* were improved, there would be less neede of a *Supply.* *King* seemed well pleased wth the discourse, and had me talk wth *Trear. & S. Coventry* about it. I then proposed in order to it the obliging *S^r Oliver S^r George.* He startled at it, & asked if he were not concerned in the *Genoa* prize. He made many difficulties. However, I have herewth sent M^r Ald-

worth a Letter to make him a Privy Councillor. *Essex & Ossory thought it not feasible.* I am heartely glad y^t it is *donne*. I have also Sent over a Letter for his Brother Signed, & a hope these 2 will *thinke themselves obliged to Essex.* I did yisterday meete wth an opportunity, after *having tried Twenty*, to show Treasurer a Letter I had prepared for his Ma^{tes} Signature about y^e postage of Letters. He read it & aproved of it, & I read also y^r Directions about *Dean Sherydon*. He told me how he came to be engaged in y^t affaire, y^t It was groundod upon the great ffame & Character of the man, both of his *Learning & piety*. but how *Essex* did *affirme these Things* w^{ch} were of might the *Creat* [unintelligible] & the *Matter should be heard*; & I *finde that he will opinion the Thing*, & therefore I pray write to him about it, & laye what *weight you can* to back y^r *Commands to me*. I believe a *petition from ye Colledge & some of the Chief Clergy to Essex*, & a *Copy sent over*, will doe well. *It's fitt for Essex to keepe faire with him*. Tis not to be immagined by any body *absent what Juggling* there is among them, & how a *Man is forced to live & waite*. 96^a is very kinde, & took the 100 Guinys *Kindly*; but is *Trear.* his own creature. *Chiffing* is most zealous for *Essex*, & *hates Trear.*, but *depends on Arlington*. 96 told me the other day y^t *Arlington had spoken to King that Carr might succeed Essex*; but tis only to sett *Arlington & Essex at odds*.

I finde my best way is to Learne all I can & to depend on King, who hath promised to write to *Essex* to this effect, and hath Directed *Chiffing* to minde him of it; but I would not get it ready this post; *Chiffing* spoke the other day to *Portsmouth* about *Essex*, who offered him y^t she had never said word to King about *Berkeley*. That she heard y^t *Essex* was a very good Man, & if she could serve *Essex* she would. *Chiffing* gave me an account of this, but I durst give him no other answer but that wee would reserve her favour for a better occasion, but that if she as of her self would trye King it was not amisse, & see how he stood inclined, since w^{ch} he tells me that she did it thus: "Sir, There is a Report that you are calling

^a Elliot.

home Essex. I heare he is a very good Man, & serves you well ; King said *I never had such a thought, he is the best man I have, & I wish I had some more of them, so she lett y^e discourse fall again.* I heare y^t *Ld: Northumberland* doth saye y^t *Portsmouth* will never forgive *the deniall.* She is the Divell of a woeman, but the truth is *Portsmouth sleighted her Jewells* ; I hope all *is quiet for this time,* & y^t you will over live *the 3rd year,* w^{ch} I assure *Essex is the greatest Mark of favour y^t can befall Essex,* & upon w^{ch} all men will fix their thoughts as to y^r favour wth King ; And as soon as you receive King's Letter send him an Answer, & take notice what past between King & Harbord about Essex.

Coll. Grace sent me this Letter & List of names yesterday. I found him very buissy to get y^e king's Letter, & by it to appoint a Sheriff for y^e king's County, w^{ch} would have been uneasy to you, & knowing y^t you are now buissy in y^e naming of Sheriffs I inclined him rather to take this way, w^{ch} perhaps is to late, or at least wthout such unkindnesse you may quickly make it so, & have an undeniable answer for this yeare, & he being great wth Duke, & abundantly *Knarish,* tis best to keepe him quiett.

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I feare I have quite tyred y^r Excellency : when *Ranelagh comes* I will watch him the best I can. *He is a dangerous Man.*

CLXXXII.—SIR HENRY COVENTRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

My L^p,

Whitehall, Nov. 21, 1674.

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P.S.—Since my writing what I have before troubled you wth, his Maj^y hath comāded mee to lett y^r Exce^{ley} know y^t hee is enformed there is a booke lately come out at Dublin relating all the par-

ticulars of the massacres and all other bloodshed committed during the late warre or immediately preceding it, that it seemeth already has done much harme by encreasing the present animosity betwixt the English and Irish; sure there needeth not much paynes to make men remember that which all the address of the Government hath not as yet bene able to make men forgett; her Maj^{ty} therefore hath commanded mee to write to y^r Exc^{lly} y^t if this information bee true, & y^t any booke or bookes of this nature have bene printed, y^t y^r Exc^{lly} cause them to bee suppressed as judging the times neede rather remedy to reconcile the two partys then any way to exasperate them by the repetition of former hostilities: this is what I had in command from his Maj^{ty}.

CLXXXIII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

25 Nov: 74: London.

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I did advise wth Sr Charles Harberd of some way to engage Treasurer to Essex, & thought of Saule & ingaging Trear: to grant a preferment for him here upon what Essex had begun there; concluding that if he did it He would loose Duke, & that Essex would be thought the occasion of his preferment, being his Chaplain, if he did not I should take my measures better wth him for the Time to come; I did propose it to him as an Act w^{ch} would gaine him great Creditt here wth the nation, and convince the world of his care of the protestant Religion; He embraced it, & told me y^t he would ever be ready to embarke in any Thing wth Essex; & doe any Act to convince Essex of his sincerity in that point; & I intend to encourage him in this of Saule, for I heare that King said to one y^e other day, who was reading 2 or 3 Lines of his Sermon, that Saule was a Madman. Every body clamers against him extreemly

for his difficulty of Access; and indeed his Buckingham Hours are insufferable, & destroy his Health; He hath bin ill, & kept his bed these 2 dayes; I hope you have settled ye Matter wth y^e Farmers, & will comply wth that method w^{ch} Trear: tells King is best for King his Service, as He thinkes; for I finde that King & Chiffing are impatient for their monys, & have bin angry wth him about it; who now lays the blame on Essex, wondering at the Difficulty he makes, and tells King that out of Civility he will heare once more from you & then settle their defalcations, & therefore I would not have him gett King & Chiffing from Essex in this point, w^{ch} he will doe though Essex oppose it; I hartely wish that W. Harbord was one month wth Essex, for I believe that now the French Affairs are in so ill a posture, W. Harbord being well instruct'd might procure the calling of parliament there, & if soe Essex will be not only safe, but gaine great honour; but since Essex desires W. Harbord his being here to watch Ranelagh, W. Harbord will doe what Essex thinks best, & If Essex can but overlice his 3 years in his Government all pretenders will give over, & the Farme of necessity be renewed in Essex his Time, and consequently have an opportunity to make his condition easy at his Returne, for believe me, unlesse Essex have a good Summe of Money in his purse, as Rents are now paid Essex his Estate will not support him wth any the least plenty.

I finde poor Sr Nicholas Armorer disturbed least Mr Loftus should Disturb him in his Lodge; he is a very honest silly creature, & loves Essex I think, & does what he can for him on all occasions, & therefore I pray take him into y^r care, & not suffer him to be put out.

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CLXXXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

M^R HARBORD,Dublin Castle, Novem^{br} 28th, 74.

* * * * *

I am very well satisfied wth y^e Acc^t you give me in y^{rs} dated y^e 14th, of y^e severall discourses you have had wth his Majestie, & thanke you for y^e pains you take in my Affaires. As for what you write concerning Dutchesse of Portsmouth, M^r Elliott, M^r Chiffins, I conceive y^e only use to be made of them is to learne out a litle what is doeing, but by no means will I fix my relyance & dependance upon litle people. If I can enjoy my place wth his Majesties favor & good Liking, & doe him & y^e Kingdome service, no pains can ever be anxious or uneasy to me to bestow, but without it a Life in y^e Hurry of buisnesse will be very uncomfortable to me, & such as I am sure a private one is far preferable to it. As for y^e Letter w^{ch} you mention y^e King should write, a favor of that kind can never be unwellcome, yet I would not have you make any business to seeke y^e getting one, for y^e being preserved in his Majesties reall Esteeme is that w^{ch} I desire, & so long as I find my selfe possest thereof, there needs not y^r Trouble to y^e King of any Letters of this sort.

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CLXXXV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

28 Nov. '74, London.

* * * * *

I assure you did *Essex* but see what *care I take to avoid inbarking him* wth any *Interest* whatsoever, *much less* wth *Portsmouth*,

I am confident he would never mistrust my care of him, nor think his honour unsafe in my hands; & I beseech Essex to believe that no considerations whatsoever shall ever tempt me to expose it, & though I suffer Chiffing to talke to Portsmouth of y^r being a worthy Man, & one whoe loves & serves King well; yet though he offered Sir H. Capell & Mr Harbord to dine with her at his Lodging, & only by his means Keepe faire wth her; neither doe I in any buisnesse incline either to Trear: Arlington or Coventry more then just the matter will beare, & Ever take Sr H. Capell or Ch. Harbord's Advice wth me; I feare Essex may believe that W^m Harbord hath some Ends of his owne in the Advice he gave ab^t the Farmers: God knows I never yet see one penny of the money, but finding King & Chiffing extreame uneasy for the want of their Money, stopt till the defalcations were adjusted, and y^t Trear: to save himselfe did sacrifice Essex, & in my Soule stopt it till Ranelagh could make a good bargaine for him or both, & thereupon I interposed my thoughts to Essex earnestly & faithfully, & having donne my duty submitt it to you; but it is most Certain that the better credit I have wth King the better I shall be able to serve Essex.

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CLXXXVI.--MR. WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF
ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

12 Dec. 1674.

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King of France is growne fearfull of every Man he sees, & rageth at the opposition he finds, & it is believed that he will not be able to support the chagrin of it. There is little probability of peace. Those that come later from France say that the scarcity of men there is incredible; that y^e people refuse to take the base

mony lately coynd, and that there is a generall discontent among them all; his ambition may cost him deare; I intend to goe to Grafton for some part of y^e Holidayes, & then to be up again. This is all at present from

- 88. Bridgman.
- 89. Lady Shrewsbury.
- 90. Portsmouth.
- 91. My Lord Councill of Ireland.
- 92. Ireland.
- 93. S^r Will Temple.
- 94. Kingston.
- 95. S^r Morrice Eustace.
- 96. Elliott.
- 97. Chiffing.

CLXXXVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO CHARLES II.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R MAJESTIE,

* * * * *

S^r Arthur Forbese is lately come from thence, & tells me He hath had severall Messengers he sent into Scotland returned to him agen, & these have discourst wth divers of y^e discontented people there; y^e grievance they seem to complaine of is, that y^e Like Liberty & Indulgence to Dissentirs in matters of Religion is not allowed in that Kingdome, as is in others of y^r Majesties Dominions; S^r Arthur assures me this comes from y^e most considerable of them, what Use y^r Majestie will make of y^e Informaçon I shall submit to y^r Wisedome. S^r Arthur Forbese is a very freehearted Man, & his being wth this party has occasioned a considerable Expence to him, when therefore any Thing proper to accommodate him wth

shall come to my knowledge, I shall presume to mind y^r Majestic of his services.

MEMORANDUM.

CLXXXVIII.—CONCERNING Y^E EXPORTATION OF WOOLL
FROM IRELAND.

Several Statutes of Ireland have imposed so great a Custom upon all Wool whatever exported, as it amounts to a most strict prohibition. This was done, as y^e preambles of y^e s^d Statutes doe recite, wth an intention to oblige y^e people to manufacture all y^e Wool within y^e Kingdome, but it being found by experience that in y^e Country, alwaies too thinly inhabited, there were not hands enough to worke up y^e Wool w^{ch} y^e Stöck of Sheep on y^e Lands could produce, It has ever bin allowd to y^e chiefe Govern^r to dispence wth these Laws, & grant Licences for y^e Exporta^õn of Wooll into England only, y^e person who exported it entring into good securitie that y^e Wool be delivered into some port of that Kingdom, & that Certificates should be returned of their soe doing, for w^{ch} Licence y^e Chiefe Govern^r rec^d a duty of 4^d for every great Stone consisting of 18 pds weight so licenced to be exported.

