

# THE COLLECTED LETTERS OF HENRY JERMYN, EARL OF ST ALBAN

**Anthony Adolph**

*These letters were mostly collected in the 1990s, and typed up by hand on an old Amstrad word processor, either from printed sources or transcribed from photographs or microfilms of the originals, or direct from originals in the British Museum. They formed the core of my biography of Henry Jermyn, published as *Full of Soup and Gold: the Life of Henry Jermyn* (2006), *The King's Henchman: Henry Jermyn, Stuart Spymaster and Architect of the British Empire* (20212) and finally *The King's Henchman: The Commoner and the Royal who saved the Monarchy from Cromwell* (2014), and of my biographical notice of Henry Jermyn in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. They are published now to aid other scholars in future research into Jermyn and his hitherto unappreciated role, largely behind the scenes, in Britain's 17<sup>th</sup> century politics. - AA, 2023*

## **Introduction**

Jermyn must surely have kept a good record of his correspondence but now no archive survives. Most likely his letters were destroyed at his own order after his death. If this was not the case, they may have ended up at Cheveley, his nephew Henry Jermyn Lord Dover's house in Cambridgeshire, which was completely gutted by the mob in 1689. This collection has been assembled from many disparate sources. Most are from the records of the State Paper Office, now at the Public Record Office and the Clarendon State Papers at the Bodleian Library, but other letters written by Jermyn are in the manuscript collections of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, in the archives of families such as the Duke of Ormonde and the Marquis of Bristol and elsewhere. The reports of the Historic Manuscripts Commission have been invaluable in finding letters but others have been found either by judgement or luck in other sources.

Many more letters must survive in uncatalogued collections in this country, whilst there are undoubtedly countless ones amongst archives and collections on the Continent, especially in France and the Low Countries, most of which remain unexplored. Because of the severe restrictions of funds and time, much reliance has been placed upon printed sources and hence many of the letters abstracted in the State Paper, Clarendon State Paper and H.M.C. calendars are repeated as they were printed, although the originals of some of the foregoing have been examined and transcribed in full. Some letters have been found in random printed sources, such as the one written by Jermyn to his cousin Sir Henry Killigrew before the fall of Pendennis, which appears without date or reference in Tregellas' history of the Killigrew family, and are repeated as such.

The collections drawn upon impose their own restrictions upon the survival of Jermyn's letters. His correspondence in the Clarendon State Papers, for example, ceases in July 1667 because Clarendon ceased to be Lord Chancellor, whilst his voluminous correspondence with Lord Digby survives only up to the time when the latter's cabinet was captured at Sherborne in 1645. It is impossible to tell how many letters have not survived because they fell outside the scopes of the collections which preserve them; the collection printed here must be appreciated as the tiny fraction of

Jermyn's actual correspondence which it is.

Besides letters written by Jermyn, several letters written by his secretary Abraham Cowley have been included when they were clearly representations of what Jermyn would have written himself had he had time, although there are many letters which Cowley wrote himself whilst in Jermyn's employ which have been omitted. Also omitted are the many legal documents drawn up by or on behalf of Jermyn, such as the petitions he made to the Crown on many occasions, accounts and the warrants which he made out in his official capacities of Ambassador, Governor of Jersey, Chamberlain and Trustee to the Queen, Lord Chamberlain to Charles II and so on. Places from which letters were written have been included when stated. All the original letters and many of the printed transcriptions state this, but some transcriptions do not; these have not been assumed. Dates are given as in the originals and printed transcriptions; the old and new style dates have been given in calendars, these have been repeated, and double dating has been added to originals transcribed here. Names in the headings of the letters have been put into a conventional form and the offices held by recipients at the time of receipt have been added for clarification.

Very few notes have been added as the context and import of the letters are covered in Jermyn's biography.

## **PART ONE: LETTERS WRITTEN BY HENRY JERMYN**

7 May 1633, Jermyn to Sir John Coke, Secretary of State (1563-1644).

Before you receive this my other will be in your hands which I have sent you by my father. This I add to give you my humble thanks again for your favour, and to beg your pardon of me, in that my misfortune renders me so often troublesome to you [H.M.C., Coke MSS].

c. May 1633, Jermyn to Charles I.

May it please your Majesty, I have received by Mr. Secretary Coke your Majesty's commands, in obedience whereunto I shall shortly tell your Majesty upon what grounds I have apprehended Miss Villiers to be no fit wife for me. In our first acquaintance that began when she came first to Court, when she said I was most beholden to her, there never passed one word between us touching marriage; if there had I believe she would have been more averse then than I now. She grew after into a friendship with my Lord of Newport, to whom by his own confession to me she afforded the same liberties that she had done to me. After this my Lord Feilding's acquaintance began; and that he had no less favour than those that went before I have these proofs- his own confession to me that she had often sworn to him she loved him better than she ever loved me; her maid is ready to witness all the contents of the enclosed paper which I send your Majesty. She hath herself confessed to me she loved my Lord Feilding more than any man living. A gentleman told two men of condition in your Majesty's court he found my Lord Feilding in that posture with her was fit for doing what I am accused of. What the common fame hath been touching the familiarity of these two persons I need not trouble your Majesty with; you can enquire of nobody of that particular that will not largely inform your Majesty how bold and carelessly scandalous it hath been. In the confidence that will suffice to keep your Majesty in your justice from propounding this gentlewoman to me for a wife, I do

conceal many things that would much more than all this conduce to my discharge and the accusation of others. When it shall be necessary I shall be able to make good this undertaking; and in the mean space importune your Majesty no further, but lay all these things with myself at your Majesty's feet as your Majesty's most humble and most obedient servant and subject [H.M.C., Coke MSS].

London, 28 December 1638, Jermyn to Robert 2nd Earl of Leicester (1595-1677) ambassador in Paris.

I am very glad I did not understand Monsieur de Ruvigny, for tis better I should mistake him than he you. I had a letter from him since, but he sayed noething of that matter, therefore I conceive he is not displeased that I spake of it to you. Our affayres in Scotland doe not settle nor breake out. My lord Marquis hath bin expected heere this weeke, but is, I heare now, stayed upon some new consideration. What it will bring forth is very diversely beleaved of, somme being of opinion the King will agree of all things are desired of him rather then the warre, others that that is allready resolved. But this discours I had noe intention at all to intertayn you with, it beeing muche too serious for my contemplation. If wee goe not northward I will visit you at Paris in my way to Jersey whether, I thinke, I shall make a short jorney within a little while [H.M.C. 77].

Oatlands Palace, Jermyn to Robert 2nd Earl of Leicester (1595-1677) ambassador in Paris, 12 September 1639.

I dare not allow the honour of receiving a letter from you pass by without returning thanks. I am gratified to know that I stand so high in your estimation that you take notice of anything that I am concerned in. I receive it for a new addition of good fortune, and hope to pay you my retribution in kind when the great changes that are behind shall be made. I hear that the Earl of Strafford has landed, but it is not known whether he will return [to Ireland] or stay here, and where he will lie if he stays here. P.S.- My lord, I humbly thank you for speaking of my orange trees. Pray continue your care of me in that particular [H.M.C. 77].

19 July 1639, Jermyn to Captain George Cartaret.

I have by your brother even now received your letter, but should have been more glad to have seen you here. Touching my going to Jersey I fear I shall not this summer find time; I therefore entreat you to join with me in desiring your uncle to dispense with it. We have here no news; the King, I believe, will not go into Scotland, but return hither within ten days or a fortnight. The affairs there are not so settled as was to be wished, yet I believe the Scots will in the end rather calm down than brake out again in their former extremities [S.P.Dom. vol. 426].

20 August 1639, Jermyn to Captain George Cartaret.

I cannot let your brother part without saluting you, which being done I have not time to add anything more. We have no news yet from Scotland since the meeting of their Assembly. Pray let me hear sometimes from you [S.P.Dom., Vol. 427, with armorial seal].

[France], 26 January 1642, Jermyn to William Murray of the Bedchamber. This letter, printed by Parliament, is, by its blatant and highly uncharacteristic language, a clear forgery.

“It will seem strange to thee, to receive any tydngs of me from France; as it did appeare miraculous to mee, to heare the state of all affaires in England from thee by the last post”. Hopton had brought him an express and Jermyn sends him back with letters. Jermyn glad that "his sacred Majestie" was "so well and strongly seated" at Oxford, "that he will not want strengths at home to settle Him in his wonted Royaltie at White-Hall, where we had all rather be attending his Sacred Person in our former garb and greatnesse, than live here like Honourable Exiles at Paris; for that is (trust mee) the best account the French men make of us". Says he would blame his modesty if he intruded on the King's Council .. "had my successe answered my intentions, or my power my wil, had by the course I shaped, been at far more settled rate than now they are, His Majestie hadnever been driven to these straights, nor the Parliaments endeavours ducedded to prosperously". He and others in France "under the umbrage of banishment" by "the Queens commands and the interest of my former acquaintances best credit in the Court" tried to aid the king's cause "But during the life of Cardinal Richelieu, who for what cause I know not, was still adverse to my proceedings, my fruits and ebdeavours were cast against the wind, and so vanished. Since his decease, I have found my address in that businesse, and easier entertained both by His Majestie of France and his Councell, who, nothwithstahding by a politike pretension of concerning the league inviolable between the kingdoms of England and France have waved my desires so... I find this Nation flexible enough"- they say nice things but do not want to offend Parliament. Jermyn requested soldiers but they said too tied up fighting Spain. "I was resolved to cease any further prosecution of that businesse, determining with my selfe to rest my selfehere in a quiet banishment" and could only serve the King in his prayers. Then when it looked like the France and Spanish would make a truce he remonstrated with the French about the condition of Charles and HM and "since which time, her Majestie hath been forced to live in the manner of an exile in Holland at the Hague" at length "I have won so much on the King of France and his Councell to intend some succour...".. "Ships have been stayed a Normandie, Britanie and adjoining parts... marines, harness, provisions and arms, the most signall commanders in France, 15,000 men experienced soldiers... But in troth deare Will wee can but onely flatter ourselves with these hopes, as men doe".. because the French "are no wayes so good souldiers as they are at land, nor to be held comparable to the English... Besiades, it may be a fine tricke of French policy" because the peace not concluded with Spain and the ships might be asembled to attack them instead! If the ships really for

England "I shall thinke my forced discontinuance from my Countrey and friends fortunate, since by it I have been an instrument to promote his Majesties peace". Still, "We enjoyed one anothers comnapy in peace at Whitehall" would that "these myseries never been inflicted on our owne unhappy countrey"; "I could heartily wish myselfe in my former condition, that I might me happy woth my selfe in my fpormer conditopon, that I might be happy in the security of thy selfe and all my other friends, to whom I desire thee to doe my best commendations; and as my last Encaricimento, and so of most consequence to be performed, I desire thee to let his sacred Majestie know, that I prostrate my life at his royall feet, wishing no longer to enjoy life, then ever I shall strive to be esteemed his Highnesse humblest and loyalest subject &c" ["A Letter sent by Henry Iarmin, Now resident in Paris, to Mr William Murrey of His Majesties Bed-Chamber as it was intercepted at sea by Captain James Morgan...

wherein is exposed the full and real intentions of the said Mr Jarmin, and the other English Fugitives in France, against the Proceedings of the Parliament here in England". London, 26 January 1642, B.M. Thomason Tracts 86(12)].

Bejeare, 12 July 1642, Jermyn to an unknown Royalist, probably the Earl of Newcastle.

"My most honoured Lord. Having the honour of an invitation by Madame de Tillet, to her House of Bejeare, upon the way we met very happily the post" including a letter from "my lord... "the night before I had received letters from the Lord Finch, which enabled me more fully to your commands, though I shall but returne my service, in your Lordships owne language, but it pleased the Duke when we compared our letters, to be very merry with that passage where your Lordship sayes, that you verily beleeve that the Parliament will keepe their wills, and make the king more glorious and rich than any of his Predecessors, let me assure you his case is spread through the Christian world, yet in no place is more seriously taken notice of then in France, and I hope ere long you shall find the effects of it, which had shewed themselves ere this, had not some busie accidents in Flanders, deterr'd the Kings desires, but there is in hand a preparation of Nineteen ships, with such Ammunition and Supply, as the greatnesse of his occasions at home can spare, I have so conjured with Monsieur Du Haile and his wife, that you shall be assured to have the bill of exchange for 4,000 pounds by a Dutchman, from whom in the interim you shall receive more as might be, because that you deisred the jewells should not be taken notice of, and before I leald this to your Lordship, I sent my servant away secretly to The Hague, where Van Derling the Engineer now is, and I am in very good hope my Lord, our Proposition will fasten. ... I intend to be more large by a lackey, that shall make shift to see you ere long... ". The pamphlet prints notes about the defence of Hull against possible invasion by Royalists [A New Discoverie of Mr Jermyns Conspiracy Being the coppie of a letter sent from France from the said Mr Jermyn, to a Nobleman in the North, with Divers other passages from Yorke. Published by a true copie. London, by T.F. for D.C. July 21 1642; B.M. Thomason Tracts E 107 (35)]

Circa 28 November 1642, Jermyn to Charles I, partially incompetent in its survival.

The Denmark treaty not to be registered upon that peremptory ground of not receiving strangers. The resolution now taken cannot produce anything till March next, by which time, either the necessity will be evident and too late then to be desired; or, in the meantime, they are easily dismissed, if a peace intervene. The Danish ambassador should be treated with great civility, and care taken not to be practised upon by the Parliament party. The loan of ships would be demanded as absolutely necessary, more probably and with less difficulty to be obtained from that state, than either arms or men. A provision of arms to be made for your party of Scotland; Will. Murray to be consulted with concerning the time and necessity of that provisoon concerning putting Berwick into their hands, if the other party begin to arm first. The Denmark fleet, to be upon the coast by the 10th of March, may be of great advantage in blocking up Humber; of certain, keeping open and free the ports for your relief for ammunition, and of security of my [ie Henrietta Maria's] person. In any danger from Scotland, a peace to be concluded with the Irish, as in all considerations most able to supply you with men armed proper for your service, than by any other means can be expected; and in regard of their affections, more to be depended upon, being treated with upon those generals of enjoying their estates and liberties and religion, as in the time of

Queen Elizabeth. The Earls of Ormond and Clanrickarde, are the fittest instruments in that affair. Having heard by the return of Henderson, that the king of Denmark hath not been well informed of the justice of your proceedings, I therefore recommend to you the care of satisfying the King of Denmark's ambassador therein very particularly"; Henrietta Maria added in French "What is effaced was done by me, because it was not in cipher" [Harl. MS 7379 f. 100 qu. Green, Letters p. 147].

Newark, 20 June [1643] Jermyn to Earl of Newcastle.

My Lord, we have this day intercepted a letter from Lominger [?] to Sr John Hotham whearof I send your Lordship hear inclosed a copy. The thing is of great moment and may produce considerable effect you will on your part make the best issues of it you may as we have already designed to doe. The army is this time I know not whyther upon this occasion is drawn out and we are preparing to make allsoe. The originall we have sent to Sr John Hotham, whiche is the cause you onely receive the copy beleeving a copy would not have bin soe effectuall with him. I have this day seen Cornet Darcy who is wiling to obey all commands and contribute what he can to the publicke service, but for his assiatcne in the one and the other directing him to receive orders from me, and assuring him that neither the officers nor soldiers of his regiment shall be more oppressed with sessements then if they wear present in this contrye, this My Lord is all I have to trouble you withall, wishing you all hapines, I rest [B.M. Sloane Ms 1519 f. 121].

Oxford, 11 February 1643/4, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

This is the first time there has been any ocaation to give your highnes this trouble. Tomkins tells me hee met you soe that you are allready informed of the Northern affayres. The assemblies hear proved yet very well and the hundred thousand pounds riseth apar... and other wayes are now taken in to consideration to support the war. The Ambassadors from Holland have yet sayed nothing in publike and that hath bin noe more then to Harangue for peace. What particular instructions they may have is not known but that whiche is likeliest is that in thir trade they have soe muche to doe with those at London that according to the rules of le bien feance they... at last to tell under that necessitye they shall fall of acknowledging them a parliament, and desire since as they pretend though it be otherwise in efect that as the King is not nor will be prejudiced by it, soe he would not be offendid. This I ymagine will prose thir busines. Thear is one come out of France to Wilmot with some little quantityes of armes and ammunition the 190 barells of powder 500 muskets 300 payre of pistolls, 1500 swords and some other things of little consideration Washington had the sixcore muskets he desired we have noe news out of the West since that of a little blow given in dorcetshire to Coronel Windams Regiment of hors to repayre which thear are 500 hors gon out of Wiltshire towards dorcetshire, from my lord Hopton thear hath bin noethin yet from Prince Maurice this is all for the present..." [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 31]

Oxford, 14 February 1643/4, Jermyn to Prince Rupert, partly torn.

Since my last to you thear is a resolution taken the assembly of the members of the house of com[mons] that my lord of Forth shall... of Essex for a safe conduct for... shall be approved.. to goe to Westminster to treat with the members assembled thear. This day is appointed by the lords to consider of the same matter and I beleevue they will concur with the others This is all the news I hear is a declaration agreed upon for

the Sctoche that some beleeve will be taken much difficultye by many of them and refused by others among whiche it is possible some of the bedchamber maybe I observe this to you that in your first to the quen you may put her in moinde of.... of concerning Will Legge... thir desired by a service of yours ... frend of kine to desire you you would allsoe name him to the quen... your recommendation of Harbor Price to the quen shall be noe prejudice to that.. there are arms at Weymouth..." [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 39].

Oxford, 15 February 1643/4, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

We have agreed to send to London to demand conduct for Mr Fanshaw to Mr Ofly to go and come from Westminster and ther to propose something concerning a treaty for peace. " asks him to send word "that I may know how to govern my self, for the providing you with armes and amunitions as I believe it a most important thing to our cause in generall. I ... have allredy designed some wayes by whiche I am in some hope that matter may in some measure provided for...." his supply. "I shall let my lord Percy know what he is to expect concerning his cartes" desires more information on Rupert's march northwards [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 41]

Oxford, 23 February 1644, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

Concerns the situation of the Earl of Essex and the desire of the King and Queen for Essex to be assisted [H.M.C. IX, Alfred Morrison's MSS].

Oxford, 26 February 1643/4, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

The king send his assurance to Rupert that no more warrants to be directed to Sir Francis Hale but all would be sent to Rupert. Great losses in the East Riding of Yorkshire and Newark which require Rupert's care. They resolve to send this third time to London, "I have not spoken to my lord Percy yet. It was but an hower agoe I receaved yours .. We have newes of 3 ships coming for Weymouth... 15000 armes but I know not what kindes" [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 63-4].

Oxford, 12 March 1643/4, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

"I have received that of your highnes by Mr Billingsby. King was shamed of particulars concerning commition for pressing in Worcestershire and to compound by his [king's] officers with the delinquents assigned for the subsistence of your troopes" the King assures Jermyn that both shall be withdrawn "and never hear after any thing of the like kind shall pass I spoke to him of a third thing of more moment in whiche I had not soe muche satisfaction all though I had some, which was of the loan of mony of those of yur counties he says he thinks he cannot allow them all to you but will devide them with you, in what parts I know not whyther equally or take more or les then half himself". Jermyn will let Rupert know. Reduction of officers- some may be sent to Rupert's army and some under Col. Gage who had served well in France would be sent for sure. "I am sory you did not like the quens remove from Oxford and more sory that she remooves and truly Sr I am unfeinedly profit to you I was never more agaynst any thing in my life then this remove and doe believe that Oxford bring out into the state it ought to be it would be the fittest and safest place she could be in and of this I have many witnesses but I feare now she will not be diverted from that place yet in nomination , but of this I shall say more to your highnes hereafter" No news

from Hopton or Wilmot. Essex had joined with Waller. Parliament had attacked Oxford; "we remayned soe naked that the enemye came with 300 hors to Bletchington and plundred some villages and would have plundered more if 4 of my troopes lately come out of the north with Campsfield had not drawn out to them , upon which for this day they are retreated to Middleton Hone if they return tomorrow I hope we shall be better provided for them. Just now I receaved another of your letters by the lame gentleman Billingsley arrived before him" Parliament had "voted the Scotche commissioners traitors". "They have voted the making of a broad seale Traison. This we hope wil grow in to an association to our defence against thes persons such a one as unable as to dispose to the support of the war the whole walsh?? belonging to the party whiche is the only foundation by whiche we can subsist agaynst those that invade us is that without holding among themselves for all enemies of the Parliament that contribute not to thir cause whiche allsoe must be donne on our part, or we ar very like to be beaten by them, and if we doe are as like to beat them. The king commanded me to say a very unnecessary thing to you, but I must doe it in obedience. He desires you to beleeve that the Prince Elector's declaring himself in the behalfe of the [page lost] [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 86].

18 March 1643/4, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

The quens journey seems to retreat into some debate.. Parl troops towards Newark, Jermyn suggests sending some hors with Wilmot. Sends new commission to Rupert from the King making sure that he had power to press men. Hopes things expected in the west can help Rupert's army [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 92].

26 March 1644, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

The King forbids Rupert to compound with any of his delinquents. Malice at Court against Rupert. "The quen hath had 3 mischaunces two falls and the day before yesterday going in her chayre was knocked agaynst a block in the way with which she hath bin ill and keepes her bed to day I know not whyther your highnes will hear from her but this I can assure you in her behalf you are not... more unfeined congratulats for this great hapynes God hath given her and you in this s... from anybody living then from her" [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 107].

Oxford, 26 March 1644, Jermyn to Prince Rupert (the second written that day).

That Rupert should cultivate the friendship of George Digby, Secretary of State and "keep a particular watch" over him. Digby who did not dislike him nearly as much as Rupert thought, nor that Digby was ever slack in the Queen's service. Digby "has written several times to you since you went away, and you have not made him one answer". particular watch over Digby" does not believe he was ever slack in his service the Queen congratulates Rupert's good fortune [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 109].

Oxford, 6 April 1644, Jermyn to Prince Rupert, surviving fragment; the left half of the page is missing but attached is a copy.

Pray be pleased to command whome you please to decipher this- Sr, Since Trevor went from hence I have had no occasion to write to your Highnes. The late accident doth still distract us soe, that resolutions of every day happen to meet some necessarie



or other to be changed the next as I thinke your Highnes finds in the several relations you have had of late. I am now by the command of the Queen to give you a short account of the present state and of the resolutions most like to hold we heare this day that 6 waler is marched from from Andover to Gloucester. Our army is now just come together to Rendevous neare Lamb or New[bury] hither the King goes on Munday with the 5 ... of Infantry from... Oxford and will return againe Wensday the army will then pursue Waler which so every he take, and endeavour the best they may to fight with him before the forces of London joine with him. The Queen persists still in the desire not to be shut up in Oxford in case of an il accident and for that purpose is in a readiness to remove whenever the motions of Waler will give an opportunity; to the West of Waler come to Gloucester and that the forces of London take the way of Warwick: or in to your parts, of Waler fall into the West. Thus the Queen hath commanded me to write to your Highnes. She hath lookes on P. Rupert as the greatest comfort she hath in these troubles and expects from Pr Rupert not only halpe when there but your best advice continually. If the Queen.... it will be necessary it maybe for you to send... some troopes to ... that your Highnes may be in preparacon for att ... the two thousand foot containing... and foot... out of Reading and a foot will goe from ... and the generalls regimete of foote from ... with.... since to writing of this wherein I have used another and... to cipher for whiche I humbly ask your pardon I have received your Highnes of the 5 I have not yt spoken to (?Digby) of the commitions for compounding with the delinquentsin Anglesea and w... if he has sent any tis agaynst his promise and yt ye things be not for your self I shall stop but to be put every day to this is that I know what to say to. The letters your Highnes hath received and give yours to me and this doe answer the other part of your last... according to the Queen's... further... new troubles Your Highnes most humble and obedient servant..." [B.M. Add. Ms 30,305 ff 83-9]

Oxford, 13 April 1644, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

Something done that may remove three or four Bedchambermen, advises Rupert to mention his designs for Col. Legge's promotion thence; "the chief cause I write is to mention that to you which he [Legge] least looks after, viz., that which pertains to his own interests". "The Queen is going on Monday Will Legge will tell your highnes whyther and upon what reasons. I will say noething of it. I take myself to be very unhappy in my remove for Chal... I know I had soe perfect and vehement zeale for the things of your service may be..." [B.M. Add. Ms 18,981 f. 148].

Albury, 22 April 1644, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

Concerns the exchange of prisoners, recommended by the Queen to the King [H.M.C. IX, Alfred Morrison's MSS].

12 May 1644, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

That he did not think that the negotiations with Lorraine would come to fruition, but his doubts were to be kept secret from Mazarin, who might still be persuaded to provide the costs of for shipping the soldiers- the money would be useful anyway [Lord Digby's Cabinet p 25].

Exeter, 14 June 1644, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

Sr, Since mine to your highnes of this same day we have advertisement of Essexes marching this way, and are not without some beleefe that he may possibly set down before this town, the quen I beleefe writes to your highnes something of it, already his motion hath had this effect your brotheris drawn from before Lyme whear he hath wasted (the necessary fate of sieges) part of his army he is yet near 3000 men, he comes to Chard and thear acording to the enemiyes further advance will aswise what is to be donne, that whiche yet appears most likely is to draw back hither he not beeing strong enough to fight with him, this place is as those that have the care of it confidently assume in noe danger of being distrist in 6 weeks or two moneths, thear being provisions and ammunition amply for soe long time and our works we beleefe good enough for a longer if our provisions would reache to it. The Queen is not brought abid whiche makes her ill at ease and full of feares, to the end you may the better see the estate of Prince Maurice I send your highnes his leter that in this instant I receeved from him for wishing all hapynes to your highnes I rest praying incessantly and earnestly for your hapynes. Your highnes most Humble and most obedient servant" [B.M. Add. Ms 21,506 f. 29].

Exeter, 30 June 1644, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

The 221 [Queen] is this day gone towards 127 [Falmouth] intending to embark herself for 157[ France]. The reason of this resolution is the apprehension of a siege here, of which there hath been and is very much appearances, though no certainty. It was not possible for her to overcome the apprehension she had of being shut up, and therefore exposes herself to more dangers than those she cold have undergone in this city in respect of her health and the sea, if she should persist in the desire of passing it. That which makes me less mislike it is that Dr Goff has returned with an account of danger which makes the suggested journey more to the purpose. We were certainly deceived in that which was imagined concerning the Prince of Orange, for he is enflamed to that degree, as supposed with the proposition, and would not endanger part for all the particulars offered. That 542 [Frederick Henry rince of Orange] would have come to our terms before he had by a late treaty excluded himself from the possibility of one part of it, and that this fell out by our delay, of which I have least doubt of anybody. [This relates] to the first part of the proposition that refers to France. For the other by a late treaty the States have bound themselves up from a possibility of making peace or war without the consent of France. For the first we have this assurance, that the things that France may need from the Prince of Orange will all be put into our hands to traffic with France, and all things besides that the Prince of Orange can effect for us, that are within reason and possibility, we shall dispose of. If we can prevail with France and Holland to receie us into their alliance offensive and defensive, it will effect all the several objects we aim at, and neither the general Diet at Munster, if that were to follow, can disappoint us. The Prince of Orange hath observed one thing to the Dr [Goff] that has been fatal to us, that already he effects for France many things which are so useful to them. Hs Majesty [of England] he fears hath been much behind, but if before he [the Prince of Orange] had been engaged this matter had been on foot, then he thinks he might so have demeaned himself as to have helped us to our ends with themselves. This [opportunity having] elapsed we must look forward, and may be there is still enough behind for our turns. The Prince of Orange says he has been earnestly pressed to break with 150 [the Emperor], but he has hitherto held off; that now he will, if it shall serve our turns, effect that, if it lie in his own power. To the other particulars mentioned to him as concerning the Amboyna business, &c., he speaks of [them] with large assumptions. That 542 [Frederick Henry] will fall [in]

with any power whatsoever he assures us positively, and should he be in danger, that the King [of England] shall command him absolutely. As soon as you could possibly, it would not be amiss to send me letters of credence from the King, but if I want them and find them of use, we shall resort to the usual way of putting the King's hand, but for avoiding of that, now passages are so uncertain, it would be well to send the Queen some blanks signed by the King and some sealed also. The state of this place and the apprehensions we have of the ways of relieving it will be represented to you [as] the result of a Council of Officers now to be held for that purpose [S.P.Dom., Vol. DII-endorsed "duplicate of the letter, June 30, from Exeter"].

6/16 August 1644, Jermyn to (probably) Nicholas.

I send you here enclosed the copy of my letter to the Prince of Orange, by which you will find as much as there is occasion to say of that matter, decipher it yourself by Hemphlit [Heenvliet]'s cipher. I am at this instant returning to the Queen who I hope to find at Somurs [Sommieres] upon her way to Bourbon, where she will stay til the end of September. She will be received here with all the circumstances of honour, commodity, and contentment that her servants can wish; if it please God to give her health I hope this voyage will prove a fortunate counsel; we long extremely to hear from you; without doubt you are not so careful to send as you might be. I have been in my particular received with great civilities from the Queen [Regent] and cardinal [Mazarin]. I had your letters by "La pinosiere" of the 19 of July from Bath, and sent the King [Charles] to the Queen. I have nothing to trouble the King with more than you will find in these two. I hope you have despatched those things I wrote to you of in my last. The Queen does not impair in her health, although she be not yet recovered. One thing I must recommend to you, Sir Richard Brown starves; it will be shameful in the Queen's presence to see him in the poverty he is. Pray speak to the King he may have something sent him. I have not yet seen Lord Goring, he is with the Queen. This is all I have to say. God of Heaven keep you. P.S.- I have written by this occasion to nobody, not had I time to do it. If Lord Percy and Jack Hervey be with you pray let them know it, and the Chancellor that I am his faithful servant [S.P.Dom., Vol. 502].

c. 6/16 August 1644, Jermyn to Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange (enclosed with the foregoing).

According to what I wrote to your Highness, which I hope you have received, the Queen has sent me hither to acquaint the Queen Regent of her arrival in France, and to agree what might belong to her abode here. I was withal commanded to make overture for some succour for England, which overture was grounded in manner and upon that ground, as your Highness has been told by Mr Goff, omitting no particulars, whereby it might be brought to a good end, and induce Cardinal Mazarin to think that his interests might be furthered in this proposition, as well as ours. This overture has been made to him only and to the Queen regent with most earnest instances, what opinion soever they might have of it, if nothing of what was desired, should be done, that all might be kept secret, as for many reasons is most necessary. The Duke of Orleans being not returned from the army has had as yet no knowledge of it, no more than the Prince de Conde. But the Cardinal answered, that they must be spoken unto, when this affair should come to be treated of. Now, not to be too long, your Highness is to understand that I find that the Cardinal's answer concludes thus much. That until they see the end of this campaign it is impossible to resolve aught about this matter; yet

that so much assurance might be taken for the Queen of England, as much as the affairs of France permit, that the Queen may be sure England shall be vigorously assisted by France, but for this resent they could take no other resolution. Upon this it hath been represented, unless they would and did not presently think on some preparations, it would not be possible for us to get the desired fruit thereof at the end of this summer campaign; because all the power both of France and England could not bring to effect the transportation of forces without the ships of the States General, and therefore to be assured thereof, it was needful to take a present resolution; otherwise the proposition to get them would come too late, if France would but then grant our desires. The Cardinal's answer was, we might think on it, but he could give no assurances; yet he told me withal, it might happen that before this campaign ended, some occasion might offer itself to take this business again into consideration, and that the conjunctures might perhaps yield better expedients to bring it to a good conclusion than yet did appear. Now I will tell your Highness mine own opinion. I believe they are here well disposed to help and assist us, but their own affairs do not yet suffer it. The manner they have kept in the Queen [of England's] reception and for her maintenance is a token of it. They have shown great care to procure thereby both her honour, commodity, and contentment; and we may hope the inclinations which the Queen Regent and the Cardinal did show to have to cherish and comfort the Queen of England may, by her behaviour, increase the same, and induce them to see that she is most capable to receive considerable succours for the affairs of England. This day I am going from Paris to the Queen at Bourbon, where she intends to remain till the end of September, and from thence, as far as her health shall permit, she will take further resolutions for her future abode, wherein she hath as yet nothing resolved. I must here mark one thing to your Highness which is a misfortune in this business. Your Highness doth so much for France that there remains too little on their part to desire of you. This must be remedied, and a means to be found that henceforth France may have recourse to us for a part of what they need from your Highness and the States General, else we shall be bereaved of the most powerful reason to induce and bring them to grant our desires. And if upon this ground the business miscarry, and if by these means and by no other we obtain that France do meddle with our affairs, yet I do not believe but that we may still think well of the propositions of marriage, because, though France should do nothing, and the Queen's presence likewise should make the other part of the proposition touching the truce unpracticable, yet it will still depend on your Highness and the States General to accompany the marriage with profits so considerable to make it to be desired as well upon those grounds as of their Majesties' inclinations. But to this end your Highness must enter into a true knowledge of our affairs, and must begin to think on what in all appearance may bring us through; and to resolve yourself not to use only ordinary means, but to use all other whereof we may stand in need. I speak in too general terms, but I expect till I see somewhat more here before I can do otherwise, from time to time I shall have means to impart to your Highness news of the Queen, and to receive your answers. All which being directed to Mons. Zulicom they will come to my hands [S.P.Dom., 502].

September 1644, Jermyn to Charles I, accompanying one from the Queen. Abstract in Parliamentary Diary.

This day (20 September 1644) it was advertised that the queen had written a letter to the king, wherein she certifies his majesty of the proficiency of her health, and congratulates his late success in Cornwall, which had improved more her health than all the waters of arts of France; she doubteth not but his majesty will be able to defend

himself this winter with advantage, and by the next spring, she will be able to answer his expectation of supplies. It much perplexeth her that, after so glorious a victory, he will not set down before Plymouth, and not learn of his enemies to persue an advantage: howsoever, if he would be sure to gain it in convenient time, it would be an excellent way to promote his majesty's service; for, if he had gained once the possession of that fort, it would be of excellent advantage for the establishment of his own affairs already in the west, and for landing any necessary supplies from France. The king, it seems, whether by council of war, or by the counsel of this lady, hath removed the siege from Plymouth, finding the siege would ask a great power to maintain it, and a long winter to endure it [qu. Green, Letters].

8/18 November 1644, Henrietta Maria and Jermyn to Charles I (the first part in longhand by the Queen, the second part in cipher by Jermyn).

My dear Heart, I have received three of your letters all together by Sabran; I send you this, of which you will receive another copy by the ambassador of Portugal. I will only tell you that I am arrived in Prais, and that I lose no time. In a very few days, I will send you an express, by whom I will write you fully. The three letters I have received are dated from Sherbourne, 7 October, Salisbury, 16th, and Whitchurch, 20th. I have also received others by a French cavalry aptain, some time ago, to which I have not replied, being ready to go to Paris. Jermyn will write you that which will be too long for me. Thank God, I begin to feel like myself again, and my health is much better, though not yet quite good. Nevertheless, I hope that in spring I shall recover it entirely, provided that I have the hope of seeing you again soon; for without that, there is neither medicine nor air that can cure me. This is most true, and that nothing could please me where you are not. If it were not for the comfort I have in being able to serve you better here than in England, for the present, I should have none, though I am treated extremely well here, as you shall know more particularly by the first opportunity, therefore I will say no more on this subject. I hope you will not forget me. I could not be happy were it so. Adieu, my dear heart, the courier is in haste, which makes me conclude. Cardinal Mazarin's sickness hath hitherto delayed all resolutions. To-morrow I [Jermyn] am to speak with him touching all your business, and according to the conclusion, you shall be advertised by an express. Powder, arms, and the queen hopes some money will instantly be had; the rest is not yet determined. There is nothing so certain as that the queen takes all pains she can imaginable to procure you assistance, and is as incapable of taking any delight, or being pleased with her being here, though she has had all kind of contentments, but as she hopes it may enable her to send you help. She is marvellously well used and obliged by Cardinal Mazarin, in the highest degree. Your letter, and three of yours by Sabran, were received. Your express you mention is not come. Colster, who brought the queen hither, is returned to us to be disposed of by the queen; he shall convey what we shall presently procure, and bring us back the tin, if we find means to send for any. In a day or two, we shall dispatch an express, and by him you shall be entertained at large. We have flying rumours, of a defeat given you near Donnington, but know not what to believe- we fear much. The queen knows not what needs you may have, nor can say what will here be had, only this be assured of, there is not, nor shall be ever, any diligence omitted, nor delight admitted from any earthly thing, but the serving to the supplies of your wants; assure yourself of this. God prosper us in it and you, I am, Yours, H. Jermyn [Harl. MS 7379 f. 89b and 43b].

11/21 November 1644, Henrietta Maria to Charles I. The first part in longhand by the Queen ends "...You may read to Prince Rupert what Jermyn writes you in cipher". Jermyn's part follows in cipher.

That which is to be added to her majesty's letter s what hath bene at this time obtained; she havng spoken only of those things that are yet in suspence, yet in very goodhopes of producing good effects. She hath desired of the Queen Regent, a help of money to be able to satisfy to three things that seemed very pressing: one to send a supply of money and arms to his majesty; the other for the tin; the third for the jewels in Holland, which last is so necessary that, m without a care of that kind, they will be involved in such difficulties, as it will be impossible to get out of. To this, it hath been answered, that it was ot possible for them at the present, to furnish a considerable sum, but some arms will be given; and, therefore, because her majesty thought his majesty would be gladder to have a little money than arms, and that Hardonck has advertised her he is eady to part with a very considerable proportion, she hath turned the arms into money, and in regard of their necessities, did accept four month's advance of her pension for the tin, and for the dispatch of Bispan's business, which hourly we look for but, by the way, it would have been long delayed if they had not known that his majesty was to be supplied out of it. They have also promised great sums of their own money. Besides, they have granted to her the trying whether the clergy of France will be induced to give her anything, which is a matter of little hope. Twenty-four thousand pistoles and a dispatch of Bispan's business is now needed, and will be- as soon as the money is touched, which is hourly expected,- converted by equal portions to the three purposes mentioned. Colster is here, who shall be sent, and Mr Polley for that concerns England, and Dr Goffe to Holland, with such further instructions as will belong to the other business, in that part wherein the advice ofthis is taken; but of this you shall hear more next week. The letter from Whitchurch is the last that hath been received here from you- sure, you send them too seldom. Dr Goffe, in his way to Holland, shall see Hardonck dispatch his arms; and there is gone lately to the west good proportions of powder and match, upon their master's adventure, so that if there be any care of them, there can be no want. Recomend he care of that [here the letter finishes] [Harl. MS 7379 f. 89b and 43b].

Paris, 3 December 1644, Jermyn to Charles I for Henrietta Maria.