The proffitt being very great of vending this comodity into forreine parts, That is to say, France, Flanders, & Holland, in comparison of y^e gaine they make when sold in England, hath sett all men's Inventions on worke in contrivance of ways & means to evade y^e Lawe, & it being every man's Interest here, who hath any Thing in y^e Kingdome, to encourage or at least connive at y^e exporta^õn at large, may be some reason why much of y^e Wooll of this Country doth goe into forreine parts, or will be one obstruction to y^e due regula^õn thereof; For first Tis y^e Chiefe Govern^{rs} Interest to have as much as may be exported, no matter whether

into England or else where, y^e carrying out of it encreasing his Income ; Next Tis y^e Interest of all y^e Judges & Magistrates, who are ever Landed Men, to have it goe freely, it encreasing their rents ; And, lastly, Tis more y^e Interest of Merch^{ts} & Traders to carry it thither, in regard of y^e High Rates they may gett for it. Thus, it conducing to y^e profitt of all Men here to have it freely exported, it may easily be supposed that all connivance imaginable will be used for y^e encouragement thereof, & that when ever any shall be prosecuted for undue Exporta^{co}ns, some grains of favor will probably be allowd them, even in y^e Courts here ; but for this no through remedy can be prescribed till y^e Country be fully stockd wth people, & then, men's Interests being changed, it will become every man's concerne to keep this commodity manufactured within our selves. However, y^e present Chiefe Govern^r will not faile of doeing his part effectually to obstruct all frauderlent practices in this matter, tho' it may a little lessen his gaine, & a strictness in this point also render him somewhat ungratefull to y^e Landed Men and Merchants in this Kingdome.

Causes of y^e Undue Exporta^{co}n of Wooll out of y^e
Kingdom of Ireland.

1. The Multitude of Ports in this Kingdome doe give great opportunitie for y^e Shipping of Wooll into forrein parts.

2. The carelessness of y^e Custom^{rs}, & other Officers in y^e severall ports, in performing their duty, either neglecting to take any Securities upon y^e passing of Wooll, or else excepting such as are insolvent.

3. A patent to S^r Nich: Armorer & S^r Gabriel Silvius of all y^e forfeitures incurred upon y^e bonds enterd into for y^e delivery of y^e Wooll into some Port in England, wherein is an Expresse Clause conteynd empowring y^e Patentees to make compositions for these bonds.

It appears by Records in y^e Excheq^r y^t of 22.900^l penalties incurred since this Patent was on foot there hath bin received and brought to acc^t but 770^l

4. The Wooll being Shipt & Securitie taken for y^e delivery thereof in England by y^e corruption of some Officers in y^e English ports, Certeficates are signed of y^e Landing of it there, tho' it were never really put on shoar; As also sometimes Certificates are counterfeited.

5. A late practice hath likewise bin discoverd of rolling up Wooll into great Twist, & so passing it as Yarne, & when it arrives into forrein parts 'Tis untwisted agen & becomes Wooll.

Remedies to prevent y^e Exportaçon of Wooll out of Ireland
into forrein parts.

To y^e 1st. That y^e ports be limited to a certain Numb^r, out of w^{ch} & no other Wooll shall be exported. These Ports may be Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Ross, Corke, Youghall, Limmericke, & Galloway.

To y^e 2nd. When ever any Officer shall be found faulty in permitting any Wooll to goe without Licence, or neglecting to take securitie, or taking such as is insolvent, that He doe infallibly loose his place, & receive such further punishm^t as y^e Law appoints.

To y^e 3rd. That This Patent be vacated, w^{ch} 'Tis conceived may be done at his Majesties Will & pleasure (but then it will be reasonable, his Majestic intending y^e Patentees a favor when He gave it them, may allow them some compensation when 'Tis revoked), & that no Compositions be ever made or allowd of to y^e persons forfeiting their bonds, but y^e utmost rigor & extremity taken ag^t them as punishm^{ts} due by Law.

To y^e 4th. That upon y^e giving dispatch to every Vessel that shall Lade Wooll from Ireland, The Officers of y^e Customs doe forthwth transmitt a Duplicate of each Entry of Wooll to y^e Treäry Office, & another Duplicate of each entry of Wooll to y^e Comm^{rs} of y^e Customs in England, at y^e Custome House in London, to be by them registerd in their Office, & transmitted to y^e severall Ports to w^{ch} y^e s^d Wooll shall be said to be consigned. Whereunto may be

The Patentees have sold their Patent to y^e present Farm^{rs} who having influence on all y^e Officers of y^e Customs will by this means, being Trading men, carry wooll as they please into all parts, but y^e L^d Lieu^t hath ordered y^e Excheq^r not to allow of this sale, so as that mischief will be prevented.

The Order by
my L^d Treas
Lre.

Added, that some Trusty person be employd in each Port in England where Wooll is usually Landed, to give an Acc^t from Time to Time of y^e Wooll that is really exported from Ireland. It is also proposed, that y^e Comm^{rs} of y^e Customs in England doe send over to y^e L^d Lieu^t, at every six or Twelve months End, Copies of y^e Returns they have received from y^e Ports in Ireland, w^{ch} may be compared wth y^e booke of Licences kept in y^e Secretarys Office, & by that will be seen whether all y^e Wooll w^{ch} went hath bin truly Licenced.

To y^e 5th. Woollen Yarne being within y^e prohibition of y^e aforesd Acts, the Lord Lieu^t hath already given Ord^r that no Woollen Yarne whatever shall be Exported without Licence in y^e same Forme as in y^e case of Wooll, for w^{ch} neverthelesse no duty, tho' by y^e Statute it might, is exacted by y^e Chiefe Govern^r, but for y^e present y^e Licences are allowd gratis.

That some one person be employd in each of y^e Ports abroad where English or Irish Wooll is usually Landed to observe what Wooll comes over, & to returne an Acc^t, either by y^e Lord Treas^r or one of y^e Secretarys, of y^e proportions of Wooll that are there unladen, what Ships they are that bring it, who y^e Master of y^e s^d Ship is, & from what part of his Ma^{ties} Dominions it comes. It is supposed that six persons may doe this worke, there being not above that number of Ports to w^{ch} our Wooll usually goes, and 100*l*. a year to a man may suffice. This as is conceived may be so effectuall for y^e discouery of y^e fraudulent Exporta^{cion} of Wooll, as if it be put in practice, & fitt men employd therein only for 3 or 4 years, it will utterly breake those that follow this illegall Trade, w^{ch} being once done every one will probably be soe cautious as they will not readily venture upon y^e like practices, & so this sort of Traffique will be at an end, & consequently y^e Expence to these Inform^{rs} will also determine.

CLXXXIX.—MR. WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

15 Dec. 1674.

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To-morrow I intend to see Ranelagh; on Thursday next my L^d of Pembroke is to be married to my Lady Portsmouth sister; I heare that Brock makes great brags to King what services he could doe him in Ireland; & that King the other night at supper jeered him with it, & spoke very kindly of you; I have desired Sec. Covent to discourse with Kg. about Parl. & I am in hopes that if Ran. be honest wee shall prevaile, for the Trear. seems forward in't but they are slippery men; Its wonderfull to see how bold Trear. is in making ennemies, depending wholly on his credit with King, w^{ch} all people wonder at, he having seen so many effects of Kg. his inconstancy; its evident that he hath much to doe to support the publike expense, & talks of Parl. as if he intended it, but God knows his hart, though if there be no peace the Kg. will take good measures, I beleeve, saye or doe what they can, for the Frenche sinke a pace; I feare they will buy peace at any rate; you see in the Diurall the story of Butnett a priest; Duke hath prevailed to have him only banished w^{ch} giving great discontent; I believe Ranelagh hath brought over some new projects wth him, & that Trear. will renew the Farme ere long; for he lays about him on all hands where there is any the least project of gaine.

CXC.—MR. WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r EXCELLENCY,

19 Dec., 1674, London.

This morning Mr. Hilliard brought me y^r Ld^{ps} of y^e 30 of Nov^{ber}. I wish I had received y^{rs} sooner Ran. having been in Towne ever

since Tuesday, & Hillyard came wth him; though I every day watched him at Kg. Duke their rising, & have daily an acc^t how he spends his time, & where. He seems extreamly faire, but I confesse of all the men of the world I am the most affraid to Trust him, & just now coming from him he told me he was going to Lodd. for Instructions to Forbese; & why such things should be directed to him & not to Essex doth startle me. This morning Ld. Burlington came to me on the behalf of Orrery, having heard that I had receaved the report from Essex about the Lapse mony; I received him very civilly, & told him that it was not come to my hands. He told me that great endeavours were used to possesse King that Essex desired to be called home as weary of that post; I confesse it startled me & filled me wth jealousies that Ran. might contrive that way to wound Essex with King; & wthin a Minute after he was gone Sr John Nicholas came to me & told me the same thing, whereupon I thought it best to speake to King of the contents of y^r Letter & then to settle y^r affaire wth him; & reading it over 3 or 4 times & finding nothing int but what would be gratefull to him & also let him see y^e pains Essex tooke to serve him; I resolved to reade it to him, w^{ch} I did, & on every distinct clause did to the best of my understanding argue the weight & prudence of Essex his opinion and advice. He harkend to it wth great patience & satisfaction, & after I had donne I told him of the report I had heard; he said he had not heard one word of it, but that he was so satisfied wth Essex his conduct, & how zealously he studied to serve him, that he bid me assure Essex that it was not in the powr of any man to create any unkindnesse between King & Essex then between Kg. & Duke, & bid Essex depend of it; & that he would write you word so suddenly himselfe. I got this opportunity by Elliott, & King, finding that Duke followed us into the bedchamber, he went into the further room & looking behind him shut the door after us staying till I was past, and, having observed that he is extreamly pleased that Essex doth apply himselfe to him & y^t he thinks him fitter to be trusted wth a Secrett then them, I make the best use I can of it, & omitt no care to doe Essex all the service I can

if Ran. be honest I believe wee shall have parliament; at my going from home he went away & left Duke Treas. & divers others, w^{ch} I could perceive Duke did not expect.

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CXCI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r EXCELLENCY,

22 Dec: '74.

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On sunday night last, Kg: being at supper at Trea., Harry Savel^a being very drunck, fel so fowly on Ld: Molgrave, that Kg: commanded Savel to be gonne out of his presence. However, the next day Mollgrave sent him a challenge by Ld: Middleton; Rochester was 2^d to the other side. There was noe harm done; but D. hath interested himselfe & prevailed wth Kg: to forbid Savel his presence. Ran., every time I meete him, askes me when I goe for Ireland. I doe wish I was wth y^r Excellency during y^e time y^t Sr Henry intends to stay here, w^{ch} wilbe for a neare 2 monthes after y^e Holydayes; but I am apt to thinke that Trea. & Ran. will renew the farme suddenly, & I would not be away then. If I finde after Christmas that they doe not presse it, I will perhaps take post & come over, but If I doe suspect their Designe to be such, then I will differ it.

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^a Henry Saville.

CXCII.—SIR HENRY COVENTRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY L^dWhite Hall, Dec. 22nd, '74.

YOUR Exc^{lley} of the 12th of Dec^{ber} I have r^d, and have shewn it his Maj^{ty}. Before I sent the letter I told his Maj^{ty} I did beleve it might bee the same booke which I had seene & was publiquely sold heere, and I do beleve it is no other. The truth is it had no greate effect here, for those y^t were Papists would not beleve such bloody acts of theyre own tribe, & those y^t were not had hardly faith enough to beleve all the apparitions and legend-like storys in it, so seemed to goe off heere w^t very little noyse.

Wee have little news heere. The Earle of Pembrook was on Saturday last marryed to the sister of the Dutchesse of Portsmouth. L^d Chiefe Justice Vaughan this day buried, & the Earle of Clarendon his Corpse every day expected to bee buried at Westminster. The march of Mon^{sr} de Turenne hath not as yet produced so greate effects as they expected in France, some part about Lorraine. I beleve hee hath recovered, but I doubt will hardly bee in a capacity to force the Confederates to passe the Rhyne, as they seemed once to hope in France. No place for treaty as yet agreed upon. Breda offered by the Kg of France, totally rejected by the Confederates, and Hamburg, proposed by the Emperour, refused by him. Both sides talk much of peace, but prepare for warre, especially the Emperour. The Suedes have not yet attempted any act of hostility upon the Elector of Brandeburgh, but hath a good army in Pomerania, and hath sent an Embassy to Denmarke to endeavour the keeping y^t Kg: in quiett,

who I doubt is too fast allyed wth the Emperour & Holland, and is too mindfull of the losses his father made by the Swedes to let goe such an opportunity of revenge as theyre making a warre agst the Empire (for so it is now called) would give him. I have not further to trouble y^r Excell^{cy} then w^t the presentation of my reall desires to serve you, &c.

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Lord Chambellain & Ossery are not yet returned, but being every howre expected.

CXCIIL.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r EXCELLENCY,

24 Dec. '74.

I gave you an account by y^e Tuseday post of my having received y^r Excellencies sent me by Mr. Hilliard, & likewise y^r other of y^e 12 instant, & what had past between K^g: & my self upon that occasion, since w^{ch} *Treas: Did appoint Ran: & me to attend him, w^{ch} wee did but to no purpose till yesterday morning, & then in such hast that he spoke to us severelly. What he said to Ran: I know not, it being in ye bed-chamber; but I found Ran: cast his eye often towards me as if he seemed affraid that I should overheare him, & though in my nature I am not apt to be jealous, yet I can not but be so of him. After Trea: had donne wth Ran: he called me to him & told me that he had severall things to saye to me; the first that K^g: had at his first acquainting him wth my desires consented to it, & was pleased to saye to him that he was very well satisfiyed wth my services, & would in time doe better for*

me. Then he told me *that he desired to have a good understanding & friendship wth you, that he had that morning had an opportunity to doe Essex severall good offices wth Kg: y^t he found him not to want them, Kg: having a great esteeme of you & his services, y^t however he would on all occasions endeavour to preserve him so, & desired me to assure you of it; that after the holydayes he would againe fal to the consideration of those things w^{ch} Essex had writ to him about; he seemes very franck in his words & behaviour, & unlesse Ran: be false to you I believe Trea: will be true to you. He governes all, only I finde y^t King dothe give away great sums weekly, w^{ch} I wonder at, though they be given to Trea: his friends in all places; Kg: commends him how able a man he is; he & his friends talk much of Parl. meeting, & his sonne in lawe, Cooke, stands for linne^a upon the remove of Mr. Attorney; but when I see him so great wth Trea: & Laud: I confesse I can not thinke he desinges any such thing. I desire y^r Excellency wilbe pleased to give him thanks for his kindnesse & favour to me; & also owne that I gave Essex an account of his civility to you, & of his intentions ever to serve you. Upon the whole this is the judgment I make of Essex, his condition as to his keeping the post he is in. It is most certain there are attempts made upon Kg: to laye aside all thoughts of Parl. If he can bring him to it, then Essex must be removed; but till then I believe him safe enough, & therefore I long to see Essex cleare out of debt, & some money before hand.*

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^a King's Lynn.

CXCIV.

[Henry Thynne writes, on January 2, 1674, that there are some who want to place Arlington in Essex's place, in order to keep him 'out of business' in England. On January 9, William Harbord records that the Duke of York has sent for Bedford, Hollis, Halifax, Carlisle, Falconbridge, Salisbury, and Newport, and expressed his willingness to promote a law for the establishment of their rights, liberties, and religion; that Landerdale pretends to favour the meeting of Parliament, and accuses Arlington of hindering it; but that neither the Duke, Landerdale, or Danby really wishes for it.]

CXC.V.--WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

16 Jan. 1674. London.

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There is nothing so visible as that *Trear: is extremely fond of Ranelagh, on all occasions makes use of his Advice in all Things relating to Ireland; so that that Kingdome in a great manner depends on Ranelagh.* I finde y^t *Ranelagh hath proposed very great Advantages to be had there by his means, as the encreasing the Army at least 4000 men upon expiration of this Farme, w^{ch} I see takes much wth King & Duke, & the bringing in a manner all the wealth & strength of that Kingdome under the jurisdiction of the Courte & particularly under Duke, Trear: Lodd: & Ran:, w^{ho} weekly sends private orders from Lodderdale to Forbes; & I am certaine that Ranelagh doth frighten Trear: wth Essex his endeavors underhand to raise his fame in order to y^e succeeding of him. Yesterday 51 & Ran: were shut up together at Ranelaghs at least three hours, some thinke that Strafford is intended to succeed Essex by Lodderdale's means, who without the knowledge of Duke brought him into y^e Councell, at w^{ch} Duke was very angry, & I heare y^t Strafford*

doth not disowne his hopes of succeeding Essex. Berkeley had 1000 pounds of Inchiquin to gett him made Governour of Tangier; so that Portsmouth hath answered his pretensions already; here was also a report of Arlington's being intended Lieutenant; He laughs at it, & I believe will as readily loose his head as change his place. Duke, Trear: & that party made their braggs that they would resigne Arlington at his Returne; But King is very kinde to him, & tis wonderfull to see him shutt upp in y^e morning wth Arlington severall hours, & the same day as many wth Duke, Trear: & Loderdale; I pray God direct him. Mordant having appeared violent y^e last Session against y^e papists is at last by his brother's meanes reconciled to Duke & promised Hanley's place, who is dangerously ill, & Mordant is gone to Shaftesbury to convert him;^a & I finde y^t King is very desirous of y^e parliam^t meeting, & would gladly persuade his brother to it, & Trear:, if he can satisfie himselfe that parliam^t will let him alone, then he will consent to it; all his feare is least parliam^t should revive y^e bill to remove all such from King as will not take such an oath w^{ch} they are sure he will not take, of y^e other side. Trear: thinks himselfe either innocent or provided wth Friends, & forsees a storme from Spaine, who have declared a war beyond y^e Line by open Acts of Hostilitie; & also those of Algier, Tripoly, & Tunis have offered faire for a Rupture; & if either of this happen He & y^e rest can not but foresee a necessity of King his falling into parliam^t hands; the Dutch refuse to pay us some parte of our mony & seeme to slight us so that tis not imaginable what a confusion wee are in, here are great endeavours used^b to persuade King to dissolve this parliam^t & call another; but I believe He will not doe it at least till he hath tried them once more.

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^a This led to the belief that Shaftesbury was to succeed Essex.—(H. Thynne to Essex, Jan. 16.)

^b By Louis XIV.

I can not perceave in the least but that *King continues his good opinion of Essex*, & I am confident that if *Ran: be true wee shall have parliamt*; but *He is a most dangerous man, extreame poore, so as to want a Coach in feare of being arrested dayly*; Vice-Admirall Tromp is come over wth my Lord Ossory, and extreamly courted by all the great men here. Gelderland hath made Choyce of the Prince of Orange for there Duke, & its thought that y^e other provinces will doe the same.

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CXCVI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

19 January, 74.

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I am so fully convinced of the *falsehood of Ranelagh*, and how great a *rogue he is*, that my hart is at rest upon that matter, and that by his *falsehood he doth endeavor to engage Trear: against Essex*; & having *mployed a great friend of Trear: to him upon this occasion*, I finde that *Ranelagh hath endeavored all he can, & doth dayly doe soe*, but I hope to prevent it; and this day I watched by his means, and just as *King rose from dinner I gott him alone & there discoursed wth him the matter of Parliamt* & how usefull it might prove to him in *Essex his Time*. He told me that he had not spoke to *Trear: of Parliamt* tho' I am sure He hath, but that He would. To be short, I told *Essex* in my last how matters stood and what He must trust to, & I thinke I am not deceived in my measures. I doe thinke that upon the renewing of the *Farme*, *W. Harbord* will prevaile to gett *Essex* a reward for his services, and *S^r Henry Capell* is of that minde, & therefore I would gladly be here; but for all *Duke, Trear: Lodderdale*,

Ranelagh, and all that party, I finde that Arlington keeps his post, and this conference I had this day wth Ranelagh makes me hope that, without some great alteration in our Affaires at home, Essex is safe; but King is in a manner wholly governed by Duke, though Will: Harbord dare assure Essex that, notwithstanding all Trear: his cunning King will be in great wants. Sr H. Capell will be in Towne to-morrow and then W. Harbord will be in a few days spared. I finde Ranelagh depends more on Lodderdale than Trear: and that Duke supports them both; if France sinke, Arlington will be too hard for them all. P. of Orange hath given King, by him, great assurances. I wish they be honest. Duke, Trear: Lodderdale are very buisy to persuade King to dissolve this Parliam^t & to call another, but King is fearful, and if Foreine Affaires keepe faire Essex is safe.

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I doe not much feare Ranelagh as false as He is, for I finde that King doth love to heare that Essex depends wholly upon King against the whole world. Sr H. Capell is here. W. Harbord must come over, for Ranelagh, I believe, tells King that I doe stay here to follow my private affaires & doe not minde his nor yr service & thereby endeavours to weaken my credit wth King, and as soon as I have introduced Sr H. Capell in these matters I will come over post and stay a monthe wth Essex, and then come againe if Essex thinke it best; to whose pleasure I humbly submitt all.

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CXCVII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

23 Jan. 1674.

I received this morning y^{rs} of y^e 16th instant, & gave y^e inclosed to my Father, who will, I suppose, give you an answer to it this night. S^r Henry being come up, I intend to begin my journey for Holyhead Thursday next, & pray y^r Excellency to send y^e yacht theither, wth all the speede the Captain possibly can. As for *Essex House* I dare assure *Essex* that there is no danger of its being sold in hast; & if upon the whole after that *Essex* shall have well thought of y^e present state of the publike & his private Affairs. & resolve to proceede, W. Harbord will serve him in that & in all things to y^e utmost of his power, & I dout not in the least to have King to give *Essex* a good summe upon y^e renewing of the *Farme*. Ranelagh & Trear: had this day audience of King an hour. Ranelagh tells me that it was upon y^e State Affairs, & how great an addition of Soldiers will be raised upon y^e expiration of his terme; & I hope he did not attaque *Essex* before Trear: for I have, I thinke, weakened his creditt pretty well there, for Trear: told Charles Bartie, who hates him above all men, but yesterday, that he pretty well knew what use to make of Ranelagh, & how farr he was to be trusted. His wife hates him, & can not endure to see him wth Trear: who, I believe, is well pleased wth *Essex* his friendship; & before I leave this place I will acquaint Trear: wth *Essex* his hopes y^t King will assiste him upon the renewing of y^e *Farme*, & though Ranelagh is not to be trusted Trear: will be ashamed to breake his word with *Essex*. I will omitt writing many things, but give y^r Excellency an Account of y^m at my arrivall. Some saye y^t Shaftesbury is coming to court agen. Duke has given over rayling at Arlington, w^{ch} makes men thinke that King will not abandon him to Duke. There is no money, & therefore Parliamt^t must be called & sitt in Aprill.

CXCVIII.

[Essex desires Harbord to confirm the good understanding between himself and Coventry, though he will obey the King's orders, "without regarding whom it pleaseth or displeaseth." He is anxious also to keep fair both with Dauby and Ranelagh.]—Dublin Castle, Jan. 23, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$.

CXCIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR H. CAPEL.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, Jan. 30, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Believing M^r Harbord will certainly be upon y^e road for Ireland, before this Letter can arrive, I must hold my correspondence wth you for such matters as I would have comunicated to him, & therefore I have herewith enclosed a L^{re} written to him concerning Essex House. 'Tis most of it in cypher, w^{ch} y^e Key will unfolde, as also one other to S^r Charles Harbord, w^{ch} I desire you to deliver.