I make use of every opportunity I can to send you tidings of myself, and I cannot do it with my own hand because it is necessary for all to be in cipher; my head does not permit it yet, but I have already written this myself beforehand, and then I have it put into cipher- also because it was not proper that this shold be in a hand that is known; in case of its being taken, let those whom it is sent say it is [not] theirs. Last week I promised you to inform you further this week, but I cannot, not having been able to speak to Cardinal Mazarin; only I wil send you some arms, and a litle money. Cardinal Mazarin proposes to me to send to the Duke of Lorraine, to try if I could not persuade him to bring you his troops, which I am going to do. France undertakes to pay them, for it would be a benefit to France if they could get him to withdraw from the service of Spain. The Irish here make me many propositions; but till I have proposed them to Cardinal Mazarin, I wil not write you anything about them, nor about the affair of the Prince of Orange [the plan for Prince Charles to marry Orange's daughter]; only be assured that I lose no time, and that the only pleasure I havem is to labour for your affairs. You will receive this same letter by anoter route. Take care often to let me hear tidings from you; it is nearly two months since I have had any.

Write to the Queen Regent and Cardinal Mazarin, as I sent you word by other letters; but I repeat it, in case that they are not arrived. You must call him "my cousin", and at the bottom, "your affectionate cousin". By the number of my letters, you will see that I lose no time [Harl. MS 7379 f. 45 qu. Green. Letters].

1645, no date, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

Asks if this bill and grant for Heenvliet's title would be an English barony and if it would descend to Heenvliet's son by Lady Stanhope. If not, he was to move the King for the Barony of Wotton for the son "This is a business in which the Queen was engaged in Holland upon the important services shee received from Monsieur Heenvliet". Lady Stanhope desires that her son by him may be created a Baron of England by the name and title of Charles Henry de Kerchove Lord Kerchove Baron of Wotton Marley "Advise with counsayl whether being borne in Holland he must not first be made a denison" [H.M.C. 70, Pepys MS, III.51]

Paris, Jermyn to Lord Digby, 28 March/7 April 1645.

The Queen will not write this week because she sends [Thomas] Elliott tomorrow, not being able to detain him longer unless she had plainly told him it was the King's desire, and for that she had no order. Dr Goffe finds some delays and difficulties which till next week I shall not be able to let you know how far they will be overcome; this only for the present is evident, that we shall not be able to be ready for the ships so soon as I thought, therefore you need not say them the 1st of April [old style] at Falmouth, but give them their rendezvous for the 10th of May. Coulster is at last arrived in Holland, but came first to La Hague. He there lost two anchors and a mast, and was forced with great danger into Hellevoetsluis, where we must dispose of the tin. Inconvenience caused by the delay of the ship and her going to Holland. If you think it will conduce to the King's service the Queen will send for the tin to be brought here, for it is only the Queen's service is looked upon in the business. You have written several letters to me concerning Mrs Barclay's having my cousin Blagg's place with the little Princess. You must know that by Lady Dalkeith's permission she exercised that place, but was not hers. It was disposed of by the Queen to another before she came out of England, and that is going to take possession of it. The Queen had written to the King heretofore that she conceived the treaty for the marriage ought not to be taken notice of, truly I am now of her opinion, though not so when she wrote, because I think it more possible now than then that it may not have the issue that is to be wished, yet I meet with several letters from England speaking of it, I know not whether by conjecture or that the truth is by some way discovered. Lord Percy is arrived and has waited upon the Queen. The King's letter to her, giving her caution how she should rely upon what he said concerning his affairs, made her believe it was not his pleasure she should refuse to see him, and therefore, though he had no letter and that there was no particular direction for her to be guided by, she did admit him, but if hereafter anything of that kind should occur remember to direct what the King's pleasure is. Money due to Collimore, from which must be deducted the £120 he had of me at Oxford. There are several proportions of arms, money, and match gone lately to the west, for some of which I have undertaken to pay here if there they should fail, which if it fall upon the King [Queen?] it will fall very inconveniently. I hope by the next to give you a good account of supplying our Irish friends, the Marquis of Montrose, and the castles of Guernsey and Jersey. What to say of the money for the King is yet uncertain. Only I would omit no week I had not

written now, being not well satisfied of the despatch [S.P.Dom., Vol. 506- captured at Sherburn and read to the Commons 3 November 1645].

Paris, 29 March/8 April 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby. The first half of the letter duplicates that of 28 March/7 April with a few slight variations and then continues.

The Queen has sent Captain Allen to Haesdonck to take off his proportions of arms and ammunition, here specified, and lading them in a good frigate, carry them speedily to the Marquis of Montrose, who we hear here doth prosper miraculously. I am extremely afraid he may suffer for want of supplies from the King, but hitherto I have not been able to send any. This Capt. Allen I take to be a man most fortunately lighted upon for this employment. He has taken good prizes from the rebels, and is resolved the product shall all float again upkn the same adventures, therefore pray do me the favour to send me six commissions immediately from the King, one for him, and the rest with blanks for him to dispose of, with reservation of the tenths and fifteenths, and send me an order to receive thsesse for the King's use. Also six other commissions lie by me here, as they are daily applied for, and we can never have too many [privateers]abroad as long as this war lasts, though that error was long amongst us. Pray despatch those for Captain Allen as soon as you can, and send them by the first occasion. P.S.- Since this letter was written the bearer has been delayed to this day, being the 19th [April 9/19], but because I am not sure the duplicate of [the first] part of this will come to you I do let it go. The Queen is sick of an ague, she has had two light fits, and this third is scarce discernable to be one, so that I believe the danger is past. There is this night news come from the Duke of Lorraine that, notwithstanding the denial of the [pass]age by the Rhine, if that of Dieppe may be had ne will remain constant to his purpose, so that now the business is wholly in his hands, and I am glad of it in one respect, for either now this will be settled, or else we shall be at liberty to press him [the Prince of Orange?] for other things which hitherto he has, it may be, delayed, not knowing what would be the issue of this particular [project] of the Duke of Lorraine. This bearer [Thomas Elliot] has been enjoined by the Queen to do all good offices between Prnce Rupert and you. Tis he promises, and further that he will discharge to you all sorts of respects. Pray send me word if he fail. There was no means to stay him any longer without imprisoning him, and therefore you are not to wonder at his arrival [S.P.Dom., Vol. 506, captured at Sherburn and read to Parliamewnt on 3 November 1645].

21 April 1645, 196, thought to be Jermyn, to Charles I [H.M.C. VI, House of Lords MSS- see H.M.C. I Appx VI].

Paris, 25 April/5 May 1645, Jermyn to Charles I, endorsed by the King "Rebells Monies, Sturcy pour Stwassy Doury". 255 [Paris] 15 66 40 44 [May] 5 [5th] 79 429 [I] 30 10 75 26 33 34 26 [write] 14 430 [this] 570 [with] 15 28 19 50 15 [much] 36 10 33 56 19 [more] 36 15 24 16 10 26 [comfort] 540 61 [then] 429 6 [I] 75 42 [did] 540 [the] 49 67 71 26 [last] 547 [to] 573 [your] 445 [Majesty] 149 [the] 430 11 [Queene] 36 [is] 30 34 [now] 10 22 19 36 55 65 10 22 6 [recovered] 477 20 [of] 49 12 [all] 420 [her] 430 26 65 15 3 22 10 41 [distempers] 479 49 40 [only] 551 [their] 10 33 15 66 68 11 33 71 79 remaines] 20 [a] 440 19 [little] 16 55 25 14 [cough] 330 [and] 49 36 46 18 22 11 33 18 [loosenes] 561 [wch] 20 10 33 [are] 34 61 22 540 73 [nether] 477 [of] 6 67 11 64 33 37 74 [danger] 61 16 10 21 [nor] 15 55 19 14 21 [much] 62 73 16 55 13 49 22 [trouble] 534 [she] 430 [is] 18 26 75 [still] 12 49 4 [?] 55 22 10 40 44 [uery] 1 58 52 2 33 56 [weake] 71 36 33 [soe] 545 [that] 573 [your] 445 [M.] 30 75 49



12 53 [will] 10 33 19 22 75 70 51 [receave] 468 [nothing] 394 [from] 420 [her] 64 [gt] 14 [h] 430 [is] 1 22 58 2 51 [weeke] 30 22 58 8 [wee] 66 10 65 [are] 431 [in] 404 [great] 14 36 27 22 [hope] 545 [that] 62 50 430 [this] 71 57 19 2 61 65 18 [sickness] 561 [wch] 14 67 26 14 [hath] 338 [beene] 20 21 [a] 55 33 10 40 44 [very] 79 18 50 52 10 3 [sharp] 479 22 [one] 34 1 75 12 49 [will] 412 [haue] 6 36 11 61 [donn] 420 [her] 405 [good] 393 [for] 420 [her] 393 [for] 15 22 10 21 [mer] 68 61 6 23 18 3 46 41 57 72 23 479 [indispositions] 18 429 [I] 412 [haue] 1 10 75 26 72 65 11 [written] 56 20 26 21 [at] 49 20 10 25 33 [large] 343 [by] 420 [her] 19 16 15 7 330 [command] 547 [to] 140 79 44 21 196 [Digby] [H.M.C. VI, House of Lords MSS and H.M.C. I, Appx VI].

Paris, 25 April/5 May 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

This week letters have come from you and the King by way of the Portugal Ambassador, 21 and 20 March. All your letters that way are very long [in coming]. We perceive by them that some of ours go in ten days, therefore your messenger may be faulty. I had another from you to day of 4th April [old style] sent me by G. Martin; you will do well to continue to write by that way. There is in it only the proposition for the Duke of York's going to Ireland, to which the Queen, not being yet well enough to speak of business, desires you to stay till next week for her resolution; she is now recovered of all but weakness; a little cough and looseness remain, but neither are of danger or trouble. You say that if the Queen could have been in estate to have sent the King any money, if her ship had come in time, that would have kept her from the want, she spake of, induced by the stop [of supplies]; the credit that would have been raised by the return of the ship would certainly have enabled her to have sent some; so the thing is true she might have sent, and yet that did not necessarily keep her from wanting in the meantime, and truly she was reduced to pawn some little things for her present supply, but you shall hear no more of this matter. She was promised some other ways of supplying the King, upon which were also built the assurances you received from her in which she hath been delayed beyond expectation, and what will yet be the issue is not to be known. M. Haesdonck she hath found means at last to send away. I hope he has before this arrived. He hath good proportions of arms and ammunition, and know not yet what. I send you Dr Goffe's letters of this week, in which you will see, and by those of the last [transmission], what hopes there are of his negotiation. The next week will absolutely determine the Duke of Lorraine's resolution. The way proposed by the Prince of Orange of treating the marriage apart, and all the other matters by themselves, ought to find no difficulty on our part for he doth not expect, no more is it reasonable or possible that we should, that anything be concluded in the marriage until we have our reckoning in the rest. The Queen doth therefore desire that the King would send to her with all the speed he can particular instructions for this treaty of the marriage, wherein there may be only such things as, according to their fancy in Holland, for so they have expressed it, pertain to a treaty of marriage, as demands of portion, assurance of jointure, and what houses will be comprised in that jointure, how her own house shall be settled, what officers she shall have, and if you please to send a project of something in this kind, it will be very necessary, and in the meantime they shall be entertained from hence with assurances that these things are coming, and that if we can agree in others, there can be no difficulty in these. The proposition for the execution which you will find in Dr Goffe's letters is undoubtedly a great and useful design, and if we could by this marriage bring that about, and a conjunction of France and Holland with the King, that should be accompanied but with those advantages that inevitably flow out of such a conjunction,

it would be a foundation laid against all possibility of ruining this cause, and it would certainly give us time and breath to overcome at last, even if the present great helps of forces from either of them or the means of passing the Duke of Lorraine should fail, for I must confess by the last dispatch I am less confident of his intentions than I was; make you all this discourse to the end you should see, that I conceive though the present fruits [which] were expected from this negotiation are not in good hopes as I thought them heretofore, yet the treaty in these more remote ones is to be continued, and the news of this week doth much encourage me in this opinion, for I find all things in England to be in another kind of posture than a month ago, which I look upon with comfort; the reputation of our affairs is increased to that point, that if we decline not I should not despair that they might be willing here to proceed in the conjunction, and that would certainly bring in the States. The only reason why here they are so little disposed to is the apprehension of the Parliament's shps, believing that the only power able to trouble them in their designs, but if our design for our [alliance] in Holland could be gone through with, that might perchance be the greatest inducement here of any other to embark them in our affairs, for which purpose I desire to know your opinion in on

particular. There must go on our part 50,000 pistoles to the setting forth of this expedition. If we should [be able] to get the money here I would know whether you would chose to have it employed to that effect or sent to you. We hear nothing yet of our tin stayed at Falmouth, there are 496 blocks. Pray remember to send an order to Sir Nicholas Crispe and others who may be concerned in it to deliver it to any whom the Queen shall appoint to receive it, if before she send they can have no good occasion to send it. This bearer, Sir Wm Davenant, is infinitely faithful to the King's cause; he hath been lately in Holland, so that he met there with the knowledge of our treaty, so that it was nether possible nor needful to conceal it from him. The treaty of the marriage and the proposition he knows, but the design of the Duke of Lorraine he does not; of the other two he will speak to you, but charge him with secrecy, for the Queen does still desire the business of the marriage may not be divulged, and the other is destroyed if yet it should take wind. Pray if Davenant have need of your favour in anything use him very kindly for my sake, and let him know [who] conjured you to do so. You see by this I retain an opinion of some credit with you, though your letters be cold and less kind than they were wont, I am still in the same degree I have been most entirely yours. P.S.- I hear Thos Elliot is yet at Havre-de-Grace, wih I am glad of; you will have had by my former, wherein I sent you my letter to him and his answer, time to have resolved what to do, in the case my letter should not come, it is not unfit to tell you again he received the King's command to stay, and the best advice I could give him to obey that command, but did notwithstanding resolve to continue his journey, and may now be gone for ought I know. This letter [ie Jermyn's last one] I have sent by the Portugal Ambassador, and I believe it will come to your hands soonest that way, but there is something added concerning Sir Wm Davenant. Second P.S.- The Queen hath commanded me to let you know that she desires you wuld let Sir John Monson know she hath recommended to your care his interests, and that you would advance them in all reasonable things; she cannot recollect what he did in particular sue for; she desires you to advertise her what it is, and that you preserve yourself unengaged till you hear again from her, and in the mean space you let him know her care [25 April/5 May S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, captured at Sherburn and read in Parliament 3 November 1645].

Paris, 25 April/5 May 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby; it is much less full than the last, and the mentions of D'Avenant and the Queen's message concerning Monson are

omitted but added is a message that;

“Prince Edward was last week married privately to Princess Anne the daughter of the Duke of Nevers, which so offends the Court of France that he is banished out of the kingdom, but we hope to reconcile the business shortly, and there is no doubt of it” [S.P.Dom., Vol 507].

Paris, 5 May 1645, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

Sr, I received this day in a packet of mine your highnesses of the 10th Aprill from Hereford to the quen She is not yet in estate to give your highnesse an answer and therefor desires you to receive it from me. She had charged Tom Elliott your highnesses faithfull servant with many things to say to you, but he receiving the king's command to stay here till he had order to return and being notwithstanding that command gone to England may perchance not have the liberty to wayte upon you whiche I am sorry for. This occasion not permitting the transmission of so many things as he had in command, in short they all went, to the assuring your highnesse to the constant friendship of the quen to you and that she hath not departed from any of the promises she hath made to you. I am ioyed to find in your highnesses letter a wish that the Prince of Wales his army might be as good as yours, we hear out of the west that both together our affaires may goe well this Summer, your highnes is to know a Romance story which concerns you here in the person of Prince Edward, who is last week married privately to the Princess Anne, the Duke of Nevers' daughter. This quen, the thing being done without her consent, hath been very much offended at it, and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of your brother's friends, he hath received an order to retire himself into Holland, which he hath done,.... But there will come no further disadvantage to him than a little separation from his wife, she is very rich six or seven thousand

pound a year starting is the least that can fall to her may be more, and is a very beautiful young lady. I have no more to trouble your highnes withall, yet before I conclude I can not avoid adding this word, That, I am according to the frequent and constant vowes I have made with all truth and passion" etc... ps. "Notwithstanding all the endeavors of your brothers friends he hath received a command to retire himselfe in to holland, which hath done to satisfye the quens displeasure, who pretends the king's authority was wounded in this proceeding of your brothers, but there will come noe further disadvantage to him then a little separation from his wife" [B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f. 57].

Paris, 2/12 May 1645, Jermyn to Charles I [H.M.C. VI, House of Lords MSS- see H.M.C. I, Appx VI].

Paris. May my last given your Maty I hope before now that comfort which this shall confirme. Queens health mends dayly butt she is yet too weake to give your Maty an account of it by her owne hand some little cough remaines that keeping her from sleeping a nights makes her strength returne but slowly she hopes the cuntry ayre will hasten it for which end she will remove within a fortnight god willing to Saint Germans. Q: Regent and all this court have been and continue infinitely kind and respectfull to her and but for the substantiall things for the support of the affairs of England not to be wished otherwise our expectations of the Duke of Lorraine now neare an end have kept Q:of Eng: from being able to press them here in other things if that fails she will resume such other propositions as may be most usefull to your

releife. Queen Eng hath received of late chairfull newes from all parts concerning your Matys affairs nothing contributes so much as that to her health god given your Maty a progress this summer suteable to the hopes of the begining of itt. Lord Jermine.

12 May 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby

This day arrived a gentleman from Prince Rupert to fetch his brother Edward into England [S.P.Dom.].

Paris, 8/18 May 1645, Jermyn Lord Digby.

The Queen has written to the King by this bearer, Col. Fitz-Williams, with her own hand. It is the first time she has been able to use her pen since her sickness, which is now totally gone. She refers the King to me for several things. I shall begin with what concerns this bearer, who is a brave man who has served in the wars of this country with great reputation. He persuades himself that if the peace be made in Ireland that he will be able to raise there for the King and bring into England 10,000 or 12,000 men upon the conditions that you will find here enclosed, signed by the Queen, which he desired her Majesty should sign for this end, that the King might see it was her opinion that the King upon this design of his should sign some others to him to the same effect; so that you are to keep the paper signed by the Queen, and to propose to the King the signing of something to the same effect, if he approve of the business, which the Queen believes he will find cause to do, being by the opinion of many others knowing in the affairs of Ireland, induced to believe so more than by the confidence of his undertakings, which yet may pass for some ground, he having upon several occasions already, both for the raising and recruiting of those troops with which he has served this State, found himself very willingly followed by his countrymen. You will observe part of his demands to consist of a considerable body of horse, that must meet at the place agreed on for his landing. The Marquis of Newcastle being here, and acquainted with this proposition, and foreseeing the landing can only be towards the north in Lancashire, hath believed he might not be an improper person for the conduct of this body of horse to this conjunction, and believes further that, the stage for it being among his friends, he may serve usefully in it. How reasonably this is imagined cannot be determined here, for it must rest upon the disposition that the King's troops in general will be in when the resolution for this particular shall be taken, to determine whether the Marquis of Newcastle or any other may be fit for the charge of conducting a body of horse to this conjunction with the Colonel, in case the King thinks fit to set forward the business, and that he [Fitz-Williams] be so fortunate as to go through with it. The Queen approves of [it], but not as a thing to be much relied on, for it is a great thing that will remain to be done on the Colonel's part, if the King should be able on his to comply with all the demands, which the Queen believes his Majesty in no estate for; neither doth she think they are demanded so much in hope to having them performed, as that the promise should give him means in Ireland the better to bring about undertakings, but rather as that which when it shall fail, if it disappoint no other enterprise of the same kind more like to produce the effects aimed at in this, which she hopes you will have a care of, [as it] can be of no inconvenience, and therefore adviseth you to consider it very seriously. Whatever be resolved on, let the Colonel have all sorts of satisfaction as a man fully deserving it and zealously affected to the King's service. If the Marquis of Newcastle should be thought fit to have the charge of any troops appointed to join with those the

Colonel shall bring, he is well content all should fall under the Marquis' command, and himself to command under him, but if any other Colonel must have the chief command. I have just received several letters from Holland, which I will send you in a few days by express, for we grow very near the conclusion of all our expectation there. What will be the issue, though near as we are, no man can tell; and the knowledge of it is no more of moment in that point, which heretofore was to be considered in it, how much influence it was to have in the swaying towards an accomodation or to the continuance of the war, for it seems the lot is cast as to that matter; and if

we save not ourselves with our swords, there is little other hope of doing it. The knowledge of it would be of use in another respect, for if the use were to be a declaration of the States, to which would follow that of France, there would be in it such a reserve of help and so solid a foundation of strength to carry through with this war as there would be less necessity of exposing the fortune of it to frequent hazards; the game might be more securely played, whereas if now we saw ourselves totally without hope of this support, may [be] that would demand more sudden and less secure trials than else we should have cause to attempt; for this cause is as a great affliction to me that I cannot as soon as I would give you that which might be some guide to your counsels. Pray believe it is not my fault, since I am not without the apprehension of the use you might make of it, as you see, and that upon my word I am not negligent in it, which I desire you to represent to the King. The business of the Duke of Lorraine, is not in the same state with the rest, [nor] are our hopes of money here, for till we end or break with the Duke, the passing over of them, if it be obtained, will be of so great expense here that we cannot, with any appearance of success, press them for any more supplies of money fr arms and ammunition. All I can say are yet gone are M. Haesdonck's proportions, consisting of 6,400 muskets, 2,000 pair of pistols, 1,200 carbines, 150 swords, 400 shovels, 27,000 lbs of match, and 50,000 lbs of brimstone; this brimstone will I hope enable you in England to make a good store of gunpowder, for mills, saltpetre, coal, and men who know how to make it, may everywhere be had; 400 barels of gunpowder I have sent to Dartmouth, having undertaken to pay for it if it be not paid for there, fr fear presently there should be a want of it. I have news of the arrival of 200 barrels, and the others will be very shortly there. You will also receive god quantities of poweer from Collimore. I will write to-morrow by the ordinary, and presently after by an express. Endeavour to obtain the exchange of Captain Cartaret, a Jersey man, taken prisoner lately near Warwick [S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, captured at Sherburn and submitted to Parliament 3 November 1645].

Paris, 9/19 May 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

I wrote to you yesterday by Col. Fitz-Williams. I conceive you will find cause to take the business that concerned him into consideration. I have sent you now a copy of Dr Goffe's despatch out of Holland, by which you will see the state of that business reduced to this only hope, that the return of the Ambassadors out of England may not only give the Prince of Orange a disposition to set on foot that which before he was not confident enough of his own strength to attempt, but also afford him some hopes of affecting it, of this we shall see a sudden issue; the other advantages we expect from thence, as the ships for the Duke of Lorraine, and supplies of money by the marriage, are in a state not much to be relied on; for the business of the Duke of Lorraine, I much fear, wll fall away, the money of the marriage will not be considerable enough to conclude it for that reason, it may be we may single out that

advantage from the rest, even without the consideration of the marriage, so that we have no more to do but to attend the issue of the hopes of the declaration, and, according to that, proceed or let fall the whole business and look after the marriage as a thing to be managed according to the means we shall find here to go through with it. We shall know next week what to depend upon for the Duke of Loraine, which failing we shall resume our pretensions here for money in place of that which that expedition would have cost them. Here the clergy assemble next week, with whom we shall set on foot the liberty of the French Queen Regent has given us to try their inclinations for the support of the affairs in England. Captain Haesdonck is gone from Dunkirk three weeks since with four frigates, 6,040 muskets, 2,000 pair of pistols, 1,200 carbines, 150 swords, 400 shovels, 27,000 lbs of match and 50,000 lbs of brimstone. I hope he has arrived before now. His arms were all embarked before [Capt] Allen arrived there, so that I cannot assure you that Allen will be provided with that proportion which I sent you word would be sent to the Marquis of Montrose. The Queen has sent 400 barrels of gunpowder to Dartmouth, of which 200 have arrived there, and the rest will presently. She could not get the merchants to undertake the transport of these powder barrels without enlarging her credit for them in case they should not be paid in England. The Queen has now received, as I wrote before, the King's order for shipping the tin from time to time, and has sent £4,000 to Falmouth for that proportion she advertised Sir Nicholas Crispe would be ready there at the end of May. She demanded a ship of the Prince of Orange for that purpose, which has been accorded, so that it is undoubtedly upon the way. The King's order concerning the tin was only during pleasure; therefore, pray have a care there be no change without giving the Queen timely advice of it. Her Majesty having been served by Sir Nicholas Crispe at her coming out of England with affection and diligence is desirous to make him some return, and therefore entreats you to assist him in his affairs, as he shall present them to you, particularly for the transportation of some wools, the proceeds of which he undertakes to return in ammunition. He is also a suitor to the Queen for her recommendation to the King to be a collector of the customs in the west, of which he had formerly a promise. Pray advise me in your next, how far the Queen may reasonably interpose in that particular or the proposition concerning the Duke of York's going into Ireland, the Queen bids me tell you that she cannot yet, for any reason she can discern, approve of it. The business of her Majesty's jewels is so pressing upon her, that unless in the future she be as fortunate as she has been hitherto, she will undergo great trouble and inconvenience; that you may perceive this, I send you a short note of the parcel engaged in Holland, for which there must be useduly paid every six months otherwise the jewels would be lost; the sums for which they are pawned are very much below their value; for this reason it is most necessary to continue the tin in the Queen's hands lest she should fail of those other means that hitherto she has had for the discharge of these instructions; if otherwise she finds means to pay it, then all the profits of the tin will be duly accounted for to the King. Just now your letter of the 11th April and the King's of the 10th are come, to which you can have no answer this week, they always come to use not under a month's time, whereas I perceive you receive ours in a fortnight, pray rectify this if you can [9/19 May 1645, S.P.Dom., Vol. 507; captured at Sherburn and printed in Ludlow's memoirs; abstracted in Letter no. 14 (sic). in "Mixed Papers", House of Lords Library-original reference to letters found in H.M.C. VI]].

Paris, 16/26 May 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

Yesterday I received yours of 17th April [old style] by the Portugal Ambassador, by which you may observe that all your letters by that way are still a month at least in coming; it will be well to inquire where the stop is made; at the same time I received the King's of the 30 April [old style] by Sabran, and I mark that by him they come still quicker; by both, and by all others concurring I see that our affairs in England, if they had received any competent assistance from abroad, would have been in an excellent condition; that which I most lament is the Queen's inability in the relief of the Marquis of Montrose, for which I conceived she had provided by ordering Haesdonck to furnish him out of the supplies he had provided for England. The proportions designed for him I have mentioned in my former letters, but Haesdonck would not obey the Queen's directions, but carried all he had provided into England, so that the Queen remaining without credit, or other means to do that work, it remains now imperfect until she be furnished with one or the other; something she has since attempted, but it is not to be relied on; this may [be trusted] that no possible thing within her power shall be omitted for this purpose, for she conceives the importance of it even beyond that which you have represented. Our Holland news from Scotland, which we have often, do no less than yours confirm the necessity and moment of this consideration. I send you herewith all what I had last week from Dr Gofe, by which you will perceive there is since the return of the Ambassadors some new hopes of prevailing with the States for the declaration against the rebels, which is a thing of so great concernment that we must make it our endeavour not to frustrate the hopes of it by a sudden breaking off of the treaty, and to defend ourselves against the prejudices we sustain by the expectation of the success; for that cannot be assured enough, to rely on it for great present utilities; and methinks it were a hard thing, being thus awakened in the consideration, to provide against both the inconveniences. The Duke of Lorraine hath again this last week made so many new protestations of his intentions, that the most positive commands that could be [sent] to Sir Henry de Vic have not prevailed with him to break off the treaty, but his troops now march, though himself doth remain at Brussels; so that it will be impossible for any art to prolong the business beyond four or five days, but there is no hope to be allowed for it. These businesses here to be done, which shall be carefully attended to, are- that of Holland, the form I have proposed in this letter; the supply of the Marquis of Montrose with arms and ammunition; the west, with the same for the Prince's new levies, and for the supply of the King's and Prince Rupert's army, and the relief of Guernsey Castle. For the Prince of Wales' army William Godolphin is very solicitous; what he will be able to effect is doubtful as the Queen's expectation in all the other particulars; money for the King is also in her thoughts and pretensions. Now the [French] clergy are assembled, upon which many of our hopes have depended, she will, with all the instance and care that may be, have that way attempted. We are at this time strongly solicitous for you, for there seems to be a gathering together on both sides near Oxford, like to produce some notable encounter, which cannot well be followed with [any] but great events; God make them prosperous and enable us here to contribute something more thereunto than our prayers. P.S.- Your last concerning Thos. Eliott, where you seem to take notice we had not here provided according to order, is answered in my former letters, so as I am confident you are fully satisfied on that point [S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, captured at Sherburn and read at Parliament 3 November 1645].

Paris, 23 May/2 June 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

I have received by this ordinary yours of April 25th, and yesterday Stravie's brother arrived. We find you have now taken to the field, which will make us more solicitous to hear from you and render the means for it is more uncertain, which I hope will increase your care in writing if it may be. I am glad you approve of the essay proposed concerning the Independents, for that all circumstances lead me to believe the business not unworthy a trial, so that now it shall be gone about. My letters of the last post say as much as I can now write both of the business of the Duke of Lorraine and of Holland; the first I look upon, though as yet we have no final answer, as absolutely ailed, and the other as not producing any present effect, yet I would advise you to expect ther letters of the next week before you draw any conclusions from this. Pray write me word what you intend in the behalf of your brother [Sir Lewis] Dive for the embassy into Turkey, and how the pretensions of him and Sir Wm Killigrew agreed in that particular. The Queen is very well recovered in health, which is al fr the resent I have to say. P.S.- The reason why I desire to know in what estate the pretensions of Sir L. Dive and Sir Wm. Killigrew are is that Sir Richard Browne is earnestly desired by the merchants for that employment. He has pressed me to move the Queen in his behalf. You know how I am engaged to Sir Wm Killigrew, and that besides I now your desire for your brother, both whose interests, not nly as I am engaged, but otherwise, I do prefer before any other, therefore as long as there is a possibility for either of them I conceive no new thought is to be taken up, therefore pray send me word how the business stands that I may in some measure satisfy Sir R. Browne, and really if neither of the others were to go he were no unfit person, being one whom the King might trust, and that the merchants would choose, but sure I am I have not, nor am I capable of having, a wsh to either of their prejudices. The Duke Despernon lent to Sir Wm Godolphin when he was employed before hither about arms the sum of 30,000 livres fr the King, which Sir William has laid out in the charges for arms and other things as e has accunted. The Duke demands now of the Queen that this sum should be secured by her, he having yet no security for it but the word of Sir William Godolphin. Pray let me hear what is to be done in this particular [23 May/3 June 1645, S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, captured at Sherburn and read at Parliament 3 November 1645].

Paris, 30 May/9 June 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

Yesterday I received yours of 29 April from Oxford, whereby I must needs observe that our [letters] are received in half the time that yours are in coming hither. Now you are removed from Oxford I fear it will be harder for you to send to London; above all things the Queen recommends this to you. I send you here inclosed Dr Gofe's last despatch, word for word, by which you will see the state of that business. Sir H. de Vic is now here, arrived yesterday with the Duke [of Lorraine's] last demands; tomorrow he attends Cardinal Mazarin, and as soon as the answer is got and the Queen Regent's resolution [know touching] a supply of arms and ammunition we have now demanded to which already we have some promises advanced, Petit shall be despatched, who staid to that end. He will return to us with some information of the state you are in, which the last letters speak so variously of, that we are in much pain. Arms and ammunition, I am confident, we shall speedily get again, but for money I can give no good hopes of it, although the clergy be now [assembled] together, from whom we have so many expectatons. Sir Kenelm Digby is arrived at Rome, and has had audience with the Pope, who has given him the best reception that the first visit was capable of, that is, the fairest promises in general that can be wished; if he may be relied on, there are good hopes of money there, but you know he is of a sanguine



family [the Barberini], and himself yet the melancholiest of it; he has visited some other of the petty princes of Italy, but they are a frugal generation. [This mission ended in failure; the Popes final opinion was that Sir Kenelm was derranged and refused to have anything further to do with him [Albion]]. [Sir Gilbert] Talbott is coming from Venice without any effect of his voyage. A man the Queen sent four months ago into Scotland to the Marquis of Montrose this day arrived; it grieves me Haesdonck did not obey the Queen's order for his suply, but now again that shall be suddenly attempted, I hope with better sucess; yet his [Haesdonck's] arrival in the west has been very oportune for the designs of the Prince of Wales there, which I observe to you is a service solely of the Queen's; for nothing but her commands could prevail with him to undertake this supply; therefore pray give him what help you can get his money. Pray commend my service to Prince Rupert and make my excuses, I write not to him; by something I hear I hope you two are good friends, wich I much rejoice at, and conjure you do all you can for the continuance of it, if it be so, and to the making of it so, if it be otherwise. P.S.- The Queen has written herself to the King. You will find in Dr Goff's letter [of 19/29 May] several things desired to be sent from England, all in my judgement most material and therefore to be hastened to him or Sir Wm Boswell with the greatest expedition that can be. He proposes the sending of my man, Cartarett, being already gone to Holland with instructions for the business of the tin, to attend that in England; [he] may, perhaps, not follow the Doctor's order in coming to you for these things, therefore pray, as soon as you receive this, let them be despatched and sent by an espress of yours [S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, captured at Sherburn and read to Parliament on 3 November 1645].

Paris, 26 June 1645, Jermyn to Prince Rupert, B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f. 183.

This is onely to keep me in your highnesses memory, that whiche concerns the occurrents of this place you will receive from the King and my lord digby the quen hath written to you the news we had last weeke out of Inland seems muche better then any wee had this greate while and gives her some hope of returning when ever that hapynes befalls her as she will owe more of it to your highnes then any other body soe are you sure to find from her the surest acknowledgements and care of your interests that you can ymagin to be in any body but tis very needles for me to intertayne you with this discours since I am confident you have it from her owne hand. So, I shal, take up noe more of your time.

Paris, 24 June 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

I have received yours of the 15 of the last from hemly Thom Elliotts excuse will not concern me but his Majestie for if ye King thinke that the commands transmitted by me from his order should not bind I have nothing to say against it. I wrote last weeke to ye King of a proposition from the Scottish Commissioners to ye Queene it imports that of shee would interpose with his Majesty for their satisfaction in setling the presbety they will in all things else serve the King this is the substance but it comes with many particulars and much discourse by the by ye Queene hath answered shee desires nothing more than to contribute to a peace and therefore desores earnestly that there may be some way opened to her to that end wch can only be by ther laying downe the thought of settling the presbytery for that shee knows that as shee her selfe will never move it to the king soe if shee should shee should doe it but very fruitlessly there comes with this proposition assurances to ye queeen which she bids me advertise you that by this way now offered to her for an accomodation you have

assured these men that if they will passe by yiu hands and comprose your Interests that you will effect their desires for them and this is advertised weekes together but I assure you with as little effect upon ye Queenes beliefs as upon myne being motions of that kind in ther birth and progresse wee are joyed beyond measure at the newes of this weeks and doe hope successes may be followed with very notable events already they have opertaion heere for this day Lord Mar hath sent ye Queene the dispatched of her desires mentioned in my last for Armes and amunition for the north and wets is allready as I wrote their is gone to M. Montrose the proposition I wrote the other shall suddainly... follow Sir H de Vic will have his answeare for the Duke of Lorraine one weeke more of good newes will make them heere desire a conuannation with us as much as hitherto they have shunned at and truly when that appears I conceive it is to be layed hold on and the alliance and conjunction with Holand which by that means will be renewed easily to be finished for with those helps our game would be sure and might possibly end with those helps with much lesse abatement of that strength and wealth which must make us happy and considerable after ye Queen hath written to Pr Wales concerning Groinvile in the termes you directed with greate admonations for the future but passing by this foe the meritt of the person which sure is as much as his years could be capable of that sure a great care is to be taken on the kings part in valuing the recompenses hee hath to make for those that serve now doe not neglect themselves in the point of their meritts since wee heard of the disposing of the Maister of the horse his place wee have beleevd is not unlikely that Hampton Court also might be given to which purpose I must intreat you to putt the King in mind that my brother when he brpought the park of Sr R Grimes had ye kings promise that upon any change of Keepers of Hampton Court house whoe pretends to dispose by the grant there of of his parke that wee should keepe his parke if this be mentioned upon the disposing to him it is desired their will be noe difficulty. Pray speak to the King of it I have friends to recommend to your care to doe them in the meane space until occations offer themselves such offices as ye king may be disposed to looke upon favorably upon that occations shall happen Jack Berkly Jack Herody and Tom Blague and this I require of you Soe as not to be denyed I am yours .. [B.M. Add. Ms 33,596 f. 7].

Saint-Germain, 20/30 July 1645, Jermyn to Sir John Berkeley, Sir Hugh Pollard or to D'Avenant.

I have received yours of the 5th inst.; you know the fortune of the others. Touching your supply with gunpowder and match, I understand Bottomley has arrived with 200 barrels of powder and the like weight of match, and that Browne was 7 days since ready at Sherbou[rne] with 150 barrels more, and proportionable supply of match, staying only for the wind; these two proportions, I hope, wil suffice till you receive 300 barrels more besides match [some words in cipher] which is a present from the Queen to you, she having paid for them. We have sent to Montrose to the value of 10,000 in arms and ammunition from hence and from Holland, which I hope he has received. I believe very speedily the Queen will send to the west a good supply of arms, besides powder and match. For our greater hopes I cannot assure you the effects of them yet. There is evident since our last misfortune; there is much more appearance of them than ever before, by which it seems abroad they are more willing to interest themselves to prevent our ruin than to make us very happy. This is all that I can say at present of these things [the rest is chiefly in cipher]. The Queen is very well, and so are all your friends. P.S.- If you can establish a packet boat betwixt Dartmouth and St Malo let me know what the charges will amount to, and I will willingly contribute

towards the expense [S.P.Dom., Vol. 510; with his armorial seal attached to the letter].

Saint-Germain, 26 July/5 August 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

I wrote to you yesterday by the ordinary, but something I have to add by the express. The Queen sends [the bearer] to visit the King and to bring back an account of his health, and of the state of his affairs. Her resolution of sending Cockeram into Denmark without doubt is very opportune, for upon conclusion of peace with the Swedes he [the king of Denmark] cannot but be in a condition to help us. If he could be prevailed on to give us an army, its descent at Scarborough or Burlington would give a new turn to us all, but this is a felicity I dare not hope for. I look with more assurance on that which shall be solicited in the sending place, and which would be of infinite use, viz., a small number of men with some money and ammunition, all to go to Scotland to aid the Marquis of Montrose. In that case some must be horsemen, at least 500, and their horses must pass over with them, this I conceive would enable the Marquis to make his victories profitable as well as miraculous; but for want of which and of arms and ammunition his advantage have brought almost no [benefit] to the King's affairs, for he advances not into the good parts of Scotland, nor does the [Scots] army in England fear to leave their country exposed to him. I cannot by this send you Cockeram's instructions, which you will receive by the next. He will have orders to offer to the King of Denmark the islands which Pooley was commissioned to offer. The winter coming on makes me not apprehend that all our losses can bring us so soon to an end at this summer, for ill weather will relieve us until this or some other help be found. The Queen is therefore now more industrious than ever, and has found means to get 20,000 pistoles for [that service] I once wrote to you of, so that if the persons who should have undertaken it be still of the same mind, and the Prince of Orange [as well], which we have written to know, that business will go forward and may prove of great use in many considerations; but the most important aim in it is the insensible engaging the Hollanders in the war. Sir Kenelm Digby writes hopefully of supplies and money from Rome, but concludes nothing, the Irish troubling our [affairs], so as until the peace be made with them I fear all Catholic help will be drawn that way; upon this purpose I must tell you with what amazement the delaying of the peace in Ireland is considered here, and you leave us so ignorant of the condition of the treaty that we know not what to say of it. Pray send me by the first likely passage the state of it, their demands, the King of England's offers, and what you know of the difficulties. If the [treaty] be not yet concluded it is not likely that ever it will be, by those who manage it now; therefore it seems to me, for satisfaction of those that so much press it, and of those of this State, who are much of that opinion, and to secure our hopes at Rome, and lastly to put the business into a possibility of being concluded, it were not unfit that the position long since made to the King, of having the treaty made here by the Queen and the Queen Regent were resumed. For I am certain the King, by this means, might have the peace upon better terms, or failing that the exorbitancy of their demands would be so apparent to the Queen regent that we should have great advantage by that. The only thing I fear is that the King's party in Ireland might possibly not acquiesce in such a peace as would be fit for the King to make, and then he would have the scandal of it, without the benefit of any assistance from Ireland. This I write to you to consider of, and by the return of Sir D. Wyatt you shall know more of this particular. Send back this bearer immediately, and write without flattering yourself or us, the pure and natural state of affairs. I have given

Petit £30 for his journey [S.P.Dom., Vol. 510; captured at Sherburn and read to Parliament on 3 November]

Saint-Germain, 30 July 1645, Saint-Germain, Jermyn to either, D'Avenant, Sir Hugh Pollard (governor of Dartmouth) or Sir John Berkeley governor of Exeter.