The Citty here is at this present in a good deale of disorder, y^e Aldermen & Comons almost perpetually jarring & differing. At my first coming over they were in great confusion, & severall Mutinies had bin here, & in one of them, concerning y^e building of a bridge, y^e Tumult was so great, as S^r Arthur Forbese, then one of y^e L^{ds} Justices, was forced to draw out some of y^e Soldiers, & cause them to fire among them before they would be quieted, wherein some men lost their lives. Afterwards by y^e vile practices of S^r Ellis Leighton to get himselfe into y^e Receiver's place, & some other advantages of money, S^r John Totty, then Mayor, joyning wth other seditious people of y^e Comons, at once turned out eight Aldermen & y^e Recorder; and y^e matter being extraordinary, & y^e manner of displacing these men, who were y^e wealthiest & most substantiall of y^e Citty, being very irregular & turbulent, they

applied themselves to y^e King in England, & his Majestic at my first coming over ordered me to hear & determine it according to justice. The Affaire had a full hearing at large, & y^e proceedings of turning out these Aldermen appearing not only contrary to all y^e practice & customs of this Citty, but also ag^t y^e Rules of Coñion Justice, It was declared voyd by y^e whole board, there being at least 20 of y^e Counc^l present, not one dissenting, & that y^e Aldermen should be replaced agen, as also that all Acts & proceedings relating to y^e turning out of these Aldermen, should be rased out of y^e Citty books. The first part was performed, & y^e Aldermen putt in possession of their places agen, but as for y^e latter y^e Citty has neglected to do it hitherto. & y^e last weeke, there being a Quarter Assembly, y^e matter was taken into consideration; y^e Mayor & Aldermen unanimously agreed, & sent into y^e Coñions. Y^e Coñions by Vote have refused obedience to our order. I am now considering what to doe in y^e Thing. Sure I am I will not suffer his Majesties Authority to be slighted, but will see our order obeyed, & these proceedings by one means or other rased out of their books.

The Reports w^{ch} every day are transmitted hither from England of my Remove is y^e principall cause of their stubbornesse, & indeed it is a misfortune to his Majesties Affairs that such rumors are spread, for I doe not believe that under y^e Sun there are a people who are more apt to despise & affront their Governors, then some here are, & will be, if they have any imagination that they are to be recalled; but I know not how this can be helpt in such a Loose Age as this, when all men write and speak what they please; however, doubtless it much weakens his Majesties Authority.

The reason that I have writt all this is to introduce another matter wherein I desire you to aske my Lord Keeper & S^r Will: Jones y^e Attorney Gen^l their opinions; There is one Philpott a Haberdasher, who both in my Lord Berkeley's Time, & now since my coming, hath bin y^e Principall Ringleader of these seditious people. This man, while y^e eight Alderman were turned out, was

himselfe & one Gressingham chosen into y^e places of Two of y^e Aldermen, w^{ch} Election was by judgm^t of y^e board made voyd. Sometime after y^e Councell had given this sentence, this Philpott being master of one of y^e Corporacions of y^e City, & there being some Cupps w^{ch} belonged to them to be new cast, He, without orders of his Corporacion, directed a Motto to be put upon them, in these words: These Cupps were made in y^e year when Philpott and Gressingham were Aldermen, which Cupps are constantly used at all y^e Feasts in y^e Citty. Now, perhaps, though y^e Thing may seem but Triviall in it selfe, yet I conceive it is of some consequence to y^e Governm^t that a kind of Memoriall should be kept, & every year sett before y^e Faces of y^e people contradicting an order of y^e L^d Lieu^t & Councell who have adjudged these men not to be Aldermen, & that their Election was totally irregular and voyd, & that, to y^e end there might be no memory of such irregularities, all proceedings relating to it should be raced out of ye bookes.

I am very sure y^e Citty will never be in any tollerable quiett till some few of y^e Chiefe Incendiarys doe smart for it; being loath in my owne nature to make use of power for y^e chastisement of such exorbitancies, I have been watching to lay hold of some particular to fix upon any one of them, w^{ch} might bear an Indictm^t in some of y^e Kings Courts, & if I mistake not, this will upon y^e score of sedition; wherefore I desire you to take some opportunity to speake wth these Two persons before mentioned, so soon as conveniently you can, & let me know their opinions; I would not have it discoursed of abroad, but only to aske them privately, & let me understand their sense. The insolencies of some of these little Fellows have bin insufferable, & what course soever I shall thinke fitt to take wth them, I would be glad to be fortified wth y^e judgm^t of those Two great men, I mean my Lord Keeper & M^r Attorney, being loath to beginne wth any of them in a Point w^{ch} will not certainly hold.

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CC.—WILLIAM HARBOED TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

30 Jan. 1674.

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The Lords & Bishops have spent some time at Lambeth, & brought their debates to severall heads tending to a prosecution of ye papists, & a proclamation is coming out accordingly.^a The particulars I refer till I have the Honor to waite on you on that side the water. King is discontented at some thing extremely, & hath been so these two days, but I can not learne at what; I am apt to thinke tis' ye ill posture of his Affaires, for Trear. can not tell what to doe for mony & hath this weeke again stopt all payments.

Yesterday, upon hearing my L^d Trēar did consent to allowe the Forths 20000lb. in full for their defalcations, *Ranelagh opposed them much, & would faine have had it, but 16 (?) in hopes y^t they would have bribed him to have helped them; but it would not doe, & I believe they will not forgive him. I have much to say upon this subject but shall differ it till my comming.*

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CCI.—HENRY THYNNE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, January 30th, 167⁵.

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His Ma^{ty} was pleased yesterday in Councell to tell them that he designed to give all the satisfaction that could be desired of his firmnesse to the Church of England and zeale ag^t the Papists, and to that end will put out a Proclamation (as I am informed) to this effect.

To take off the stopp in the Court of Excheq^r against the Con-

^a Danby had made up his mind to a frank return to the policy of Clarendon, an alliance of the Church and Government against all forms of Dissent.

victing of Papists, and to quicken the prosecution of them in the Country.

That all Papist Priests borne His Ma^{ty}s Subjects depart the Kingdome, notwithstanding any pretence of attendance on the Queen or any Ambass^{rs}.

That none shall heare Masse either at the Queen's or any Ambass^{rs} Chappell but their owne meniall Servants.

No Papist shall Breede his children abroad in any Popish Colledges or Semenarys, but to send for them away that are there.

No Papist to come to Court Except the Queen's Servants upon paine of being sent to the Tower of London, or to the Gatehouse if of inferior quality.

His Ma^{ty} will likewise declare ag^t Conventicles, and that his Licences for Preaching are revoked.

This, I hope, will make the Parliam^t meete in good humour in Aprill, for it is not doubted but they will sitt then. I shall not enlarge yo^r Ex^{ty}s trouble at present any farther then to subscribe myselfe wth all respect.

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CCII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

2 Feb. 1674.

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All things look as if the Parliament would sitt in Aprill, & a very severe proclamation is comming against the Fanaticks & Romanists. *I finde the court hopes to gett money, but I am apt to believe that they may mistake their measures; neither doth Duke Lod. desire it, least it should cost them deare one way or other; if Parl. give no money & express or hint at the cause, K^g his necessities, if not this time the next, will oblidye him to yield to any reasonable thing. The warrs are like to last abroad; there is a great rumor of a warr wth Spaine; I should be hartely sorry for. There is a bill*

exhibited in the Excheq. in order to a Tryall at Barr against y^e young Lady Percy, & y^r Excellency is made a party. *My L^d Newport shelters himselfe* under D. M.^a interest. Captain Buckley is sent to y^e Tower for attempting to Challenge my L^d Ossory, *I heare that Ormond is sent for over*, as also *Orrery*. This is all the trouble I shall give y^r Excellency at present.

Hoping to kisse y^r hands suddainly and Renew me, &c.

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CCIII.—MEMORANDUM OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

Hague, Febr'y 5; S. N: 75.

The great discourse and business of thees Provinces turnes at present upon the proposition made last weeke to the Prince from the province of Gelderland w^{ch} makes him the offer of that Dukedome. His H^{sc} received it coldly enough and said it was a thing Hee could give no answer to without the advice of the other Provinces w^{ch} Hee would aske. In pursuite hereof Hee writt to the Provinces of Holland, Zealand, and Vtrecht, and thereupon an ext^{ra} Assembly of the States of Holland was conveyned to meet heer on Thursday next, and deliberate what advice to give His H^{sc} upon this matter. There runns a noyse that the Deputys of Haerlem will propose in this Assembly and upon this occasion that an offer of the same nature with that of Gelderland may be made to the Prince from this Province likewise. Yet I am not very apt to believe it, though as the present constitution stands it would not perhaps bee opposed in the States.

But the fruite is not yet ripe enough to bee gathered, though it may bee faire and in reach, and the jealousy would bee perhaps too much to give a countrey w^{ch} has so great a foreign affaire upon their back. That it will bee necessary for supporting it to have good health and good temper within. The Pen^{sr} Fagel pretends to have no parte in all this affaire or counsell, and not to know the Princes

^a Duke of Monmouth.

mind upon it, Hee saies it is a thing of the greatest weight that can happen to the Prince, and w^{ch} admitts of the most to bee said for and against it, but is positive that if the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand should bee offer'd the Prince by the States Hee would refuse it. Yet if this of Gelderland should bee done and goe no further, it would have perhaps an ill effect towards the Province of Holland by engaging the Prince in the Patronage of a poore Province (w^{ch} has ever benee failing in their proportion of payments to the State) and thereby in contests with the Province of Holland, w^{ch} has benee of late very peremptory in suffering no abatement to bee made the Province of Gelderland upon account of what they have suffered in the late warr. I thought it became mee to give you this short account of an affaire of so much consequence as this may prove, and whereof you will in a shorte time know both the bottome and the event, neither of w^{ch} I will yet pretend to judge of.

At the same time, with this of so much weight in this Province, is happened a pleasant one in Friedland. The young Prince of Nassau being newly chosen Statholder of the Countrey of Drente (as He was before of Frizeland and Groningen) Mon^{sr} Rabenhaut, that was Drossart or chief Magistrat of that Countrey, when hee heard of the Princes accepting it, said before some of His officers that Hee had done contre son honneur et son serment; upon report heereof the young Prince of Nassou sente to him formally to know whether Hee had said so or no. Mon^{sr} Rabenhaut avowed it, and upon their asking it under His hand gave it them. The Prince hereupon sente him worde that Hee was un Coquin et avoit menty. Mon^{sr} Rabenhaute in returne sente an officer to the Prince with a formall challenge to fight with him on horseback with pistolls, w^{ch} was very ext^{ly} from an Officer to His Capitaine, and more from a man of seventy two years old to a youth of 16 or 17. The Officer who carried the challenge was seased on and laid up, and an account of the whole affaire sente to His H^{sse}, w^{ch} will end, I suppose, in Mon^{sr} Rabenhautes beeing heard no more of these countreys, from whence they say Hee is allready privately retired into Germany.

The Duke of Brandenburgh has written a very resolute letter to the Prince to assure His H^{ss^c} of His continuing firme in the party notwithstanding what His countrey may suffer from the Swedes, but at the same time demanding the Guaranty given Him by this State and their Allies, w^{ch} is allready resolved on by Hollande, Zealand, Vtrecht. In the meane time the Swedish Amb^r presses very much towards a composition betweene His Master and that Elector, and seemes touched at nothing so much as the danger of losing the figure that crowne has held so long of Mediator in the present warr, having expostulated very hard with the Deputys at a late Conference about their having taken no notice of His Master in the late resolutions and applications to His Ma^{ty} as Mediator concerning the place of congress.

They write from Colen that the most Chrⁿ King has accepted Meurs, w^{ch} advice comes from the Bp of Strasburgh thither, but the certainty of it must bee expected from His Ma^{ty} or more directly from France.

CCIV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

6 Feb., 1674, London.

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It seems y^t *Con* : hath advised *Essex* to desire *Trear* : his kindness in obtaining from *Ky.* some helpe towards the purchase of *Essex* house. I am sure did *Essex* see how affaires stand here & on how ticklish a posture he is in, & particularly how he^a & *Viner* (?) stand in open defiance to the whole nation, *Essex* would scarcely imparte with him now; but that is not all, there are some members have abstracted the prodigious quijts & grants y^t have lately passed to himselfe & others, that I feare he may be blamed & *Ky.* his affaires suffer thereby, & I would not for the whole world have *Essex* men-

^a Sc. Danby.

tioned as a man who attempts to apply any great summe of the publique money to his private advantage. I doe not dout in the least the seeing Essex master of Essex house, & that without clamour or the least discontent; & Essex stands so great in the reputation of all good men here, and Kg. as certainly how much cheaper if not better he is served by Essex than Trear: that I protest before God I had rather loose ten thousand pounds my selfe then have Essex aske and prese for it at this time till we see what Essex^a will doe, and in what a condition affaires will be in then. I make no dout but that Con: & Ran: will promote Essex his desires in this; but I dare say they intend to make him paye for it, in sacrificing him to Kg. & Kingdome. I beseech Essex most humbly to excuse me, but as Essex & his fame is deaver to me then my selfe or my owne, I can not but begg him also to have a little patience & see a few weekes over before he press this; & I dare saye y^t Trear: well as soome harken to me as either to Ran: or Con. if he intends in friendship; but if otherwise then indeed they are much fitter. I doe not think Ran. so safe if the Parl. proccede wisely, for Kg. hath so disoblged the papists by this act of councell that being told so by Elliot, & that if he went back he would loose the protestants too, & then he might looke to himselfe, Kg. said that all the horses in towne should not drawe him off, & that he had so long harkened to those fooleries that he would aske Parl. nothing, but that if they thought jit he would be glad they tooke some care for the defence of the nation; but mortall men are subject to change. I have sent y^r Excellency y^e Act of Councell Patrick talks of. Almoner Howard & all that crewe are packing up their trunks, & my L^d Bp. Zealous as Laud. hath been in this refformation, I believe Parl. will blowe him againe.

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^a Sic in original; but it appears to be a clerical error.

CCV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXCELLENCY,

9 Febr. '74.

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Yesterday morning I was wth *Ky.* & acquainted him wth my intentions for Ireland in a few days. He *spoke of Essex wth all the kindnesse imaginable*, & hath promised me *his letter to that effect*. *The last night Trear. told me before Ran. that Ky. had readely agreed to give 12,000 lb. for Essex house for Essex.* I was surpris'd at it, & I could hartely wish y^r the thing had not been propos'd in this manner nor by those hands; but above all things not at this time. 'Tis not my sence, but the opinion of all your wisest friends; & I finde already y^t *Ran. begins to baule it out, valuing himselfe much upon it, and so doth the speaker, and I dout not but that M^r Thinne will raise his price bravely when He knowes it.* I am sure were y^r Excellency here you would be of my oppinion, w^{ch} I will, however, submit to y^r Excellencies better judgment. *I still believe Parl. will meete, & Arl., Laud., & Angl. will be in danger, & perhaps Trear. also & Ran. At my comming over I will at large give Ess. an account of things here, & I hope God willing to sett out Munday next. M^r Robinson intends to doe the same.*

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CCVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF DANBY.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, Feb 10, 1674.

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Since my coming into this Employ^{mt} I have not mett wth any Thing of much difficultie or uneasinesse, except only y^e disorders

w^{ch} I found this Citty in at my Arrivall, & indeed y^e Secretary of that person, who was here before me, did for some of his owne private ends enflame a feud that was beginning between y^e Aldermen & Coñions to that degree as I could never wth all y^e Industry & faire means I have used for these Two Years, bring them to any composure. There was a Meeting in y^e Time of my Loid Berkely about y^e building of a bridge, w^{ch} came to that height, as S^r Arthur Forbese was forced to draw out y^e Guards, & fire among them, & kill some men before he could make them quiett; And tho' I doe not now see any ground to apprehend a Tumult, or Sedition like that, yet ye Stubborness of y^e Coñions at this present is such as, unless some course be taken wth y^e principall Incendiarys, I fear it cannot but end in mischief. A litle before my coming over there were 8 Aldermen & y^e Record^r most violently & irregularly thrust out of their places, and his Ma^{tie} was pleased by a letter to referre to me & y^e Councell y^e hearing & determination of that matter: We spent severall days upon it, & having heard Councell at large on both sides, we declared y^e proceedings in turning out these Aldermen & y^e Record^r to be (as indeed they were) both contrary to y^e Customs of y^e Citty, & y^e Rules of Coñion Justice; & thereupon ordered y^e Aldermen & Record^r to be replaced, & to y^e end that no memory might remain of such undue & illegall proceedings, we also ordered that all Entrys relating to y^e expulsion of these men should be rased & blotted out of their books, as y^e Copy of y^e Order herewth enclosed will more fully informe y^r L^p. The Aldermen tooke their places agen. but in regard of some unsetlednesse in their Assemblys & some irregularities & inconstancy in their meetings, this latter part of our Order concerning y^e rasure was suffered to rest till of late; but being some weeks since informed by y^e Mayor, that our Order was not compleatly executed, we sent a 2nd Order of Councell requiring their Obedience, wherenpon at an Assembly called for that purpose, y^e Mayor and Aldermen unanimously agreed to comply, but y^e Coñions denied it, w^{ch} being signified to us by y^e

Mayor & Sheriffs, we sent another Order to them expresly comāding their conformitie, wth direction to returne y^e names of those who should vote ag^t it. Upon this an Assembly being called, & y^e Order read, most of y^e Coñions immediately forced open y^e doors, & in a tumultuous manner broke up y^e Assembly. As for these Entries upon y^e books, we can send for y^e books themselves to y^e Councell, & cause those parts directed in our Order to be expunged there. It seems to me a Thing insufferable to permitt men to goe away wth Acts of disobedieuce unpunished, & therefore unlesse some severitie be used upon those 3 or 4 persons who incite y^e rest to sedition, his Majesties Authoritie will I fear be much weakened, & this I should be extremly ashamed to see in my Time. Besides In this case tis considerable that, Dublin being y^e Capitall Citty, other Corporacions will take example by them, & y^e patterne may run throughout y^e whole Kingdome: But there being Leisure to consult his Majesties pleasure herein, I give y^r L^p y^e trouble of this large Letter, & desire you would be pleased to acquainte hini wth y^r substance thereof, & that I may have Order, whether I shall only see those proceedings rased out of y^e books, & doe nothing further, or whether it may not be fitt that I likewise inflict some punishment upon these Incendiarys, who stire up y^e people to sedition.

There are severall L^{res} before me for y^e Remittall of Quitrents, these being all upon y^e same Foot wth some others for such like Remittalls (copies whereof I have already sent y^r L^p). I doe not acquainte you wth y^e particulars, but intend to stop them all, till from y^r L^p I shall receive a signification of his Majesties pleasure upon this subject.

CCVII.—SIR H. COVENTRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Febr. 15th, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$.

This is onely to send my most hearty service to you by Mr Harbord my very good friend; hee will tell you by word of mouth more of the state of our Affaires then I came communicate by letter. I hope hee will satisfy y^r Exc^{ty}, or at least bring you satisfaction from a better hand, how groundlesse all those reports rayed by some of y^r Exc^{ty}s ennemys were. I will assure you my L^d since my attending his Ma^{ty} in this place, I never heard him speake but wth greate kindnesse of your person and greate valew for your care and conduct. The criticall time is now coming to show us what the complexion of our Affaires is. The gen^l peace is much talked of on all sides and as much wished by the comon people, but the stepps the greate ones make towards it make mee beleeve this Campaigne is like to end before a treaty bee begunne, not so much as the place of treaty, nor Mediatours as yet agreed on. The Kg. if France hath accepted the Venetians, what the Confederates will doe wee are yet to learne. His Ma^{ty} seemeth very well resolved in the course hee hath begunne to take in satisfying his people in the point of Religion, and I beleeve will give them farther testimonys at the meeting of the Parliament. God grant it have a right effect, and that wee see a happy vision at home, and then wee may wth more security to endeavour a peace for those abroad.

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CCVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF DANBY.

MY LORD,^a

Dublin Castle, February 16, 1674-5.

Wth much satisfaction I have received y^r favour of y^r L^{ps} most obliging Letter of y^e 28th of January. I do well know that y^e many great affairs w^{ch} are in y^r L^{ps} hands cannot but hinder you from giving early dispatch to those of this country, w^{ch} are of lesse moment, and therefore now, whilst my Lord Ranelagh is in England, y^r L^p may by him tell me y^r mind in matters relating to this Kingdome; and, having had so many instances to confirme y^e assurance of y^r L^{ps} kindnesse, I cannot but rest satisfied that I am possess^t of y^r L^{ps} favour, which is a thing I have ever bin most ambitious of.

From my L^d Conway I understand that y^r L^p has bin pleased to move His Majestie to grant me a summe of money for y^e purchase of Essex House, & that His Majestie has consented to it; y^r L^p has therein layd a perpetuall obligacōn upon me; y^e thing being not only valuable in its selfe, but of twice its worth to me, in regard of y^e convenience it will ever be to my family, & it is gratefying my humor more then another matter of double y^e value. I have bin acquainted wth all His Majesties great Ministers since his happy restauration; some of them had personall obligations to have done me a kindnesse, but this I can say that none of them till y^r L^p have ever endeavored to be instrumentall in one of this sort, & therefore y^r L^p may easily judge at what price I shall rate this y^r L^{ps} favor.

The Reports of my Remove have sounded pretty loudly here, but I confesse I could never give y^e least credit to it; being fully assured that His Majestie would have signified his pleasure to me. Had it been so, yet however these discourses have ill effects in y^e Affairs of y^e Kingdome, making y^e people (whilst they expect a

^a On the same date Essex writes to Ranelagh in the same sense.

change) to grow resty and stubborn ag^t y^e comands of y^e present Govern^r.

That proposalls w^{ch} I make have generally so good successe in England, I cannot but attribute to y^r L^{ps} kindnesse to me, and as I shall never offer any but such as appear to me to be for y^e publick good, so I doubt not of y^e continuance of y^r L^{ps} assistance in those things w^{ch} I shall advise.

I am clearly of opinion that it were best a Parliam^t did meet here before y^e Farme of y^e Revenue were absolutely sett, but y^r L^p knows y^e sense his Matie hath how inconvenient it may be to have one sitting in England and another here at y^e same time. And a Parliam^t here cannot well be called under five or six months preparacōn, in regard of y^e forms necessary thereunto, for y^e Bills must be prepared and passe in Cōuncell here, and transmitted into England and passed in Cōuncell there, & remitted back hither; all which will require some space of time. Therefore, if His Majestie have thoughts of a Parliam^t before y^e expiration of y^e present Farme, we must prepare for it speedily, or otherwise it cannot be convened in due time.

I doe heartily wish his Matie may finde y^e good effects expected from y^e proclamation lately issued, & that y^e Parliam^t in England may meet in good humor.

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CCIX.—LORD RANELAGH TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXC^{TY},

February, 20th, 1674.

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Last night the King sent for me and commanded me to acquaint y^r Ex^{ty} that he is willing S^r George Hamilton should have five

hundred recruits out of Ireland for his Regiment now in France. To give a publique order for it, he thinks noe wayes convenient, therefore chose to lay his commands upon me to acquaint your Ex^{cy} privately with his mind. S^r George hath promised those he instructs there shall make their levyes and transport their men with soe much care and privacy, that little or noe notice shall be taken of it—the lesser the better—for the Dutch Ambassador, upon the news of any such thing, would loudly complayne. But y^r Ex^{cy}s management will, I am sure, prevent any noyse.

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CCX.—PETITION OF TORYS TO THE EARL OF ORRERY.

TO THE R^T HON^{BLE} THE EARLE OF ORRERY.