Sir, I have received yours of ye 5 of July; yow know ye fortune of ye others. Touching your supplies with powder and match, I understand Bottomly is arrived with yow with 200 barrells of powder and the like weight of match, and yat Browne was seven dayes since ready at Sherbou[rg] with an hundred and fivety barrells more and match to it, staying onely for a wind. These two proportions I hope will suffice till yow receive 300 barrells more with a proportion of match yat ly now redy at Hauvre to be imarked, which is a present of ye queenes to yow, shee haveing payd for them. Wee have sent away to Montrose to ye valew of ten thowsand pound sterling in armes and ammunition from hence and Holland, which I hope before now is with him. I beleive very speedily ye queen will send to ye west a good supply of armes and some more powder and match. For our greater hopes, I cannot assure yow the effects of them; yet this is evident since our last misfortune, there is much more appearance of them then ever before, by which it seemes abroad they arewilling to interest themselves to prevent our ruin then to make us very happy. This is all yat I can say at present of these things to ye particular of your demand of 1000 or 1500 strangers for the security of your garrisons, which I suppose to bee Exeter, Dartmouth and Barnstable. I conceive it very prudent, but there is one thing in it and another wanting, yat till yow remedy both I thinke there is noe possibility for your satisfaction; that in ye demand to bee taken away is the 3 months pay for them. I yet discearne noe hope of yat; therefore it must be provided. If it be to be gotten, I will endeavour it. That which is to bee added to your propositions is ships for their transportation, for those are not to bee gotten if they cannot passe safe but from Dunkirk. Frigats or some other vessels of equall speed, those meethinkes yow might get by retayning Hasdonks for this purpose, or some other now in the western parts that have the king's commission. If yow can send mee 2 or 3 good frigats that will attend this service for three weekes or a months time, I would take upon mee to procure the men for yow; and I thinke the best yat could bee whisht for this end, old souldiers as good as any are any where to bee found as wel officerd and of the nation fittest to discipline the Roundheads, as being more nationally then others engaged against their opinions. Those I meane ar of the Spanish prisoners yet in France, which peradventure on this occasion may bee obtayned. But I must now let yow know there falls in the way of this another designe of equall consideration even with ye maine one, and yat for ye particular advantage of the west, as it is likewise for our affaires in grosse, and not to bee neglected by these adventurers. Yat is ye reduction of Gernsey, which these men shall effect in their passage, yet yow may bid them the welcommer and trust them the willinger in keeping places if yow see they have skilk (sic) in takeing them. For this purpose I have given two commissions to on who hath already on ship at sea and another preparing, ye first of 10 gunns, the other of 20. Yet he hath not showne his commission from the king, but passes as a subject of the crown of France. He is gonne to Gernsey to view ye condition of the place and to get as much light as hee can into ye divisions and cabals of the inhabitants. From thence hee will come to Jersey to advise with Colonel Cartaret for ye execution of ye designe, to whose direction in chiefe all must be remitted. Col. Cartaret will bee able to bring 2 or 3 frigats more of his into the expedition, which, together with yours if yow send them, will receive 1000 or 1500 men: and they, as wee shall lay ye matter, will certainly doe the work

without any losse of time and bee transmitted from thence to the western servise as if they went directly thither. If yow approve of all this and yat yow send mee word I may expect the ships and yat yow provide for the subsistence of the men, for yat is essentiall in two considerations, to avoid ye clamours in England and not to disgust strangers from passing in our succour, I will labour in it with all ye care and industry I can apply, and, I hope, effectually. Ye queen is very well and soe are all your friends. God keepe yow all there. I am, Yours. If yow can establish a pacquet betwixt Dartmouth and St Malo, let mee know what ye charges will amount to and I will willingly contribute towards ye expence" [That part of the letter which is clear is calendared in S.P.Dom. 16. no. 16 (1645-7, pp 23-4); the part in cipher was deciphered by Richards by reference to already deciphered material in B.M. Harl. MS 7379].

Saint-Germain, 1/11 August 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby, endorsed "Lord Jermyn to your Lordship".

I write this only not to omit one week, for until the next occasion I can say nothing from hence, for without prophesying it is impossible to tell what will be the event of some things that are promised; now that which takes away my pain is that vain expectations were never less dangerous, for if we had none in the world I see no way open to treat in the condition we are in though yours of the 6th July be very cheerful. The Queen of England is in perfect health, and the Queen Regent came last night at 9 o'clock to super with her, and returned to Paris at 11 o'clock. Cardinal Mazarin will be here to-morrow, he is full of professions of desire to serve the Queen importantly, which now I observe for that they are renewed on his part since the necessities on ours. This is all I have now to say [S.P.Dom., Vol. 510; captured at Sherburn and read to the Commons on 3 November 1645].

4/14 August 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby, endorsed "Lord Jermyn to your Lordship by Mr Petit".

I have received yours of the 30th June, and since the news of a defeat Lord Goring has sustained in the west. This and the advance of the Scots makes us fear we are in very ill estate, but the game must not be given over; on the contrary, now is the time to redouble all kind of industry, and that will be the Queen's rule. She hastens what she can supply of gunpowder and arms to the west. Cockram's provisions are embarked, but he himself, I think, will be sent another way if he can be persuaded, for I have now sent back for him hither. The peace is concluded between the King of Denmark and the Swedes, which will put the former in condition to help us; perhaps he may be able to send us an army, which, now that all the Rebel's forces are drawn westward and southward, landing in the north might give a new turn to all, so that, in the first place, he [Cockram] is to solicit that business; but if no such force can be obtained, he is to solicit for as many as he can get of those horse and some foot with arms and ammunition. He is to land all these in Scotland, for it appears that all the Marquis of Montrose's victories will be fruitless until ne be helped with more men out of Ireland or some other part. The Marquis, in his letter to me, says that men were his greatest want. The Queen sends Petit to you to-morrow. I have now no more to say. [S.P.Dom., Vol. 510, captured at Sherburn and read to the Commons on 3 November].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 5/15 August 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

We have received nothing this week from you, but find from other advertisements that the King is still in Wales recruiting his army. I see no danger of our perishing before the winter comes to our relief, at least if our own party be not totally forsaken of their hearts and hands; for if there remain among them either understanding or courage, they will perceive how ill a bargain they must make with their enemies at this time, if they fall into their hands by any way whatsoever. I am now most confident if we can hold out until next spring, betwixt this and that time, we shall find powerful foreign succours. The design of which I have often written to you may now, in my judgement, be reckoned upon, for we have the money ready, the persons all of the same mind and all the difficulties raised that were in the way, and the business in as good advance as was possible; since we have got the money there is good reason to expect that within two months (they are promised sooner) we shall have 30[00?] men. This in itself may prove a great thing, but when it is considered how it lookes upon the condition of our affairs, that are very unlike to recover but by a foreign assistance, which reasonably is not to be hoped for without securing their passage, nothing sure can appear so necessary for us; therefore pray take great care that there be no delay in the despatch of all things belonging to it, when there shall be recourse to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more particulars of this business both in what state it is and how it has been retarded; but weekly now you shall be advertised. I hear there is some stop in the treaty between Denmark and the Swedes, so that I fear this will frustrate [Richard] Cockeram's negotiation, of which else I should hope very well. The arms that went from hence to the Marquis of Montrose are arrived at Hamborough [Hamburg], and I hope are re-imbarked from thence; Cockeram would have them go that way; we have no news yet of those [arms] sent to the Marquis from Holland. What we are to expect from hence as towards a considerable succour, I mean of a body of men, is to be attended until the end of their campaign; for I confess that I am so far abused in the business as to believe it is equally hard to say we shall obtain no such thing as to assure it now; for without doubt there is no desire here to see the monarchy of England devolve into any other government, and there is as little doubt that these have strong inclinations for the persons of the King and Queen, and desire to contribute to their re-establishment; yet the humbling of the House of Austria, the beating them during the war or making a glorious peace, I confess are passions that prevail more, and it is no wonder; in the meantime we receive great courtesies; the Queen is most civilly and kindly used in all, one thing her pension is duly paid, 12,000 pistoles they gave lately for the arms for the Marquis of Montrose and the powder sent into the West; 10,000 more they have now given for the ships, which design is infinitely approved by them, and I doubt not but they will give the other 10,000 that the setting them forth will come to; if they should fail, it will be otherwise provided. The Queen of England hath given us a sharp alarm of another distemper like her last, but the fear is vanished almost after three fits; but she being much in apprehension of one this day she dares not write herself.

[P.s.] Pray send word whether the barony passed to Mr Hemfleet be an English barony, and is to descend upon his son by the Lady Stanhope, and if not you are to move the King for the barony of Wootton for that son; this is a business in which the Queen was engaged in Holland upon the important services she received from Henfleet, and she will be very earnest with the King to have it done. Pray send an answer to this.

[P.s.] Let the business of the fleet be kept with all secrecy.

[S.P.Dom., Vol. 510- it was amongst the ciphered letters captured at Sherburn and was also printed in Ludlow's Memoirs p.493. The footnotes to Birch's History of the Royal Society say that Jermyn's letter of this date to Lord Digby mentioned Kenelm going to the Pope from the Queen and is printed in Hubbard's collection; summarised (abstract of letter no. 30 in "Mixed Papers", House of Lords Library-original reference to letters found in H.M.C. VI) "The Queene is now more industrious then ever & hath formed meanes to gett 20,000- pistolls for the setting forth of the fleete"].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 12/22 August 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

The expectations here of relieving the King are so uncertain that I dare not yet say anything of them, and besides, in effect, they are not to be relied on. I write now as I would omit no week. The news from England is so desperately ill that there scarce seems to be any resource left but from abroad. I will not believe it possible there can be so great error committed as to leave any way unattempted for the Irish peace and men from thence. [Richard] Cockeram is gone to Denmark instructed amply, and I dare boldly assure you with all that can be useful to him. France and Holland are daily tried. Our duties are done, though little fruit appears of it all. The provisions for the west that could be procured are gone, and to the Marquis of Montrose to the value of £10,000 sterling. Next week I shall write more largely [S.P.Dom., Vol, 510; it was captured at Sherburn and read on 3 November 1645].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 15/25 August 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

We have received nothing this week from you, but find from other advertisements that the King is stil in Wales recruiting his army. I see no danger of our perishing before the winter comes to our relief, at least if our own party be not totally forsaken of their hearts and hands; for if there remain among them either understanding or courage, they will perceive how ill a bargain they must make with their enemies at this time, if they fall into their hands by any way whatsoever. I am now most confident if we can hold out until next spring, betwixt this and that time, we shall find powerful foreign succours. The design of which I have often written to you may now, in my judgement, be reckoned upon, for we have the money ready, the persons all of the same mind and all the difficulties raised that were in the way, and the business in as good advance as was possible; snce we have got the money there is good reason to expect that within two months (they are promised sooner) we shall have 30, [000?] men. This in itself may prove a great thing, but when it is considered how it lookes upon the condition of our affairs, that are very unlike to recover but by a foreign assistance, which reasonably is not to be hoped for without securing their passage, nothing sure can appear so necessary for us; therefore pray take great care that there be no delay in the despatch of all things belonging to it, when there shall be recourse to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more particulars of this business both in what state it is and hoit has been retarded; but weekly now you shall be advertised. I hear there is some stop in the treaty between Denmark and the Swedes , so that I fear this will frustrate [Richard] Cockeram's negotiation, of which else I should hope very well. The arms that went from hence to the Marquis of Montrose are arived at Hamborough [Hamburg], and I hope are re-imbarked from thence; Cockeram would have them go that way; we have no news yet of those [arms] sent to the Marquis from Holland.

What we are to expect from hence as towards a considerable succour, I mean of a body of men, is to be attended until the end of their campaign; for I confess that I am so far abused in the business as to believe it is equally hard to say we shall obtain no such thing as to assure it now; for without doubt there is no desire here to see the monarchy of England devolve into any other government, and there is as little doubt that these have strong inclinations for the persons of the King and Queen, and desire to contribute to their re-establishment ; yet the humbling of the House of Austria, the beating them during the war or making a glorious peace, I confess are passions that prevail more, and it is no wonder; in the meantime we receive great courtesies; the Queen is most civilly and kindly used in all, one thing her pension is duly paid, 12,000 pistoles they gave lately for the arms for the Marquis of Montrose and the powder sent into the West; 10,000 more they have now given for the shops, which design is infinitely approved by them, and I doubt not but they will give the other 10,000 that the setting them forth will come to; if they should fail, it will be otherwise provided. The Queen of England hath given us a sharp alarm of another distemper like her last, but the fear is vanished almost after three fits; but she being much in apprehension of one this day she dares not write herself. P.S.- Pray send word whether the barony passed to Mr Hemfleet be an English barony, and is to descend upon his son by the Lady Stanhope, and if not you are to move the King for the barony of Wootton for that son; this is a business in which the Queen was engaged in Holland upon the important services she received from Henfleet, and she will be very earnest with the King to have it done. Pray send an answer to this. P.S.2- Let the business of the fleet be kept with all secrecy [15/25 August 1645, S.P.Dom., Vol. 510- it was amongst the ciphered letters captured at Sherburn and was also printed in Ludlow's Memoirs p.493].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 19 August 1645, Jermyn to Edward Hyde.

Did not know that a grant had been made to the Prince of tin, which had previously been granted to the Queen; "she will resign her interest and have noe more to doe with it....[but] this I will tell you, that you will make an inconciderable contemptible benefit to the Prince, whereas if it had remayned in the Queen's hands she would have made a great one". The Queen is in great disquiet for the safety of the Prince; to whom she has sent 300 barels of powder [Clar.S.P. no. 1940].

25 August 1645, Jermyn to Stephen Goffe.

Let the busines of the fleete be kept with all secrecy.... The designe of the fleete of wch I have often written to you may now in my judgmt be reckned upon, for we have the mony ready, the psons of ye same minde, & all the difficulties raised, that were in the way, & the business in as good advance as was possible since we got the money, there is good reason to expect that within 2 moneths they are promoted sooner.... Dorp is Admiral of the fleete wch is now hyred in the name of the french. There are monies collecting in france for mainteyning this fleete, under the pretence that they shall be employed against the Turks.

In the margin of the abstract of the letter the Parliamentarian abridger quoted further from Jermyn's letter:

The Q[ueen] is most likely used [all?] her pencon July pd.. pistoll they gave latly was for M. Montrose & g[un] powder to be sent into the West.. more they have now sent



for the ships, which designe is infinitely approvd & I doubt not but they will give the other for the setting them forth soone.

The abstracter added a note after this "In all the severall dispatches betweene Dr Goffe & Lo; Jermyn, the designe of the shipping runs through them all" [abstract of Letter no. 34. in "Mixed Papers", House of Lords Library-original reference to letters found in H.M.C. VI].

31 August 1645 Jermyn to Edward Hyde.

Complains greatly of the diversion of the grant of tin from the Queen to the Prince. She would not only have made the 15s a hundred profit, which the Prince will get, but intended to be her own merchant, and in the faith of that had obtained 12000 pistoles, being four months' advance of her pension from that Court, and the loan of a ship from the Prince of Orange, whereby, with the help of the French duties, she would have made more than double her money at every return, and have paid the advance of her pension in three weeks. The tin was granted her to pay the interest of the money borrowed on her jewels in Holland, pawned for a quarter of their value. Has great hopes of the King's success, which he founds upoin assurances of succour from France in the North and West, the French Queen-Regent's affection for the King and Queen, and an offer of the Duke of Bouillon to raise and land in England an army entirely at his own expense. The Queen is about to send to meet him at Cologne to settle the matter. She recommends Sir Nicholas Crisp to Hyde's favour [Clar.S.P. no. 1947 partly in cypher].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1 September 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby,

The queene is perfectly recovered.

I have very little to add to my last more then to tell you the busines of the ships doth advance excellently, half the money being already gonn and the rest will be got. A letter also from the duke of Orleans, written 16, wee could have wished is in the queenes hands to send tomorrow, so that on our parts all is performed that was demanded. I hope they will not fail in what promised on theirs. Ned Progers is arrived, by whom I have received 2 of yours. I have also intertained him at large. I dare not wholly excuse you, though you seem to have some need on for your discharge in the buelines of Prince Rupert, for you ought not to be lyable to provocation, so necessary is both the effect and example of your agreeing. I hear Generall Goringe is angry with mee for a letter I wrote to you where hee was concerned. I should wonder both how hee could be so if he saw it and how he could see it. But I hear this from others, and from him nothing but the expressions the kindnes that in truth he owes me, so that I beleive this is rather the pactise of those that would give him occasion to be displeased then the verity of the buelines. The duke of Bouillon, being at Rome, hath made a proposition to Sir K. Digby of raising and transporting to England for the kinge his service 1500 horse and 500 dragooners at his own charge, without expectation of reimbursement until the end of the war, and hath desired a gentleman may be sent from the kinge to meet him at Cullen [Cologne] with instructions to treat and confer with him. He hath demanded many things to be donn for him by the queene, which are tooching and not materiall for you to know. The queene hath resolved to send D. Wyatt to him to confer with him. I am of opinion this money layd out upon foote well armed and foote rayسد, where they would fall out to be men that

had served before, would not only be of greater use in England but be transported with fewer difficulties; but of this wee shall advise. I observe it to you that you fail not to send me your opinion of it as soon as you can, whether horse or foote would be most usefull now in England. look upon this as a very hopefull thing. By degrees I am embarked in a longer letter then I thought of, and yett I have not donn. From the queene, I must tell you she is yett of opinion the treaty of the mariage with prince of Orange should be made public. Another thing this day is grown in expectation more then formerly; this is a speedy truce with Spaine, a thing that ought to awaken us in England. It looks severall ways upon us. It is true that when wee fear falling in the rebells hands, nothing is so like as that to deliver us, and in that regard in the present exigencies the truce ought to be wished. But as it is a remedy to this greate evill, so it may become as greate a one by unbusying the hands that our present disorders may enable to master us. But of this more by the next occation. Ther is a patent to be passd for a baronet for Mr Wright. You have the particulars from W. Crofts, who will loose 500l if it be longer delayed. That must some some way or other be donn without sending the money for it, for thats not to be had. Use your invention in it and without excuse, for I will have none in this particular. Pray dispatch and send it by the first expresse. I thank you heartily for your care of Campisfield and desire you to continue it. He deserves it of you by his just acknowlsdgments (sic). If you sent the letter from Leicester to clear yourself of that foolish scandall, I can not choos but take it unkindly. I am entirely yours [State Papers Foreign, Ciphers (S.P.106) 10, no 6, deciphered by Richards].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 13 September 1645, Jermyn to Lord\_\_\_\_\_.

Gives at length the Queen's opinion on the proposition to refer Church questions to the judgement of Parliament, which if made with a view to a general settlement, would yield all they had struggled for; if with a view to gain the Scots, the Queen approves of it with some limitations. Probably some news of Montrose's success, or of the Irish peace, has altered affairs

since he heard last. Entertains hope of assistance from the King of Denmark, whose troops are now free by a peace with Sweden. The Duke of Bouillon has offered the Queen to raise and transport to the West at his own charge 1,500 horse and 500 dragoons, which might be profitably changed for foot-soldiers, who would both fight and remain with them. Has great hopes of a good fleet being shortly at their disposal [Clar. S.P. no. 1958].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 15 September 1645, Cowley on behalf of Jermyn to Lord Digby.

My lord [Jermyn], not haveing time to finish his letter, commands me to tell your lordship that hee hath received 2 of yours, both dated Aug 9 from Bridgnorth, but has not yett heard of Mr Endymion Porter, whose dispatch you mention therein. The alteration of the kinges designe for the north makes it unnecessairy to give your lordship any answer to the particulars thereof; but since that Petit has arrived here on the 11 of Sept. new stile, but 4 dayes after he received his dispatch from your lordship, in which there is one particular which my lord looks upon with much apprehension, but hopes that the victory in Scotland and some other advantages which have hapned on the kinge his part since the writing thereof (especially if it pleas God to second them with any more successes) will take away the danger of that malignity. But of his opinion concerning this busines, hee intendes to give your lordship a larger

account by the next. I remain etc [State Papers Foreign, Ciphers (S.P. 106) 10 no. 8 translated in Richards].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 22 September 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

I had written at larg to the kinge that I touched last week to you. Porter is arrived. In his letter you desire an answer to the point concerning the Scots. The queene bids me tell you, it being a busines of church and bishops, she will interpose no opinion in it; and besides you do not clearly say whether you would have an absolut promis made of provisionall government or the hopes thereof rather swallowed by them then given them. In fine, she leaves this whole busines, without any interposition of her opinion, to the kinge, and this bids me give you in answer. I have received this week a large dispatch from Sir K. Digby. The substance is that there is no hope of money from thens, but upon new termes proposed by the Pope to Sir K. D.: a total takeing away of al the penall lawes against papists and toleration of religion settled in England; that the peace of Ireland be concluded to the contentment of the catholiks. Upon these termes the servants of Rome will wed the king of Englands quarrel and spend in it to the last penny they can be masters of, and truly it will be little enough for a toleration. I have made answer to Sir K.D. that I have written for orders for him in this busines to the kinge, which he must stay for byfore the queene can give him any; that in the mean spame [space and time?] the takeing away of the pen. lawes which he may assure and which is a thing upon which with ground enough he may demand of the Pope those small sums that would content us. Now I have noe more to say, but rest in great hast, Yours,.... Pray send me word whether the Prince of Wales had ever any order to ceaz the person of Lieutenant Generall Goringe; for Porter hath told us here and to his father also that it was designed by them to be donne. If there was no such order nor caws for it (as I suppose there could be none), it will be necessary to take from him the jealousyes his father upon this occation must needs give him [State Papers Foreign, Ciphers (S.P. 106) 10 no 10, translated in Richards].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 29 September 1645, Jermyn to Lord Digby.

Unto my letter of last week to the kinge and to the Lord Digbye ther is nothing to add. Now I write onely to tell you the kinge will receive nothing from the queene this post. She had the meagrim today, which is a very just excuse. Our designe for the marriage advances well, and again the duke of Lorraine putts us in some little remote hope, but that ought not to be built upon. Yett dare I beleive some forain succour is so like to be had that I already apprehend the comeing together of our forces for the releaf of 85 [85 cannot be deciphered], least that draw on a battail, which I think ought as much to be avoyded, as the releif of the place would give us that which wee only ought now to look for after so many disasters, the advantage of winter, without any further ill effects of them, and the battail would take that from us if wee lost it. I am going to Fountainbleau in this instant and have no time to tell you why until next week . I am entirely yours [State Papers Foreign, Ciphers, (S.P.106) 10, no. 11 translated by Richards].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 29 September 1645, Jermyn to Nicholas.

Henry Jermin [ie "I" using cipher] hath reaeived (sic) yours of the 31 of the Aug and the queene another of Sept the 8. She cannot write to yo, becaus this way feare admits noting but cypher; but commands me to give you thanks from her. I am just now sent

in hast to Fountainbleau, where the French court at present is, and can only further tell you that I am for ever your most, (sic) [State Papers Foreign, Ciphers (S.P. 106) 10 no. 12 translated by Richards using a key (for Rupert and Ormonde) in the Trumbull MSS (Add Ms 43)].

Paris, 17 November 1645, Jermyn to Edward Hyde.

Has not heard from Hyde since Sir John Winter came. Begg a particular answer to his by Charles Murray. Begg to be believed as to the business of the tin. Recommends Sir Nicholas Crisp to him. Thanks him for his kindness to Sir Peter Bull [Clar.S.P. no. 2029].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 27 November 1645, Jermyn to Edward Hyde.

By the Queen's commands he informs him that Lord Goring has been asking leave of absence for two months, to go to France, and that she approves his request. The Queen has written to the Prince to give him notice of this [Clar.S.P. no. 2038].

Paris, 17 January 1646, Jermyn to Colepeper.

Reasons for not having written recently. The Queen had obtained leave to raise 4,000 foot and 1,000 horse in Brittany and Guienne, and she would have no difficulty in obtaining a larger number if she wished. This force would be ready about the end of February, and by that time the Dutch fleet, which was to transport them to England, would be ready to put to sea. The new forces would reinforce the Western Army. "I had almost forgot, to observe to you that if the Scot's treaty be concluded it draws along with it another thing of equal importance, which will be the declaration of this Crown [France] and that may very probably be followed by that of the States United [Holland]". Writes about other affairs, particularly Lord Goring [Clar.S.P. 2094, partly in cypher; cyphered signature attributed by Hyde to Jermyn but, when the letter was captured by Parliament at Dartmouth, it was attributed to D'Avenant].

Paris, 26 January 1646, Jermyn to Nicholas.

Sir, The queene hath this weke received yours of the 26 of December and of the 4 of January, and gives you thanks for the continuation of your care in giving her wekly advertisements of the estate of the kinges affaires, how bad so ever it be. I hope it is not so desperate as not to be able to subsist without farther losses till our endeavours here for his highnes relief may be brought to effect; for which, as likewise concerning the embassage and marriage of Portugall, I refer you to the kinge his letters, and remain, sir, your most humble servant,

Henry Jermyn

[State Papers Foreign, ciphers, (S.P. 106) 10, no.15, qu. Richards].

Paris, 9 February 1645/6, Jermyn to Edward Hyde.

Has received volumes from him by Sir Francis Doddington, to all which he will find answers in a despatch of Sir Dudley Wyatt, of which he begs him to inform Sir J. Berkeley and Sir H. Polard. Urges him to attend to the instructions concerning the bringing away of the young Prince (sic, Princess) from Exeter. Represents the Queen's

resentment against Lady Dalkeith for not having brought her charge, the young Prince [sic] from Exeter [Clar. S.P. no. 2118].

Paris, 10/20 February 1645/6, Jermyn to Sir Dudley Wyatt.

The Queen has heard of the danger Dartmouth is in. Is commanded to give orders, in consequence of some received from the King, for the Prince's removal from the West, if it be thought that he is in danger. The Queen desires the Prince to come to France, that he may be sent thence to Denmark [Clar. S.P. 2125, duplicate, partly in cypher].

6 April n.s. 1646, Jermyn to Hyde.

Urges him and Prince Charles to leave Scilly as the Queen and Colepeper have already written. The bearer has instructions [Clar. S.P. 2170].

The Louvre, 20 April 1646 n.s., Cowley on behalf of Jermyn to Lord Colepeper.

There is news come this morning, which my Lord would write to you, but he is gone in haste to St. Germain to let the Queen know it and therefore he commands me to give your Lordship notice of it. It is, that the business of your last letters to Oxford is resolved upon, and that the King is resolved to put himself into the Scot's army and for that end hath sent Montreul with letters to the Scot's army and another to the governor of Newark to deliver the town into the Scot's hands if they think it fit to receive it. He hath likewise promised as soon as he shall be in their army to send for the releasement of Duke Hamilton and a command to the Marquis of Montrose to retire into France for a while. This is the sum of Sir R. Murray his letter to the Cardinal, with which he presses him to be mindful of those promises he made of assistances to the Scots in case the parliament shall not agree to an accomodation. The post is so instant upon parting that I dare not trouble your Lordship with more lest I should not trouble you at all, which in this occasion is necessary; I remain, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithful and humble servant, A. Cowley [Clar. S.P. 1646; 27, f. 147, the main part in one of Sir John Berkeley's cyphers].

Paris, 4 May 1646, Jermyn to Hyde.

Urges them to come to France. Excuses himself for not attending the Prince at Jersey. The Queen adds her letters to the Prince to hasten his coming, and with a small train [Clar.S.P. no. 2198].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 18 May 1646, Jermyn to Colepeper.

Enforces the King's and the Queen's orders for the Prince to go to France. The King left Oxford at 2 am last Monday with Ashburnham and his servant, and a servant of Lord Digby. Begs him to take no further steps at present concerning the composition with Sir Peter Osborne [Clar S.P. 2217].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 18 May 1646, Jermyn to Hyde.

Letters to Colepeper will explain the bearer's mission. No resolution is to be taken at present touching the composition with Sir Peter Osborne in the matter of Guernsey

Castle. Begs him to make his excuses to the Prince for not attending him. Has to go to Compiègne [Clar. S.P. no. 2218].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 18 May 1646, Jermyn to Prince Charles.

Pleas the affliction he has that he cannot yet wait upon the Prince; begs the prince to believe that it is with grief he is withheld from attending him [Clar.S.P. no. 2220].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 21 May 1646, Jermyn to Colepeper.

St Germain May 21 1646

My lord,

I have received the letters touching the releef of pendennis the queen hath had these from the prince and lords to the same subject. She commands me to let you know that the importance of preferring that place is soe great and aparent that thou she have at present noe money at all, and thearfore unable to satisfye the proposition wholly she is notwithstanding extreamly desirous to doe something that may give them some leisure to expect what may be heerafter donne for that end thear beeing a marchant one Hitchcock at Morlais that hath advertised me that upon mu assurance of reimbursing him he will be willing to make any provisions for pendennis that he hath ordred. I send you heere inclosed for the assurance of the sayed Hitchcock a note to repay him agayn for any thing to the value of two thousand pistolls that he shall either provide or give credit for upon order from your self and the rest of the lords of his highnes councell for goeing in great hast to the court I shall trouble you noe further till my return I am, My lord, Your Lordships most humble servant

He: Jermyn.[Clar.S.P. no. 2224]

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 27 July/6 August 1646, Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham to Charles I.

Their despatch from Fountainbleau three days ago went by a despatch from Mazarin. Point out to him the probable results of yielding to the Presbyterians, who hate and fear the Independents. They rely on his courage and constancy. Touching his letter of July 8, they represent to him the danger of the attempt, and the provocation given to the Parliament if successful [Clar. S.P. 2271, decyphered by Charles and endorsed by him "Recd 8/18 August"].

Written before news of the capitulation of Pendennis Castle on 17 August 1646 reached Paris, Jermyn to Sir Henry Killigrew.

My Dear Cousin Harry, I have received yours, and truly do, with all the grief and respect that you can imagine to be in any body, look upon the sufferings and bravery in them; and do further assure you that the relief of so many excellent men, and preservation of so important a place, is taken into all the considerations that the utmost possibility, that can be in the Queen to contribute to either, can extend to. The same care is in the prince, from whose own hand you will particularly understand it. I have only time to tell you, that I am confident those little stores that will give us and you time to stay and provide more, will be arrived with you; and I do not so

encourage you vainly, but to let you know a truth that cannot fail, that if you, as I do no way doubt, have rightly represented the state of the place, and of the minds that are in it, you shall be enabled to give the account of it you wish beyond your expectations; and already some money is at the sea-side for this purpose, and more shall daily be sent. I entreat most earnestly of you that the Governor, Sir John Digby [a mistake by Tregellas for Sir John Arundell?], and those other gentlemen that did me the honour to write to me, may find here that I shall not fail to give them answer by the next. In the mean space, God of heaven keep you all, and give us, if he please, a meeting with you in England. I have nomore to add. I am, most truly, Your most humble and faithful Servant,

He. Jermyn [qu. without reference in Tregellas].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 18/28 September 1646, Jermyn and Colepeper to Charles I.

They perceive that neither their letters nor the King's make any impression on the other. They would be silent were not so much at stake. Urge at length his union with the Scotch and Presbyterians against the Independent and anti-monarchical party. Differ wholly from the King's assertion, that Episcopacy is jure divino exclusive; there are not "six persons of the Protestant religion" of that opinion. The Crown must not be identified with Episcopacy. The question is, Whether he will choose to be a King of Presbytery, or no King? A sound Irish peace will encourage the Scots to join him. Episcopacy to be parted with only on a full engagement with the Scots for his defence. If satisfaction be given in this, he will not be much pressed in the matter of the Militia. Beg him to employ the French ambassador in transacting the whole, that so the French crown may be engaged [Clar.S.P. no. 2313, endorsed, "Recd 5/15 Oct., to be kept"].

9 October 1646, Jermyn and Colepeper to Charles I.

Plans to combine the loyal Scots under Montrose and the Irish Catholics under in an invasion of England. They wrote that they knew that the Presbyterians and Catholics had had their differences but that, if the two parties were handled diplomatically, they might be persuaded to cooperate [Source??].

Paris, 12 October 1646, Jermyn and Colepeper to Charles I.

Have received his of 21 September. Cannot but still advise him to yield in the matter of the Presbytery. Recomends delay on other points. Montreuil has conferred at London with the Presbyterians: they give the heads of the Propositions. Beseeches him to encourage M. Bellievre's treaty. Winter Grant goes to Ireland. The Queen is at St Germain; they have received the King's letters of September 7 and 14 [Clar. S.P. 2329 endorsed by the King "received 17 October"].

Paris, 16/26 October 1646, Jermyn and Colepeper to Charles I.

Promise a letter at large by the next despatch. It was copied by the king onto the top of one from them dated ?9/19 October no. 2362].

18/28 December 1646, Jermyn and Colepeper to Charles I.

All the good the King can expect from the better party in London is on that message which, they grieve to hear from his letter to the Queen of 5 December, was not then sent to Westminster. This delay, and the quick advancement of this treaty concerning the receipt of the 200,000 marks, have much altered their hopes that the Scots will join with the Presbyterians and the City of London in the King's interests. Think that if he find freedom and safety neither with the Scots nor in London, a voluntary imprisonment with the English would be better than liberty elsewhere, for they cannot assure him that France will declare for him. With this the Queen agrees. She has been much troubled with toothache. They are commanded by her, afte the advice of Mazarin, to add that if the King be refused safe conduct by the Parliament and is forsaken by the Scots, he is to choose Ireland, the Highlands, or Jersey; but is not, save in extremity, to leave his dominions [Clar. S.P. no. 2379; endorsed by Charles "From L. Jer. and J. Cul. 18/28 De. received Jan 2/12"].

c. 1648-9, Jermyn to Sec. Long.

Two gentlemen in England will lend the Prince money; he desires blank bills or letters with the Prince's seal for this [H.M.C. 70 Pepys MS 94, letters taken at Worcester, delivered by Boreel to the Council of State in 1651 and later owned by Evelyn].

15/25 March 1648, Jermyn to the Earl of Lanark.

My Lord,

Give me libertie to add some thing besids what is newes wreten to you by my lord Leiutenants, wch is that you wilbe pleased to take care and soe give order that the Scottish forces in Ireland, by there corespondence with Oen Oneill, and those of the Irish forces lying next to them give him or those forces, such assurances of securetie as maye leave them at libertie to drawe there forces towards the southerne countries of Irland, to molest those of the Irish there that are better affected to joyn in the service now designed for the King. Oen Oneill being jelous of the other Irish forces is resolved to drawe his forces towards them, wch wilbe a great interruption to the service if some course be not in that case taken by the Scots to use a diversion, wch I presume maye be done with such wariness as it neid not at all indanger the Scottish partie. The bearer Sr William Fleming goeth hence soe full of the knowledge of all affaires here, he being also desired by Marqs Ormond to speake perticulerly with you of all concerning your owne 98. 4. and those of 166 Countie, in relation therunto, that I need not at this time be any further troublesome to yow with any other relations then such as he is able and authorised to make onto yo'r Lo'p. The Queen and Prince of Wales and all that are considerable there have placed ther confidence in yow and the Duck Hamilton, though these want not those here that wo'ld doe yow prejudice and laye hould on Marqs representations from so friends of yours out of Scotland. But upon my lyffe, they have no poure to begett any mistrust of yo'r affections; this I imparte only to yo'r Lo'p. From yo'r Lo'ps most faithfull and humble servant [Camden Society, 1893, Hamilton Papers, who assumed that the writer was Jermyn)].

Paris, 26 June 1648, Jermyn to Mr [William] Aylesbury [brother in law of Hyde].

Thanks him for his letters. Hears from Dr Goffe that he can do in Holland that which in England he failed of. Will do the Duke [of Buckingham] all the services he can [Clar. S.P. 2820].



Saint-Germain, 15 August 1648, Jermyn to Prince Rupert (partially obscured by damp).

I have written largely to my ... for whiche ... need not... your highnes the quen hath desire to be excused she hath bin used to a disfunction in her eyes whiche makes her nit write now, thus farre I had written and finished my leter to my lo: Culpeper and in this instant we receve the English letters whiche doe more confirm me in the opinion of the necessity of the princes goeing to the Scotche for it is mucche to be feared without his presence they will not be able to support the work they will have upon thir handes but your highnes will see that I am not absolute in the opinion not have all.... wisdomes which I pray God to direct and prosper This now is all I shall trouble you with.... [B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f. 189; endorsed in another hand "1649", which in view of the date is impossible as "the Prince", Charles, was king by 15 August 1649].

Paris, 4 September 1648, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

Sr, We are advertised heere of my lord Laderdayle beeing with the prince his demanding unto him with the promised resolution of goeing in to Scotland allsoe notice of that which concerne your highnes or any body els what resolution you take for the disposing of your self I suppose we shall have it from you by the first I do impatiently long for it and in the mean space we assure your highnes of all the zealous and faythfull wishes for your hapynes and the utmost indevers for your service that can be rendred you" [B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f. 124].

Paris, 6 October 1648, Jermyn to Hyde.

Is not convinced by his arguments against the Prince's going to Scotland, but that is no longer a question. Has received a letter from him. Has hopes from Ireland. Has written to Lord Colepeper. Presents his services to Lord Cottington, "The Queen makes you no answer by this occasion" [Clar. S.P. no. 2897].

Paris, 16 October 1648, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

I give your highnes most humble thanks for the honor of yours by Firmin the quen hath commanded me to write to my lo: Culpeper what she now conceaves should be thought upon by the prince you will see what it is with his trouble then by a repitition of it unto you. The disorders of the place will be composed by the quen with the towne of Paris (upon the whole of thir complaints in the settlement of the Tariff whiche is properly the boke of rates) of two millions a year, and satisfyes the parlament in most of the rest of thir demands all is not perfectly agreed but a final end is looked for on munday next and the king and queen to return hither the sunday after, if it fall out that they have escaped the most dangerous storm and the nearest falling on them that efver people did, I wish your highnes all sorts of hapynes and am &c. [B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f. 130].