The humble Petiçon of
 BALLERIUS DONOUGHOE,
 DERMOD HURLY,
 PATRICK DONOUGHOE, DANELL SWEENEY,
 FINEENS O'DONOUGHOE,
 JOHN O'HEAGERTY,
 DONOUGHOE, O'CONOR, JOHN CONNELL,
 JOHN CORKERY.

Whereas yo^r pet^{rs},
 through many Disas-
 ters, Dearth of Cattle
 & other Calamities were

brought so low that they
 were not able to discharge their
 Rents and Debts, soe that their Creditors
 obtained Executions ag^t them, and to avoid
 being taken on them, and the fear of perishing in
 Gaole if they should bee once taken on them, forced yo^r
 petico^{rs} to follow a very Loose Life, w^{ch} they acknowledge to
 bee ag^t y^e Law of both God and man, and are heartily sorry for it.

They therefore presume to make their humble address to yo^r Lo^p to prescribe some way whereby yo^r pet^{rs} may obtain safety and pardon for their Lives, and they will justify that they never were guilty of murther or in company with any that ever murdered. And yo^r pet^{rs} will give sufficient Securiteys for their future peaceable behaviour, & in case any Toryes shall rise in the Countrey hereafter, they will contribute their utmost endeavours even to y^e hazard of their Lives to Suppress and have them taken & bee brought before y^e Law, and will bee a meanes to detect divers who have concealed the Toryes robbd and stolne goods.

And yo^r pet^{rs} shall ever pray.

DANIELL McSWYNUY.

JOHN × CONNELL,

his marke.

JOHN × CORKERY,

his marke.

JOHN HAGGERTY.

DONOGH × O'CONNER,

his marke.

FINEENS × O'DONOUGHOE,

his marke.

BALLERIUS × DONOUGHOE,

his marke.

DERMOD HURLY.

PATRICK × O'DONOUGHOE,

his marke.

CCXI.—PROPOSALS OF PARISH PRIESTS REGARDING TORYS.

Whereas certaine queres and proposalls in relation to the suppressing of Toreys, Murderers, Thieves, and Robers have bene directed unto us by the Worshipfull the Co^mmissioners apoynted to that purpose by his Exclency the Lord Lif^t, And particularly instructed by the right honourable the Earle of Orrery, Major

Generall of his Maties forces in Ierland, Wee, the undernamed parrish priests in the County of Kyery, have chearfully received the said proposalls, and doe undertake and faithfully promise by our preaching, teaching, and all other meanes belonging to oure function, to bestowe oure best endeavours towards furthering soe Cristian and nessesary a worke, and particularly as followeth :

1. That in our respective congregations wee shall publike and solemnly declare, and denounce, all toreyes, murtherers, thieves & Robers out of our Coñunion, never to be received untill due submission and satisfaction be made to the parteys offended and constant resolution by them made never to coñitt such crimes againe.

2. That we shall use the same measure towards all persons of oure coñunion that will assist, protect, or harbor any the said malefactors in their crimes, or willingly receive, keepe, or conceal any goods by them unlawfully taken.

3. That wee will obldige all such of our respective that shall chance to have certaine notice of the said malefactors, their assistance or harbourers, to detect the same unto some of the said commissioners or some other honest responsible person that will undertake to doe the same for them, soe it may be done without truble or prajedice to the said enformers.

4. That each parrish prist shall in a booke write & enrole the nams and surnams of all the inhabitation of his parrish above the Age of twelve years, and mark such as will not come to the pascall communion, for such may deservedly be suspected.

5. That the said parrish priests shall not be urged particularly to enforme against any person or persons of the above Crimes or be questioned about any restitution by their means, to be made how or by whome the same is done.

6. That according the desier of the said Commisioners, wee, the said parrish priests, will name and apoynte a zelous & able prist that will from time to time receive such further instructions as the said Commisioners shall be pleased to send us in relation to this work, and exact an Account from us of oure proceedings there-

upon to be returned to the said Commisioners, who shall be empowered to assemble us or call before him us at any time he thinks requisit to that effect.

7. For the most effectually compassing this most laudable worke, and least what one shall doe another may undoe, that noe other prist may administer the Sacraments or exercise pastorall function in any parrish without the consent of the proper curat and aproba-tion of the overseers, otherwise such as by him rejected may be by another received and served.

8. Lastly, we will every of us in particular publish these oure resolves and undertakins the first Sunday of each munth, least any may pretend ignorance or thinke we should slaken therein & presse the same with more earnestness & confidence then heare to fore, hoping that as it hath pleased the secular power to make us of oure endeavours in this affaire, soe it will defend us from such violence as some of us were often in feare of & suffered some times by invoking & exclaiming ag^t such malefactors.

Yett not with standing all the endeavours by us to be in this matter bestowed which wee realy intend and faithfully promise, we feare will not be soe effectual as wished, unlesse some expedient course be taken in some things wee observed and humbly offer to your consideration.

1. Wee understand that towards every Assizes the goals and prisons are full of malefactors or suspected for such, and yett seldome any correction, butt that those persons enlarged become worse than before as comonly wee heare bruited, and sure stealths & roberies are dayly comitted in every corner of the county.

2. That, whereas these Malefactors fall upon the poore & weaker sort, as widows, orphans, & such as are of few Abilitys, such persons and perhaps others of greater consideration when they can discover the Malefactors will sooner receive some satisfaction from them then publish the matter, or bring them to the law, for soe they expect to save some thing, and if they informe against them they shall be bound over to proseque ag^t the Malefactor and per-

haps attend att two or three Assizes, and though the thiefe were convict receive noe consideration for his good or cost. All is forfeit & taken up by the Shiriffe or Senescall, and who will have the confidence or zeale for the publick wealth to putt himselfe to such truble & cost, and how shall wee be able to persuade him soe to doe.

3. It being notorious the said fall upon the weaker and meaner sort of people, seems those of power & stocke finding their owne secure doe not bestir themselves in suppressing those misdemeanors requisite, the Comissioners in their Wisdome contrive a way whereby such persons may be engaged in the worke, & have correspondency with & countenance the priests in relation to their proceedings hearin.

Proposall from y^e Romish Priests, &c.

CCXII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR H. CAPEL.

DEARE BROTHER,

Dublin Castle, March 2, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Mr Harbord being arrived, I received y^e severall Letters by him & my Cousen Wisemen. As to y^e matter of Essex House, I have discussed it fully wth Mr Harbord, & tho' I am satisfied that both of you doe advise me that w^{ch} you thinke for the best, yet I cannot imagine, all circumstances considered, why I should refuse it, unlesse 'twere proper for me to putt a notorious Affront upon his Majestie, & y^e greatest disobligacōn upon my Lord Treasurer imaginable. I doe believe that what y^r selfe & Mr Harbord have done in this Affaire will encrease y^e price at least one or two thousand p^{ds}, & I am sure I gave you early notice enough by a Lre in cypher, w^{ch} way this matter was moving, & desired that Mr Harbord might use his Industry in bringing downe y^e price, & that was all He had to doe, instead of w^{ch} every one was told

that I was not like to accept it, w^{ch} has so bungled y^e buisnesse as I fear it will not come so cheap as it otherwise might have done. M^r Harbord hath now undertaken to see y^e purchase gone through wth, & by this post hath writt L^{res} to that purpose into England. Upon y^e whole I would not have you imagine that I thinke you did other then what you presume best for me, tho' I doe not agree wth you in this particular.

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I desire you would for y^e present forbear paying any more debts. & reserve what money you have, & what I shall send in stocke for y^e purchase of Essex House.

CCXIII.—THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, March the 7th, 1674.

Although I have not troubled you with unnecessary Letters, I assure you I have been watchfull of all occasions wherein I might in any kind bee serviceable to you, But none hath offered itself, worthy your receiving a particular account of, untill the other day, that Information was brought mee several wayes, and with such Circumstances as make it Credible, that you were to bee recall'd out of Ireland. Whereupon I demanded a private Audience of the King, And at it express'd my self unto him in your concerns, as I thought so faithful a friend and humble servant of yours as I am ought to do.

The King's Reply to mee was, That you had served him so eminently well in that Employment, That if you were not in Ireland alreadie, Hee would purchase you at any Rate to send you thither, And that hee did not know how his affaires in that Kingdome could subsist without you, you having had the good fortune not only to please himself, But even all opposite parties, And thus

much hee allowed mee to tell you, and bid you Rely on, which having done, I have nothing to adde, but a renewall of assurance that I am with the same fidelity that ever.

CCXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO CHARLES II.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R MAJESTIE,

I have recd y^r Majesties gracious L^re for ye Grant of thirteen thousand pds, w^{ch} favor I doe wth all humilite & gratitude acknowledge. The Mony was intended for y^e purchase of Essex House, w^{ch} being a most Conspicuous marke of y^e Ma^{ties} bounty, & an honour permanent to my Family, would therefore many Times double y^e value of y^e gift, & had those whom I Employ'd in England pursued my directions, y^e purchase had bin made ere this; but they, causing a most unnecessary demurre, have given an opportunity to another person to contract for it, w^{ch} perhaps may prevent y^e placing this favor on me in y^e manner it was designed; yet if y^r Majestie please to refraine y^e granting a Licence for building on new foundations there y^e matter may be retrieved, & y^r Majesties Liberality applied as was at first proposed, but if this this cannot be compassed, I shall reserve y^r Majesties gracious intentions towards me for some other opportunity, assuring y^r Majestie that y^r favourable thoughts cannot be bestowed on any person who will owne them with a more gratefull mind, nor who wth more zeale doth endeavor to meritt ye Title of

The most faithfull & most
obedient of y^r Majesties
Subjects & Servants,
ESSEX.

Dublin Castle, March 17.
To the King. *

CCXV.—LORD RANELAGH TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r EX^{ty},

March the 30th, 1675.

The honour of YO^r EX^{ty} of the 8th and 16th instant I have received, and am very sorry my endeavors to secure Essex House to YO^r EX^{ty} have noo better succeeded. The Bargaine with Doctor Barebone^a is doubtless a reall one, att least as farre as articles interchangeably, signed and sealed, can make itt. But as yett he hath nether payd any of his money, nor received any conveyance. Howsoever, encouraged by Mr. Gregory, one of the Executors and some others, I feare of greater quality, he hath entred upon the garden, which he hath absolutely destroyed, and layd thoro it the foundation of that street which he designes ; and this in defyance of the order of Councell, by which he was to show cause why the King might not comply with the Templers disyre. To morrow the Councell meets, and this insolent proceeding of his will be playned off, and I daresay he will not onely then receive a cheque, but alsoe whatsoever obstruction the King by law can give him. Mr. Thinns, I must owne, hath all along been both civill and friendly to Y^r EX^{ty}s pretence, and will continue soe as long as there is the least hopes ; and whilst there is soe Mr. Cratford and I will neglect nether means nor opportunities to recover itt, tho' we cannot finde any reason to hope that any of the price will be abated, for I may safely assure Y^r EX^{ty} the bargaine att 13,000 is soe farr from an ill one that the Doctor will, without meddling with any of the building himself, cleare att least two or three thousand pounds by itt. And this I am informed from severall hands.

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^a The famous building contractor, so well described in Roger North's autobiography.

CCXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD RANELAGH.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, April 7, 75.

Yesterday I received y^{rs} of y^e 30th of March, being y^e first Packet arrived here since y^e Losse of y^e Yaeth, whereby we understand who perished & who were saved, which I conceive I need not repeat, for y^e particulars you will have from y^e Coast on that side.

As to Essex House it will y^r L^{ps} L^re tells me depend on that point, whether y^e King can prohibite y^e building on new foundations. This hath in all former times bin taken for granted, yet, however, I am sorry that a concerne of mine should occasion a dispute of y^e King's Prerogative; y^e spoile of y^e Garden cannot be much materiall, in regard a little mony will, I am confident, put it in order, so as that shall not hinder me from pursuing my intention, in case this bargain wth Dr. Barebone be vacated.