19 November 1648, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

I had sent unto me this weeke a copy ogf your highnesses letter of the 5 of No from the Fleet unto Sr Ed. Hide and have seen some other accounts of the state of that affayre I find your highnes doth with great paynes and labor endeavour that whiche in

the first place is to be desired to get the whole Fleet forth and safe into Ireland and I hope God will soe bles your endeavour as that you will effect the King and I take the resolution you have of bringing some good quantities of land men aboard to be that only whiche re.... you in any measure equal to the others inforce.... they have more ships bigger and more great ordenance if you doe get the whole fleet forth then I have noething to propose if you can not I doe offer to your consideration the getting of as many of the lesser vessels as you can to jersay whear the harbour thear will receive the frigats and lesser vessels as well as any place in the world and the usse of them will be great and advantageous in several respects. This now is all I have to say to your highnes I wish you all sorts of hapines &c" [B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f. 140].

1649, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

Tells the Prince that he is "distrest in condition" and asks Rupert to allow the Duke of Buckingham to repay the money which Jermyn had lent the Duke [H.M.C. III Rev F. Hopkinson LLD of Malvern Wells' MS, which are mostly composed of inadvertently dispersed Exchequer documents].

30 January 1649 Jermyn to Sec. Long.

Mentions his aprobation of some letters written from the Prince, and wishing him the fruits of them [H.M.C. 70 Pepys MS 296, letters taken at Worcester, delivered by Boreel to the council 1651 and later owned by Evelyn].

Paris, 1/10 March 1649, Jermyn to Hyde.

Writes of the need of care to avoid giving displeasure to the Scots should the King go at once to Ireland. Lord Byron will communicate the judgement formed by those at Paris on this matter [Clar.S.P. no. 14].

Paris, 13 March 1649, Jermyn to the "Scotch Lords" ie Lauderdale and Lanark at The Hague.

My Lords, I have received your Lordships of the 26 of the last by Mr. Pooly which mentions a former, that yet there is noe newes of; in this I find your Lordships in the same sence and inclinations for the Queen that yow have soe constantly exprest through the severall difficulties the affaires have beine opprest with ever since your Lordships did begin to travail joyntly with her majesty for their recovery. I have let her see what yow write concerning that particular, and the feares yow have that the counsells yow approve of may not bee taken or soe followed as yow wish, and that if yowhad not expected my going into Holland, yow would have given me a particular account of the affaires of your nation, and of the thoughts yow have at present in order to them and the kings recovery. I have command from her to make your Lordships this answer, That she does desire yow believe shee is full of acknowledgment of your respects to her, and of confidence of your unalterable affection for the good of the affaires of the King her sonne; that your Lordships will have your part in the advises and deliberations for the resolutions now to be taken, and the communication from my Lord Biron of her opinions and judgement; that shee does believe that though in the deliberations there may be difference of sence and judgement, yet when the resolutions shall be taken, the horrid

fact committed in England will powerfully unite all good persons in the pursuit and amendment of that which shall be resolved to the ends which we labour in common for, and that they who may differ in the belief that the right ways are not designed will cooperate with the same vigour and affection as if their opinions were complied with; This is upon the certainty that all men will not agree in the course first to be followed, not that there is yet, as shee conceives, any certaine determination taken; but it is the full extent of her wish, that when there is, whatever it fall out to be, and with whomsoever since it agrees most, the ends of it may be wedded by others as if were their owne, and shee conjures your Lordships unto this by the memory of him we have so unfortunately lost and by all others and by all other arguments that may prevail with you, and doth expect it from you with as much confidence as shee desires you to take of her just acknowledgements of your affections in that wherein shee is most of all other things to be obliged by you. This with the desiring you to be remitted to by my Lord Biron to be more particularly informed, is all I have in charge from her; from myself I have onely to say that I esteem it a great misfortune that I cannot wait upon you at the Hague, and that I am in the just continuance of the respects I have vowed to you most unfainedly. My Lords, &c,

He: Jermyn.[B.M. Lauderdale Papers, 23113, f.26; Camden Society 1884].

Paris, 30 March 1649, Jermyn to Hyde.

Writes that he had written twice since receiving any letters from him [Clar. S.P. no. 23].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 6 September 1649, Jermyn, Hyde and Long with the assistance of Sir George Cartaret and the Dean of the Chapel to Charles II.

Concerns a upon a case arising out of a warning given by Mr Daniel Brevint, in Jersey, to Mr Joshua Cartaret, to abstain from presenting himself for the Holy Communion, unless he should first be reconciled to a person against whom he had uttered publicly, in court, passionate expressions of uncharitableness and revenge. Cartaret, in consequence, has prosecuted Brevint before the Justices of the island, and accused him of sedition and disaffection and other crimes; for which the Commissioners report that they find no ground whatsoever. They have, however, received good evidence of the integrity and ability of Brevint (whose health is impaired by a long imprisonment in England on account of his loyalty), and are satisfied that Cartaret's carriage was scandalous and offensive towards him, and that he deserves the King's protection [Clar S.P. no. 113, draught by Hyde's secretary Edgeman and finished by Hyde].

1 September 1649, Jermyn to William, Lord Widdrington (rendered "Whittington").

Instructions for an Admiralty to be settled at Dunkirk [H.M.C. 70 Pepys MS 253, letters taken at Worcester, delivered by Boreel to the council 1651 and later owned by Evelyn].

1650 Jermyn to \_\_\_\_\_.

Concerns the Duke of Buckingham's debts [H.M.C. II, MS of Charles Cotterell Dormer Esq of Rousham nr Oxford].

c. 1650, Jermyn to Charles II.

May it please your Majesty, The quen hath commanded me to give your Majesty an account of the consultations she hath had touching the duke of York since your Maty was pleased to desire of her by Mr Raynsford to take the matter into her thoughts and let you know her judgement concerning it. She doth not thinke it fitte to take him along with you in to Scotland nor if thear be noe possibility of imploying him self at sea that he should wast any more of his time at Jersay even if he could be longer very safe thear whiche upoin some advises lately come of more men landed at Gernsay is brought in to some question, the Quen doth conceave in both thes particulars, and thearfore seeing noe ocation doth at present appear in whiche he can be immediately disposed of in order to your Matys affayres either in England Scotland or Ireland or at sea she thought it was not hard to conclude that he had noething left to doe but to spend soe much time as he should remayne uncalld for to some immediat employment in your service in the frenche or papish army she thought that your Maty having ordered that he should take upon him the command of the Scotch Company of Gendarmes and for many other reasons very obvious in thes particulars that it was best to make offer of himselfe first heere, and if he could find him reckoning that it would be allso best to spend his time heere especially if it be true as I fear it is that the Spanisrds have received the parlament agent. She does thearfore apoint me to wayte upon the quen and the Cardinall to let them know your Matys seence and hers touching the duke of York that you did both of you esteem it was jot fitte that he should atend you in to Scotland, nor that he could be well or safe longer at Jersay which induced a necessity of his remove that since he could not goe into Scotland nor that thear did not appear any other immediat employment in order to your affayres to whiche he could be disposed it would be necessary for him to spend some time whilst in this or the Spanish army that his milintions as well as your Maty and the quen did has him to make them heare the offer of him selfe, the Cardinall told me that ot was a great deale of honor and that he should be most welcom., but then added muche discourse of the necessityes of the times that they wear in noe ability of reveiving him either according to his condition at thir own satisfaction, and then enquired of me how we ymaged the duke of York could be in thir army that it could not be possible for them to give him any suche command as would be fitte for him. I had oder from the quen to let him know that the Duke intended to serve with his Company he told me upon that that that (sic) might be very well that Hary the forth had served long as a volontier. I told him I thought the great difficulty would be for his subsittance he resumed upin that the discourses of thir wants beleeving it would not be possible for them to give him that whiche should be any measure proportionable to him nor that could make a great family subsist, neither though we have bin since muche prest to it can we obtayn any declaration of suche a settled summe as they intend to give him, the intention is that for this campayne if the duke shall come to them that he shall eate continually at the generalls and they will give him besides some small matter for the making his equipage and the subsistance of his servants but what that will be thear is no means yet to get a perfect knowleadge of, they will recrute his company and out it in to the best order they can, this is for soe much as is yet donne the true and perfect account of the busines whiche the quen doth transact to yoiur Maty for yoiur resolution in it without being willing to interpose the least advise, one thing your majesty is to take notice of that it is not very certayne this purpose will succeed to the dukes advantage and contentment though he brings a very little narrow family but it is impossible it should unless he doe soe, Your Majesty is now informed of as muche as the Quen knowes of this matter thear shall be sent tomorrow an Account of it to the

duke and in the mean space all diligencyes used to procure the quen and Cardinall to come to some settled resolution for his entertaynment, whiche will be well in case your Maty resolve in the affirmative and be noe inconvenience, if the proposition be to fall totally away if they should promise a great allowance and name the proposition even that would be noe great assurance soe that the present state of things doe not permit that this proposition in the best tearmes of it can be undertaken but upon great hazards. The quen writes herselfe to your Maty and may perhaps adde some things that have escaped me. The court remooved yesterday to Compeigne those of Bordeaux have not yet received the Princesse of Conde Mo: de Bouillon is sayed to have some troubles neare Bordeaux but it is not known heere in what number or consideration Monsieur de Vandosme was yesterday possest of the admeralty and M: de Beaufort hath it in reversion. I ask your Maty pardon for this length and am with most perfect duty &c He: Jermyn [B.M. Add. Ms 37,047 f. 116].

Paris, 9 February 1650, Jermyn to Montrose.

Repeats to him the assurances of the interest he took in all that concerned his affairs, not only in relation to their public concernments, but in that of his particular respects to the Marquis himself; he intreated him to believe that no man living could more wish him all sorts of happiness and success [H.M.C. II, Montrose MS at Buchanan Castle].

Paris, 30 April 1650, Cowley to Bennet, newsletter with a post-script;

My Lord [Jermyn] presents his Service to you, and desires you to inform the Duke of York that there is a Gentleman here, who has a Ship of 26 Guns, and about 200 or 300 Tons, who would bring it to Jersey, and serve with itthere, if the Duke would give him a Commission, which if he give any, will undoubtedly be very fit to be sent to him, and is desired with all speed. My Lord desires you to present his humble Duty to the Duke of York, to whom he writes not now, because there is nothing at present to be added to this Letter which you will please to acquaint him with. You are intreated to let us know what Answer the Duke has had from the King concerning his giving of Commissions [Miscellanea Aulica].

Paris, 11 June 1650, Cowley to Bennet, newsletter, with a post-script;

My Lord presents his humble Service to you, and desires you to do it for him to Sir G. Cartaret, to whom he writes not till the next: I desire you to do the same for me, having nothing to say to him more than at this present [Miscellanea Aulica].

Paris, 6 August 1650, Cowley to Bennet, newsletter with a post-script;

My Lord presents his most humble service to you, and will answer your last by the next; He desires your Excuse, and that you would make it likewise for him to Sir G. Cartaret [Miscellanea Aulica].

Paris, 18 November 1650, Cowley to Bennet, newsletter with a post-script.

My Lord gives you many thanks for your Treffles, and Mrs. Gardner for your care of her Beauty; the former I had some part in, the latter part I am sure I never shall [Miscellanea Aulica]. (In his next letter [Paris, 5 December 1650], Cowley

commented "Your Treffles were excellent good, as I wrote you word before; as for the Piedmont Wine, we are now such moderate Men, as to content our selves with that of the Rhine, in which I hope suddenly to drink your Health" [Miscellanea Aulica].

Paris, 6 February 1651, Jermyn to Rupert.

I am infinitely ioyed to hear that your highnes is safely arrived at Thoulon and considering how much cause there was to fear that you would not have had even soe favourable an issue of the stormes and enemies you have had to deale with I agayne assure your highnes that I am infinitely ioyed to hear you are there, and before I enter upon any other matter I intreat your highnes to beleieve I am as much concerned in this safety of your person by my affection to it and devotion to your service as any man living can be of whiche I will give you the proofes of doeing in the present all things that my understanding can direct me to for the fgood of your service with all the diligence and industry that can be brought to it and heerafter all those that you command shall direct to with most punctuall obedience soe that your highnes shall perceave I am not nor have ever departed from the memory of my professions to you... shall ever from the just discharge of them in any ocaion that I shall meet or shall be presented to me, and this is all I shall say to your highnes of this subject whiche I intreat you to beleieve as a most perfect and inviolable truth, touching your affayres you must be pleased to take notice of that those of his place are soe imbroyled that it is not possible to give you any other account then that we are watching the first ocaion that can be taken to speak of them and that wee doe consult with great care all that we have to propose heere and offer in advise to you and that very shortly we shall dispatch Choqueux to you with the resolutions, and to let you see how absolutly a necessitty there is for you to expect a while I will tell you in short touching the state of this place the duke of Orleans is declared agaynst the cardinall goes dayly to the parlament and solicates there the removing of him from the ministry hath allready obtayned a supplication from the parlement to that purpose many other publick particulars of this kind are past that the bearer will relate to you the princes are sent to the Haure noe body knowes whyther to have their liberty or onely to be treated with concerning it in fine when all this will end onely God and the angels know noe man knows how to gues but in fine the present state is that noe other busines can be spoken of I was last night with the cardinall about you and your affayres but was remitted by him till a day or two be past, noe body knows yet whom to adres to for any dispatch nor whear this straunge confution of things will end onely it is the generall sense that this condition of them can not last more then very few dayes I am come within this day or two from Holland whear I left your highnesses frends of that place very well. Seamur that came 18 dayes ago from the king came along with me he left the king very well to be crowned the day after his parting and all partyes in Scotland at last but I feare too late united for his service, they will have once more a very numerous army and if they be not presently overrun before they accustome there men to thir armes and that they learn the wayes of thir owne defence I am confident we shall yet have whearwithall the struggle for our recovery and there will be place to consider at last what may be donne and to have another blow or two for it if not too many but ?? of this pibiirt??? too your highnes shall be more at large entertayned when Choquex attends you I will now hold you noe longer God of heaven keep you in all your danger and give you at length some quiet and the fruits of them I am most truly &c" [B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f. 220].

5 September 1652, Jermyn to Louis XIV.

Memorial, desiring the King to urge the States General openly to espouse the cause of the King of England and to send circulars to the same effect to all foreign courts [Clar.S.P. no. 810].

Paris, 22 March 1653, Jermyn to Prince Rupert.

I am most unfeinedly enjoyed at your highnesses safe arrival and shall be extreemly glad that your indisposition and the condition of your affayres would permit you to hasten hither that I might have the honor to wayte upon you I doe hope it will be soe soon that I shall not troible you with muche discours of this place besides Mr Atorny I presume doth write largely to you I will only tell you as a very good witnes of it that the quen is very entirely your constant frend she writes to by this ocation I will adde accordingly to all my professions with unfeined truth... God of Heaven keep you in all your dangers, and give you at length some quiet, and the fruits of them" [B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f. 236 and Warburton III p.390].

Paris, 18 October 1653, Jermyn to Charles II.

States that, at an interview he had had with the Surintendant, the latter requested him to see the Dutch ambassador and assure him that the Surintendant has orders to do all he can to renew the alliances in the terms proposed by the ambassador [Clar.S.P. no. 1445].

c. October 1653, Jermyn to Hyde.

Concerns the alterations desired by O'Sullivan in a commission which is to be addressed to persons named by him, but the latter desires that these alterations may not delay his own despatch; O'Sullivan also desires that Father Hartigan may be entreated to solicit the despatch of a little supply promised by the Cardinal. The States have appointed a committee to consider how Middleton may be supplied with arms and ammunition. The States order the ambassadors whom they have sent to negotiate the treaty in England to return, if the English insist upon the three articles and do not agree to accord the treaty upon the thirty-six [Clar.S.P. no. 1472].

Paris, 16 September 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

Tells him about the relief of Arras and that "none did their duty better than the Duke of York, if any so well"; and that he believed that "of the volunteers the English had the best share, among them the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Gerard, and Charles Berkeley behaved so as none were better spoken of" [S.P. II 392].

Paris, 19 September 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

No further progress made in the business of which he sent so large an account the week before last [respecting the treaty between England and France?]. The Queen, upon consideration of the business, has retarded making use of the blanks which the King sent, until they receive his further directions. Reports of Middleton's retiring out of Sotland, and entire submission of the royalists. Story of the robbing of Madame de Brancar ("a person of whome you are as willing to heare of as I to wright of"), a few nights before, on coming from the Louvre; there are a dozen robberies every night;

and an account of them would be as long as L'Histoire des Larrons. Notice of the relief of Arras; M. de Turenne's advice and execution are notoriously eminent; after him, Mondesin and the Chev. de Briqui had great share in the glory; the question who first entered the lines will never be ended, there are so many who pretend to it. None did their duty better than the Duke of York, if any so well. Believes that of the volunteers the English had the best share; among them the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Gerard, and Charles Berkeley behaved to as none are better spoken of, and he cannot omit to tell that "little Mr Hary" [Gloucester?] held now and then his part well [Clar. S.P. no. 2001].

19 October 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

The Earl of Crawford came hither six days since from Scotland, by the way of Ireland. His business is, to propose to the Queen, in the name of Montrose (whom we expect here every day) and himself, and many noblemen and gentlemen of the Highlands of Scotland, to raise for your service an army of thirty thousand men, with which he pro[poses] to reduce Scotland this winter entirely under your obedience, and from thence to march into England (he nameth London itself), and to do as much. He hath shewed her Majesty a list of all the persons of quality that are to be the heads of these men, and of the numbers which they are to bring, armed with a fuzee, sword, and target; and affirms that they will all engage themselves accordingly, if the Queen and Prince shall encourage them so to do. Their quarrel is to be, to free your Majesty from imprisonment, for they take you to be under restraint, and no better than a prisoner". His letter includes details of the forces proposed; "My Lord Branford has seen the list, and says he knows all the persons, and that he believes they are able to make good the numbers mentioned in the paper- The Marquis of Antrim in name of Clan-Donnell, 2000 men; MacLean 2000; MacRanald 1300; MacLeod of Harris 1200; Sir James MacDonnell 2000; Earl of Seaforth 2000; the Lord Reay 1200; the county of Athol and Badenoch, 3000; Clan-Gregor and Farquharson 1200; Grant 1000; Clan-Chattan and Strathearn men 1000; the Marquis of Huntley 1500; the Earl of Airlie 400; the Earl of Airth 700; MacNeill of Barra 500; Glengarry 500; the Earl of Nithsdale 1000; the Marquis of Montrose 1000; the Lord Dalkeith 100 horse,- total 23,400" [Napier's Life of Montrose p. 418 qu. in Lord Lindsay, Lives of the Lindsays , John Murray, London, 1849, vol. II p. 77-8].

Paris, 24 October 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

The Queen is perfectly recovered of her indisposition. A stag of extraordinary dimensions keeps the French King at Chantilly for a hunting day or two. The Duke of Guise parted from Toulon on the 5th inst and is said to have landed in Calabria. There has been an encounter in the state of Milan between Marquis de Guise and the Spaniards, in which the latter have had the worse. Much discourse of a journey of the Court to Lyons for two marriages, that of the King with the Duke of Savoy's sister, and that of the Duke of Savoy with one of the Cardinal's neices [Clar.S.P. no. 2036].

Paris, 25 October 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

The Queen used her utmost exertions to oblige the Cardinal to speak more plainly in the King's interests, but has not succeeded; while expressing good inclinations, he is not willing to lose the utilities he has reaped from the King's enemies. He believes,



perhaps that even when changes begin in England in the King's favour, they will not go on so fast but that there will

be time for him then to take part; but it would be much advantage to be assured of such help beforehand, and therefore the business must be carefully persued. The want of money and the want of forms for the administration of justice are likely to draw on a Parliament in England immediately, which can hardly fail to create troubles. The Cardinal is informed that the King has entered into an entire confidence with Cardinal de Ray [Retz], which he takes to be a greater mark of displeasure towards the State and himself than the King's being with the Spaniards, and which would more distance him, should an opportunity for his assistance occur, than all other things besides: it is necessary, therefore, to know what is to be said in that particular. Whether the King of France will come married or not, is a question still much agitated [Clar.S.P. no. 2037].

Paris, 29 October 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

The Queen is locked up at Chaillot; so there will be no letter from her. Charles Barkly came last night from the Duke of York, who is very well. There has been but little business at Court for the affairs of England; the state at present is, that if Cromwell will agree, they will not resist here even in things most unreasonable. The purpose of sending the Duke of York to command in Italy, if the peace be made, still continues; it is an ill wind that blows nobody good. Cardinal de Retz is supposed to be at Madrid. Is going tomorrow to visit Mr Crofts [Clar.S.P. no. 2044. The Calendar of Clarendon S.P. states that an entirely different letter, bearing the same date from Jermyn to the King, is printed in Thurloe's S.P. vol. 1 p. 689 but the letter of that date on that page is dated 29 October 1655].

Paris, 6 November 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

Concerns that attempts to convert Henry Duke of Gloucester. Jermyn states that he was sufficiently exempted by the other letters which the King will receive, from speaking of the matter, even if he were less unwilling. Cannot say that the young man will certainly resist the assaults that will be made, neither does he believe it to be yet evident that they will prevail; if the thing succeed, is neither of the opinion of those who think it good, or at least innocent, nor of those who believe it so vastly dangerous; could wish it had never been undertaken, or that it may not succeed, but can add nothing to his wishes to hinder the attempt or success. The Cardinal spoke to him very shortly yesterday of the business of the treaty with England, and said that, should it draw to an accommodation, it would be reasonable to provide for some things relative to the matter, and therefore desired that the Duke of York should be sent for, to which end the Queen will dispatch Charles Barkley on Monday. It is proposed, in case peace be made with England, to send the Duke to command in Italy, and that is so much to be desired on the Duke's part, as well as advised by the Queen and others, that it is hoped he will get that employment at all events and at once; for to send him away when necessity pressed, would be indecent on both parts. There is a difficulty about signing the preliminaries of peace, as the Protector will not yield to the King of France. The Cardinal de Retz is not gone to Madrid, but to Italy [Clar.S.P. no. 2056, not signed].

13 November 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

That he has not yet seen the Cardinal, and therefore has no news of the English treaty. The Queen, his mother, has a defluxion on one side of her face, which is very much swelled; she is in great pain, and cannot write. They look hourly for the Duke of York; the purpose still holds of saedning him to Italy. The duke of Gloucester is at Pontoise, very well in health. The Princess is ill of the green sickness, but M. Vallot promiseth a quickrecovery. Has received this day a petition out of England, entitled, A Petition of the Army to the Protector, signed by three Colonels, Okey, Alured and another; if it be prosecuted by a considerable party, it is as capable of bringing forth a notable event as anything seen for a long time. Some ships have gone out comanded by the Chev. de Neufchaise; they may possible meet with Blague's [Blake's] fleet from Torbay. The news from Scotland is bad [Clar. S.P. no. 2071, unsigned].

Senlis, 22 November 1654, Jermyn to Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

I take this occasion to bring myself into your remembrance and to assure you of my faithfull service, and I doe both the rather because I cannot chuse but embrace some foint hopes that things are soe disposing themselves in Inland that old frends may think of meeting agayn once before they dye. If my fortune be soe favorable to me as to bring me into your company it shall be with the same mind and affection to your person and service that I wont to have in it, and in the mean time noebody can wish you more hapynes then I doe" [The letter, which is dated 22 November, is among the Holme Hall MSS [H.M.C. Various II]. The transcriber suggested that it was from 1653 but its tone indicates that it was written in 1654, after the failure of the project to invade England].

Paris, 20 November 1654, Jermyn to Charles II.

He has received his letter of the 10th; the subject of it has been so long in his thoughts that he can learn nothing new as to his duty in it, so that if the King had used his desires or commands instead of threatenings, even those could have added nothing to what he has practised and shall practise. If he shall never see or hear from the King any more, although the facility with which that resolution is taken might give him some consolation, yet no man could be more sensible of that misfortune. It is extraordinary that in a thing no harder to be foreseen, the prevention should have been omitted by those on whom it was incumbent, and should have been expected from him who was perhaps the only Protestant in the world with a good excuse even if he had let it wholly alone. Has frequently represented his sense to the Queen with the same simcerity as if his life had been concerned; when that could not prevail, it would have been very faulty in him to have had recourse to other ways. Holds it his duty to say something; but that which he has said is no more ssatisfactory to himself than it will be to the King. Wil endeavour in the first place to discharge his first duties with as much care as the little virtue he has will permit, and wishes that what he does may be acceptable to the King [Clar. S.P. no. 2077].

Paris, 8 January 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

Although the Queen cannot yet forget the business of the Duke of Gloucester, yet he hopes a very few days will render her capable of meeting the King's advances towards a good understanding. The treaty between Cromwell and the French is still uncertain. The Count de Brienne came to Jermyn from the Council, to complain of the entrance of ships bearing the King's and Duke's commissions into French ports, and to desire

that order be given to the captains to do so no more; Jermyn's own advice is, further, that no more commissions be issued in future, and that the ships now abroad be directed not to re-victual when their present stock of victuals is out [Clar.S.P. no. 17; unsigned].

Paris, 15 January 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

There were more hopes than before of a breach between France and England; it is thought that if the fleets of Blake and the Duke of Guise had met, they would have fought; de Bordeaux is recalled, but also secretly instructed not to come away without making some agreement if possible. The Pope [Innocent X] died Dec 31. Pen and Vanables were met eleven days since near Morlaix, with 80 sail; if they are not for America, they may be for Madagascar; their vittalling makes it possible they are for some remote and hot part. Madame Longueville is reconciled with the Court, the Cardinal, and her husband. A letter from the Queen is enclosed. Mr Crofts wrote of something of which it is presumed the King will approve; the latter can take no course in that matter that will more rebound to his own satisfaction [Clar. S.P. no. 22 not addressed nor signed].

Paris, 22 January 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

That Lord Balcarres wants a letter of credence from the King to the Cardinal, which Jermyn begs may be sent; also begs that the King will allot Balcarres something out of his French pension in fulfillment of what he has caused him to expect. Spoke yesterday with the Cardinal of the business that was left to M. Servien's care, but could get no positive answer. The Duke of York will give an account of Mr White; if he be as faulty to the King of France as to Charles, he is very justly lodged in the Bastile [Clar. S.P. no 31 not signed or addressed].

Paris, 5 February 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

Peace between France and England will very soon be concluded. Conjectured destination (against Hispaniola) of Cromwell's fleet. The Queen-Mother is about to send an agent to the new Pope on her own private affairs; she proposes that, since it is difficult for the King to hold intercourse directly with Rome, he should entrust the negotiation of his business to the person instructed in the Queen's name. Urges his acquiescence with this proposal, not only as advantageous for his interests, but as promoting the restoration of a good correspondence with his mother [Clar. S.P. no. 42 unsigned or addressed].

Paris, 12 February 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

A letter shall be made, according to his direction, for Lord Balcarres, and to-morrow the writer will wait upon the Cardinal with it; those things which ought in reason to be granted, ought not to be left unasked. although morally certain to be denied [Clar.S.P. no. 46; not signed or addressed].

Paris, 14 May 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

I send you a letter from the queen, soe that I have nothing to say from her. The duke of York hath commanded me to give you an account of that, whiche concerns the

particular of his remove from that place, for the confidence, with whiche the peace with England was last week believed makes us prepare for that remove, whiche will be a consequence of it. Yet this night speaking with the Cardinal of it, he told me, the peace was not yet made; and added, that he knew not what would certainly be the issue thereof. The news of the signing of it was this day expected, but it is not come. The Cardinal is in payn in two particulars; one, that he must send the duke away: the next, to find whither he must goe. For the first, the necessitye of it, which he beleaves soe absolute, guides the resolution: and thir remayns noew doubt, but that he must remove. For the other article, thir being noe necessity to govern it, we are still in suspense. He seems to wish, if thear may be place for it, that he should be engaged in Germany; but whyther any thing of that, which is now as forte, will give occasion for it, is the question. It does not appear to me, that it will: but if it should, it wear noe ill region to continue to learn the soldier-trade in, and perhaps even more then that would be found to invite him that way. He spake of his goeing to Denmark: but I saw soe litle possibility of making that jorney with any utility, that I bethought him not to thinke it could be in any sort reasonable to retayne any farther consideration of it. Then he began to speake of Italy, concerning whiche he told me, he saw soe great inconveniencys, that he was not ready to resolve. In fine we are still in uncertaynty as to the place, whyther he must goe: and uncertayn, whyther he must goe at all: for the peace is not certayn, onely this we know, that if it be made, he cannot remayn heere. He told me, that he did not believe it could be possible, that the business of the treaty could continue undecided above 3 or 4 dayes at most: soe that by the next you may expect the conclusion one way or the other. It has bin beleaved this week, that the Court would part on Munday: but that day will not hold. We are in great impacience to hear, what the Marquis de Lede will doe in England, and Pen in the Indies. Blagge staves still in the Meditteranean, he has bin lately at Malta to demand thear the enlargement of some Turks, that those of Tunis and Argiers [sic] will have, before they render the Christians that Blagge demanded of them. The Turks were refused by those of Malta: upon whiche thear passed great volies of cannon from the fleet upon some of the forte [Jermyn contunues to go into detail concerning the engagement]... whyther they will agree agayne or not, I doe not know: but it would be some little advantage to you, that they might not. I will enquire after the progress of the matter, and give you advice of that I shall learn. I have no more to trouble you with at present. Monsieur de Monmege, coronel of the Cent Suises, is dead, and Monsieur de Varde hath the place, paying to the heirs 100 million livres. The place is worth to be sold 400 million livres. My Lord of Buckingham is lately come hither. There goes up and downe a Report, that Fairfax sent a gentleman to you to offer his services, and to propose to you that my lord of Buckingham might be appointed to treat with him: and that thearupon the matter was rejected. Pray be pleased to write a word, whyther you have heard of this or not, or what is the truth of it. I have not got yet any more money for you, but I shall very suddenly. God of heaven preserve you!" [Thurloe S.P. vol. 1 pp 687-8].

Paris, 21 May 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

The queen hath received yours of this weeke: but being at Chailot, and a little indisposed, having had a fit of the vapours, that uses to be troubled with, she hath commanded me to make her excuse, that she writes not till the next week. The business of the treaty is grown soe misterious, that we know not what to believe of it. If we wear in any inclination of following the common opinion held heere of it, we might venture to tell you, but there is at present as much appearance of the breache, as

of the accomodation, nay more. The publick vote goes on the behalf of the breache, but I dare not be too confident: on the contrary, thear is too mucche cause to fear the agreement. This, I think, we may at last say truly, after having sayed otherwise soe long, that next week will give us the certaynty one way or the other. Upon this matter the resolutions for the duke of Yorke doe soe depend, that we can say noe more of him, then I did in my last. The court is gone to Chantilly, and soe to Compeigne, whyther after the letters of tuesday next the duke will goe, either to goe from thence to the campayne heere, if thear be noe peace, or if thear be, to take his resolution and leave for some other course, which for ought I can discern is most like to be for Italy. The surintendants have bin away ever since the court parted, soe that you will receive no supply this week: I think you will the next. Your clothes are bespoke, and shall be sent with care to you. This, for the present is all the trouble you have. God of heaven preserve you! [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 688].

Paris, 15 September 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

I have receav'd yours of the 25th, that that thear is much dissatisfaction heere, for the bussines of your leters ought to be looked for, and that thear is more pretended to even then is in effect to be looked for too: for that will serve for coulour and exercise, if they doe find cause to enter into nearer ties with Cromwel. I conceive, the pretending both, as farre as your

servans heare will be able, is still to be endeavoured, and I wish it wear as easy to make good the form as the thing. That whiche you apoint me to represent, is strong in the behalf of the latter: I would you would furnish me with as good arguments for the former. When I told you the duke had debts, whiche I thought would be necessary to discharge before his parting, I told you surely the truth of the case: but to extend that to all his debts, wa smore then I meant: for I saw very little appearance of paying all: and soe it falls out: for he leaves, I think, a great many behind him. Yet I thinke I doe now see so clearly into his parting, that you may depend it will be with in the week, that comes in: and I think you may depend with the same assurance, that he will loose very little time by the way. You cannot more earnestly desire his company, then he does to be with you: and I dare say, you have not expected it with the more impatience, then he hath donne this remove: yet with all, that his remove hath required for the facilitations of it, the help of your servants, which he will give you an account of, when he sees you. This for the present is all the trouble I have to give you. May God of heaven preserve you!" [Thurloe S.P. vol. I, p. 688].

Paris, 29 October 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

Since my last I have not spake with the Cardinal: soe I have noething to add touching the subject of the latter: and the bishop of Amiens is not come to towne, but I expect him owerly upon his owne promise, as well as my owne impatience: for I doe very earnestly desire he had begun his jorny. I hear this day out of England, that the peace is signed between them and this court: but I know not certaynly, whyther it be soe or not. I hear at the same time thear is great appearance of the breache with Spayne. If the former be true, it seems to me a powerfull argument to beleieve the latter: and the former being true, though it will be very ill news yet it is in a very good measure recompensed by the latter. The pope hath writ lately to the king heere to recommend to him the considerations of the generall peace; and yesterday the cardinal gave the answer to the nuntio, which was, that he could not assure, that thear would be noe difficulty, when the treaty should be resolved; for the Spaniards might possibly insist

upon suche conditions, as the king could not accord to; but that thear should be more in comming to a treaty on his part, for that he remited to the pope, the choice of the peace, time, persons, and matter of treating, and would consent to any thing the pope should settle: and desired he would without losse of time take thes particulars into consideration. Sending you soe may other letters, I doe not think fitte to enlarge with one word more. May God of heaven preserve you!" [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 689].

6 November 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

That Mazarin wanted to summon James to go to Paris to discuss his future and that Charles Berkeley had been sent to ask him to attend the Court. James was standing in for Turenne at the time and so could not go to the Court, which was then at Compiègne, until mid-November [Clar. S.P. 415].

Paris, 26 November 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

My journey to Compeigne kept me from wrighting last weeke. I went thither to wayte upon the duke of York, according to his command to me, and carried with me the queens advise to him to come to Paris to consider heere, what he is to doe in this changement de theatre. He is to remove from hence, I know not whyther by any of the publick articles, or a private agreement: but in fine it is a mater soe resolved, that if it could be reasonable to endeavor the change, it could not be possible to effect it. The question is now, how he is to dispose of himself, in whiche we all here concur, that we are not ready yet to resolve: and we might see a little more clearly, how the breache will advance between Spayne and Cromwel, and what thoughts the Spaniards will imbrace towards you, before he can make his choice. The quen hath proposed to you to send her what occurs to you upon this point, and within a post or two shall not fayle to know from hence all the severall considerations, that have presented themselves to us heere. It would be long and usseless to trouble you now with them. The king and cardinal will be heere on tuesday. To-morrow they goe to Peronne, which business is composed upon these termes: Han is put into the king's hands: Peronne remaynes to the marquis d'Hauquincourt, eldest sonne to the marischall, and the marshall shall have, in discharge of the debt he pretends the king owes him, 500 million livres. What is signed concerning madam de Chatillon in the treaty, is not yet disclosed. You will have herd of the arrival of the Lorain army in the Frenche quarters, having left the other side, and betaken themselves to this. It is donne by an order from the duke of Lorayn. His brother, that came at the head of them, will be sudenly at the court. Monsieur de Linieville is come too, but will not remayne in the command. How they will be disposed of, is not yet resolved: for the present Monsieur Faber is sent to assign them quarters, and to take the charge and command of them. Will Crofts is come out of Guyen, and hath donne you very considerable services. I shall endeavour now to get the necessary conveyance for the trying of the affections of all our friends: and if I obtain it, I doe not doubt, but we shall doe you considerable service. The conjuncture seemes to me soe propoernow for all efforts to be made, that even if the connyvance should be denied, which I hope it will not be, I would not forbear any longer to make the tryal. It is very unhappy, that Monsieur d'Amiens is not yet dispatched, but we have had difficulties, that we could not yet remove. I thought I should have bin able to have sent you some mony this week: but I could not possibly doe it. I am very confident I shall not fayle to doe it by the next. I have noe more to say. May God of heaven preserve you!" [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 689].

Paris, 10 December 1655, Jermyn to Charles II. Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 689.

Since the conclusion of the peace, which yesterday was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies belonging to matters of that nature, the cardinal hath made great difficulty, to the bishop of Amiens journey to Rome. He hath not absolutely denied: but the last time I spake with him he sayed that of it, that leaves me very little hope, that it will be carried. The queen though is resolved to ask to see him tommorow, and to use all sorts of instances to persuade him, being still of opinion, that the journey is of present and great importance, and that noe man living is soe fitte for it as the bishop of A.. I hope to be able next post to give you account of the resolution. In the mean time it is with great impacience that we expect to hear from you, what the Spaniards will resolve in order to your coming among them, and thir making the war, in which they are engaged, by concert with you. If they take the resolutions, that are best for themselves, as well as best for you, I doe not doubt you will be considerably helped by many other of your friends: in order to which I have allready the engagement of severall ones. Concerning the duke of York we only yet know that he is to remove: but the first step is not determined, neither for when nor whyther he is to goe. I send you noe mony this week, because I keep my last effort for your remove; or if you doe remove, before you advertise it, be sure some supply shall meet you at Antwerp. I sent you last week a bill of 2 million rix dollers, and accepted Mr Foxe's bill, and engaged to pay Sir Hary de Vic. This is now all your present trouble. May God of heaven preserve you!"

Paris, 31 December 1655, Jermyn to Charles II.

I shewed your leter of this week to the queen, and she hath sent me her answer. She seemed to me, when I spake with her at Shailot, not convinced, that the coming of the princes hither was soe unseasonable, or like to be prejudicial, as you represent it: nor, to confes truly, doe I believe it soe very dangerous: but on the other side not any reasons very pressing for the hast, or for one time rather then another, more then that the soonest is still the best for bringing those together, that desire muche to meet, if there be noe good reason to forbid it. I have as well as I could conformed myself to your sience in my discours of the matter: and though I think noe harm will come of the jorney, if it should be made, I would be very sory it should be in the way to bear the blame of that, whiche perhaps it would not be any part the cause of. And the queen told me, she would write to the princes with the representation of all the precaution, that should be necessary: soe that I beleeve before she part, you will have time to provide agaynest all the appearance of the harm of the jorney, either by suche answers as you wil have got from Flanders, or retarding her, if you shall find cause. The princes's coming hither is soe visibly a matter of private consideration, and soe remote from any publick concernment, that the queen beeing soe litle prevayled with upon the publick point, shee beleeves perhaps even more then there is cause for of the arts use to hinder the jorney: and if she writes any thing to you to that purpose, you ought not to wonder muche at it. The duke of York is at Verneil, and he returns not hither till monday. As soon as he comes, he will dispose himself to make all the hast to you he can. I wish you would shortin his voyage, and come to Flanders to meet him: and am confident enough, if you do not, it will be none of your owne fault. A marque, that the king studyes, is the present business and diversion of htis court: and that which concerne your affaires in it must be directed by the resolutions will be taken in order to them by the spaniards [sic]. We are now advertized, that they treat with Cromwel, and that Barriere hath in his hands that negotiation. I cannot believe it possible they

should agree: and therefore cannot chuse but hope very well. I have noe more to trouble you with. It hath bin well conjectured to you, that the cardinal will not allow Mr Amiens to goe to Rome; for after all our expectations, he will be refused, soe that some other mst be thought on for that imployment: and it will not be easy to find any soe fitte as ----. May God of heaven preserve you!" [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 690; Lambeth MS 646, art. 33].

Paris, 21 January 1656, Jermyn to Charles II.

I have received yours of the eleventh. To the point of money, that short account I gave my lord Culpeper last week, is all I can yet say: for since I have not bin able to advance one step. I will omit noe diligence, that depends on me: but as soon as I can get any new mony, whiche will create new credit, not falye to send as muche as I shall be able. You are not to judge of the queen's affections, noe more by her stile then by her words: for they are both sometimes betrayes of her thoughts and have sharpnes, that in her hart she is not guilty of. And I doe beleeve you have not onely her affection to presume on, whiche can never slaken, but even all the tenderness and kindnes, that can be imagined: which I say not to intrude myself into that, whiche is very unnecessary between you, the doing this office, but because a word in your leter leads me to it. But I need not enlarge your trouble on the subject. We begin to fear muche, the treaty between Spayn and Cromwell, is like to end in an agreement. That, whiche makes me aprehend it, is, that I cannot discearn, that since the peace with this court, that thear is any further step towards any joint undertaking, or any further tyes contracted then the peace specifies. We are all very busie in preparing for the reception of the Princess Royal. She will be very kindly used: I think soe at last. The dispositions hitherto in the court allow us to have some confidence of it. Monsieur le Premier went away on tuesday for the jorny whereof I wrote last week. M de Modene goes away on munday. The parlament have made a litle noise touching an edict for the changing of the mony, which is a busines the king will have passe, and wherein he will make considerable profit. They would have met contrary to the desire of the court, and wear in some disposition towards it this morning, but the leter of cachet, by whiche they wear forbidden, beeing deliver'd to them, they parted, and the matter will end without more harm: and I beleeve the busines of the mony will goe on with some little alteration. Hear is little discours of the peace, and much preparation for the campayne. You will have herd the change of affayres in Poland before this comes to you. The Tartars are come in in ayde of the king of Poland, with 80,000 men, and the king of Poland is returned with 2000 hors, and the generality of the kingdom as ready to helpe him. as they wear in the desertion at first. This is at least the present news from thence, and ought to be authentick; for it is from the queen of Poland's owne hand. The duke of York goes on munday to meet his sister and will learn nothing till his return of his final parting: and I am not very certayn, whyther thear be not some secret deliberation, of whiche we are not called at all, whyther he shall remove, or not. I know nothing of it: but I doe beleeve thear is. The queen sends you a leter: that will be news enough for one post. I never saw the discours of future things in a more sober stile. I am sory I am not acquainted with thr man. I never met more temptation to hearken after that art: and 'tis most true that, whyther by skill or chance, I cannot tell, he has in other particulars rencountred with miraculous hapynes in the persons of the cardinal and the prince of Condé, and in the resolutions of this court. Pray consider how you will have him know, whyther you have recev'd his leter or not, and whyther you would have him write any more par voye d'esclairissement & amplification, as he mentions. I have noe more to say. I pray God mak him a right profit, and give you



all sorts of hapynes. May God of heaven preserve you! - [p.s.] I send you the maske from Benserade . The duke of York can give you a good account of it, for he fayles it not at every dancing [Thurloe S.P., vol. I p. 691; Lambeth MS 645, 102].

Paris, 28 January 1656, Jermyn to Charles II.

I fear by your having mentioned mony soe often of late, that my leters, till I send some leters of exchange, will be but very troublesome ones: yet I dare not omit this to let you know, that I have used my utmost industry, but can get no reason of the surintendants. I have dayly promises, but they produce noe effects: and I must have recours to the cardinal, whiche I was in hope not to have bin forced too. The Princes R will be heere on thursday. The duke of York is this night with her at Peronne. Thear is great preparation and disposition to pay her all the honors, that she has cause to expect at her arrivall, and to divert her during her stay. The king and queen will goe to meet her a league or two out of town: and in those cases you know that wants not other compoany. The great balles and the maske are reserved for her, and much of the good company of the place is resolved to pay her all sorts of respects and civilisation, especially those more particularly related then others to you and hir, as the house of Guise, Mons de Turene, Mons d'Epernon, Mad. de Vendosme, Mad de Mercure, and divers others. Next week you shall know how the first part of the matter will have past. I thought when I wrote last, that the busines of the changing the present species of mony would have ended with less noise then it is like to doe: for the parlament have assembled contrary to the king's order, and this day five councillors have had a command to remove out of Paris, and an intimation sent to the rest, that of they meet any more, it shall cost them the Bastille for the first attempt, and worse for the second. This is the result of to-day. I have at present noe more to adde. God of heaven preserve you! [p.s.] The names of the banish'd councillors are, le Loc, Pencarre, Villemonste, for three. I have forgot the other two, but they are men you know not, as I think thes are. [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 691].

4 February 1656, evening, Jermyn to Charles II.

I send you leters from the queen and princes, whiche I beleeve leave me litle to say in the point of the princesses's reception. It hath bin hither so universally civil in all things, from all persons, and as (without any flattery) she doth reussir [sic], it is liklier to mend then impair. On sunday she is to be at Monsieur's ball, whear thear will be the first assembly this court can form: and we discearn allready, that she will hold her place very well. The cardinall hath advanced great protestations of civility to her, and inclinations of entring into the interests of her sone, whiche perhaps may be of important advantages to him. I find a strong appetite in her to make the confidences between the queen and you more intire then she supposes it to be: and I am intimately joyed, that the queen shall have soe irreprochable a witnes of her good inclinations. I take occasion to vouche this discours, that I may make the profession to you, that if it fall to my lot to be in the least mesure serviceable in the matter, I will esteem it the greatest happines, that can befall me, I am unwilling at any time to speak to you of the generall peace, because it is a mystery soe hard to be comprehended, that it is soe long delayed: yet I cannot chuse but tell you, that the dispositions to it seem more pregnant then heertofore, and 'tis very hard to be without some hope of it in so many favorable appearances as are dayly visible. The duke of Orleans will be shortly heere. I doe not hear, that madmoiselle comes with him, nor that thear is any thing sayed concerning her in the last treaty. The treaty between Spayn and Cromwel continuing, and the

preparations for the Indes gives some apprehension of an agreement between them, that may import, that the war beyond the line should induce noe consequence of a breache on this side: and that thear should be further settled, that Cromwel could enter into noe commerce at all with this court, to the prejudice of Spayn, nor Spayn with you to that of Cromwel. The delaying the answers to your desires is allsoe some little confirmation of this: a little time will clear it. I can yet get no dispatch of the superintendants. This is now all I have to say. God of heaven preserve you! [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 692-3]. Henrietta Maria added a footnote to Jermyn's letter; "I leave better pens than mine to give you a description of the arrival of your sister, the Princess Royal. She has been received right royally, and she pleases everyone here from the least to the greatest. She has been to-day so overwhelmed with visits, that I am half dead with fatigue, which is my excuse for not telling you more" [Lambeth MS 646 art. 34, qu. in Cartwright's Madame].

Paris, 25 February 1656, Jermyn to Charles II.

I have received yours of this week. I beleve thear is now no more fear, but that thear will be a war, and that second point I take to be in the same security. Perhaps you must stay some few dayes, before it will be as manifest as the other: but in the end (and I think suddenly too) it cannot be avoided, I believe consequently every stone is now to be turned, by whiche any acception of help is to be procured: and I will not fayle to set a work every imagination that occurs to me. That whiche you left in charge with Mr Crofts, may perhaps prove in this occasion practicable. Be pleased to remember to say a word in your next of it to the queen, because you left order with her to consider of the time when it might be fitte to give him his commission, that you left with the queen, and set the business on foote. The queen desires you to excuse her, that she writes not this week. I am very mucche troubled, that I cannot send you some mony this week. I was made to hope it, and have gotten an order, that perhaps will be converted next week into mony. The stop in the business of changing the species has made for the present a little stop in all payments almost, because thear wear great summes depended upon from that busines. It is not yet certayn, whyther it will passe or not. I have at present noe more to trouble you with. God of heaven preserve you!" [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 692].

Paris, 17 November 1656, Jermyn to the Earl of Bristol.

The letters from the Queen and himself to the King will show the ill success of the application to the French court for a pass permittig Bristol to go through France on his way to Madrid; as their opinions now are, it was not to be expected they should grant it. Could he meet at Madrid some of the youth and humour he left there, he would be there before Bristol [Clar.S.P. no. 609].

Paris, 27 September 165.... [no year], Jermyn to Charles II.

Since my two last to you, we have herd nothing more out of England, so that I have nothing to adde to those letters. I write this onely to send you this inclosed, that I received from Mons de Manican. The zeale and affection he expresseth deserves, that you give him thanks, and let him know, how he is to govern himself. I have writen to him to assure him, I should give you notice of your intentions. Be pleased to send one word what I shall say further to him. God of heaven presevre you! [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 694].

19 June 1657, Jermyn to \_\_\_\_\_.

The uncertainty, till this day, of what has become of the dukes of York and Gloucester [who were missing during the fighting with Spain] hath been new perplexity, so that you may well believe she [the queen] hath passed her time as ill as you can imagine [qu. Green, Letters p. 387, prob Lambeth MS 645 about article 106].

Essones, 30 August 1657, Jermyn to Prince Rupert (rendered "Robert" by Jermyn).

I commend to you the bearer, Col. Bampffield, who is going to Germany, to seek a livelihood in the motions of that country. If it be easy for you to do for him what he proposes, you will very much oblige me. His sufferings and persecutions entitle him to relief. We are on our way to Bourbon for the recovery of the Queen's health, which has lately been very ill, but is now very much amended. My long silence has not arisen from any want of zeal [S.P.Dom., vol. CLVI, endorsed by Nicholas "the original I delivered to Lord Chancellor". Flanders Correspondence. The original is in Clar. S.P. no. 1064].

Paris, n.d. but certainly October 1657, Jermyn to Charles II.

The queen commands me to make her excuse to you, for not wrighting this week, in whiche she is in much payn, and will continue, soe till the next. She hath herd of the busines of Mardick, but soe imperfectly, that she knowes not what to beleeve of it. It is sayd heere, that you wear thear in the head of your troops; that the attaque continued three or four howers: that thear wear 300 of your men killed upon the place: and that you not being able to carry the countrecarpe. together with the marche of Mons de Turenne, obliged you to make your retreat. We are in expectation to be informed from you, how mucche of this is true, and in great impasience, to understand the condition you are in, and that of the duke of York, and the rset of your servants. The queen hath bin visited by the whole court, with the usual demonstrations of ordinary civility, but noebody spake of this matter to her, nor of any thing els, that is [of] consideration to advertise you. They are now falling into the ordinary divertisements of the winter: whiche is all I have at present to say. God of heaven presevre you!" [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 693].

Paris, 21 June 1658, Jermyn to Charles II.

I send you a leter of the queen's, whiche is soe good an image of her present temper of her mind, that I need adde noething at this present consarning her. She is not a little troubled at the things that passe heere, and the more in that the remedies are so hard to be found out. The uncertaintie till this day, of what was become of the dukes of York and Gloucester, hath bin new perplexity: soe that you well beleeve she hath past her time as ill as you can ymagin. We are not well enough informed of the siege of Dunkirk, or the consequences of the battel, to be able to tell you anything new. Those, that write from callis, speak as if the place would not hold out long: but we have yet noe other news then what was writ the day after the battel, at whiche time perhaps the advantages wear beleeved greater then they are in effect, if at least it be true, as it is now sayed, that the Spanish army is returned, to the same post, in whiche they fought. God of heaven preserve you!" [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 693].

Colombes, 2/12 July 1658, Jermyn to Charles II.

Has received his of the 5th about Lord Balcarres; the Queen has been this week at Mr Montague's and is now at Lord Crofts' house. Is therefore unable to give an answer; but discerns that it will be hard for her to desist when she has so great an esteem for Balcarres. Was induced to begin acquaintance with the Earl by the King's good opinion of him when the King returned from Scotland. Begg him at least to hear Balcarres [Clar.S.P. vol. 58 f. 112-3].

9/19 July 1658, Jermyn to Charles II.

If there should be, as the Queen recommends, a fairer communication of minor things, many things which now disquiet both him and her, would be prevented. Neither Hyde nor the King have given the Queen notice of the former's new appointment. There are many other similar matters. Thus the Queen has become engaged in the business of Balcarres. Freedom of communication is the desire of everybody [Clar.S.P. vol. 58 f. 128-9].

Paris, 30 July/9 August 1658, Jermyn to Charles II.

Has received his letter of this week. Fears his utmost endeavours will fail to preserve the liberty of the prayers within the Palais Royale. Hopes to provide a more spacious place for the worship of those of this house. Has either the Queen-Mother or the Queen of France known the liberty they have constantly used since the Prince went away, they had lost it sooner. The Queen says nothing of Balcarres' business because she is waiting for something the King has promised to send. He added some court news not printed in the [Clar.S.P. vol. 58 f. 168-9].

10/20 September 1658, Jermyn to Charles II.

The Queen will despatch an express to him tomorrow in consequence of the news of Cromwell's death. The King may find many useful friends and servants in Paris. The Cardinal came last night to see the Queen; the engagements contracted with the dead monster expire suddenly. He should give the Queen all the help he can in the two material points; (1) that his recovery is not so desperate as the French may imagine and (2) that it would not be so harmful to them as they may fear [Clar.S.P. vol. 58 f. 352-3 see Cl.S.P. iii 415].

15 November 1658, Jermyn to Charles II.

I write now more, because I did not last week, than that I have any thing now to say, that can justify this trouble to you. I am only glad to tell you, that I hear so much of the disorders in England, that I cannot avoid flattering myself with hopes of some sudden advantage to you. We have no news of this court, but this town begins to be very confident the king will bring the lady back with him. I am still of opinion, that you may have need of the kindness of this state, and that there is hope of finding it, although the declaration be not to be expected so early as it is to be wished: and it ought to be still a part of your as well as of your servants, to watch all occasions, that may hasten or secure it. God of heaven preserve you! [Thurloe S.P. vol. I p. 693].

12/22 March 1659, Jermyn to Charles II.

*Copyright Anthony Adolph 2023 However, if you wish to quote from here, please ask ([www.anthonypadolph.co.uk](http://www.anthonypadolph.co.uk)).*

Writes of his sorrow at the King's displeasure [Clar.S.P. vol 60 f. 219c-d see Cl.S.P. iii 442-3].

13/23 May 1659, Jermyn to Charles II.

By the Queen's command has again seen the Cardinal, and now has more reason to ne hopeful; even if they are dissappointed, it would be harmless to believe well of him. The peace [between France and Spain]. The King may find his opportunity if R. Cromwell offers some resistance to the new government. Monck is doubtful; some say he promises to adhere entirely to the Army, others to Cromwell. It is unanimously reported that Harry Cromwell means to venture all in support of his brother. The new parliament is said already to be discussing a peace with Spain. All these things ought to show Mazarin that there is now some prospect of the King's success. Asks for more information with which to urge the Cardinal in favour of the King" [Clar. S.P. vol. 60 f. 531-2].

Paris, 25 September/5 October 1659, Jermyn and Colepeper.

A day or two after Colepeper left Paris, the writer received letters from the King and Ormonde of the 21st from Rochel saying they were going to Spain. They also mentioned what passed between the King and Queen for the prosecution of the other matter upon the foot it was left when Ormonde went hence. The Quen entirely agrees thereunto. According to the King's desire, the Quen sends writer to the French court. Sends the Queen's pass to Colepeper. Encloses letters to be sent to the King and Ormonde if there is an occasion; if not they are to be kept till you meet [Clar.S.P. vol. 65 f. 50].

Paris, 1/11 April 1659 "Good Fryday", Jermyn to Charles II.

That the Queen and the Princess are in good health; the former is shut up at Chailot at her devotions and cannot answer his letter of this week. The peace with Spain is so much talked of that it is impossible not to believe something of it [Clar.S.P. vol. 60 f. 268-9].

Paris, 9/19 April 1659, Jermyn to Charles II.

That he has received his of 13th; looks upon it as an end of a certain matter in the King's thoughts. The Quen is in her retreat, and is very busy in the reception of the Princess Louise, who is arrived at Shaillot, and for whom the Queen of France has procured a pension of 6,000 livres [Clar.S.P. vol. 60 f. 314-5].

10/20 June 1659, Jermyn to Charles II.

Refers to the Queen's letter and acknowledging the news brought by his nephew. He said that Mazarin was to visit Henrietta Maria tomorrow [Clar.S.P. vol. 61 f. 148-9].

Paris, 1/11 July 1659, Jermyn to Charles II.

The Cardinal has stopped the issue of the King's pass because of the delay of the Spanish courier with the ratification of the treaty. The King's mother has written to

the Cardinal to represent the necessity of her meeting with the King. He has received his of the 5th, and finds how hopeful he is of somewhat in England; but cannot believe that the preparations at this time in England are suitable for so great a work. Movements of the Cardinal and Court. Lockhart pretended to the Cardinal that he knew the matter of the King's journey hither; it is more likely that the secret (which the Cardinal thinks has not been well kept) was guessed by Lockhart than that it was told either from Brussels or from hence [Clar.S.P. vol. 61 f. 368-9 see Cl.S.P. iii 523-4- a short passage omitted at the end)].

29 July/ 8 August 1659, Jermyn to Charles II.

Hears from England that the discovery of their intentions may cause his friends to lay aside the attempt. If this undertaking be suppressed the work cannot be done without help from abroad. Looks to the conference at the frontier and impatiently waits for news [Clar.S.P. vol. 69 f. 28-9].

Paris, 24 August 1659, Jermyn to Mazarin.

Makes a vehement appeal for his help in restoring the Stuart dynasty at such a propitious moment. The County of Cheshire, he wrote, had declared for the King and "a gentleman of the first position, named Booth" was holding the county with an army of 4,000 or 5,000 men and the Earl of Derby was to join him with an army from Lancashire [H.M.C. IX, Alfred Morrison's MSS].

Paris, 17/27 September 1659, Jermyn to Lord Mordaunt.

My Lord, I have received yours of the 24 with very much pleasure, first to heare of your safety, in which your friends have so much cause to be concerned, and next that you are pleased to afford me the opportunity of entring into your knowledge and acquaintance. I take it for a singular favour, and shall by all the wayes and means that shall occur to me, invite you to the contynuance of the same. The King is gon towards Spayne. Whether he will stay at the frontiers, or go to Madrid I am not able to tell you, not having heard from his Majestie since he began his journey from Britany, where he was the last letters I received. This is all the account I can give you. If you passe this way, in your journey after him, I shall be most heartily glad of it, that you may have some better occasions to let you see, with how much respect, and truth, I am, My lord, Your lordships most humble, and most faithfull servant,

Jermyn [Mordaunt's letter books].

Paris, 12/22 December 1659, Jermyn to Hyde.

Courteous letter notifying him of the honour conferred on him by the King and requesting the offices of Hyde's ministry [Clar.S.P. vol. 67 f. 207-8].

19/29 December 1659, Jermyn to Mordaunt.

My Lord, This is only to tell you that I shall send you the cipher which I desired you to allow me to doe next post certainly and that we part on Monday; God send us good speed. I am very hopefull which is all I have to add to what I said at parting. Sir Robert Murray and I have had much discourse since he left you. Nothing can be more

welcome to me nor more esteemed by me than your favour and kindness neither ought you to be more fully persuaded of any thing then of my inclinations to invite you to the continuance of them to me by all the means that can be in my power, and as strong a disposition to pay you the returns as can be in any man living. I beseech you to believe this as most unfeyned truth and that I am with all sorts of respects, my lord, your lordship's most humble and most faithfull servant,

Jermyn [Mordanut's letter books].

19 February 1660, Jermyn to Ormonde.

I adde this to my former ones onely to thank you abundantly for your great favor to me in the behalf of Cowly and your great goodnes to him if I am not too partiall he is a very proper subject for the King's forgiveness and by this sedcond leter he sends you will discearn he is farre from justifying the error of his words of his preface he onely justifies himself from the malice of them and he cannot doe otherwise without offending God and his own conscience for without doubt he had noe mallice. I hope this leter will furnish you the means of finishing that whiche you have begun that I might have the liberty to imploy him and the help of his service for I really want it for the good of the Kings if I be good for anything in it. I pray God of heaven keepe you" [Carte MSS, qu by C.H.Firth, The Academy, Oct 7 1893, no. 1118].

Paris, 6/16 April 1660, Jermyn to Charles II.

The Queen's letter to the King, his own to Ormonde [in Carte MS xxx ff568-70], and what the bearer will say, make it unnecessary to reiterate arguments for his coming to this court. The King will find no other matter touching his propositions settled more to his contentment". The bearer was [Richard] Mason [Clar.S.P. vol. 71 f. 139-40].

Paris, 21 April/1 May 1660, Jermyn to Charles II.

Can add litle to the Queen's answer to his letter received this week. Has heard nothing from Mr Montagu since his arRival at Court. Expects an account from his to-night. Sends a letter of his opened by the Queen. D'Avenant's journey was rather a visit to the writer from some old friends than a public matter. He is afflicted at hearinghe has incurred the King's displeasure. He has passed through great tribulation and conceives himself most inocent. Would rejoyce if, through Mr Montagu, the King received am nvitation to come to Paris, and if those in England would agree to his receiving here the address of the Parliament [Clar.S.P. vol. 72 f. 1-2].

Paris, 20/30 May 1660, Jermyn to Charles II.

That he had received his letter of 25 May; "I have little to say to you" he wrote, since the Queen's were so ample. It was unfortunate that peace was not declared so that the Cardinal might speak and act as frankly as he is believed to be inclined. The Queen labours for liberty to impart the Cardinal's intentions to the King, so that she may present the King's proposals to the Cardinal [Clar. S.P., Vol. 23 ff. 425/6; sealed].

Whitehall, 14 June 1660, Jermyn to Hyde.

Recommends the bearer of the letter, Henry Devensh, for the place of second deputy Register to attend the court and George Edwards to be sworn puisne Register [of the High Court of Chancery] [Clar. S.P. vol. 73].

Paris, 15/25 August 1660, Jermyn to Sir Edward Harley, English Governor of Dunkirk.

The Queen having heard of two Capuchins being put in prison for something done by them at Dunkirk, she hath commanded me to desire this liberty of you [Welbeck MSS, qu. in Hervey, Rushbrook Parish Registers &c].

Whitehall, late November 1660, received at Penshurst late on Saturday night, 1 December 1660, Jermyn to Earl of Leicester.

I am very glad of all occasions that give me any commerce with you, which you may discern by the liberty I take of sending this bearer to you in a concernment of my own. It is of importance, and I suppose all that remains of difficulty will be taken away by a word from you in answer of this. The matter is that the King, having resolved now to send me away into France, he hath regulated my entertainment at fewer hundred pound a month, according to that your Lordship had, and hath given command to Mr Secretary Nicolas to dispatche a privy seale according to the proportion you had without specifying fewer hundred pounds a month. The Secretary finding no president of any privy seale of that summe but, on the contrary, some for a les summe, his desire and my humble one joyned to it is to knowe from your Lordship whyther you had that summe of fewer hundred pounds a month allowed you, and what orders you had for the vouching it. I remember you were pleased to tell me that to avoid making of bills for extraordinary charges, you made the agreement with the King or Tresorer for fewer hundred pounds a month for all. Upon which I made the proposition to the King for the like, but no president of a privy seale for that summe appearing makes difficulty with the Secretary, which a word from you will remove, signifying in your letter to me how your case was. P.S.- The Queen expects to return into France 3 weeks hence and I attend her Ma. [H.M.C. 77].

Portsmouth, 18 December 1660, Jermyn to Hyde.

Thanks Hyde for the care he intended towards himself and Lady Jermyn [his mother]. He would dispose of the under clerks according to the rules which he prescribed. He told Hyde that his son had met with the same ill weather in his voyage as had Jermyn himself [Clar. S.P. vol. 73, 2 1/4 pages, ff. 316-7].

Paris, 13/23 February 1661, Jermyn to Hyde.

Writes that he had given Secretary Morrice an account of the Queen and the Princess. Requests him to ask the King for his cipher with the Queen and to cause the enclosed note to be deciphered and shown to the King [the note has gone missing]. Has seen the Cardinal. Sends this by Mr Long who may have something to say touching Her Majesty's affairs [Clar. S.P. vol. 74 ff 124-5].

Paris, 24 February/6 March 1661, Jermyn to Charles II.



Writes that Henrietta Maria has written constantly. The Cardinal's illness delays Jermyn's audience. Turenne, Villeroy, the Procureur-General, Le Tellier, and Lyonne were those most likely to be present to get the chief administration. The King of France proposes to take great pains in affairs. Could speak better of the things he has in charge, as a private person. The return of Tom Cooke is impatiently expected; the settlement of all things may be adjusted before the arrival of the dispensation. Monbrun hopes to obtain a pension for his son; he will lend more money, and attend "you" at "your" coronation [Clar. S.P. vol. 74, ff 208/9].

Paris, 3/13 March 1661, Jermyn to Charles II.

Tells the King of Mazarin's death. He compared the influence of Turenne and Le Tellier with Louis XIV and the Queen Mother. He thought that Turenne would have the foremost place; it would be to Charles' advantage. Understood that Louis was favourable to the proposed union. Henrietta Maria was busy with preparations for the princess' marriage [Clar. S.P. vol. 74 ff. 216-7].

Paris, 13/23 March 1661, Jermyn to Charles II.

Writes that it had been agreed that afternoon that M. de Brienne should make a draft of the articles. When the powers on both sides are produced the matter is finished. Sends bearer to get powers for Jermyn to sign and conclude. Encloses a form for this. The Queen's impatience for the bearer's return will be seen by her letter. Chief conditions are; Princess' portion of £40,000 to be paid in six or eight months, and £20,000 more as a gift partly in jewels. Jointure of 40,000li a year, and 250,000li a year for maintenance for life. The Queen has given an account of the particulars of her family. The rest of the contract is a matter of form [Clar. S.P.vol. 74 ff 271-2- copy; enclosed was Jermyn's draft of the instructions he wanted. This draft was for Charles to address to Jermyn, reciting the instructions dated 2 January 1660/1 ordering him to treat for the marriage of the Princess Henrietta with the Duke of Anjou [Monsieur]. Authorised him to conclude the marriage on the conditions proposed by the Queen; Clar. S.P. vol. 74 ff. 84-5].

Paris, 13/23 March 1661, Jermyn to Hyde.

Writes that he had written yesterday. The Queen is pleased by the bearer's speedy return. Refers to a form of powers [ie instructions] necessary for himself. Cannot send the articles all drawn up in form without deferring the marriage till after Easter; those of importance are specified in his letter to the King [Clar. S.P. vol. 74 ff 269-70].

25 March/4 April 1661, Jermyn to Charles II.

Writes that the Queen and Mr Montagu have explained the marriage arrangements. Sends Mr Secretary a copy of the articles. Details of the signing. The King of France desires a closer union, which he appointed M. de Lyonne to explain more particularly. Told him the effect of his instructions was to renew old leagues and form a new treaty. Desires directions; it will be less troublesome to send back bearer than to cipher so much as the occasion requires. His instructions are to inform the French what shall be concluded with the Northern Kings and the Hollanders and to demand the state of their negotiations with those states. Information regarding the Hollanders is most necessary if support of Portugal proceeds. Is advised of no article touching

this matter. Cannot get the private treaties of Cromwell. This King professes "great religion" in the observation of the peace with Spain, therefore great delicacy is needed to avoid a breach with Spain. They are jealous here of the greatness of Spain if Portugal be reduced. Wants instructions regarding Orange [Clar. S.P. vol. 74, 288-9, 4 pages].

Paris, 6/16 April 1661, Jermyn to Oudart.

Writes that he has recommended to the King that nothing be concluded touching Orange without providing for security of followers of the Princess Royal's interest, reparation for their losses to be made out of revenues of the Principality. Oudart should speak incessantly of it to the King [Clar.S.P. vol. 74].

Paris, 3 May 1661, Jermyn to Sir Edward Harley, English Governor of Dunkirk.

Concerning Harley's threats to burn Gravelines and Bourbourg if they persistently refused to pay taxes to Dunkirk. "I ought to expect, considering the quality I hold in his majesty's service, that I shall be spoken to of the matter as is requisite for me to know. I may add that seeing that the King is in perfect correspondence with this Court, that the less haste you make to come to any violence it will be the better" [Welbeck MSS qu. in Hervey].

30 April/10 May 1661, Jermyn to Hyde.

Refers to the business of Dunkirk and the demand of a contribution from Bourbourg (Harley, the governor of Dunkirk, had threatened to tax or plunder Bournourgh). Jermyn wrote that he had had discussions with "M. de Lyonne" about aranging mutual assistance in a private treaty and in renewing former treaties. Hyde must get advice of merchants regarding commerce. Has the last public treaty of Cromwell and treaties of 1606, 1610 and 1632. He asked for further instructions. He wrote that Cowley would solicit Hyde for an answer [Clar. S.P. vol 74- 6 1/4 pages ff. 349-52; Lister iii 124-8].

30 April 1661, Jermyn to Ormonde,

Tells him that Earl of Antrim had denied ever having libeled Charles I by accusing him of causing the Irish rebellion [Carte's ref. F.F. 104].

Paris, 10 May 1661, Jermyn to Hyde.

Since my last to you touching the busines of Dunkirk, I have been at Fountainbleau, where I have met with more discourse and more information of that matter. It is not of so little consideration as I esteemed it at first: it will deserve some of your serious thoughts. The pretention of making Bourbourg contribute is taken by this King his counsel, and generally all that come near him, to be without the least shadow of right, by whiche in the first you may discearn that it will not be yielded to; and I doe further knowe that there is order gonne to forbid the paying it, untill a further regulation. This signifyes nothing to the right of the King. I observe thus much to another end; that is, if the right seem to you to be on our side, and that the resolution be taken to assert it by any violence, before an examination of it be entered into, that care be taken it be soe gonne about that we receive noe displeasure; for I know that they wil be watchfull heere in the defence of it, to the point of right (submitting my opinion to that which

you shall decide for me, which shall both conclude my judgement and direct my proceedings). Allow me though to tell you, that it occurs not to me upon what title this contribution can be exacted,- how princes in amitie can demand contribution one of another, without the ground of some convention,- for it seemes new to me, and I think, or rather feare, there will be none found in this case. There is a convention, that, for the carrying on the war, (while the English and Frenche wear engaged together against the Spaniards,) for the susteyning of their troopes, they should haue this and severall other contributons; but whether that establish a right for the continuance is the question. If it were specified in the Treaty by which Dunkirk falls to the English, then, certainly, the King, who succeeds to the full extent and effects of that Treaty, ought not to be denyed it. But tis affirmed heere (which you may be able to see), that the Treaty onely settles Dunkirk and the dependencies, of whiche nature the contribution of Bourghborough cannot be supposed to be. In fine, not to trouble you with more discourse of this matter, the issue out of it is not very hard, if there be mutuall inclinations to seek it. There ought to be a suspension of any further proceedings, untill a view may be had of the condition originally of the question, which can onely be stated by seeing the Treaty. If there be any article that carries the continuance of this contribution in our favour, now the war is ceased, the King ought to expect and exact it. If there be noe convention, I know not upon what ground he can doe either. You will be pleased, as soon as may be, to let me be further instructed: in the mean time I shall haue noe more to say.

This question hath not suspended the speaking of other things. I have seen Monsieur de Lyonne, who hath, more particularly than the other ministers, the Forrain affayres in his repartition, and is appointed, (as I haue I think heertofore advertised you particularly,) to treat with me, and haue spoken with him in pursuit of settling a nearer correspondence and friendship between the King our master and this King, suche as may comprise the mutuall assistance of eache other, in their severall exigencyes, in consideration of that which we are now about with Portugal. I insisted muche on interesting them heere (without naming that for the reason) in our interests, in case we should fall into any quarrel with any of our neighbours: but I find them very stanche in that point. But, for the other, (whiche indeed is that I haue order from the King to be more instant in,) they goe as fast as I and [sic] are willing to stipulate the particulars, of whiche should consist the respective helps, that any occasions within the kingdomes of each other should minister the need of. Making some further steps into this discourse, I asked whyther they would agree to furnish the King six thousand foote and two thousand hors, if he should haue need of them, to be imbarked, at suche ports in France as the King should name, in the Kings owne vessels, and payed by the Frenche King for two moneths after their landing. I was answered, that ther was noething amisse in that proposition, soe that they might expect something of the like utility, in case the future events and accidents should bring the lot of their part, to ask the effects of that whiche should now be treated. I told them, ther ought to be doe doubt made of that. He aded, that it would be necessary to renew the former treatyes and allyances, and, at the same time, we might adde, in some act apart, that which should concerne this private treaty.

That whiche is now to be done is, to searche the former Treatyes in order to the renewing of them, and to consider very maturely what is to be retayned, what taken away, and what to be added, wherein I will take all the paynes I can, and give you my thoughts. But the chiefest part must rest upon you; and in the particulars that will concern the commerce you must haue the aduice of our marchants to be informed

wherein they are harmed, and wherein they may be eased. I have gotten the last publick Treaty of Cromwel. I have that of 1606 between King James and Henry the 4th, that of King James & Louis 13. of 1610, and that of King Charles and Louis the 13. of 1632. I will endeavour to get the rest; but if I should not find them, pray send me as many as you recover.

For the private Treaty, that which is to be donne is, that you send me word whyther you like the proportion of ayde that I have nominated, and that you specifye as many particulars as may make it intelligible, and that you set downe likewise such a succour as this King may expect, in case it should be his turn to demand it. We being to make in both cases the preparations for the passing of the men, and consequently to have that charge, it will be equall to ask a succour of more men than that we offer.

This for the present is all I have to say: onely let me desire you to let me hear from you as soon as you can touching Dunkirk, and the rest of the subject of this letter. The approche of Parliament, I easily foresee, will giue you but little time for other busines. Cowley will solicit you carefully for an answer. I hear the solemnities of the Coronation have passed with great order and magnificence,- the latter even to excess: ut the occasion carried the excuse. I pray God give you all happyness.

I present you the para bien for the new honor [Hyde's Earldom] his Matie hath bin leased to lay upon you, and wish you truly all the additions and satisfaction that your most faythfull servants ought to desire [Clar.S.P., Bodleian Library, qu. by Lister iii pp. 124-128].

Fountainbleau, 13/23 June 1661, Renewal of the Treaties between the Two Crowns.

Nous, Comte de St Albans, Ambassadeur Extre du Roy de la Grand Brétagne, auprès de sa Majesté le Roy très-Chrétien, entendons pour luy, que les anciens Traitez faits entre les Rois predecesseurs de leurs Majestés subsistent et ayent leur effet commun de part et d'autre, pour l'entretien de la bonne correspondance des Couronnes, et commerce de leurs sujets. Fait à Fountainbleau le 23e de Juin, 1661 (Signé) ST ALBANS [State Paper Office, qu. Lister iii p. 410].

Colombe, 1/11 September 1661, Jermyn to Hyde.

That he received Hyde's of 26th yesterday. The private treaty and the renewing of the ancient ones are again being discussed. Will go to Fountainbleau and try to have the order regarding Blaye suspended until the matter is regulated by the treaty. Arrest of the Surintendant [Fouquet] at Nantes. The cause is said to be the disposing of great sums of money to his friends since the Cardinal's death. A council will carry on financial affairs. Asked Hyde's help so that he may leave here at the end of next month [Clar. S.P. vol. 75 ff. 165-6].

Fountainbleau, 6/16 September 1661, Jermyn to Hyde.

That the King has recalled the orders about Blaye. Has not seen Lionne so cannot say what their intentions about the private treaty are. Discusses this question and the renewal of the ancient treaties. Asks for directions concerning privileges of Jersey and Guernsey in France of many of which they have of late years been stripped. Appointment of a new French Council for finance. Reported defeat of Spaniards in

Portugal [Clar. S.P. vol. 75 ff 176-9].

Colombe, 7/17 1661, Jermyn to Charles II.

Writes at the Queen's comand. On account of the affair between the French and Spanish ambassadors in England, the King has ordered Fuensaldagna to withdraw from France, Caracena not to pass through, the regulating of the frontiers to cease and the Count of Fuentes, the new ambassador, not to come. He has since received a fuller account from D'Estrades and now complains of some infractions upon the privileges of his ambassador's house. The Queen does not yet know what the fact is, but urges taking away all causes for suspicion [Clar. S.P. vol. 75 ff. 258-9].

Fountainbleau, 22 October/1 November 1661, Jermyn to Hyde.

That he received his of 12th ult.. He reported the birth of the Dauphin at 11.55 am. Louis was satisfied with Charles' part concerning d'Estrades' business. Thinks those of greatest credit here will avoid stirring up war with Soain. Thanks Hyde for news about Jersey. Will accompany the Queen to Paris and expects to set out (for London) in seven or eight days. His absence will not hinder matters. Hopes after seeing Hyde they will form a project to end the treaty business [Clar. S.P. vol. 105 ff 295-6].

Paris, 19 July 1662, Jermyn to Winchelsea (in Pera).

Being upon the point of leaving this kingdom and my ambassage, 'tis a duty I owe to the ambassage to give you notice of it, and tis a duty I owe to my inclinations to pay you my respects and offer you my humble service. I am going this jorney, which begins Monday next, with the queen my mistris, who after the banishment of many years is returning to England with the resolution of ending her life near the King her sonne. She is invited with soe much tenderness on his part and goes soe willingly of her owne part that it is to be expected they will afford one another very great consolations, and if it please God to continue those beginnings of quiet and settlement that by his good hand seem to be layed at present they are like to be very happy and his Majesty one of the greatest KINGS that our nation hath ever had I leave heare a flourishing kingdom and hope to find one at home in the same condition, I am certayn it was soe a moneth since when I parted, and thear is nothing but good happened since. They will ne preserved soe very much by the happy union that is now between them whiche continuing they will have very little to fear either from forrain enemies or domestick embroilments [H.M.C., 71, Finch I].

Somerset House, 25 April 1662, Jermyn to Amelia, Princess Dowager of Orange.

Gives reasons for Oudart's delay here. Recommends him to be given credit. His instructions have been approved by the King and Duke of York. Jermyn's instructions to Oudart were dated the same day. In these, Jermyn stated that he (Jermyn) had been ordered by Henrietta Maria to find means to sa good issue out of the concerns of the Princess Royal. Oudart will lay before the Princess Dowager notes, inventory, and accounts and ask her acceptance of the Queen's proposals to deliver up the Princess Royal's jewels &c. and for clearing up the remaining debts [Clar S.P. vol. 76 f. 116-9].

Paris, 8/18 July 1662, Jermyn to Bennet, Keeper of the Privy Purse.

Asks him to tell Charles II that, after the entree of Maria Theresa, he would leave Paris and would bring Le Nostre with him. They would set out on 28 July [Clar. S.P. vol. 77 ff. 48-9].

1663, Jermyn's certificate for Sydrach Jorey.