* * * * *

The French Recruits have had ill fortune; for tho' y^e officers did their parts perfectly well in bringing them to a remote corner of Kerry w^{thout} noise, yet y^e French Ships that were appointed to take them in, failing many days, and when they did come, which was 20 days after their Time, instead of coming to Dingle came to Kinsale, and there divulged in y^e Towne that they came to fetch men for y^e Service of France, so as y^e Officers, finding y^e Thing grew too publick, have themselves, I hear, dismissed most of y^e men.^a I gave them all connivance that possibly I could, seeming not to believe y^e news for a Packett or two. But at last when it was too much y^e publick discourse I was forced to send orders to dismisse any of them that should be found in that Country, and as those Orders will be Justification enough that these Levies were not permitted by Authority, so I am sure on y^e other hand y^e very Officers themselves will clear me to His Majestie, that I have allowed them all y^e fair play in their businesse that wth decencie they could expect, and that y^e disappointment proceeded purely from y^e Errors comitted by y^e Co^manders of y^e French ships.

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^a Charles was, at the time that he allowed France to recruit in Ireland, posing as mediator in the war.

CCXVII.—CONCERNING Y^E CHARTERS TO CORPORACIONS.

In most of y^e Corporacions of Ireland y^e Freemen were generally Papists in y^e Year 1641, & so continued till about 1654, & altho' most of y^e persons who were then free may now be presumed to be dead, yet there being a custom in most corporacions y^t all y^e sons of Freemen are also free of y^e Corporacion whereof their Fathers were free, there cannot but be now very many Papists living who are entitled to their freedoms in y^e severall Corporacions.

Since y^e ending of y^e Rebellion all y^e Magistrates in Corporacions have been generally Protestants, and many Protestants have bin also admitted to their freedoms, & in y^e Usurpers Time all y^e Papists that were Freemen were hindered from enjoying y^e benefitt of their Freedoms.

Since y^e K^{gs} restauracion many disputes have happened concerning y^e Papists, who were formerly free, being admitted agen into y^e Corporacions.

By a Letter from y^e King dated y^e 22th of May, 1661, his M^{tie} declared his Pleasure y^t y^e respective former Inhabitants, Natives, & Freemen, & such as had right to be Freemen in any of y^e Cittys or Towns in this Kingdome should be forthwth restored to their accustomed priviledges & Immunities, & admitted to Trade in y^e s^d respective Cittys & Towns, as freely as heretofore, without making any Nationall distinction or giving any Interruption upon pretence of difference of Judgm^t or Opinion in matters of Religion.

Notwithstanding this Letter many of y^e auintient freemen that were Papists were kept out of severall of y^e Corporacions.

In y^e Acts of Setlem^t or Explanacon there is no Clause that hinders any Papists from enjoying y^e benefitt of their Freedoms, but there is a Clause that hinders any papist from buying or taking Leases of any forfeited Houses from y^e 49 Officers wthout Licence of y^e L^d Lieu^t & Councill.

His M^{tie} afterwards by his L^{tes} bearing date y^e 26th of Febr. 1671, in y^e Time of y^e L^d Berkeleys Government, did againe declare his Pleasure, that all y^e auntient freemen of y^e respective Corpora^{co}ns should enjoy their former freedoms and Priviledges, & that a generall Licence should be given to Papists to hire or purchase any forfeited Houses in Corpora^{co}ns, w^{ch} was accordingly done, & His M^{ties} pleasure therein published by Proclama^{co}n of y^e L^d Lieu^t & Councell bearing date y^e eighth of May, 1671.

The Rules since made by y^e L^d Lieu^t & Councell in pursuance of a Clause contained in y^e Act of Explana^{co}n does hinder all Papists from being Magistrates in Corpora^{co}ns, unlesse dispens'd wth by y^e L^d Lieu^t from taking y^e Oath of Supremacy, but nothing in those Rules takes away from them y^e benefit of their freedoms, yet in some of y^e Corpora^{co}ns (in w^{ch} y^e number of Protestants is great) many of y^e Papists are still kept out & hindered from their freedoms, as particularly in Cork, w^{ch} is now wholly inhabited by Protestants, & y^e auntient Natives or Freemen are either dispersed in y^e Country abroad, or doe only inhabite in y^e suburbs without y^e walls, but y^e Trade is almost wholly carried on by y^e Protestants.

Upon renewall of Charters great disputes are likely to arise betweene ye present Inhabitants & auntient Natives of severall of y^e Corpora^{co}ns concerning y^e hindring y^e auntient Natives from, or admitting them to y^e benefit of their freedoms.

If they should be hindred from their freedoms, they will complaine that there is no Law to take that benefit from them; That it is unreasonable to hinder them from Trading & may be also pre-judiciall to y^e King in his Customs; And will force them to withdraw their Stocks beyond ye Seas, And that it is ag^t y^e Kings Pleasure expressly declared by his severall L^{tes}, & since made publickly by Proclama^{co}n, upon confidence whereof (it will be pretended) may have come over to inhabite here. That by y^e Rules, Papists, who are forreiners, may be admitted to be free in y^e Corpora^{co}ns here; And that it will be hard to barr Papists, who are

Natives, from enjoying that Freedom, w^{ch} hath bin already granted them.

If they should all be generally admitted by y^e new Charters to enjoy y^e benefit of their freedoms, y^e protestant Inhabitants will complaine, y^t ye Corpora^õns will be all presently filled wth Papists, as they were in y^e year 1641, & y^e Protestant Inhabitants thereby discouraged, y^t y^e number of y^e auintient Freemen, who are Papists, will be much greater then of Protestants, & thereby they will have y^e choice of Parliam^t men; And y^e House of Comons thereby will be fill'd wth Papists, who are not by any Law of force here hinderd from sitting in y^e House; That it will be unreasonable, that such, who by reason of their not being adjudgd innocent, have forfeited their Estates, should be admitted to continue their freedoms, & it is to be feared y^t y^e present Protestants Inhabitants, who will generally sollicite & take out ye Charters, will hardly be at y^e charge of renewing them, if any provision should be therein made for all y^e auintient Freemen to be restored to their Freedoms.

What expedients to propose herein seems to be very difficult, & it will be hardly possible to propose any that may satisfy both partys.

It may perhaps be a midle way to admitt only those Papists to their Freedoms who doe now actually enjoy y^e benefit thereof by y^e Corpora^õns themselves, may be excluded, or else to provide that those Papists, who have bin adjudgd Innocent, & their Heirs and Children shall enjoy y^e benefit of their Freedoms whereby only those who have not been admitted to enjoy their Estates will be hindred from their freedoms, but it is to be doubted whether either of these will satisfy y^e parties concernd.

CCXVIII.—HENRY THYNNE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

London, April 13th, 1675.

I doubt not but yo^r Ex^{ty} must have a particular concerne to know what has been the Issue of this day in which the Parliam^t hath assembled, where his Ma^{ty} made them a very gracious speech, Telling them That their meeting now was to advise what was yet to bee done for the Secureing both their Religion and propperty, and that there should bee nothing wanting on his part to shew his zeale for the maintenance of the Church of England, to which he would always firmly adhere. He like wise told them that he was sensible y^t there were severall disaffected persons that desired to have this Parliam^t dissolved, but that he was too sensible of the ill designs of the one & the Loyalty of the other to think of parting with this Parliam^t. His Ma^{ty} was like wise pleased to reco^mend to their care the providing some fund for building and repairing of Shippes, and at last did hint to them that this was like to bee a short Sessions, but that hee hoped to see them againe in the winter.

This is (I think) the Effect of his Ma^{ty}s Speech, but dare not relye so much upon my ill memory as to give it yo^r Ex^{ty} for authentique, and there are no coppys to be had of it, the Speaker haveing put it into his pockett as soon as it had been read to the House.

After which there was a considerable debate concerneing returneing thanks to his Ma^{ty} for his Speech, which was at last resolved in the affirmative, but not for the whole Speech in Generall, but for his Ma^{ty}s gracious promises of maintaineing their Religion and proppertys, and for what hee was pleased to call them at this time to consider of the ways of doing it.

I doubt not but yo^r Ex^{ty} will have a much more Exact Account of the proceedings of this day from some of the members that were present, but yet I could not soe much omitt my duty as to neglect the giving yo^r Ex^{ty} the best acc^t I could get of this matter.

We have no forrain news considerable but of the P. of Orange's

being soe well recovered y^t hee has been at church to give thanks for his recovery.

The D. of Ormond arrived here yesterday.

Mr. Sec^{ry} has his hands now so full of businesse and soe Little news of importance to acquainte yo^r Ex^{cy} with, that he begs yo^r Ex^{cy}s Excuse that you doe not heare from him by this post.

CCXIX.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EXC^{LLY},

London, 17 Apr. 1675.

I gave you an account of my safe arrivall at Chester from thence, wth, I suppose, considering the Easterly windes y^t have continued here ever since is ere this come to y^r hands. I gott heither on Thursday early, & had not my lame foote compelled me to make use of my Coache from Grafton I had reached this place sooner; the very first day of the Session y^e H. of Comons had a long *debate* whether they should give King thanks for his speech or adjourne, at y^e last y^e years carried it for thanks, many of the Lords protested in King his presence. The H. of Comons hath passed y^e same rote against Lodderdale as formerly, & y^e Adresse to King for that purpose. I will take order wth M^r Petit to have y^e Journalls of both Houses transmitted weekly to y^r Excellency so long as wee sett; I delivered yesterday *Essex his Letter to King*, & had a long discourse wth him about y^e affaires of Ireland & particularly asked him if any thing under *Essex his conduct* did displease him; he answered no, all as well as could be.

* * * * *

Having observed at Dublin y^t *Loftus* & many of the *Irish* did much except & Complaine against *Essex* for the way that was used to suppress y^e *Tories* & how bloody it was, I thought best to

acquainte King wth the necessity of it & how impossible it was else to have *reduced them* considering the many & strong retreats they have ; gave him some particular instances of y^e violences they had since committed one upon another, y^e effects it had had, & y^e great peace & security the Country was in by *your great care & dilligence in that matter*. I left them in my opinion well satisfied in all those things I could then *thinke of*. Upon my very first arrivall here I had notice given me that *Ranelagh & Seynour had endeavord to possesse Trear. that notwthstanding all y^t W. Harbord should say to him, Trear. would see him sticke to Essex ag^t him & bid him beware of him ; & being forewarned I prepared my self accordingly ; I found him at first cooler in his reception then when I left him, whereupon I told him what I had heard & parted from him wth great kindnesse ; after at least 2 hours discourse, during w^{ch} he shewd me severall Articles that were preparing against himselfe by Littleton, Powys, Meeres, Candish, S^r John Coventry, &c., among w^{ch} there were two to this effect, if not in the same words, That Trear. had privately contrived & contracted wth Essex to share & governe all y^e Affaires of Ireland contrary to all former formes to their mutuall benefitt & advantage ; & that in order to it y^e 2 Secretarys were kept wholly in ignorance & strangers to y^e Affaires of that Kingdome. That Essex & Trear. had private Instructions between themselves ; that Trear. had lately procured from King thirteen thousand pounds for Essex, of w^{ch} Trear. was to have three for himselfe, That Trear. had lately contracted wth some persons in the name of Jeames Herbert for y^e renewing of y^e Irish Farme & that Essex was Privy to it, whereby Essex & Trear. would gett hundred thousand pounds to themselves ; he doth not seeme concerned at this storme but told me that he thought that instead of Jeames they meant me ; he hath many friends & they may somewhat bespatter him but not hurt him by it. Tis a Tryall of skill between Arlington & Trear. wth y^e malice of some members to either side to lett King see w^{ch} of them hath best interest.*