Attests that Jorey had accompanied the Queen's Regiment in 1643, "on the landing of Queen Mary at Burlington" until they arrived at Oxford [S.P.Dom., Vol. 97].

13 February 1662/3, Jermyn to Secretary Bennet.

That the King had agreed with Henrietta Maria to pass the Epworth estate to Sir George Cartaret to whom he had already granted the remainder of her lease of ninety years [S.P.Dom., Vol. 68].

20 June 1663, Jermyn to Williamson.

Begs his service on behalf of Col. O'Sullivan Bear, who had constantly served the king and was perfectly innocent, that his friends may have no more reproach with him" [S.P.Dom., Vol. 75- the original is 1 & 1/2 pages long].

12 July 1663, Jermyn to Williamson.

That Henrietta Maria had obtained from the King several letters and recommendations for restoration of innocent Irish gentlemen to their estates. He asked that the "enclosed" be despatched, "which is still needful for them". The summary in the State Papers is not at all clear [S.P.Dom., Vol. 76].

Somerset House, 12 December 1663, Jermyn to Williamson.

Entreats him most earnestly to find out from Bennet where his petition for the inheritance of the places where the houses of the Piazza in St James' Fields stand. Jermyn added that Bennet had had it with him at Bath. Desires its immediate return [S.P.Dom., Vol. 85].

18 January 1664, Jermyn to Williamson.

Tells him that the Denmark ambassador wished to be charged with a letter from the King to his master, about the debt owing to Timothy Gough [Goffe, brother of Stephen Goffe] and Captain Allott, said to be named as charged with the business [S.P.Dom., Vol. XC].

Somerset House, 20 November (1664), Jermyn to Bennet.

Tells him that the papers he had named related to a debt for arms owing by Charles I to Marthias, a French merchant, now solicited by Pestalozzi. The papers contained accounts and obligations to pay them [S.P.Dom., Vol. 110].

Bourbon, 5 September 1665, Jermyn to Evelyn.

Sr, I have received your late one as well as the former and am sorry that my acknowledgements of your favors made so long a journey as to leave you with cause enough to believe I was not as sensible of them as I ought to be we are here all in the remedies of the place and they promise by all the signs of the beginning very good services to our mistress this is all that can be told you from hence. I am most unfeignedly, Your humble and &c [B.M. Add. Ms. 15948 f. 120].

Paris, 2/12 June 1666, Jermyn to Hyde.

That he had arrived from Bourbon the night before and Henrietta Maria was in very good health. The books he had sent for Hyde had gone long since from Paris but were now stopped at Calais for want of a passport; they went with rackets for Mr Jermyn. Jermyn told Hyde that Hyde had once again fallen into his hands; "The thing affords that which you and I have need of, commodity for you and profit for me". He promised Hyde that he would do his part [Clar. S.P. vol. 84 183-5. Sealed].

Colombe, 23 June 1666, Jermyn to Arlington.

Jermyn supposes that Arlington has embarked on his Suffolk journey. Tells him that he had been in need of his letter of 7th, having been in some apprehension, though not giving much credit to the unfaithful relations of the Dutch [S.P.Dom., Vol. 159].

Colombe, 11/21 August 1666, Jermyn to Hyde.

That he had received his of 25 August last night. Has complied as far as possible with Lord Hollis' and Hyde's orders, touching the passage of the lady. As lovers do not endure delay, he would be more punctual than usual in point of parting. Has yet received no thanks for the books. Has not forgotten the pictures. Has met with nothing fit to write to Hyde. Hopes to leave on 1 September [Clar. S.P. vol. 84 252-3].

23 January 1667, Jermyn to Arlington.

That he had watched five or six days to find the King and Arlington together so that he could remind the King that he had granted to Sir Edward Wingfield the making of Christopher Pack a baronet and to get orders for the dispatch of it, for which Wingfield would wait upon Arlington. Jermyn asked Arlington to speak to Charles about this [S.P.Dom. vol. CLXXXIX, 1667]

13/23 February 1667, Jermyn to Arlington.

That he had been invited to be a spectator at the carnival at Versailles and had been received with the usual offices. He believed that the Court cordially desired an agreement. There are two considerations; one, whether an alliance with Spain is to be made absolutely and regardless of engagements here that might retard it; the other, that the King undertake not to make any absolute engagement within the space of one year contrary to the interest of France. This, Jermyn wrote, was merely his own conjecture. England is likely to find nothing but harm and trouble in continuing the war. He wrote to Hyde on the same day enclosing a copy of his letter to Arlington [Clar. S.P. vol. 85 70-3].

Paris, 20 February/2 March 1667, Jermyn to Charles II.

That Mr Mollins had arrived yesterday bringing what Jermyn thought would be the full assurance of peace. Jermyn provided an account of his audience with Louis on Sunday. Afterwards he saw M. de Lionne to ascertain all things before informing them that Charles II had already written to the Queen in the sense that they desired. Lionne had said that the Dutch insisted upon retaining Polleron. Jermyn had replied that this should have been delivered under the treaty of 1662, the observance of which was positively demanded by Jermyn's instructions: and that the French had promised Charles the full effect of these instructions. Lionne promised to give Louis an account of what had passed. Jermyn continued that he had met Van Buning of Monday at M. de Ruvigny's; Van Buning had given very positively the worn out arguments for their keeping Pollerun. Jermyn had subsequently heard that Van Buning had offered to Lionne to be content if it was possessed by neither. The Queen, Monsieur and Madame employ themselves the best they can for Charles's service [Clar. S.P. vol. 85 ff. 84-5].

Paris, 20 February/2 March 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Encloses a copy of his letter to Charles II and stating that he had not yet received an answer from the Court to the King's last letters. He enclosed also a letter from Ruvigny [Clar. S.P. vo. 85 ff 82-3].

Paris, 24 February/6 March 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Refers him to a letter he had written to Arlington [see Arlington's Letters 1 144-5] and to one which Lionne had desired him to write to Charles. When Mollins first went from hence, nothing could have been more clearly expressed to them than that Charles was to have Pollerun restored. They now pretend they cannot in right say to the Hollanders they either must satisfy Charles on this point or be left by France. Their excuse for having said in their letter to the Hague that Jermyn had come with powers to treat, is that it would make their nomination of Dover as the place for the treaty seem more reasonable. Considers their reasons for so needless an action not very good. This letter was sent 7 or 8 days before Jermyn was given notice of it. "Yet there is nothing more visible than that they do really desire the peace not onely with this satisfaction to the Hollanders but with procuring it to the King if it wear in thir power". If this difficulty [Polerun] be surmounted nothing can retard the peace an hour on the terms of Jermyn's instructions. The angels alone can tell whether the Hollanders tenacity about Pollerun will hold out. There is a relation that it was delivered up by the Hollanders and then retaken, in which case it falls under the condition of things remaining in the state they are in at the signing of the peace. The major part of the Council desires to end this business in order to be at liberty for another. Thinks pains ought to be taken to bring about a condition, in case of the engagement of the French crown in the business of Flanders, that there be a liberty for Charles after one year to take such part as events render advisable. Preliminaries could be signed and ratified at the meeting at Dover [Clar. S.P. vol. 85 ff 86-91].

Paris, 24 February/6 March 1667, Jermyn to Hyde (his second that day).

That his being kept so long in ignorance of Hyde's correspondence with Fouquet resembles his commerce with Ruvigny with which Hyde now finds fault. Asks him to



forget this error. Hyde will find nothing more sincere than what is contained in the letters written by the Queen to Hyde and to the Duchess. Assures Hyde of his own faithful service. Asks that his station and employment be wholly directed according to the resolutions taken on the despatch sent by the bearer, Mr Mollins [Clar. S.P. vol. 85 ff 92-3].

16/26 February 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Encloses draft treaties. In return for being the arbitrator of peace, Louis had set a condition on Charles that he should "...sign a letter to the Queen [Henrietta Maria] in his own hand that he was not yet in nor would not in the space of one whole year to come make any league with any prince or potentate to the prejudice of France and in the meantime treat with that King such a strict union as he hath promised...". This proposal was supported by Turenne who hinted at French military help for Charles if Parliament turned nasty; the Abbe Montagu wrote to Arlington on 18 February (English style) assuring him that "Flanders will not be swallowed up in a year's time" and, Henrietta Maria threatened never to return to England if Charles refused to do as Louis had asked [\_\_\_\_\_].

Paris, 9/19 March 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

That he was confined to bed; acquainted M. de Lyonne who came this morning, with substance of Hyde's dispatch my Mullins, and the new causes of complaint against France. This court will never consent to the meeting at the Hague, as they know De Wit cannot possibly like it. They will not consent to any place in the King of Spain's dominions, but the King can chose, Dover, Canterbury, or any other place in the world. De Lyonne says he did not understand that the observation of the treaty of 1662 comprised the restoring of Polleron; if he had done, he would have consulted with the Dutch before formally accepting the engagement in his own paper, to satisfy to the full extent of Jermyn's nstructions. Is confident this is true and that there is no trick in it and that France really desires peace "upon the principle of being at liberty for another business". If a meeting takes place, they will do all fair offices to get Charles II satisfaction in Polleron, which is now the only obstacle of peace. They have charged d'Estrade to represent to De Witt how unwise it is to spend so much treasure on Polleron. France wishes it ten times rather in English than Dutch hands [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 118-20].

Paris, 13/23 March 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

If Polleron be of such value that the peace must break if it be not restored, it should be considered whether the alternative of restoring the state of things before the war is not acceptable. The Hollanders will not hear of any cessation of arms before the conclusion of peace. Van Beuning without knowing anything of what has passed between the two Kings about America, presses Louis XIV to keep what he has taken. The extravagant discourses of this madman have created among those he depends upon a real desire to continue the war in all events. He proposes now to make war as vigorously as they can. France has taken litle care in this war as yet, but is now able to march to the frontier of Flanders within 3 weeks with 35,000 foot and 10,000 horse and the best train of artillery that ever marched in France. Details. They are jealous of England and the Dutch agreeing to their prejudice. Their desire to avoid occason for the Dutch doing this will make them appear not so sincere for peace asa they profess.

The difficulties in the peace favour those who secretly desire the continuance of this war; they are powerful and dexterous. Peace, which means in some sort abandoning Polleron, will allow England to settle the government at home, the revenue, trade, rebuild London and to attend to the American colonies, the best roots for enlarging the English Empire. England is now seeking friendships in Europe; if peace were made, many offers of friendship would be made in London. The case for continuing the war is grounded upon making a peace or truce between Spain and Portugal and an offensive and defensive league with the House of Austria, which Sweden will join against the Dutch. These are all uncertain. The present offers for peace, either the state of things before the war or as the fortunes of war have brought about, are honourable when made by three potent enemies. Advises sacrificing Polleron for the sake of the advantages of peace and that Charles II should recommend Louis XIV either to get it restored or manage an honourable compensation for it. Various suggestions for manner of signing and ratifying. Has written a letter to the secretary that can be produced in Council. Hyde may show present letter to the King and the Duke. [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 133-6]. Jermyn sent the letter with an accompanying note to Hyde; 13/23 March 1667 Jermyn to Hyde from Paris. Is so sure of Hyde's favour after last letter, that he has written the accompanying letter without any reservation. These things are so evident that he cannot be deceived [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 137-8].

Paris, 16/26 March 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

I write this to speak to you of a little matter which I will not contest at all, not have any aim in leading you to any other thoughts in it, for the future, then your own sentiments suggest to you; 'tis only to serve for my excuse, if I were deceived, that I observe to you, I had some little reason to deceive myself; 'tis in the particular of signing with the Denmark and Holland Ministers, in case there had been occasion here to have come to any signature. You may remember that the proposition of Ruvigny was positively to sign with them; and you may please further to take notice, that, I not well knowing whether it were the intention of the instructions, I made a query touching it to my Lord Arlington, of which he took a note in his own hand, and with other queries shewed it you, and took your direction in the answers which he opostiled [sic] in his own hand in the same paper. The query was, - with whom I should sign and exchange papers; the answer, - with whomsoever the King of France should direct. And this paper, for further security, I shewed you, and you said nothing to me against it. 'Tis my great desire to erect myself with you into the belief of being a man of order, that you have this trouble; but I fear I shall not prevail with you. I must not omit to tell you, that we are again assaulted with the news here, of Polleron having been rendered, and they pretend that the Admiralties of Holland received the news. This cannot be without your knowledge; so that, till I hear of it somewhat from you, I shall not give much credit to it. Pray be pleased to tell me whether there be in the treaty of sixty two any thing, besides the article of Polleroone, that makes you affect the observation of it, for the future; or whether there be any other regard, any difficulty like to be on the part of the Hollanders, that it should be observed, which men think there should not be; you having taken the pains to say to me, in one of your letters, that, in some of their late letters to the King, they speak of having that Treaty observed in the future as a thing, if not desired by them, at least that they oppose not in any of the parts of it, saving the point of Polleroone". He adds that he hopes Canterbury will be the place of the treaty, where they can perhaps struggle for Polleron and all other things. Has been in bed with gout for 10 days [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 143-4; Lister iii pp 450-2].

Paris, 20/30 March 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

No letters have come this week. All that he has written formerly still subsists with him. Owing to the reiterated news that Polleron was rendered to England, again asks what Hyde hears of this. The Queen has recovered her health [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 147-8].

Paris, 28 March/7 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Bearer will deliver a letter from the Queen. Sir Thomas Bond will give particulars of her business. Thanks Hyde for thinking of him in connexion with Breda. Will be equally obliged if desired to serve the King here. Is watching the coming forth of the Code Royal; will send it for Hyde's library as soon as it can be had [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 170-1].

28 March/7 April, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received Hyde's undated letter in reply to his of 19th. Is glad of the choice of Breda though the ministers here would have preferred Canterbury. Their suspicions are formented by a journey they pretend Isola makes thither with credences of the King. They will dispatch their order to d'Estrade immediately and have given Jermyn the passports asked for. They still seem earnest for the peace and if they do not discern that the King prefers the friendship of Spain to theirs, they will do all in their power to have as god a one with Charles II as will be admitted. They will give invitations for this at Breda unless contrary purposes of England divert their present intentions. Only exchanged words with Van Buning once, namely at M. de Ruvigny's, and has given account of that discourse to Hyde. They now guess Jermyn has the letter from the King to the Queen that says he will not engage with any prince for the space of one year to the prejudice of France, from something in Hyde's letter to Ruvigny. Supposes they will desire to see it and give their promise of the same kind. When the ships for the transport of the new Lord Willoby were prepared, M. de Lionne, fearing they were for the retaking of St Christophers, said in case the whole island were taken they would expect the replacing of the French [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 172-3].

Paris, 3/13 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Would have received his two last with pleasure enough had he omitted the circumstances of the Queen's return. Asks Hyde to appoint him to bring couches and beds with him; promises, though the King says Jermyn neither choses well nor buys cheap, to serve Hyde well in both points. Desires Lady Clarendon's directions in these particulars. The Queen recommends Sir Thomas Grahyme's cause which will come before Hyde [Clar S.P. vol. 85 184-5].

Paris, 3/13 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Your two of the 23rd and 25th came into my hands together on Monday night last. The matter of them being very necessary to be communicated to this Court, I went early on Tuesday morning to wayte upon the King at Versaille [sic]. He gave me a long, patient, and favourable audience, not only without herkeners, but without lookers on. I did let him know that I had letters from you, and that the disposition of

the King my master was soe conformable to his, in the two points of assuring and hastening the peace, that I had thought it fitte that he should be againe, upon the occasione of the letters, informed thereof; though I had before, fully represented to him his Matys sence therein. I added, that you had let me know that you had had in England the news that they have here, that Poleroon should have bin once delivered and since retaken, but noe certainty either of the truth of the fact in generall, or the manner; that if true, and in form, that dificultye was removed by your choice of the alternative; but if not, you did further think, that by the justice of the pretention, and the assistance you expected from him in consequence of his promises, that, some way or other, that point would be accomodated: and that the King intended his Ambassadors should have 2 or 3 of our East India Company, persons well informed of that matter, to atend them, to confer of the expedients which those of that Company of Holland, by which it might be the best agreed. "I made him acquainted with that which you say, touching the other particulars of the Treaty of sixty two; how much it concerns the Hollanders it should be observed, and how little you can suspect the possibility of any dificulty arising from thence to obstruct or retard the peace. "I further let him know, that though the proposition in which event involved the restoring of that which hath bin taken in America, and the mutuall engagements of contracting new ties. for the space of a year, contrary to the interests of each other, had not its effect in all the parts of it, yet it was your desire and intention that it should subsist in these particulars, and that you were ready to assure that, in the forme that had bin proposed. "I concluded that his Maty might pronounce to himself, with all sorts of confidence, that the King my master desired nothing more earnestly than a quick end to the warre. "He told me, he was very glad to hear it, and, that being soe, the peace could not miscarry, for these was nothing more certayne then that he had the same sentiments. "I took this occasion to say to him, that, since they were both of this mind, it seemed to me very reasonable to take one thing into consideration, very seldom omitted in the like occurancies, and that, in this, would contribute perhaps more to the two points of securing and accellerating of the peace, then any other yet in question: that was, to begin with a cessation of armes; that I had noe order to propose it, but that I conceived nothing more to purpose. "He desired me to think well of that I sayd, and that if I had any good arguments in the point, that I would expose them; for that he had bin of a different opinion, and did believe that a cessation, from whence the parties interrested would receive presently some fruits of the peace, would make the peace itself be eagerly desired [this does not quite make sense]. "I told him, when he considered all the accidents that new encounters of the fleets might produce, that even if they did not meet, if they should be abroad, nay, any of them abroad, though all of them went not, how much the animosities, allready grown too great, might be thereby augmented, I humbly conceived he would be of another mind. "He told me that, without doubt, the matter was of importance; that, though he took some paynes in this busines he did not take upon him to resolve things of this kind but with his counsel; that he would advice with them; commanded me to lye there all night; and that I should certainly have an answer this morning, time enough to write by the post of this day. "Monsieur De Lyonne hath brought me the answer, which being fitte to transmit to you, with all the circumstances of it, I must aske yourardon for being so long. "They profes, notwithstanding all you doe in England, (which, in my judgement, is that which ought to remove all sorts of jealousies,) and all besides that I can say, they can not, till they have an answer of the letters by Sr Thomas Bond, enter into the confidence that wear necessary for them to have, to proceed according to their inclinations. They are informed that Isola is gonne with credences from the King, to bnegociate somewhat, whereof they have noe knowleadge, that he hath published at

Bruxelles; that he hath obtayned, since his being in England, ordres to be sent to my Lo Sandwicke to conclude the treaty at Madrid, without striking upon the difficulties that have hitherto delayed it; and even with the abandoning of Portugall if that be insisted on. They do not doubt of the intervention of all the Spanish artifices for the keeping off this peace. They are equally ielous of us and of the Hollandes; and these are true reasons of ther warines and precautions. If they could be made sure of that, which is perfectly true of the Kings mind towards the peace, they would speak more frankly to him, and more boldly to the Dutche, in the behalfe of all his Maty desires. "But, as the matter stands, this is that which they say: that if his Maty please to let them know that the point of Polleroon, once delivered or not, shall be noe obstacle of the peace, that they will then, for themselves, be contented to agree a cessation for a month, in which time they suppose it will be evidently seen what the Treaty will produce; and will doe all that can be in their power to dispose the Dutch to the same agreement, which for themselves shall subsist, whether the Dutch be prevayled with or not; and you are to take notice, that, notwithstanding this promise of his Maty, thir endeavours to get him satisfaction touching Polleroon shall be as instant, as they have obliged themselves to make thm by thir engagements, and the secret shall be as inviolably kept as it ought to be: to which purpose, I must likewise represent to you that this reaolution of rendring St Christophers must be kept in the same secret, it being thir purpose to make use of thir restoring St Christophers for facilitation of the peace, as an argument, among others, to prevayle with them to restore Polleroon. The other point relative to the restoring of St Christophers, touching the year, hath the like reason for the secret of it; and as hitherto none of them have taken wind, so they earnestly desire the same rules may be kept to the end; and it were good that thes secrets, which are of noe importance. may be soe treated on both hands, as that they may inductive to as entire a confidence thir is now need of. "To conclude; you have punctually heere what they say to the cessation, which being the point most especially the subject of this letter, I neede not adde any more to your trouble. You shall have this word only: they desire heere the peace eagerly; and if they could be assured the King would certainly make it upon such tearmes as, in my opinion, he ought to make it, noething would more contribute towards the having it upon the tearmes he desires it: for if their fears of beeing disappointed of it at last, or prolonged, could be taken away, they would be much bolder with the Dutch" [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 186-90; Lister iii pp. 455-459].

Paris, 5 April 1667, Jermyn to Richmond.

You know that thear is a place named for treating of the peace tis a good step towards the making of it, if it doe please God that it be concluded pray take the paynes to direct me whyther thear be any thing to be donne in order to Aubigny more then to procure it may be put in to the same state it was in before the warre and if you please get me orders from the King to doe in his name all thats necessary for your interest in that particular I have seen severall Spanish horses but none yet that I am well enough satisfied with to send you. I must now take the libertye to speake to your grace of a concearnment of my owne in whiche it may very well fall out that it will be in your power to doe me a most singular favor, the ground of whiche will be in your graces letting me know one thing that is whyther thear will be due from your graceto my lord of Arran any interest before he receives the principall of the mony of his wives portion the reason of this question is that my lo: of Arran is owing me a summe of mony to the payment whearof he is willing to subtract whatsoever is or shall be owing to him for interest from you for his wives portion I had proposed to him the payment

of the principall but thear was a difficultie in that that he could not dispense with but was willing I should be payed out of the interest my humble request to your grace is that you would be pleased to let me know what the state of this matter is whyther in truth thear will be any thing due to him for interest and how mucche and when due and whyther it be a good assignment for me to receive for my satisfaction of soe mucche as shall be due, this is a very important concearnment to me thearfore pray be pleased to pardon the libertye I take and to let me hear from you a word in answeare of this I will doe what I can to deserve both your Pardon and your favoiur by my diligence in your concearnment in this court and by all the other faithfull services that shall fall in my way to render you in quality of my lord your graces most humble and obedient servant,

St Alban [B.M. Add. Ms 21947 f. 53].

5/15 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his two letters of the 1st. Believes they will abolish all jealousies. Waits upon the King tomorrow about the business of the cessation. Will help the ambassadors at Breda all he can from here. Is glad to hear of the remove to Clarendon House [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 193-4].

Paris, 10/20 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Louis XIV has been with the Queen today and the things concerning America are finished in the form Hyde directed. The single article of Polleron is the only impediment remaining. They will do what they can to help but desire the pursuit thereof will not spend too much time. They desire their ambassadors to know that the peace wil not be allowed to break on this point so that they may pronounce it made and act accordingly with the Dutch whom they do not doubt wish to continue the war. The French have made great haste in preparing for their other business. Van Buning asked M. de Lyonne to press Louis XIV for the French fleet to join in an undertaking this summer. Danger of artifices by the Dutch to retard the peace. Suggests that future regulations of commerce and debatable things be treated seperately at Lonfdon afterwards. Hopes Ruvigny will be soon sent to London as Resident. M. Courtin went away yesterday. "Van-Buning was yesterday with Mo. De Lyonne, to press him to obtayn of the King the comming out of their fleet, and that they might agree of a rendezvous, and of thir undertakings this summer; unto whiche Mo. De Lyonne making some excuses, he fell into flames and passion; told him that he hath believed, this great while, thatthe two kings understood one another, and that 'twas time for them to looke about, and take care of themselves. The result of this is, that, without doubt, the Dutche are not well pleased with the belief they have, that the peace is like to be desired by the two kings, and consequently likely to be made; and as consequently, though like to be made, yet will be hindered by all the impediments they can put in the way; and, thearfore, that it will behove those who find cause to desire it, to be watchfull upon all the practises of others that may retard it. The having of it quickly is very needful heere, but in my judgement not more then for us. Therefore, allow me to give you this single hint,- the matter of Polleroon being out of the way, it seems to me that the peace is capable of being made, in foure and twenty houres, a Breda" [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 197-8; Lister iii 459-60].

Paris, 10/20 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

I am confident, since you writ yours of the 20th you have received one from me, which hath given you satisfaction in any thing you doubted; and yours by this last post seemes to me to contayne all I could wish: nor is it possible for me to say more in the bueiness of Poleroon then I have already done, of wch Monsr Reuigny takes notice in his to me. I say againe, that a peremptory insisting upon the redelivery of that Islande shall not breake up the peace. If they have once delivered it up according to the Treaty, and retaken it, it falls under the alternative. If, in respect of the circumstances both in the delivery and retaking (of which we know nothing,) they will not relye upon that, they cannot deny a reasonable compensation; so that it will be in the power of France to give the rule in that affayre; and we doe not doubt their justice or their kindness. I know no reason why France should deferr their enterprize an houre, being most assured that the peace shall not break on our parte, and that the King our master will most religiously observe what he hath promised: and methinks if what we heare to be true, of the discovery of the designe upon Luxembourgh, it is time to proceed more vigorously; and no doubt the indisposition of Hollande towards a peace (as you very reasonably observe) ought to dispose France more vigorously to pursue it. And I am cleerly of the opinion, that the Treaty may be quickly concluded at Breda, to all points that are to be determined there; nor can any thing advance it so well, as France's insisting not to have the fleets goe, and to conclude a cessation, though but for a moneth" [Lister, iii pp 461-2].

Paris, 13/23 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has no word from him, the King, nor Arlington this post. Has nothing to add to former letters [Clar S.P. vol 85 209-10].

Paris, 17/27 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of 11th. Saw the King and de Lyonne yesterday. Agrees with both that Hyde has not spoken positively about Polleron. Has already pointed out that their engagement not to send out their fleet and to endeavour a cessation with the Hollander was to be subesequent to the desired assurances about Poleron. Yet they are so confident of Hyde's good intentions that until they have an answer they will proceed as if it had now come to their satisfaction. They will try to persuade the Hollanders not to put to sea and will not put to sea themselves but count the month from this day. The Dutch press them to put to sea and also for the new treaties Hyde hears about; nothing of this sort can prevail so long as France has its present confidence in England. The French ambassador in Swethland writes that that Court pretends Charles II has promised them not to make peace till they have full satisfaction from Holland, particularly touching their pretentions settled by the treaty of Elbing. The French would be much alarmed if they believed this, since it would retard the peace they want speedily for their other business. Their moving towards Flanders is openly talked of and preparations are rapidly advancing. England will thus be able to get better terms than could otherwise be gained. They are informed that Isola has told de Witt that Charles II will notinsist on Polleron being restored, but they believe this is assumed by Isola to tie the Dutch to that and so retard the peace. They will try to prevent the Dutch from sending out 8 French ships which are in Holland. Courtin left for Breda nine days ago and has instructions according to the original proposition that the business of the alternative being settled, which is the foundation of the peace, the rest is of longer discussion. The English ambassadors ought to have the same orders.

Asks what place in America the French have taken besides St Christophers and Antigoy. The Queen refers the King to this letter as Jermyn has no time to write another. Asks Hyde's answer to be very positive [Clar S.P. vol. 85 217-20].

Paris, 20/30 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Hyde is held in great esteem at this court. Has appointed Sir Thomas Bond to attend him about the charges against Sir Hary Wood by Jermyn and the Queen; they are laid upon grounds of perfect truth to which he has no excuse to make. Expects that after the business is done at Breda there will remain to be finished here and at London, the swearing of the treaty and future treaties of commerce &c. Will willingly receive what employment Hyde resolves on for him. This Court removes him hence and if Jermyn is to go with it an expensive equipage will be required. Asks for the usual allowance if given a legitimate natural employment here. Has great freedom of access to the King here and can do more service without the character of ambassador. Though this may be necessary for some functions, a swearing the peace, asks for liberty to lay it down afterwards. Writes thus freely as he is confident of Hyde's favour [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 221-3].

20/30 April 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of the 15th which has given great satisfaction, but they expect the answer to their last desire in words so plain as may be liable to no doubtful interpretation. Though this be given they will not slacken their efforts to getting Poleron restored. They go on open-faced with their great design; has given the Duke an account of the forming of officers for the army. The rendezvous for the troops near the frontier of Flanders is appointed for May 20 and the King's march for the 30th. They have refused to enter any of the guarantees lately promised. The ambassadors, if they have not left, should be given orders to avoid any accidents regarding ceremonies and questions of precedence. Formal and public entries of ambassadors should be forbidden, as has been done from here. Expressions of great kindness by Louis [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 225-6].

Paris, 23 April 1667, Jermyn to Richmond.

My lord, I take it for great honor in a season soe likely to take up all your thoughts that you have found leisure for the account you have bin pleased to give me of your self, and of my own concernsments. I desire to your grace to beleve that in order to the first I take the part I ought to doe not onely in reference to my respects to you but by the obligations to the honor I have to be related to the person you have chosen and that I wish you both all sorts of felicity. To the other touching my self I give you most humble thanks for the care you have had in letting me know the state of the business that I have interest in whiche falls out to be in your hands to oblige me most particularly, pray doe me the favor whiche some servant of yours give me notice of the progres of it that I may take my measures accordingly your grace must not wonder that I take the liberty for the busines is of no small moment. I will endeavour to get my revneye of you in your affayres in this country of whiche though at present I can say no more then I have donne already yet very suddenly you shall be informed both of Aubigney and your hors. If you will allow me to present heere my most humble submissions to my lady duches you shall have noe further trouble but the assurances to you both that I am &c" [B.M. Add. Ms 21947 f. 55-6].



Colombe, 24 April/4 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of 15th. Explains what they desire Hyde to say more plainly. There is some suspicion of the visits of the Spanish ambassador to M. de Lyonne after his leave-taking. There can be no treaty now. The Queen of France and Council will move as far as Compiègne and then return to Paris to direct affairs in the King's absence. Recommends Hyde's care of the market house and that he buys no wheat else, though he finds everything worse and dearer than in other places [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 231-2].

Colombe, 27 April/7 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of the 22nd. The King and M. de Lyonne are now fully satisfied. If the Dutch will not accept the rules of the alternative, the French will speak other language than hitherto. They will hold the Dutch to sending ambassadors to London for regulating commerce for the future, as a thing agreed between them, But this thing is not to come into question till after the peace [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 237-8].

Colombe, 1/11 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Had no letter from him by the last post, but Hyde's last was worth two. The King leaves St Germain on Monday next; details of his intended journey to Amiens. Some think he will go thence to Arras. Thinks he has been informed amiss as regards conferences between M. de Lyonne and the Spanish Ambassador after the latter's leave-taking. M. de Lyonne has sent Jermyn a treatise, with an epitome, of the Queen's right to succession which makes the grounds of the present business. Sends the epitome; will send the larger treatise later [Clar S.P.; vol. 85 f. 250-1].

4/14 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

His of 29th arrived as the King of France was taking leave of the Queen. He is glad the ambassadors have parted. Distribution of France forces. Thanks Hyde for noticing his personal matters. Asks whether he will be employed here after the peace, as he will need an equipage. The King's march into Flanders will cause much politic speculation. The King said he acts as if the friendship between him and Charles were made [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 258-9].

7 May 1667, Jermyn to \_\_\_\_\_ (surviving deciphered extracts).

"French Court are anxious of the arrival of our Ambassador at Breda, and promise to do all they can to get the island for England". If not, they would press for a reasonable recompense [H.M.C. V, Sir A Malet's MSS].

7 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

I have received yours of the 29th; There is now no cause to complain that you are positive enough I have waited upon the King of France and have seen Monsieur Lyonne they are now fully satisfied and long impatiently to hear of the army it/if our Ambassadors they renew the promise of doing all office in their power to procure King of England the Island and if not the Island reasonable recompense. To the point of hating Holland or... rules of the alternative after native they are no less time?? and if they (the

Hollanders) thinke of steping out of them you will see them heere speake other language and proceed with other sort of vigor is then they have done hitherto. Particularly if the Hollanders should thinke of regulating the commerce for the future otherwise then by sending their ambadssadors to London according to the originall ptopositions they will hold them to that proposition as a thing agreed and concerted between them if you should rather choose to and it in Holland that's another matter, but still the thing not to come in question till the peace bee made after they say you may doe as you please, but still it shall be your choyce that shall divert them from theyre first proposition of transporting that negotiation to London. This is all I have at present to trouble you with All thes affayres goe on the same pace I mentioned in my former ones. I am &c Your letter came late last night and I was forced to goe this morning to St Germainys and have no more time" B.M. Add. Ms 32,094 f. 174, extract, partly in cipher].

Paris, 8/18 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

The Court is parted according to resolution already advertised. M. de Ruvigny will be sent to Enland with tstimonies of their desire for a more complete friendship as soon as the ambassadors at Breda have entered into their business. The letters to Spain and to the Marq. de Castel Rodrigo, the treatises on the subject of the quarrel and the great preparations made for the campaign indicate this business is not likely to end very soon. Has taken measures for procuring information. The Queen thanks Hyde for his care of her affairs of which she is informed by Sir Thomas Bond. A quick dispatch of the £10,000 from Hyde is expected here. Is promised copies of the letters sent to Spain and Flanders [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 267-8].

Colombe, 11/21 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of the 6th with enclosed for Ruvigny. Colbert, de Lyonne, and le Tellier are yet at Paris, but hears they go immediately to La Fére. Turenne has sent his baggage to Perron. Cambray may be in view for their first attempts. Sends the letter written to Queen of Spain [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 296-70].

7 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

I have received yours of the 29th; There is now noe cause to complaine that you are positive enough I have wayted upon the King of France and have seen Monnr Lyonne they are now fully satisfied and long impatiently to heere of the army it/if our Ambassadors they renew the promise of doeing all office in their power to procure K of Enland the Island and if not the Island reasonable recomense. To the point of hating Holland cr.... rule s of the alten? after native they are no lesse tinme?? and if they (the Hollanders) thinke of steping out of them you will see them heere speake other language and proceed with other sort of vigor is then they have done hitherto. Particularly if the Hollanders should thinke of regulating the commerce for the future otherwise then by sending their ambadssadors to London according to the originall ptopositions they will hold them to that proposition as a thing agreed and concerted between them if you should rather choose to and it in Holland that's another matter, but still the thing not to come in question till the peace bee made after they say you may doe as you please, but still it shall be your choyce that shall divert them from theyre first proposition of transporting that negotiation to London. This is all I have at present to trouble you with All thes affayres goe on the same pace I mentioned in my

former ones. I am &c Your letter came late last night and I was forced to goe this morning to St Germain and have no more time [B.M. Add. Ms 32,094 f. 174, extract, partly in cipher].

18/28 May 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of the 13th. Thanks for care of Jermyn's concerns. There was a false rumour yesterday that Cambray was besieged; Charleroy is invested by Vaubrun. The King threatens to hang the Governor of Castel Rodrigo. What Hyde mentions of the Prince de Conde is wholly unknown here; believes there is yet "nothing of it". Wrote yesterday to Lord Hollis, but doubts the safe arrival of the letter as the armies are all in the way. Hopes Hollis will write by way of the French ambassador. The Queen expects Sir T. Bond here presently and thanks Hyde for his care of her affairs. She is grieved for the Duke of Cambridge; she does not believe the other is in much danger [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 283-4].

Colombe, 22 May/1 June 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Receipt of his of 16th. No news from the army since Jermyn wrote last. As to what the ambassadors say touching the two ships, Jermyn has carefully kept himself to Hyde's words therein; believes they have as little warrant from Ruvigny for their discourse [Clar S.P. vol. 85, 287-8].

Colombe, 23 May/June 3 1667, Jermyn to Coventry (one side of the letter is damaged).

My lord, I have received yours of the 20 the first that I have had since the arrival of [you] and your Colleague at Breda. I have received it in the instant that the answer[es?] ...t.. part that whiche I am able to tell you to the contents of it is that if Mo: Cour ... have stated the busines as you express it to me it is without any warrant from any discours of mine. I have never ... any knowleadge ... information of ... busines but from my lo: Chancellor and thearfore I have tied myself in all my discourses of it to his very words and thearfore could never say the pretentions wear to be layed down for I never had from him any thing towards that purpose. I have allwayes instantly told them .... that the king pretended the observation of the treaty of sixty two [originally sixty but the word two interlined] whiche is soe farre from laying down the pretention if I mistake not as it orders a way ... settling of the question unto whiche .....nue this treaty ought to have it ... nothing in reason ought to ....ye us to mend the condition of the rite ...ed partyes muche les to make it .... and I have noe par to what orders .. either more ...t.. pres the adhe[rence] to the obsserual in for the ...re of the treaty of sixty two. If I had more time I could say noe more but if I tooke any more my letter would not .... enough to the ... I wrote to day to my lord Hollis... I kiss your hands and am most unfeignedly, My lord, Your Lordships most humble and most faythfull servant,

St Alban [Longleat MSS, Coventry Papers vol. XLIX].

Colombe, 25 May/4 June 1667, Jermyn to Hyde. Received a letter last night from ambassador Coventry to the same purpose as Hyde's regarding the two ships, viz, that M. Courtin said he understood from Jermyn and Ruvigny that that matter was to fall within the rule of the alternative. Has sent the same answer as sent to Hyde, that

Hyde's words were directly opposite to what M. Courtin says, and that there seemed no reason why this business should be put into any other state than it was left in the treaty of '62. Will write about the matter to de Lyonne as soon as communication with the army is open [Clar S.P. vol. 85 ff. 295-6].

Colombe, 29 May/3 June 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Since receiving Coventry's letter has seen another on the same subject from Curtin to Ruvigny to be informed whence the mistake is risen. Has never said anything to them by which they could collect that the reparation for these ships was to be suppressed; always insisted on the treaty of '62. Ruvigny thought that the alternative was to suppress all pretensions mutually for things done before and since the war and told Courtin so. Extract from Hyde's letter of 25 March quoted by Jermyn to justify his statement to Courtin that it would not be a point of great difficulty. Believes Courtin is gone so persuaded of meeting no difficulty in the matter that he is without instructions on the emergency, which is likely to retard the treaty and so give the fleet opportunity to go aboard. Either Louis must oblige the Hollanders to leave the matter as the last treaty left it, or Charles lay down his pretension and take upon himself the satisfying of the parties or some other expedient. Will acquaint M. de Lyonne how much Hyde is surprised at this matter [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 307-10].

Arras, 20/30 June 1667, Jermyn to M. le Tellier.

Charles has instructed his ambassadors at Breda to notify those of Louis that, if their efforts fail to procure him prompt satisfaction regarding the two ships, the English ambassadors are not to press their pretension for the provisions of the present treaty. His motives are his desires of entering into a better correspondence with Louis. He relies on latter to give the necessary orders for the conclusion of peace at Breda. Asks him to forward a packet to M. Courtin [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 330-1].

Arras, 21 June/1 July 1667 Jermyn to Hyde.

Has no time to send a duplicate of his letter to Arlington. Comends resolutions not to trouble the treaty any longer with the business of the two ships. England has forces and consideration enough to erect itself "into a very good posture" after the present treaty is finished. Cannot send a copy of the letter desired until he returns to Paris as it is in the Queen's hands. Encloses a copy of the letter to Le Tellier. Will be in Paris in 3 or 4 days and will there meet M. de Lyonne and find out from him the attitude of the Court [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 334-5].

Paris, 26 June/6 July 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Hears that his letter to Le Tellier was delivered and a resolution taken to send an express to Breda, but has no account from Le Tellier. Hears that the treaty of '62 provides for reparations for several ships taken since '59 and that the Hollanders suppose the pretension suppressed by the alternative. Hears also that there is some intention of naming, with other princes, the House of Austria as allies of England. Understands nothing of these matters but fears they may perplex the treaty. The Queen thinks a copy of the letter desired ought not to be ventured by the packet boat; she will send it by the first sure messenger. She would have sent an express now if she thought the importance of having it soon demanded that haste. M. de Lionne

explained the intercepted letter of d'Estrades to the Duke of Beaufort as relating only to their present engagements and not to a new one; he says Beaufort will not yet go to sea. The army is before Douay. After the business at Breda is finished, they will be able to repair all misfortunes. Hears from his friends that Jermyn passes as the author of this last misfortune. Asks for advice, as a friend, in this matter [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 346-7].

Paris, 29 June/9 July 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Sends a copy of Le Tellier's letter. The French seem to continue to desire a nbetter correspondence. The effect will be seen at Breda. Capture of Douay; the King and Monsieur will stay at Compiegne for 8 days. The Queen will send Jermyn to him on Monday. Monsieur had order to tell Jermyn that the King was sorry for an enncounter between a French squadron with some English ships. Cannot tell whether the Spanish ambassador and de Lyonne meet, or whether there is a treaty on foot. [Clar.S.P. vol,85 f. 348-9].

Colombe, 6/16 July 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of 1st. Congratulations on Lady Clarendon's recovery. Has written his news to Arlington. His journey to Compiegne confirms his opinion of the French desire for peace and as much amity as England pleases [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 355-6].

Colombe, 10/20 July 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Is anxious for news as H., Coventry has been in England. Has no leter from Lord Hollis on subject of Coventry's journey, but has some information concerning it from M. de Lyonne. If the last project receives any new difficulties there is no room left to keep together the assembly at Breda. De Lyonne says the Spaniards are practising with sme of the English to stir up humours in Parliament "contrary to the King's service and your quiet" [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 357-8].

Colombe, 17/27 July 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received Hyde's of 11th. Wishes the terms of peace had been more to Hyde's satisfaction. Believes they are put into a state that can be improved by prudence. Perhaps the last war was inevitable, but it was folly to imagine any advantage by it. As Hyde says, if they were sure of France, it would not be hard to order all the rest of the parties. They may now be sure that France is ready for as much friendship as is desired. Asks for instructions as to the next steps in the business [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 371-2].

Colombe, 20/30 July 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of 15th. Expresses apprehensions regarding the peace but has not so many fears as Hyde. Believes it may now be made and kept whole. Meanwhile will make Hyde's comliments to de Lyone. The English Gazette says the 600 men sent to Ostend are well landed; cannot understand the meaning of such politics; so ineffectual an help will make a declaration of England's inclinations. Thinks iyt ought to be represented as men stolen away without leave [Clar. S.P. vol. 85 f. 377-8].

Colombe, 24 July/3 August 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Hears from M. Courtin after Coventry's return that the English ambassadors were to sign the treaty the next day. Is very glad that the war between their neighbours is likely to bring more advantage than their own war. Ruvigny is preparing to come to England. Asks early warning of his own employemtn. Has sent news of this place to the Duke of York [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 385-6].

Paris, 31 July/10 August 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of 25th. Has seen letter Ruvigny now writes and hears from M. Courtin that the peace was signed July 31st [n.s.]. Refers to passage in Hyde's letter saying he will never again meddle with the offices of others [cf Clarendon's Life 1117]. The care and protection of his friends is particularly his office [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 392-3].

Colombe, 7/17 August 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of 1st and agrees that unnecessary time has been lost on the ceasing of hostilities. Thinks as well as the exchange of ratifications the peace ought to be mutually sworn to in both Kingdoms. to give it greater solemnity. Thinks Ruvigny will only be sent with the character of an envoy, but believes that he will have a commission to take the character of an ambassador if any occasion requires it. He will have the usual letters of credence and compliments after the termination of such differences. Suggests the like should be done for Jermyn. Is grieved for "poor Cowly", and acknowledges intentions of Hyde's favour as if he had lived. Details of the siege of Lisle. If the Queen does not go quickly to England, Jermyn would be very glad to wait on Hyde [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 398-9].

Colombe, 10/20 August 1667, Jermyn to Hyde.

Has received his of 5th. The belief that the ambassadors at Breda have roceeded sincerely is a good ground for future confidence. Cant discover yet whether M. Carre has left. It will be easy to disperse the umbrages raised by the late return of the Imperial minister. Refers to a letter taken with Herron with a project of instructions for Ruvigny's journey to England. Is sorry that Arlington cannot obtain any part of Montbrun's money. The liberty allowed Lord Castlehaven cannot be better [re]compensated than in that afforded to Lord Duglas to bring his regiment hither. It will e no hard work to plant the confidence here the King seems to desire. News of the campaign. Discusses steps for improving relations between England and France; swearing the peace, a commercial treaty, a regulation and fixing of ceremonial &c. for the reception and treatment of subjects of one King in the realm of the other, and the contracting of stricter ties. Cites various precedents for swearing the treaty, beginning with treaty at Trone 13 June 1564. Considers the swearing necessary because the war has been engaged in among the English people with so much animosity. The copy of this letter in the Clarendon State Papers is the one which Jermyn made for Hyde and which he sent with an accompanying letter to Hyde the same day [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 400-3 and 404-5].

Colombe, 20 August 1667, Jermyn to Richmond.

My Lord, My hous [house] I am most confident cost me above five thousand pounds I will not take les for it if your grace like it at that price I mean five thousand pounds it is at your service my debts pres me soe that I must sell otherwise I should not part with it I shall now suddenly give you an account of your affayres of Aubigny and on all occasions that noe man is with more respects than I &c" [B.M. Add. Ms 21947 f. 123].

Paris, 14 December 1667, Jermyn to Richmond.

I was with Mo: Colbert yesterday about your busines of Aubigny and have received another delay that I did not suspect but I had withall a positive promise that within a fortnight I should have the final resolution whiche though he would not advance to me in positive tearmes should be to your satisfaction yet I presume it will be to the point of restablishing you in the proprietye of Aubigny. What will be the issue of them in the particular of the creditors I fear you will not have soe muche satisfaction in that busines will jot fall with in his cogniseance but must be treated before Other persons. The reason of the last delay is a chicane touching your naturalization alleading that naturalizations import a necessary residence in the kingdom or that they operate not in favor of those that have them. I told him that your great uncle the Steward your grandfather the last duke of Richmond never resided in France but yet enjoyed Aubigny very quietly. He answered that it was perhaps as skotchemen. in fine he makes this time to clear this scruple towards whiche I shall furnish him with sufficient ingredients. This is all I need trouble your grace with all more than the offering of you and by your leave of my duches of my most humble services in qualitey of, my lord &c [B.M. Add. Ms 21947 f. 153].

London, 14 January 1667/8, Jermyn to Ormonde.

"Considerations humbly offered relating to raising of money" [Trinity College, Dublin, Ormonde MSS vol. 46, calendared incorrectly in H.M.C. VI, Ormonde MSS under 1667].

Paris, 29 January 1668, Jermyn to Richmond.

I forebore to make answer to the last I had from your grace, because I expected to give you the account of that issue in your business that now is faln in to my handes, the King hath restored you Aubigny and Mo Colbert hath desired me to have somebody to looke after the busines and he will dispatche all necessary arrests to put you in full possession, I will have somebody in charge to take them out that shall be very fitte for the work and that shall take care that whatsoever hath bin made of it during the time of your being out of possession shall either goe to the creditors or be refered for your self. I know you doe not pretend that the creditors of my lo: have any title to anything because he had noe right to engage it but tis otherwise pretended here and that tis loyable to his debts but this will be the dicission of the courts of justice when the busines will be considered and is that whiche the king can not delet mine as he doth the rendring of it to yo whcihe depends onely upon him self without relation to law. I shall put this point in to the care of some person that I shall leave intrusted with the rest and doe undertake to your grace you shall receive a good account of his discretion and diligence in both. I hope to wayte upon you shortly and am in the meantime with all sorts of respect &c [B.M. Add. Ms 21947 f. 213].

Colombe, 9/19 September 1668, Jermyn to Anglesea.

He had received his of 30th. Is glad the Duchess will move the Duke to gratify the Queen in Povey's behalf. Povey's father long served the Queen and he also. Asks Anglesea to what effect has been desired for Povey [sic]. Anglesea endorsed it "received the 17th September 1668 and left it about the 22th with her H[ighness]s Sept. 28 had it back againe" [Clar.S.P. vol. 87 f. 9-10].

Colombe, 1/11 July 1668, Jermyn to Arlington.

Concerning the outcome of his interview with Hugues de Lionne- no. **You must look this up.** He told me that he did not use to break his word, and should less do it to the King than to anybody; that it was to be presumed that some mistake risen by the absense of La Barre, the Governor, is the cause of the delay, and that new orders should incessantly be sent for the rectifying of the business and for his Majesty's entire satisfaction" [S.P.Correspondence; France].

Colombe, 18/28 July 1668, Jermyn to Arlington.

That he had little to do but to keep the matter of the restoration of St Christopher before Louis and expected that, despite Lionne's promises, Colbert would delay and then propose either keeping the English part of St Christopher in return for another island or buying the English part with money. Jermyn said that he would leave it to Arlington to judge how far such proposals would fall short of Charles' expectations [S.P.Colonial; West Indies and America].

Colombe, 29 July/8 August 1668, Jermyn to Arlington.

M. Colbert goes this day from hence, from whom Sec. Arlington will receive account of the business of St. Christopher. He desired duplicates according to instructions of the last orders for the delivery but De Lionne desires Sec. Arlington to be referred to M. Colbert's arrival, from whom he will have ample satisfaction" [Correspond., France; Colonial Papers, 1668, no. 1811].

10 December 1668, Jermyn to Arlington.

I have made the queen acquainted with the contents of your last, she hath written to the king and to yu upon the subject, by which letters you will perceive how unlooked for this blow is aimed, and with what inconveniences it will oblige her to struggle with, if the resolution of this retrenchment do stand. She pretends to have measured her expenses so just by her revenue, that you may imagine what a kind of diminution must follow in one, by one of this proposition in the other, and how practicable it is. But she having taken upon herself the delivering her sense in the matter, you need not be troubled with my discourses" [French Correspondence, State Paper Office].

28 December 1668, Jermyn to Arlington.

The queen's retreat into Chaillot for this time of devotion, will keep you a week longer, I suppose, from any answer from her hand. The reasons of retrenching the queen was grounded, in my opinion, upon so invincible necessities, that if I could



have prevailed, I should rather have wished that at first she would have applied herself to have secured that which you were pleased to write to me was the state of the resolution, than to have struggled for a change at present" [French Correspondence, State Paper Office, qu. Green, Letters p. 414].

10 April 1669, Jermyn to Arlington.

I have given his majesty so many assurances of the queen's amendment, and indeed deliverance, out of the inconvenience and danger of her sickness, that I am affraid to pass for an unfaithful relator of the condition she is in; pray be pleased to let him know that she is not yet near so well as we wish to see her. She hath, since my last, taken very litle rest at nights, and consequently recovered very little strength, which she hath given the physicians cause to apprehend some remainder of the disease in her body, though not to a degree to have disclosed itself in any heat or emotion of a visible fever, only an oppression of her stomach, for which, yesterday they let her blood, for the third time since this sickness, in her foot; her rest this night hath not been so good as we hoped her bleeding would have procured. She had a little fever in the night, which is not yet totally gone, and therefore they have again, this morning, let her blood in the arm. Her fever is so little, that it can scarce be discerned whether she have any or no; and if it increase not, there is cause to be as confident as we have been that the danger is past; if the fever increase, as nobody is safe in such assaults, so she that is of so delicate a constitution, will be more to be apprehended than other in the like case. You will easily conjecture that, in this state of the matter, I am not like to remove from hence until I see a change of it, and her health perfectly established. I had resolved to have parted to-morrow, and had writ to the king, that I hoped to attend him at Easter- this change of the queen puts me upon a total uncertainty" &c, "St Alban" [French Correspondence, State Paper Office qu. Green, Letters].

17 April 1669, Jermyn to Arlington.

The queen hath continued since my last, in as good a condition as could have been expected from that she was in, no return of fever, or any of those inconveniences she complained of, but all diminishing apace, and she recovering her strength as fast. She coughs not much, and the matter she spits is not ill-conditioned; she takes asses' milk, and I believe to-morrow she will be purged, from whence is expected the last hand of her recovery. This sets me at liberty. I intended to part on Wednesday next, and wait upon you by such stages as old men with the gout are wont to make" [French Correspondence, State Paper Office, qu. Green, Letters].

Collombe Sep: 10 '69 [endorsed with the same date]. Jermyn to Charles II

If that whiche hath happened heere could or ought to be concealed from you my hand should not be the first in giving you notice of it. It hath pleased God to take from us this morning, about 3 a clock the queen your mother and notwithstanding her long sickness as unexpectedly and with as much surprise as if she never had bin sick at all. On [*Fryday* *crossed out and substituted with*] Saturday last she had a consultation of physicians at whiche assisted Mo: Vallot Mo: d'acquain Mo: Esprit and Mo: Evelin. The result of the consultation was to give her the usual remedy on Sunday night for preparing her agaynst Monday morning to be purged with a certayn opiate designed for that purpose. It was allso a result of the consultation to give towards night in order to the quieting of of the humours in her body from whence they conjectured the great

disorder came with some rest a grayn of Laudanum. About ten a clock she was in too much heat to venture the grayn of Laudanum and the resolution was taken not to give it all. She caused thereupon her curtaynes to be drawn and sent us all away just as she used to doe for severall nights before, fearing herself noe more than she had donne nor indeed imprinting in any of us the least ymagination of that whiche immediatly followed. Not being able to sleep of her self, she called to Mo: d'acquain for the grayne. He contrary to his former resolution and as he sayeth to his opinion when he did it suffred him self to be over-ruled by the queen and gave it her in the yelk of an egge. She fel presently asleep he sitting by her perceiving her too sleep to profoundly and her pulse to alter, endeavoured by all the means he could to wake her and bring to herself but could effect neither by all the severall remedies used in suche cases. She lasted thus till betweene 3 and fower a clock and then died. That whiche doth further concerne this matter I shall give my Lo: Arlington an account of. God of heaven give you all necessary consolations in it.

St Alban [S.P. (France) 78/127 f 85-6].

Collombe Sep 10 '69 Jermyn to Arlington.

My lord

Having given his Ma:y an account of the death of the queen his mother and the manner of it I intreat your Lo: to be informed of what hath followed to the end if thear be ocasion for my service further in the matter I may receive his Ma:y commands Monsieur came hither about six a clock in the morning after he had seen the king at St Germayns and given him notice of the queens death and told me the king had resolved to send some officers hither so deale up the queens goods. I desired him to consider whyther that form would be agreeable to the king our masters dignity and whyther thear might not be all needfull care used for securing of the things and yet noething donne that might offend the king, and proposed to him to know of the Ambassador whyther he had noething to say agaynst it in which case I should acquies in any resolution should be taken Monsieur went away in haste telling me they wear ymaginations of mine and thear was noething in the matter the king could have cause to complayn of, and did not harken all to the expedient of speaking to the Ambassador, about twelve a clock came Mo: d'aligre and Mo: desene to seale all things up producing a commition from the king and telling me the king had sent them to me to be directed in the work and to receive such informations as I was capable of giving them for the execution of it. I told them I apprehended the king their master had not bin well informed of the matter that it seemed to me that this proceeding was not agreeable to the dignity of our master that I intreated them that his Ambassador might be made acquainted with it and if he had nothing to say agaynst it that I was ready for any thing should be required of me, they told me they had noe orders to speak to the Ambassador that which they had to doe was wholly for the kings service and the constant form in like cases. Just upon this my Lo: Abbot Montagu brought me a letter from Monsieur apointing me to doe the thibngs the kings commitioners required and declared with great vehemence they wear noe longer to be opposed severall others wear present and of the same mind soe that though in the truth I doe beleave they wear all in the wrong and I in the right I thought it losse of modesty to contend any longer whearupon the busines was gonne about and finished at this hous and will be soe tomorrow at Paris. The effect of it is that whatsoever is in the custodye of the duchess of Richmond as Groom of the Stoole of my self as Chamberlayn of my

Lo: Abbot as Great amner of Sr Tho: Bond as controwler of Madam de Vantelet as first woman of the bed chamber whiche offices doe contayn all the queens severall goods, are sealed up for his Ma:y our masters further direction and pleasure the thing is good enuffe in order to the preserving of the things though not full out soe good as that whiche I proposed whiche was to have had the particulars in every bodyes charge inventoried by whiche it would have bin muche les possible then it is now for the ... things to be embezealled but they would hear of nothing but their owne way they have sealed all up and have left two officers of thir owne in the hous to looke after the safety of all things if thir be noething a misse in the form as to the rest it is well enough and all that I have to propose to you is to procure me suche direction as you shall think fitte if thear be any thing for me to doe and if thear be not my leave to come away to give his Ma:y the best account I shall be able of the state of the queens business and what is to be donne in order to let desires whiche I am acquainted with in some measure and will in place in some measure allso to the king of her last will whiche she was disapointed of the making.

That whiche concerns the stable it being of little importance and in all houses of princes never considered but as the fees of the masks of the hors the king will regulate with my Lo: Arundel.

Pardon the errors of this relation you will beleave me easily when I tel you noe man can labor under the weight of more affliction than it pleased God to lay upon me in this ocatin

I hope for some support from the same hand and remayn

My lord

your Lo: most humble and most obedient servant

St Alban

I send this bearer on purpose to bring me back your commands I beseeche you most earnestly to dispatche him as soon as you can.

[S.P. (France) 78/127 f. 87-90].

Colombe, 11 September 1669, Jermyn to Arlington.

I wrote to you yesterday, with so much sadness of heart, and confusion of mind, that I moitted the most important things whereof I should have spoken to you, which are the letting you know the state we are in for matters of money, and to desire of you his majesty's direction for our nbehaviour, in the indispensable ones that now will fall upon our hands; as the burial, the mourning for the family, the discharge of this quarter, now almost at an end, and somewhat besides to give to the poorer sort, to carrythem home to England. The queen, for aught I know, is dead without any will at all; and consequently the whole amily left as entirely to his majesty's mercy as all things else to his disposition; if there be any will, it can be only that which she made at herlast coming out of England, and left in the hands of Sir Harry Wood, but since calling for back by herself, and delivered to her. The intention of calling back for it was to cancel it, and make another, but whether that be cancelled cannot be now known, until the king's directions come to open everything; for all is sealed up. If that remain, it will alter very little of the present case. I was acquainted with it; it was only to take care of certain debts mentioned in it, and all things else left to the king's disposing; I suppose- very contrary to that which is by some imagined here,- that the queen's dying in France doth not alter that which would have been the case if she had died in England, which is that the king is her sole heir, without any right in the Duke

of York, Monsieur, or the Prince of Orange of sharing; but of this you will be better informed in England by those of the profession of judging.

You are now to be acquainted with the purpose, last night communicated to me, touching the burial: the King and Monsieur are as yet resolved that the heart shall be this day carried to Chaillot, and there deposited; the body to-morrow to St Denis, and deposited there until they can be ready for a great ceremonial funeral, suitable to the dignity of the person: this they have thought of, without thinking, for anything I know, of the charge. or conferring with those acquainted with the present state of the family, in point of finance. I am also ignorant whether the intention be that this charge should be made by the king our master, or this king; as ignorant as I am what kind of charge the king our master would be at, and how far he would admit of the king of France's being at any or all of these things. I entreat you earnestly that I may receive direction, the soonest that can be possible. I am going in this instant to St Cloud, to meet the ambassador there, to be informed more particularly of their purposes, and to inform them of that I know of our estate in the house, and that I am utterly ignorant what will be the king's pleasure, which must guide in all: we shall not end at St Cloud before the parting of the post, but if there rise occasion out of the discourse for an express, you shall have one; if not, a perfect account by the next.

Our condition in the family is this; we had made an estate of the expense which was to be discharged, with some other moneys of the queen, but chiefly by twenty-seven thousand pounds under-taken to be advanced by Verbeck and Sr Thomas Bond, upon an engagement of the queen's that they should be reimbursed out of the first moneys growing and due upon the queen's revenue; Sir Harry Wood having the queen's positive orders for the paying to Verbeck all the queen's moneys as they came in, to the concurrence of their reimbursement; they have received some eight thousand or ten thousand pounds. I am thus particular in this matter to let you know the easiest way of carrying on things here with decency is, in my opinion, that the king give command to Sir Harry Wood to send for Verbeck, and that he assure him that the payment of this twenty-seven thousand pounds shall go on, just as if the queen had lived, and that the king do further command Sir Harry Wood to be as instant as he can with the receivers to bring in their money, and that it be paid incessantly to Verbeck. "This, as I said before to you, is in my sense, the easiest way for present supplies; if you approve of it, you will give order accordingly; if not, you will be pleased to appoint what shall be done, in the particulars mentioned, and by what other means. You ought to pity me as much as to lament yourself, that you receive this trouble from my hand. I have no more pleasure in the matter than I am like to find in others, but receiving no reproaches from my own heart for not having done my duty to the queen during her life, so I would have that I owe to her memory of the same peece. I am your most humble and most obedient servant,

St Albans [French Correspondence, State Paper Office, qu. Green, Letters].

Saint-Cloud, 11 September 1669, Jermyn to Arlington.

Since mine of this morning to you, we met at St Cloud the ambassador and several others, for the last resolution for the burial; and it was resolved not much differing from that of which you are advertised. The heart is carried this day to Chaillot, the body will be carried to-morrow to St Denis, and both deposited; the body for six or seven weeks, until the great ceremony of the final interment. We are all of opinion

that the king cannot dispense with the charge of the mourning for the family, of entertaining it to the end of this month, as if the queen were alive, and defraying the charges of depositing the heart at Chaillot, and the body at St Denis. When the final ceremonies are to be made, it is alleged to us that the King of France of course doth always make them at his charge, so that the king is to hear of no more than that mentioned; what that will be I do not perfectly well know, but I can give a near guess: the mourning will be, as I think, between five and twenty thousand and thirty thousand livres; the present charge for Chaillot and St Denis about five thousand or six thousand: that of continuing the house to the end of the month is not to be counted, for even if not requisite in order to this matter, it could not in itself be dispensed with: for the discharge of these expenses, I again repeat to you there is no better expedient than that I have promised in mine of this morning. I have no more to trouble you, and it is no wonder, after those you have received from me in these two days" [French Correspondence, State Paper Office, qu. Green, Letters].

31 December 1670, Jermyn to Arlington.

I consent to the change of Captain Raleigh's commission from my company to that of Sir Thomas Morgan [S.P.Dom., Car. II 281, no. 100].

10 October 1671, Jermyn to the Lord Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

My Lord,

I have by His Mats Command agreed with Mr Legouse His Mats Jeweller for a Ring of the value of one hundred and fifty pounds given to Monsieur de la Thanne, Envoy from His Highness the Duke of Brunswick, thus with my respects unto your Lopps I rest,

Yo'r Lopps hunble servant.

St Alban.

11 December 1672, Jermyn and Long to the Treasury.

They remember that her late Majesty discharged and remitted the said fine to Sir E. Wingfield in consideration of his long and faithful service, and the Earl of St Albans in particular affirms that her Majesty declared to him her express pleasure therein, and it would have been discharged by warrant under her Majesty's hand, had not her constant indisposition some time before her death hindered it [Cal S.P. Dom Car II 314 no 107 and 108 and Entry Book 37 p. 38].

Whitehall, 4 January 1672/3, Jermyn to Arthur Capel Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.

I am glad of the last occasion of writing to yr Excellency, that I may have by it, opportunity of presenting you the assurances of my inviolable respects & devotion to your service: which being done, the rest of the matter is that one Thomas Newbrough Esq. gentleman of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary to his Majestie is in apprehension of being made Sheriff I humbly take the libertye to acquaint your Excellencye that the Exemption from that employment is a privvilage never denyed to the Kings servants, and it is very agriable to good reason they should employ that Privilidge for without it, they could not attend the service of thir place, if they should be called to it,. My

Lord, not to insist upon the reasons of the matter, I humbly beg of your Excellency, his exemption from being sheriff, as a singular fav: you shall do unto, my Lord, &c.

Written in another hand, endorsed by Jermyn, "As large fitt of the gout and the hand affected is a good excuse for the use of anothers". [B.M. Stowe Ms 201, f.9, rec'd 16 January].

29 November 1673, Jermyn to Arthur Capel Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.

My Lord, Mr Thomas Newbrough being someone of his Matys servants in Ordinary, I desire your Excellency would please to take notice tho it being a consideration here to exempt them beeing publique Officers, your Excellency would eallow of the same consideration in the Kingdme. And I shall allsoe take it as a good Obligation upon, My Lord, &c [adds in his own hand] I am soe glad of any ocation to present my humble services to your Excellency that I lay hold on this to assure you I am with all my acient respects with respectful truth your Excellencyes most humble and obedient servant St Alban [B.M. Stowe Ms 203 f. 204].

London, 6 January 1673/4, Jermyn to Arthur Capel Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.

Thir hath bin presented to your Excellencye by Mr Beghan a warrant for the payment of five [I thinks this should be two] thousand pounds out of the monyes dessigned for the marrine regiment, I doe not hear that your Excellencye hath given your order in it, that you would be pleased to doe soe is the humble desire of this addres to you and the occasion of the trouble to write [a splotch of ink] I have no .... to adde but to ask your pardon and soe let you know theat being concerned in it your favor shall oblige me as it ought to doe and that I am with my auncient respects and accordingly to my auncient prosetions My Lord &c" [B.M. Stowe Ms 204 f. 9, endorsed "Lord Chamberlain, rec'd Jan 15].

London, 7 February 1673/4, Jermyn to Arthur Capel Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.

I have received that your Excellencye hath bin pleased to write to me touching the busines of the two thousand pounds, I take the libertye to add this word to my former request, that you would be pleased to sign your warrant upon his Maty's letter that orders the payment of this summe, as you have donne in the case of Collonell Fitzpatrick whiche is dated subsequent to the letter in question, Your Exy doeing me this honor and avor I shall atend the payment till it come in cours accordingly to the order of conniet??? to be satisfied . I beg your pardon for this trouble and am most truly &c [B.M. Stowe Ms 204 f. 163].

15 July 1674, Notes by Jermyn to Treasury.

His Maty oweth £7,240-0-0.  
Payed by the fine £2,000-0-0  
by the arears £0300-0-0.  
by the purchase of the quit rent £1600-0-0.  
[total] £3,900-0-0.  
Remaynes £3340-0-0.

To acquit whiche the summe of 3340li by his Maty may please to grant suche augmentation of Tearn in the Bayliwicke of St Jamesses as he shall think reasonable. If his Maty shall not like this proposition I beeing no otherwise able to purchase the 8li rent and the augmentation of any Tearn in my lease of St Jamesses I desire to pay his Maty all I am owing and to be layed in monney that will be owing to me [B.M. Eg. Ms 3351 f. 127].

29 June 1674, Jermyn to the Corporation of Bury St Edmunds.

Exhorts them on behalf of Sir John Duncombe and himself, their ancient friends, to make satisfaction to Mr Moore by making him a present of 60l, he having been recommended by his Majesty to be town clerk there, as soon as a vacancy should occur, and the place having been given to another [S.P.Dom., Car II 361, no. 107, copy].

N.d., received in Dublin 7 August 1674, Jermyn to Arthur Capel Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.

My Lord, Having had my hand in recommending the person of Captayn Brough to your Excel's favor and protection I can not forebear to witnes in his behalf with how much zeale to your service he acknowledgeth the affects of your goodnes to him. I am glad of the last occation to keep my self in your memorye and most particularly of that whiche this affords me of assuring you that noe body can honor you more then I doe nor be with more perfect truth and sincerity then I am, my Lord, [B.M. Stowe Ms 205 f. 382, sealed with a piece of pink silk uner the seal].

Rushbrook, 16 November 1674, Jermyn to Williamson.

What I told you concerning a letter of his Majesty's to my Lord Lockhart in behalf of the Chevalier de Rivieres is a letter he is resolved to write to him, to do such offices to the King of France as he shall be desired by the Mareschal d'Albret, or the Chevalier de Rivieres. The King promised to write this letter with his own hand, and give it you when you should call for it. The business is lest the King should have forgotten it. The Mareschal supposes that being able to use the King's recommendation he shall obtain of the King of France for the Chevalier a pension of 300 pistoles a year to be lodged upon some ecclesiastical benefice. If you call to his Majesty for the letter he will write [S.P.Dom., Car. II, 362, no. 133].

London, 20 May 1675, Jermyn to Arthur Capel Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.

Mr Godolphin will acquaint you with an humble desire to make, unto you and beeing well informed of the matter afords me the advantage of not troubling you with the particulars and leaves me that busines of letting this serve alone for the assurances of those obedient services whiche heertofore you have not doubted and where.... I your Excellencye may fitt retayn the same confidence to me noe man can be with more truth and respect then I am My Lord &c" [B.M. Stowe Ms 207 f. 422].

Cheevlye nr Newmarket", 2 January 1674/5, Jermyn to Ormonde.

My Lord, I am.... writing to take the laust (?)... to continue myself in your memorye and to assure you of my humble service (?). This though is not a little one as that whiche wil inform you. Mr Beyhan well (?) known to you (even?), if you will have no other acquaintance with him then that whiche I have pro[vided?] you write me word that two hundred and forty pounds that are owing to me by your Grace having bin caled for by him Re...Q...(?) receiced answer (?) that the mony is ready for him, if he had your note to deliver up. I never had any note for this summe. You onely told me you would write to your servant to pay it to Mr Bayhan, whose acquittance by agrement allsoe was serue for discharge, soe that if your grace please to apoint the mony to be payed to him and to receive his acquittance, tis all that this matter will need. [new paragraph] I wish the rest of this [letter?, interleaved] were of as mucche importance as this first part of it tis to give you a little account of my self, after having bin thes 3 moneths at my owne hous in this neihgborwood [(sic) ie neighbourhood, ie Rushbrooke] I am come hither [Cheveley] and am goeing with the master of it [his nephew Harry] to London within 5 or 6 dayes for some domestik affayres. I thinke when I goe to Clarendon hows and misse you thear and find my owne deprived of the honor of your presence which it had some times the delight of with soe mucche satisfaction. I shall come as quickly back as if I had noething to doe thear, and in all events not be verry long from retiirring to thes quarters. if you doe me the honor to let me hear from you pray be pleased to say a word to me of those of Kilkenny and how long they are like to posses you for as long as thir remayns with me any tast for the things of this world, meeting you agayn at London that I think would give me the most contentment and am with all forms of truth and respect as is the mark of this I am, My Lord, Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant, St Albans" [National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Carte MSS, vol. 60 (16 Sept 1674-2 Jan 1674/5) no. 400, 2 sheets, yellow paper, noticed in H.M.C. VI, Ormonde MSS].

August 1675, Jermyn to Williamson,

Recommends the bearer, "who was for many years brigadier of the Queen's company of Guards", of whom he had spoken to his Majesty, whom he presumes Williamson will find very willing to give him the recommendation he desires" [S.P.Dom., Car. II, 373, no. 35].

11 February 1677, "Berry" [St Edmunds, probably Rushbrook], Jermyn to Williamson.

Encloses a signed and sealed proxy allowing the King to appoint such of his friends that the King should please to vote in Parliament [S.P.Dom., CII 390, no. 152].

Undated, Jermyn to Earl of Southampton. This draft is not only undated but is undatable, save that the use of the title St Albans places the letter after the Restoration. The records of Parliament clearly show that there was never anything approaching a three year period during which Jermyn did not sit in the Lords. It appears to be in Jermyn's handwriting, but it must be either a forgery or a draft which he wrote for someone else but which, for some reason, he signed.

"My very good ld., It hath pleased yo[u]r lp when we mett last and did not think (I dare say) that a Parlament would have been so soon, to assure me of yo[u]r love and favour; and it is true that owt of that w[hic]h I fynd in myne own hart, and owt of that which I have heard and observed of yo[u]r noble nature, I have a great assyance in



yo[u]r lp. I would be glad to receyve my writt this Parlamt; that since the roott of my dignity is saved to me, it mought also bear frute, and that I may not dye in dishonr. But it is farre from me to desire this, exopt it may be w[i]th the love and consent of the H[ouse?] if their lps shall vouchsafe to think me woorthy of their company, or fitt to doe them service, or to have suffered sufficiently, whearby I may now be, (after 3 years) a subject of their grace, as I was before a subject of their justice. I this matter I hold yo[u]r lp's favour so essentiall, and if God shall putt it into yo[u]r hart to gyve me yo[u]r favour and surderance, I will apply my industry and other frends to cooperate wth yo[u]r lp, otherwise I shall give over to think of it, and yet ever rest, Your lps affectionate and ever obedient Servant, H. St Albans" [Latimer MSS owned by the Duke of Beford at Woburn Abbey, catalogued in H.M.C. 2nd Rep, Aug. 1864, no. 39 (9), reproduced here by kind permission of the Marquis of Tavistock and the Trustees of the Bedford Estate].

On 6 December 1681, Jermyn's will.

In the name of God Amen. I Henry, Lord Jermyn of St Edmunds Bury and Earle of St. Alban and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, doe make this my last will and testament in manner following.. My soule with all humility of spirit I surrender unto God the father my creator in the meritts of God the sonne my Redeemer. My body I desire may have decent Christian buriall amongst my auncestors in the church of Rushbrooke. And for my worldly estate wherewith God Almighty of his infinite goodnesse and mercie hath blessed mee in this life I doe dispose thereof in this manner. First, I will that all my own proper debtes bee paid with all convenient speed after my decease; and for that end I doe give unto my nephew Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrooke esquire, my nephew Henry Jermyn of Cheveley in Co. Cambridge esquire, and Martyne ffolkes of Grayes Inne Co. Middlesex esquire, and their heires all my mannors [etc], as well those of inheritance as those for life and lives and for years, or other estate whatsoever wheresoever situate; lyeing within the counties of Middlesex, Surrey and Norfolk [ie Byfleet, St James' and that manor in Norfolk- note that he did not own Rushbrook or Cheveley] or elsewhere within the kingdom of England; and all debtes which shall bee due to mee at the time of my death either in England or Ireland; and all my plate, jewells, household stuffe, goods, chattells and personall estate whereof I shall die possessed or shall then have any right to (except such goods as are mentioned in an inventory taken in 1674 by Mr John de Chair and Mr Thomas ffoulkes and were then at Rushbrooke hall in Suffolk, which inventory is signed by me and is now in the custody of the said Martyn ffolkes, and also so much of my plaine white plate as together with the plate mencioned in the said inventory shall be of the full value of £600 being accompted at 6 shillings the ounce, to be taken out of the plate I shall die possessed of at the election of my said nephew Mr Thomas Jermyn onless I shall appoint the same in my life time) under the following trusts; viz that they doe sell my said manners etx and with the monies arising by sale thereof pay all such debts as I shall owe at the time of my decease in order and manner following; viz out of the monie first to be raised doe pay £3,000 oweing to Sir Charles Cotterell and Mr Colt on a mortgage of the ffarme and lands of Eldoe in Suffolk, that the said ffarme and lands of Eldoe may come to my said nephew Mr Thomas Jermyn and his heires free and cleere from any charge whatsoever. And after payment of the said £3,000 doe then pay all my other debtes in such order as my trustees shall think fitt. And doe also pay the charges of my funeralls; and unto my nephew Mr Henry Jermyn £10,000 which I bequeath unto him; and do pay all annuities and legacies as shall by this my will or by any codicill or other writing be appointed. Then after all my debts

and legacies fully satisfied I give the whole remainder of my estate both real and personall unto my said nephew Mr Thomas Jermyn and unto his heires, executors and assignes respectively; and I doe hereby direct my two other trustees, Henry Jermyn and Martin ffolkes, to resign the same accordingly. And as touching my excepted plate and household goods I give the same to my nephew Mr Thomas Jermyn for the well furnishing his house called Rushbrooke hall, and desire that they may goe along with the said house and not be removed from thence, and that the said house may never bee thereof disfurnished. And I doe hereby appoint my nephew Mr Thomas Jermyn and Martine ffolkes esecutors of this my last will, revokeing all others formerly made. In testimony I have hereunto sett my hand and seale this December 6 1681, 33rd Charles II. St. Alban. In the presence of Andrew Card, Thomas Painter, Richard Tonson, William Powle [Prerogative Court of Canterbury, proved..... 1684].

## **PART TWO: LETTERS WRITTEN TO HENRY JERMYN**

1636, William D'Avenant's dedication of *The Platonick Lovers. A Tragi-Comedy* to Jermyn.

To the most noble Mr Henry Jermyn. Sir, I have boldly fix'd your name here, to shew the world where I have settled my estimation and service; and expect it should add much to my judgement that I have made so excellent a choice. When you have leisure, and can a little neglect your time, be pleas'd to become my first reader. If it shall gain your liking the severe rulers of the stage will be much mended in opinion; and then it may be justly acknowledg'd you have recover'd all the declining fame belonging to Your Unfortunate Servant, WILLIAM D'AVENANT"

Winter 1641-2, Suckling to Jermyn, printed 1642 as *A Copy of a Letter found in the Privy Lodgings at Whitehall*.

Suckling advises Jermyn to urge Charles I to abandon his passive attitude and "doe something extraordinary", to outbid the leaders of Parliament by granting more than what they wanted, thus cutting away their moral grounds for objection.

Paris, 19 August 1644, Richard Brown to Jermyn.

The day after your departure from hence I received your Lops note from Longeman commanding mee to stay Palott till I reveived yt dispatched to my Lord Digby. Tis now Friday and I have heard nothinge from your Lop yett I shall still keepe him here til I heare some news from Hir Majestys Court. Accordingly, to your Lops command to send you the English news. I now begin by this opportunity of Mr Bisses departure. What London affords this inclosed provided will acquaint your Lop Besides which the letters containe little or nothing only some hopes of misunderstandings and discussions among the Parliamentary Generalls. Yesterday the Pr Elector Pal. his Agent came to acquaint mee that His Elec. Highness hee thought was by this time in London".. to solicit money for himself and his mother. The Duke of Orleans "will visit Her Majesty ere longe at Bourbon".. "Beseeching your Lop to take some speedy care for the subsistance of a creature of yours whose sole ambition is to bee usefull to you". P.S. "If I had thought my honoured Id Goringe would goe as farre as Bourbon, I would have adressed my service by his Lop with severall letters I have for his Lop which I keepe by mee till I heare some account of his motions. I beseech yr Lop lett Monsr Crofte and Monsr Goffe have find the remembrance of my most cordiall humble service" [B.M. Add. Ms 15,857 f. 104].

June 1644, Sir Richard Brown to Jermyn,

Your lordship hath obtained from his Majesty a grant of the perpetuity here in France of 2822 livres tournois per annum [for the Queen]. [Quoted in Hervey, p. 255, without reference].