I suppose y^t y^r Excellency hath now received Sr Henry Capell's Letter about *Sec: Coventry*, whome I finde wonderfully *dissatisfied* wth *Essex* & believes himselfe to have been extreemly *ill used* by him, for y^e other day when *Essex* writt to *Ranelagh* to move *Trear.* for a resolution from King what *Essex* should doe wth those Letters & directions w^{ch} laye before *Essex*; *Ranelagh* did prepare the heads of an Order for to pass the Councill & gave it to *Trear.* as he was goeing in. *Trear.* proposed it, & *S. Coventry* did make such a *mittance* [?] upon that *affaire* & so warmly reflecting on *Trear.* & his sending private Instructions to *Essex* w^{thout} either *Secretary's* knowledge; for want of w^{ch} y^e King's Commands rendered ineffectual, & y^f the same were admitted in *Forrain* parts it might endanger y^e very publick safety of the Kingdome. I finde that *Arlington* engaged warmly for *S. Coventry* & many others on each side till at last King was forced to end y^e debate not only by interposing but expressing an angry dislike of their warmth in that place; all this was put on *Essex* his shoulders, for *Trear.* did affirme that these private Instructions (I meane those of July last from *Windsore*) were desired & writt by *Essex*, & y^t *Trear.* had 20 Letters to shew to y^t Effect. Councill did approve of y^e private Instructions, first in regard That *Trear.* assured them y^t *Essex* writt for them in order to the enabling him to prevent y^e granting & giving away y^e King's Lands, Monys, &c., Rents, w^{ch} y^e Secretariys had bin very bold wth, but Councill were absolutely of opinion that those Instructions ought to have bin enterd at y^e Secretariys of that Province to w^{ch} they were sent, y^e not doeing whereof even *Trear.* ownes a great fault, & saith that he did really thinke it had bin donne. *Sec: Coventry*, who at this time wayes^a infinitely in y^e Nation, thought himselfe in y^e Right, both as to *Trear.* sending Instructions to Ministers abroad, was so surprised to hear *Trear.* say that *Essex* had by Letters desired them, & not in one thought fitt to communicate y^e having such to *Coventry* that he is I feare lost to *Essex*, & to some of his most

^a Weighs.

private friends complains of Essex his usage to him, and this being by them attributed as a Returne for Essex House it hath great Effect in altering mens minds from Essex, & think him not so well settled nor fixed in friendship wth men of such principles as y^e most virtuous men here now value & notwithstanding all my enemies may suggest to Essex I assure him y^t I am most faithfully, &c.

* * * * *

I pray consider of some way of giving *Sec: Coventry* some satisfaction in this occasion^a for he is most worthely y^r friend

CCXX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

M. HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, Apr: 24: 1675.

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For what you say in y^e latter end of y^r L^re concerning Essex House, I am still of opinion y^t had not that matter bin bungled, it would not have made halfe y^e noise it hath done, being only a Grace & bounty of his Majesties, & I cannot see why any man should thinke it amiss, y^t y^e King should give me such a gift: My L^d D: of Ormond has rēcd above 300,000lb. in this Kingdome, besides all his great places & Employment^s, & I am sure y^e Losses in his private Estate have not bin equall to those I have suffered, & yet he is so happy as no exception is taken to it; but I am confident tis all idle talke, &, as I have already said, occasioned in a great measure by perplexing y^e Affairs at first.

^a Essex explains matters satisfactorily on April 24.

CCXXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO WILLIAM HARBORD.

M^r HARBORD,

Dublin Castle, April: 27: 75.

You have now at length cleared y^e matter concerning Essex House, viz., y^t because y^r selfe was not employed in y^e Affaire, you judged it inconvenient for me to have it; I cannot compare this wth any thing better then that w^{ch} you tell me in y^e end of y^r L^re, namely, y^t in case Moneys be asked in y^e House by any of y^e Treasurers friends, y^e opposite party are immediately resolved to putt in a charge ag^t y^e Treasurer, so as in y^e mean Time his Majesties Affairs are in a good posture, since y^e Two Factions are separately resolved, y^t y^e publick shall not be supplied, unless it come purely by one of their means, each endeavouring by some by way to obstruct what y^e other doth, & in y^e like manner will my owne concerns be, if you hold to these methods, not to lett any Thing be done, but what y^r selfe has a hand in, & are y^e Doer thereof, w^{ch} I hope you will take warning for y^e future, rather to observe what I direct then to oppose Things, because you did not advise them. In relac^ōn to ye House it selfe, tho' I would be glad to be master of it, if it might come fairly & hansomly, & like it ye best of any seat about y^e Towne, yet I never desired or would engage any of my friends for Acts of Parliam^t to serve private turns, but if in y^e cof^ōn prohibition of New buildings y^e turning of this into Tenem^{ts} be obstructed, I would not omitt y^e opportunite of going on with that purchase, & this you may let any of y^e members of Parliam^t know either of mine or y^r owne acquaintance.

In case any Thing should be stirring in Parliam^t, as if I combined wth my Lord Tr^car to divert y^e methods of govern^{mt} in this Kingdome, that w^{ch} I have writt at large to my brother in one by this packett, & Two other Letters, will sufficiently instruct both him & you, what to answer in it; you need not be nice in telling any of y^e members y^e Truth, should there be occasion for it, for I am apt to believe (if you manage y^e Affaire rightly in England)

y^e plain dealing w^{ch} I have steadily pursued, when it come to Light, will fix me firmer both in y^e favor of his Majestie & in y^e esteeme of all good men then ever I could have bin had not this instance to demonstrate it arrived.

I have some few days since rec^d a L^re from y^e D. of Monmouth concerning young M^r Sarsfields death, & other particulars relating to y^t Estate ; Let y^e Duke know, y^t I have only delayed y^e Answering his Letter till I have advised wth y^e Kgs: Councell here, & y^t in a little Time I shall be able to returne him an Acc^t w^{ch} will be satisfactory.

CCXXII.—LORD RANELAGH TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R EX^{CY},

London, Aprill 13th, 1675.

The Honour of yo^r Ex^{ty}s of the 7th Instant I have Received, and shall not fayle to give his Ma^{ty} the account it brings of the French Recruits, w^{ch} I had donne this day, but that the beginning of the Parliament made it unseasonable. What passed in both Houses I am sure y^r Ex^{ty} will receive from better Hands. This day they satt much longer then is usuall the first of their meeting, and too morrow they meet againe, and it is thought their debates will be very warme.

As to Essex House, I cannot give y^r Ex^{ty} soe good an account as I would. Barebone we have had before the Councell twice, and the Orders upon his hearing are as large as care would allow them to be, My Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer concerning themselves most Hartily to recover the House for y^r Ex^{ty}, but nether of

them more earnest that way then the King Himself. Notwithstanding all, the Doctor goes on vigorously with his buildings, most of which he designes to finish by the latter end of next month, and I feare if the Houses once gett up, a jury will not easily find it a nusance.

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INDEX.

- Aldworth, Mr., 118
Anglesea, Earl of, 111, 187, and *passim*
Anonymous, 39
Arlington, Earl of, *passim*
Arundel, Lord, of Wardour, 60
Aungier, Lord, letters xlv., lvii., cvi.,
cix., and *passim*
- Barebone, Dr., 312, 323
Berkeley, Lord, 13, 62, 103, 105, 262,
279, and *passim*
Boyle, Michael, Lord Chancellor of
Ireland, 104
Bridgman, William, 110, 121, and
passim
Bristol, Earl of, cccxiii.
Bronneker, Mr., 67
Buckingham, Duke of, 131, 160, 162,
167, 173, and *passim*
Burlington, Lord, 280
Burnside, Mr., 83
Byron, Sir R., 86.
- Campsie, Mr., 83
Capel, Sir H., 73, 85, 126, 154, and
passim
Carlingford, Lord, 196, 220
Catholics, 36, 48, 61, 65, 74, 76, 90,
93, 113, 135, 166, 193
Charles II., *passim*
Charles V., Emperor, 71
Chiffinch, 258, 266, 271
Churchill, MS., 159
Clare, Lord, 80
Cleveland, Duchess of, 58, 70, 122, 140
Clifford, Lord, 22, 40, 54, 68, 69, 120,
128, 133
Conway, Lord, 53, 79, and *passim*,
xci, xcii., and *passim*
Corporations in Ireland, 5, 13, 17, 95,
and *passim*
- Coventry, Sir H., 84, 119, 130, and
passim
Council, Committee, for Ireland, 110,
111
Cunningham, Mr., 83
- Declaration of Indulgence, 57
Dering, Sir E., 85
Donegal, Lord, 14
Dungan, Lord, 84
- Essex, Lady, 47, 89, 252, 255
Essex House, 226 and following; 299
and following
Eustace, Sir M., 196
Explanation, Act of, 135
- Farthings, coinage of, 205, 207
Finch, Sir H., 139, and *passim*
Forbes, Sir Arthur, 53, 58, 60, 78, 117,
240, 285, and *passim*
Ford, Sir H., 85, 86
Fonlkes, Sir F., 14
French, Martin, 138 and following
- Godolphin, Francis, 45, 671, and
passim
Gorge, Dr., 200
Gwyn, Nell, 146
- Hacket, Thomas, Bishop of Downe,
xxiii. and 76
Halifax, Lord, 111, 120, 131, 168, and
passim
Hamilton, Duke of, 263, 265
Hollis, Lord, 168
Howard, Sir R., 130, 132, 176
- Lambeth, Council, 293
Lauderdale, Duke of, 131 and *passim*
Leighton, Sir E., 51, 103

- Loftus, Dr., 101, 126, 318
 Louis XIV., 175, 273
- Margetson, James, Archbishop of
 Armagh, 113
- Modena, Princess of, Duchess of York,
 142, 145, 159-256
- Moloney, Dr., Bishop of Killaloe, 76,
 137
- Monmouth, Duke of, 59, 88, 122,
passim
- Montague, Lord, 261
- Mosson, Dr., Bishop of Derry, xv., xx
- Mulgrave, Lord, 281
- Nonconformists, 15, 26, 33, 34, 37, 77,
 124, 243, 248, 262
- Northumberland, Earl of, 89
- Northumberland, Lady, 199, 255, 269
- Orange, Prince of, 263, 287
- Ormond, Duke of, 111, 112, 119, 132,
 xcvi., and *passim*
- Orrery, Earl of, i., ii., iv., v., xlix., lxxi.,
 lxxii., and *passim*
- Osborn, Sir T. (Earl of Danby), 86,
 99, and *passim*
- Ossory, Lord, 209, 283, 295
- Patrick, Father, 60, 122, 249
- Pembroke, Earl of, 282
- Pembroke, Lady, 263
- Petty, Sir W., 79, 82
- Phillpot, Mr., 35, 192
- Phoenix Park, 58, 59, 60, 70, 71, 73,
 80, 84, 122
- Plunket, Oliver, Titular Primate of
 Ireland, 126
- Portsmouth, Duchess of, 199, 212, and
passim
- Powell, Mr., 130
- Power, Lord, 29
- Presbyterians, The, in Parliament, 181
- Queen, The, 132
- Ranelagh, Lord, 7, 62, 121, and *passim*
- Robarts, Lord, 247, &c.
- Rupert, Prince, 131, 137, 234
- Savile, Henry, 28
- Schools, Public, in Ulster, 113
- Settlement, Act of, 32, 49-52, and
passim
- Shaftesbury, Earl of, xxviii., 59, 71-
 82, and *passim*
- Sharp, Archbishop, forged letter of, 243
- Shrewsbury, Lady, 160, 162, 167, 173
- Southwell, Sir R., 57-91
- St. George, Sir O., 138, 267
- Strafford, Lord, 7, 40, 125
- Swale, Sir S., 131
- Talbot, Peter, 84, 137
- Talbot, Col. Richard, 60, 61, 62, 74,
 76, 90, 222
- Temple, Sir W., lxxxii., lxxxvii., ci.,
 cxliii., clvii., cciii.
- Thynne, Henry, cci., cciv., ccxviii.
- Tories, 117, 148, 160, 177, 264, 304,
 306
- Totty, Sir T., 57, 192
- Trade, 8, 30, 36, 54, 64, 69, 78,
 128, 167, 172, 203, 275
- Tweeddale, Marquis of, 263-265
- Williamson, Sir T., 50, 228, and *passim*
- Worcester, Marquis of, 45, 47
- York, Duke of, 139 and *passim*
- York, Duchess of. *See* Modena

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