4 July 1644, Digby to Jermyn.

I have received since Mr Hay's coming your most afflicting letter of the 21st June, relative to the Queen's continued indisposition. Too certainly the best remedies that can be applied are those that may best cure apprehensions, which truly I do not

reasonably have of any danger intending to be threatened her, but only by reflection from her. I am afraid her indisposition causes her apprehensions in that matter of distemper towards another; you must as much study applications to the one as Mayerne to the other. I hope my letter to the Queen will afford some good ingredients to that, and unto which I refer you for the state of business here. I shall only add one thing, that is to conjure you to use all possible industry for the getting of 488 [powder?] from beyond sea; I foresee a ruin

to us the next winter by the want of it if not spuulied. I am much joyed to find the course we have had since our return from Oxford approved by you in having preadvised it in those letters which have since come into my hands. 220 sends to the 504 [King?] a draft of all letters to my Lord of 131. Wherein the oponions of--- may do much good and can do no hurt; we conceive nothing can beget so much confidence in 153 [Essex?] as an engagement. It is wholly submitted to her judgement [S.P.Dom., Vol. 502].

4 September 1644 (O.S.), Prince of Orange to Jermyn.

That the best course which King Charles could persue would be to make peace with his subjects at any price [Groen van Prinsterer ser. 2, iv, 107, 117].

18 January 1645, Charles I to Jermyn.

Directs him how to send money raised in France to Oxford by bills of exchange.

16 April 1645, Stephen Goffe to Jermyn.

It is evident that nothing in the world is of soe Great importance for the Kings Service, as to finde money for the Shippes for Dorp.... I shall oney your order in sending St Ibals jewells by Mr Depwade, though they might bee of use here, but if that disigne be persued as it must ne unlesse peace can be made you will as easily send them back & more money wth them by depwade etc together with them. The Orders from France for Preparing the Shippes in the King of Frances name... A publique declaraton of ye dislike of the Rebells propositons, would preserue the people from approving of rebellion in England, & it would nbe a great pr[e]paracon for the work in hand: this Pr Orange seemes very much to approve it & orderes me to pr[e]pare my papers in this & kind. He began to aske me concerning the designe of Dorp [in margin the words "the words 'of Dorp' blotted out in the letter"]; he likes this very well & depwade shall be instructed about it..." [abstract of Letter no. 12. in "Mixed Papers", House of Lords Library-original reference to letters found in H.M.C. VI].

c. April 1645, Charles I to Jermyn.

In your next, let me know particularly how my wife is, which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is; if well, then every word will please me [King's Cabinet, Opened, qu. Green, Letters p. 36].

17 (possibly 16th) April 1645, Stephen Goffe to Jermyn.

When the ambassadors are returned, all endeavours shall be used to induce the States to a League defensive and offensive". As for one of the ambassadors, Boreel, Goffe told Jermyn in a latter of 1 May that his "mind was set on serving the King" and he was determined to do something in the States "which shall be very high and bold" [In Lord Dibgy's Cabinet]

8 May 1645, Stephen Goffe to Jermyn.

Il se cheveront says Pr Orange if they be not able to bring some what to passe for the Dukes passage. The Pr Orange sayes, that which was promised befor shall be pformed, for the transport shippes must be sent from hence as was given in instructons to depwade before.... course must be under pretence of some service for france to forb the ships of m[isc]reants here, wch Pr Orange will give quick order for when it shall be requisite, he says he will vouch that which shall encourage them in it, & often wisht that his zeale & affec[t]ion might be a leading Example to others, & that he would not be wanting. It is much feared, hiring of Holland ships in France may give a sure.. alarm to the Parliamt, that all french Ports will be p[rese]ntly beset... Pr Orange sayd he was very glad of it, for then if the King could preserve himselfe untill he could by sea doe some thing upon them & their London trade, they would be instantly ruined [abstract of Letter no. 21 in "Mixed Papers", House of Lords Library-original reference to letters].

15 May 1645, Stephen Goffe to Jermyn.

Says that the ambassadors' report to the States General was so clearly in favour of Charles that no better effort could have been made by a Royalist [ ].

20 May 1645, Edward Hyde to Jermyn.

Truly, whoever enough conciders the admirable confusion in all three kingdoms, to which in the instant the wisdom of men and angels can hardly find an expedient to apply, will think the situation very happy from whence he may without prejudice so long look on, till upon full observation and free counsels such designs may be formed, with all circumstances for prosecution, as good men may confidently undertake and cheerfully persist in [ ].

29 May 1645, Stephen Goffe to Jermyn.

Prince of Orange had assured Goffe that "Hee had given Sir William Boswell his taske, to propose the liberty of their Havens and hiring of ships, and the Ambassadors theirs to urge the necessity of granting of Letters of Reprisall to the many complaints received in England from their owne people, and then he added; Croyes-moy, par ce moyen ils seront menes insensiblement dans une guerre.

29 May 1645, Stephen Goffe to Jermyn.

Prince of Orange had agreed to try to persuade the States General to declare against Parliament in 1645 and to raise an army of three thousand men to fight in England but only if he gained the apporoval of his ally France. This was necessary as the Hollanders were against any such plan and Frederick Henry's reluctance to confront the States General was increased by the fact that he was receiving only moderate

support from France. The ambassadors, recently back from England, advised that Henrietta Maria should try to use her influence in France to provide more positive encouragement from the French [Gardiner II 258].

29 May 1645, Stephen Goffe to Jermyn.

The abstracter quotes Goffe quoting the Prince of Orange's words "Croyes moy parce moy en ils seront Engages insensiblement dans une guerre"- "Believe me because I like they were pledged blindly in a war" [abstract of Letter no. 10 (sic). in "Mixed Papers", House of Lords Library-original reference to letters found in H.M.C. VI].

Raglan, 10 July 1645, Lord Digby to Jermyn.

I went not underhand but declared with Prince Rupert what I have thought myself bound to do..... Really, my Lord, if I have either temper or truth I have not failed in any point of application to the Prince..... Now that we are going into the West we will be men of the King's Council and of more valuable judgement than myself, I believe I shall be able to hold the duty of my place in the King's service without making it suffer by his animosities against me. But should His Majesty have continued with Prince Rupert, and I only attending him as Minister of State, I who have long since resolved to serve him no longer than I may be useful to him I should have thought it my duty to have betaken myself to other course then when I was inconsistent with one so much more necessary to the conduct of his affairs.

6/16 April 1645, Goffe to Jermyn.

Concerning the sale of the tin, Sir Wm Boswell and I must proceed together for many reasons. It will be necessary to obtain an advance, so that He Majesty may be enabled to pay the interest until the tin be sold to pay the sum borrowed. I proposed to the Prince of Orange immunity from the customs, who was very wiling, and Greffier has promised to do the best he can in this business. He has also undertaken to bring [Capt.] Allen and Haesdonck safely out of Denmark, but in the meantime I am to write to them to go forth if they can, there being no Holland ship there to trouble them for the next ten days. If there were any wit and duty in those who govern about Falmouth and Truro, they would do well to stay any tin until this be sold. The Queen's letters are gone to Duke of Courland for assisting the Marquis of Montrose, I hope to good purpose, but it is necessary to send the copy of the Queen's letter to the King of Denmark for free passage for his ships through the Sound, and a letter of credence in the Queen's own hand to Mons. Vicford, who from time to time may do the King good service by it with him. But the thing which gives Sir Wm Boswell and me the most pain in this place is the fear of the next interest day for the jewels, May 16, on which it is necessary to continue the credit begun, but above all to redeem those parcels which lie so dangerously in Cletcher's hands, besides the acquiting ourselves of the multiplied promises made to Mr Vicford for the redemption of his. It is evident that nothing in the world is of so great importance for the King's service as to find money for the ships at Dorp, but in the next place these occasions mentioned must be served, and therefore it is very unfit to defer any longer the ratification and procurations which Webster desires, but how to transmit them to England and receive them from thence I know not, since the Ambassadors of Holland are come away. If you please to let the King know the fitness of doing the thing this week, Sir Wm Boswell and I will prepare the instruments and send them several ways, but the

likeliest is by Paris, to you unless we may address ourselves to the Portugal Ambassador, which yet has not been done. I shall obey your order in sending "Saint Ibal's" jewels by Mr D'Estrade, though they might be of use here, but if that design be pursued, as it must be, unless peace can be made, you will as easily send them back and more money with them by D'Estrade, as also together with them the orders from France for preparing the ships in the King of France's name. Mr Hemfleet and Lady Stanhope are very thankful to you for the business of their son, hoping that it shall be represented in the form desired, that is, for the title of Lord Wotton, which will be the greatest contentment to time in the world [6/16 April 1645 S.P.Dom., captured at Sherburn and read at Parliament on 3 November 1645].

The Hague, 7/17 April 1645, Goffe to Jermyn (written on the reverse of the previous day's letter).

The Prince of Orange was very inquisitive this week after my letters from Paris, hoping to be resolved precisely concerning the sum of the [marriage] portion, as I perceived by his discourse. For that point I gave him this answer, that the portion alone could not be of that consideration as to conclude the marriage unless he were able to give the King such succours as might probably restore his affairs, which the sum demanded could not do, and that therefore I was ordered to assure him that, if the other articles were accorded, the treaty should not break off upon the amount of the portion. From thence we came to the [matter] of the other particulars, and the resolution was this,- that the affair of the Duke of Lorraine was to be pursued with all vigour, and for that end ships should be sent from hence to meet at the time prefixed, that when the Ambassadors are returned all endeavours shall be used to induce the States to a league defensive and offensive, and that Monsr D'Estrade shall return home fully instructed in these particulars, that is, to demonstrate the impossibility, as they call it, of the passage for Holland, and to facilitate the other to and from Dieppe; and for the second to persuade the sending of an Ambassador from France hither to that purpose, which yet notwithstanding the Prince of Orange thinks will be very difficult by reason of the King of Denmark's war, to which the Hollanders are violently carried; however, the rumours [are that] all endeavours are and shall be used to bring them to our desires, for which end I proposed that in the meantime we might at least have justice from them, and such acts of amity as by their alliance they were bound unto, such as are, first, the liberty of their ports to our men-of-war and the freedom of those [ships] now detained; secondly, liberty to sell our prizes here as we may do in Flanders, at least that both sides may sell in their ports; thirdly, the dismissal of Strickland; fourthly, the permitting of arms and money to be exported for the King both from hence and from Dunkirk, with the refusal of the same to the rebels fifthly, an open and public declaration of the dislike of the rebels' late propositions sent to the King, according as in conscience they are bound to declare, thereby to preserve this people from the guilt of approving the rebellion in England; that in doing so they should declare no war against the Parliament, and it would be a great preparation for the work in hand. This the Prince of Orange seemed very much to approve of, and hath ordered me to prepare my papers in this kind against the time that their Ambassadors come from England, and began to ask me concerning their design, and whether I had received any orders about it, for that I told him I should be particularly instructed by the next post. He likes this very well, and D'Estrade shall be instructed about it. This was all that passed since the receipt of yours, besides that, for conclusion, the Prince of Orange would now whether the Duke [of Lorraine] should fail us, our treaty were at an end. I answered, No, for if the States would be brought to

declare for the King, and with shipping and in other particulars as should be presented to them, I did not doubt but that the King would quickly subdue the rebels, which was the end we pursue in tis affair; to which when he replied with more cheerfulness than has been usual of late, that all endeavours should be used, I took my leave of him. I do [assure] your Lordship there is no danger in discoursing as you find concerning the portion, for the conditions for the Princess must be proportionable to it, and, if other things be accorded, they will be solicitous themselves to enlarge the portion; for that end the Princess of Orange is very civil to me, and desires much the business should go on. I should be instructed what to say concerning the condition and habitation of the Princess before her going into England [7/17 April S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, captured at Sherburn and read to Parliament on 3 November 1645].

The Hague, 14/24 April 1645, Goffe to Jermyn.

I doubt not my letters of last week are received, and if so you perceive that the whole negotiation here depends upon full instructions how to proceed in the particular treaty of the marriage; wherein the several circumstances being understood and agreed, it will quickly appear what the Prince of Orange is at, and willing to do with the States for the King's assistance, without the actual performance whereof, it is to be declared that the private articles shall not be signed. For this purpose, if the copies of former treaties cannot be had, it were necessary to set down particularly what houses and what dowry the Queen will prescribe for the Princess, and for the portion, the lowest sum that must be admitted of, with the times of payment. Yet herein it cannot be prejudicial to leave much unto debate here, it being resolved that nothing shall be concluded till the States do fully declare in defence of the King. Whilst their hands are busy against Denmark, whither they are now sending 60 men-of-war and 6,000 foot, it cannot be expected that they should be induced to supply the King with any forces presently. Yet these things following will be in their power, and may be expected from the Prince of Orange's negotiaton with them as soon as their Ambassadors return [he provided a statement of particulars, pinte in Ludlow's memoirs]. It is apparent that the King must needs overcome the rebels, if he can but keep his person and the Prince [of Wales] out of their hands till his friends that are joined in league with him an send more powerful assistance. Though the portion were as much as was demanded it would not suffice toserve the King to any effect, unless these things mentioned were likewise obtained, whereby London might be impoverished, which is and will be the fountain of all this mischief. Upon these considerations I believe you may approve what I wrote by M. D'Estrade, and send some orders accordingly for proceeding the treaty of marriage apart from other things. It will be very necessary to write to Sir Wm Boswell that, upon the return of the Holland Ambassadors, he be instant with the States to perform the duties of their former alliance with the King. In the meantime, it is the opinion of the Prince of Orange that the business of shipping is without question the sole thing which ought to be intended by the Queen, and might probably restore the King's affairs again, though the Duke of Lorraine's voyage and the Prince of Orange's endeavours should fail. The intention of this expedition is that the whole execution is to be disposed of by the King as absolutely as if they were English ships and the commanders English, the intention being, not for P[rince] and Q[ueen], but fr the honour and service of the King, for which purpose Dorp desires to have large and particular instructions. 'Till London be humbled the rebels can never be reduced to reason. For the garter which is designed for the young Prince it is very earnestly desired by them all, and shall be constantly worn by the Prince in the same manner as in England [14/24 April 1645, S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, captured a Sherburn



and presented to Parliament on 3 November 1645].

The Hague, 21 April/1 May 1645, Goffe to Jermyn.

I have discovered this last week a thing which hath given me all the impediments I have met with, and is, without doubt, the cause of the sudden and positive demand which Hugh made me from the Prince of Orange. It is the overture of the match [of the Dutch princess] with [the Margrave of] Brandenburg revived and pursued now these last three weeks by an express from the Marquis. [The messenger] returned last Wednesday in all haste with order to bring the Marquis of Brandenburg to Cleue [Cleves] or thereabouts by the end of this month, for which purpose he said he would ride day and night. This is, that you may be assured of the party himself having discovered the business of Monsr. Hemfleet, who with much passion for the King's interest told me what he had found, and afterwards, as it was concerted between us, made the same relation to the Princess of Orange, and said that he had it from me. She was extremely amazed, as he says, how I could get knowledge thereof, but in conclusion confessed the thing. How far the business hath proceeded appears not yet, but by what the Princess of Orange discovered last night with me I am confident that nothing is done to the prejudice of the Prince of Wales's pretensions, nor shall be if our demands can be performed by them with ease, I say with ease, for I cannot promise any violence and hazard of ruin to effect it. Notwithstanding all this I do hope, upon particular instructions, to give a better account of the business, however, it shall clearly appear that there was perfect integrity on her Majesty's part, and that the frustration did wholly owe itself to them, not so much for want of desire, for that is not to be doubted of, but that they did not endeavour to effect those things which were most reasonable for the King to demand, and perhaps not impossible for them to do in the opinion of all that shall come hereafter to examine what hath passed. The Prince of Orange, with many testimonies of his great desire of the honour of it, fell to speak of the Garter, and in sum professed how glorious an addition it will be to him and his son, and if it may be sent by the beginning of this campaign, that his son, who hath the honour to be allied to the King [of England], will think himself, as long as he lives, much honoured in wearing that Order after the manner that it is worn in England, wherein he was very particular in describing the several marks used, and gave me an account of his own election to that Order, which was managed with so much insolence by the Ambassador [Sir Dudley] Carlton, that it is easy to collect what was the cause of his not wearing it at first, and because not at first, never since; he added likewise that Henry IVth wore it always. He adviseth that a letter should be written from the King after the usual manner under the signet to the States, wherein his Majesty may be pleased to express the honour he hath done his son-in-law; such a letter was written concerning Prince Maurice and himself, and is to be kept by the States; this ought to be presented by Sir Wm Boswell if no Ambassador be here, and after that either a herald, with the robes and the Order, should be sent with Sir Wm Boswell into the field, where it may be done with more triumph, as he says, or in sending to Sir Wm Boswell an excuse may be made for deferring the formalities and the Order worn presently. I told the Prince that I hoped after the return of the Dutch Ambassadors our affairs here would be in so good a condition that it would be necessary for Lord Jermyn to appear here as Ambassador, not only to present that but to conclude all other affairs which he said he hoped, and that now in short time we should see what was to be expected from hence, with which after many kind promises he ended. Since my writing this letter I have been with the Prince of Orange, where I find such coldness and objections, now that the portion is like to be accorded, against the whole

business, public and private, that I believe what I write has taken place and our business is at an end [S.P.Dom., Vol. 507. Captured at Sherburn and read to Parliament on 3 November 1645].

The Hague, 21 April/1 May 1645, Goffe to Jermyn, written on the back of his last, of the same day.

Since the writing of my other letter I have been with Secretary Muis, who gives great hopes of the States [of Holland] inclining to the King, and adviseth the Queen to use all means which have been spoken of, that alone, though the Duke of Lorraine should fail, will bring all about that we desire. He confesseth the treaty [with] Brandenburg, but that he knew for certain the mind of the Prince of Orange was if possibly he could make the match with the Prince of Wales, so that however the Prince be wavering and fearful in regard of the King's affairs, yet the Prince of Orange is resolved to try what may be done rather for the Prince of Wales than any other [S.P.Dom., Vol. 507].

Oxford, 24 April 1645, Charles I to Jermyn.

Harry, Lest my wife should not be fit for an business, I write this to you, not to excuse my pains, but to ease hers, that she may know, but not be troubled with my kindness. I refer to your discretion how far to impart my letter to her, or any other business, so that her health in the first place be cared for, and then my affairs. And now I must tell you, that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to Digby's sanguine temper (not to be rebuted from sending good news), you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence....Are you obliged to publish all the news we send you? Seriously, I think news may sometimes be too good to be told at the French court, lest they should underhand assist my rebels to keep the balance of dissention equal between us [pqu. Green, Lives of the Queens of England.... ....].

The Hague, 28 April/8 May 1645, Goff to Jermyn.

Since the receipt of yours I am confirmed in what I wrote last from Graffier Muis concerning the resolutions of the Prince of Orange, that though there have been overtures made from [the Marquis of] Brandenburg, yet if the Prince of Wales may be obtained for [Orange's] daughter they will not be hearkened unto. It is not probable any treaty has been begun upon these how[soever] that resevre may have slackened the adventures for this of the Prince of Wales; for as soon as I had given in the extract of my letters, which was most greedily called for, the conclusion was that to gain time Mr de Zulicm should draw the project of a treaty in the articles on both sides, according to the particulars wherein I shall be instructed within 7 days, as your letters to him and to me promise. It is expected that before the Prince of Orange's going from hence, which is like to be within few days, an assurance may be given him that the treaty will proceed well, and the effecting of their designs depend only upon the effects of the public, without which the King and they will have small comfort of the business. There is now or never something to be done upon this State by means of the excellent and clear relations wihich their Ambassadors do make both in private and public in the King's behalf. I have hitherto found as good success of this as can be wished, besides that which is already written of the marriage. I have let you know that there will be a Committee of the States presently settled for the English affairs, that according to what shall be related to them by their Ambassadors resolutions may be taken what to do. These Ambassadors are so extremely set on bringing the States to

the King's assistance that no English subjects could express greater concernment ils se creveront, says the Prince of Orange, if they be not able to bring somewhat to pass for the Duke [of Loraine's] passage. The Prince of Orange says that for the safety and convoy [of the passage] that which was promised before shall be performed, for the transport ships must be sent from hence as was given in the instructions to D'Estrade before, and shall be now repeated and enlarged, in answer to his letter of this week concerning that business. The States must not by any means be acquainted with the business, and therefore the course must be, under pretence of some service for France, to hire the ships of merchants here which the Prince of Orange will give quick order for when it shall be requisite. The [Prince] says he will write that which shall encourage them in it, and often wished that his zeal and affection might form a leading example to others, and that it should not be wanting. It is much feared the hiring of Holland ships in France may give such an alarm to the Parliament that all French ports will be presently beset, besides if there be numbers sufficient the way were by force to constrain them at the instant, and not to send beforehand about it. Upon information that the rebels intend a defensive war only, the Prince of Orange said he was very glad of it, for then if the King could preserve himself until he could by sea do something upon them and their London trade, they would be instantly ruined, and from thence added [some words obliterated]. And this was the sum of that discourse. This day I visited Burel, who makes many protestations of persuing their Majesties' affairs here in such a manner that he considers not what he suffers by it. I have given him a paper specifying the things desired of this State, such as they may do without declaring war against the rebels of England, and in justice they are bound to do, being allied to the King already, such as with the concurrence of France they are now sought to perform in a new league with his Majesty, wherein nothing is demanded of them but what within these 4 years by their Ambassadors in England they have offered to his Majesty. [M. Burrell] approves of every particular, and I am assured will labour more effectively than any creature their Majesties have of their own. Within a very short time will appear the utmost we can hope from this place, for if either the Committee should be refused, and the Prince of Orange as I hear has some doubt of it, or, if being settled, nothing should be resolved by it, which may invite France to send their Ambassadors and join with them, it is evident that new counsels must be sought, and that the King is not to linger away his crown here, only, whatever the event be, some means must be used [to obtain the money], which is nowhere to be had; but if the event of this Committee of England be presently to grant us liberty of their ports to sell prizes, to hire ships, to buy arms and ammunition here and to carry them out of Dunkirk, to grant letters of reprisal to those Hollanders who may require them against the Parliament, and after these things by inviting France to [join] them make a league offensive and defensive as we desire, I suppose it will be seasonable for Lord Jermyn to appear in this place and conclude the marriage, the conditions whereof will be very honourable whatever litle [marriage] portion they give or how great conditions soever they obtain for the young Prince, for certainly by it the crown will be restored, and therefore I hope the whole business will be referred to their disposal except only the conclusin and signing, which must not be until the effects of the public treaty be obtained. As this will yet appear more reasonable of the Duke proceed in his voyage, but though that vanish, as I fear it wll, yet there is more substance in this triple alliance if it may be gotten than in any other counsel in the world. I could now wish the Order of the Garter with the herald and robes and letters were come. The young Prince is very worthy of all honour and kindness from their Majesties, and grows a very proper and lovely person, as does Madmoiselle, more now than at first, perhaps difficulty adds beauty, but truly she has a perfect good

shape, white skin, excellently well-fashioned hands, neck, and breast, the face is not ill, all but very good for many proportions there. To-morrow the young Prince and all the horse take the field [S.P.Dom., Vol. 507].

The Hague, 5/15 May 1645, Goffe to Jermyn.

When her Majesty shall be well enough to speak of business I hope your Lordship will find means to instruct me more particularly concerning the private treaty by the return from England, which I do most humbly beseech her Majesty to do, for now is the time, if ever, to operate strongly upon this country, not only because the Prince of Orange is taking the field, where the things useful to us cannot be effected; but for that the [Dutch] Ambassadors do so plentifully declare the justice of the King's cause and necessity of the States concernment in it; that if the Prince of Orange lose this opportunity for want of words or will, there is no reason to bestow more time upon any expectations from hence, and I assure you that since your two last despatches there is a new vigour towards the King's affairs both in the Prince of Orange and the Princess which I could never discern before, she not dissembling that till now it did not clearly appear whether the proposition of the marriage were real or not. The Prince of Orange has appointed Wednesday and Thursday of this week for the form of the private treaty to be drawn and agreed on, which could not be if there were any other in hand; however, they may be willing to allow that of Brandenburg as a reserve, and for the public it is in a very good way, though the Committees of the States, mentioned in my last, be not yet obtained, the States of Holland pretending that it was usual to grant any [latitude?] to their own Ambassadors; however, they have done it upon the demand of strangers. Here, upon Friday last, they continued their report before the States General en corpus, and after the like manner before those of Holland for three hours' space in such a method and with such clearness for the King's advantage that no subject of his could plead it better. The effect of this hath been the satisfaction of most of them, and the silencing of those that were most opposed. M. Burrell as since gone to his town, Amsterdam, there to repeat what he has done, and on Thursday next he returns to pursue the work here, in which it seems to me by the manner of their proceedings, they intend to perish themselves or his Majesty shall prosper. M. Muis, the secretary, is as industrious as can be desired, but I fear he may think it long ere he find some fruit of his labours; at all events that person is to be retained, for whether we obtain the league or not it is apparent that ships will be always needful and the use of their ports and arms, to all which his [Muis'] concurrence is of great importance. The Princess is now of a temper much different from that she was lately in. Besides great desires for that which concerns themselves most, there are the same desires for his Majesty's affairs, vehement invectives against the [English] rebels, great satisfaction in the Ambassadors, much solicitousness about what is now to be done, that the Prince of Orange must do somewhat before he goes into the field, that some course must be taken to bring the business before a Committee of the States, that Sir Wm Boswell is well affected but slow, and so accustomed to receive denials that it were unfit to use him, that an extraordinary Ambassador from the King ought to appear, but not yet, till the business be better prepared, that she [the Princess] will advise both with the Prince or Orange and all others best affected to the King, that if I have any proposition to make I should bring it to her, this was the sum of yesterday's discourse. Yet, after all this, I must not conceal that the Ambassadors complain that the Prince of Orange is much colder than they expected, as Mr Hemflett says himself, if he be a good author. This is all I have to say of our condition here this week, which, indeed is nothing positive, but that very shortly it will appear what is to be expected

from hence, and that the Prince of Orange and the Princess do now, it seems to me, apply themselves very seriously to that end [S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, amongst those later captured at Sherburn and read to Parliament on 3 November 1645].

"Droit Wiche", Wednesday 14 May 1645, Charles I to Jermyn (draft).

Harry, this is chiefly to chide you that I had no letters from you this last Weeke, indeed, if they haue not beene stoped, or miscarried, I haue reason; for now, that I expect better & better newes, by every letter, of my Wyfes healthe, not to heare euery day from you (that's to say, euery occasion) is a crewll thing ["my expectation being" crossed out] failing therby ["of my" inserted] expectation not without aprehension that your next will not be so full of good newes as I hoped for; yet for all this I must thanke you for the dayly paines you take in my business ["soe farewell" crossed out] only take a litle more in wryting to me concerning my Wyfes healthe [H.M.C. VI, House of Lords MSS].

The Hague, 19/29 May 1645, Goffe to Jermyn.

Now that the Prince of Orange is gone into the field you will have reason to expect some certain and god conclusion of all the propositions which have been offered hitherto, and in sum it is that the affairs of the King of England are now put into a way of consideration here. I sent you a copy of those articles presented to the Princess of Orange and Mr Borell a fortnight since. Out of them the Ambassadors have this last week given in a paper of their own, believing it impossible to procure the acceptance of them all at one time. The Prince of Orange, with more warmth and cheerfulness than ever before, told me upon my return from Rotterdam that he did not doubt but a good beginning would be made for my purpose. He had given Sir Wm Boswell his ask to propose the liberty of their havens and the hiring of ships, and the Ambassadors theirs to urge the necessity of granting of leters of reprisal to the many complaints received in England from their own people, and then he added,- "believe me by this means they will be engaged insensibly in a war". Both these things have been done, only the Ambassadors have thought fit to insist upon the whole business pretending out of their recredentials that his Majesty requires answer to these particulars. It has been thought a more likely way of operating on these jealous people [the Dutch] to permit the proposition to proceed in the ordinary way, viz., by sending copies to their principals in the several provinces and towns, than to make a close Committee for the English affairs, but this will prove a very slow remedy for our evils. This is all that could be effected, though they were awakened by a very seasonable intelligence that the Houses of Parliament at Westminster intended to send not only a remonstrance against the two Ambassadors, but also several envoys to their respective provinces to treat with them apart, thereby intending to divide the Provincial States from the general, and so to forment a quarrel which hath already begun amongst them on that point. For remedy of this the Prince of Orange told me they had resolved two things, first, that letters should be despatched to the particular provinces to declare the danger of admitting any such agents, and then an order to M. Joachimi, at London, to desire that all such envoys should be rejected; and for their remonstrance it is a thing much longed for by these Ambassadors, who are prepared to repay them in that kind with liberal interest. But it falls out very ill that whilst these things are in agitation here M. Sabran has written hither, not concealing his great dislike of the matter, that France has laid aside their intentions about reprisals, and are contented with the empty promises of the Houses that reparation shall be made, which, by these Ambassadors,

are resented to the States as things to be despised; for as much as they have been told plainly that it was not in their power to perform them, and were advised by the Lords themselves to take those of London and others of their Association five times as much as they demanded, by which their pious protecting Government hath discovered how much they consider any particular man's safety and interest that lives amongst them. It is uncertain what were the best remedy for this, for if your Lordship should complain of this, before that reprisals were granted here, perhaps instead of finding amendment in France some means might be used underhand to divert these here from good intentions. If there were not fear of this, it would be of great advantage to the proceedings here if M. Sabran were commanded presently to demand performance of the promises, or else after a fir time to resume their purpose of reprisals. This business alone, if it e obtained, will set ships to sea against the [English] rebels before this summer be ended, as the Ambassadors say. But the Princess of Orange told me that she feared France would deceive us, and the Ambassadors imputed all the timorousness of the Prince of Orange to private discouragements which the Prince of Orange receives from France, and do therefore counsel that the Queen [Henrietta Maria] should now endeavour to get something done by the Queen Regent and Cardinal Mazarin at this time which might give assurance to the States here of their future concurrence with them, as for example the public and certain rejection of [Rene] Augier, the granting leters of reprisal, or some more immediate promise of joining with them than they have got. For at the same time, that out of your letters, I declare to the Prince of Orange what hopes the Queen hath in that kind, he tells me the letters that he receives from Paris are very silent in the business. You will perceive by this in what state our affairs are, and will by the next, I hope, give me order how to dispose of myself, and after I have fully informed myself of the state of her Majesty's debts here, and have settled the business of this present tin and seen the ship under sail fully instructed for England, I cannot imagine what I can do in this place, being separated from the Prince of Orange. As soon as the instructions come for the private treaty of the marriage I shall quickly despatch that bsiness and leave the matter in this condition [showing] that her Majesty hath proceeded with most clear intentions, and that it is her own imbecility that frustrates so great and important a proposition both for themselves and us. I have now received your full instructions concerning the despatch for England, wherein the Prince of Orange has complied as well as could be desired. Sir Wm Coulster is judged the fittest man for this service; you may presume the ship will be at Calais about the last of May, old style, and there Mr Cartaret may embark, if not already departed. I would charge Mr Cartaret with a journey to England to the King, as it is necessary to send by this ship a large and various despatch, and receive back the King's answers on many particulars, as the ratification of Mr Webster, upon which depends the whole jewel business and the good success of that which is to be done hereafter, a commission under the Broad Seal to receive the ruby collar, and a procuracy to pawn it, a letter to Sir Wm Boswell from the King that he obey the Queen's instructions in making such propositions to this State as her Majesty shall ordain him, as also particular instructions from the King concerning the league proposed by him, the instructions for the private treaty with the Prince of Orange concerning the marriage, the copy of the [Dutch] Ambassadors' report, and propositions which M. Borell has promised, the copy of the Dutch commission for ships of war so that, mutatis mutandis, his Majesty's commission may run in that form, a letter from the King to the Duke of Courland with instructions to Mr Vicfort about him, some blank commissions for ships of war to be left in Sir Wm Boswell's hands or mine for that diverse [captains] are ready upon their own charges to put to sea if they had them, to the certain ruin of the trade of London, letters from his

Majesty to the states concerning the Order of the Garter for Prince William, if they be not already obtained, besides that it were fit I should give an account to Lord Digby of all the proceedings here since the return of the [Dutch] Ambassadors [from England], and in what state the other business is. For all these uses I conceive Mr Cartaret might better employ his time with the King than at Truro, since, without doubt, Sir N. Crisp and Sir W. Coulster can perfectly do all that is there to be done, and especially since her Majesty ought, as soon as conveniently it may be, to perfect the grant of the tin pre-emption, and to have a patent for it under the Broad Seal, without which perhaps merchants will make scruple to contract about it. All these things being so necessary to be despatched to the King, if upon Mr Cartaret's arriving hither it appears unfit to employ him, Sir Wm Boswell is opinion some other person ought of purpose to be sent, which should be done as well and thriftily as can be contrived. Sir Wm Boswell desires your Lordship to peruse the enclosed copy of the King's letter to him concerning the Garter. He being one of the worthiest and most contented servants of the King, it would be an advantage to him to have the transaction of that business as he was formerly employed in this kind for the Prince Elector, and received £100 for his expenses. Supposing Mr Webster makes no difficulty to hasten the money, viz, 1,000 crowns, which I take to be the equivalent to 3,000 guilders, I will at once obey the order [to convey it as] a present to Mr Muis [S.P.Dom., Vol. 507, amongst those captured at Sherburn and read in Parliament on 3 November 1645].

Tutbury, 25 May 1645, Digby to Jermyn.

"Yesterday Adrian May was dispatcht from the kinge to bring him word of the queenes health. Hee should have gone by the way of London, if permission could have been obtained; but since he went about, I have not troubled you by him with many words, haveing writte soe fully from Newport: nor, indeed, have I anything of note to add, but only the raising the seige of Chester by the kinge, his advance to Draiton and a confirmation of a great blow given the rebells in the west by Lieutenant Generall Goringe, although as yet wee have no advice of it. The only thing worth the writing to you now is to tell you our present designe and what I conceive likely to happen, which is, in short, a bataile of all for all. That is that which I bidd you expect with in lesse then one month, for the rebells draw all the forces they have now in England to a conjunction here in the north about Pomfret: Colonel Cromwell, Rossiter, Lord Fairfax, the Scottish and att least 3000 horse and foot of Sir Thomas Fairefax his army. The kinge is drawing his to Asgby, where wee hope 1000 foot and 3000 horse from Newarke will mete us and Charles Gerrards forces overtake us. If, being joyned with them, wee find ourselves either able to deale with the rebells or to let them from joyning, wee shall not neglect to play the fairest of our game. If wee find them too strong (sic) for us, wee shall retreat toward Leicester, whither Lieutenant Generall Goringe is commanded to hasten as strong as he can owt of the west and I hope is by this time neere as farr as Oxford. This latter I judge the probablest and that the rebells will follow us keenly and be like to be surprised with such an unlooken for addition of strength unto us; for Lieutenant Generall Goringe is effective 5000 horse and 5500 foot. If this succese, there will be a short period of all; and, indeed, there is good reason to hope the best, for never had the king soe good men both with himself and with Lieutenant General Goringe, nor was there ever soe much unanimity among ourselves. This is, in short, all that wee can a present foresee. You must not expect henceforward to heare from us soe punctually as you have done, though I shall nt faile to write oftner then ever; but now wee are soe farre removed from Oxford and in the

rebells country, it is 6 to 4 of every letters miscarriing. Farewell, I am yours, Lord Digby [State Papers Foreign, Ciphers, (S.P. 106) 10, no. 2, qu Richards].

Raglan Castle, 10 July 1645, Digby to Jermyn.

Believes the King will "cross the Water" within a fortnight. Announces the creation of an army "fitt to fight for a Kingdome", and of the King's promise "that "his nephew shall content himselfe with the honour of Action and take all military resolutions from the councill and debate" and also touching the emnity which Digby had earned from Rupert by "advising the King to haue gone to Oxford from Daintry, instead of going back to Harborow. "You have often convinced mee to endeavour a good Correspondence with Pr Rupert which I have industriously obeyed" but disagrees totaly with Rupert's policies and asks Jermyn, to write a letter to the Prince of Wales, contrary to Prince Rupert's opinion [B.M. Add. Ms 33,596 f.9 and H.M.C. IX, Alfred Morrison MSS].

27 August 1645, Digby to Jermyn.

Thinks now that Denmark at peace with Sweden it was more hopeful that Denmark would send men than Rome money; King approves Denmark plans. Charles gave Ormond power to conclude a truce; all concessions to be granted except ythose that would alienate the Protestants. "You write me to tell you freely oine Condition [to do with Denmark] without flattering you or myself, you will finde in my letters of late, especially by Porter, that I have not been guilty of that fault, nor shall I now, that the freedome which I shall not this time use in stating to you the greatest misery of our misfortunes, I desire may be receved by you at the breaking out of my soule unto my dearest freinde by way of prediction" hopes for help from Denmark and Ireland and money from Jermyn to enable them to survive until the Spring. But the King in a desperate condition and Rupert was dominating his counceles [B.M. Add. Ms 18,982 f.81].

Cardiff, 5 August 1645, Digby to Jermyn.

The torment of misfortunes which hath overborne us of late and brought us from soe high into soe desperate a Condition is now soe insupportable to mee in any thing as when I thinke of the Queene, unto whome I protesses the sadness of my heart will not permitt me to write. O my lord had the Quene, according to my frequent desires to you, forst the king to keepe his promise to follow his counceillors" ". the crown absolutely given away to Pr Rupert".. Scotch insist on Presbytery [B.M. Add. Ms 33,596 f. 11].

7 August 1645, Digby to Jermyn.

Thus much I must of necessity tell you, that unless we allow the Scots without engagement to hope that the King may possibly be brought in time to hearken unto such a change of [Church] Government, as at least by referring it to a Synod, there is no hope whatever they will be brought to so much as a parley with us, wherein if once skilfully engaged by letting them promise themselves what the King will never promise them we shall find means to entangle them so that it shall be impossible for them ever to get off again. Unhappily", he admits the King's constancy to religion was such that "as no one can possibly prevail with him so much as to act his part in letting



them swallow any hopes whether he give it them or not". [Bankes MSS].

Ascot, 17/27 August 1645, Digby to Jermyn in Paris.

It is a great comfort to us to hear by this express that her Majesty preserves her health notwithstanding that trouble of mind which our misfortunes must needs have given her, and that instead of despairing her Majesty and your[self] do rather improve your diligence to procure us aids, God send that your hopes may succeed. For my part I think there is more probability in that of Denmark for men, now the peace is concluded with the Swedes, and for money from Rome, than any other way. The business of Ireland hath hung long in suspense, although the King hath long since given the Marquis of Ormond power to conclude the peace there upon the very utmost concession that can possibly be yielded unto without causing a revolt, not only of his party there, but also such a one of his army and all his Protestant subjects there, as would make it impossible for the Irish to afford us any aids, they would have so much to do within themselves against those that would not submit to peace upon such terms. The truth of it is, the Irish have proceeded hitherto as if they had no good intention, having not been contented with the offers of more than their agents did profess to expect, and insisted upon those demands, the granting of which they could not but see would be absolutely destructive to his Majesty, that is, granting unto them the Protestant churches in such parishes where the number of Catholics was greater, that is in efect all through Ireland. And whereas you write that perhaps the Marquis of Ormond is not the fit person to conclude that business but that the management of it should be remitted to the Queen, I am much afraid the expectation of that in the Irish hath much retarded the hoped-for issue of the treaty. But God be thanked we receive even now the certain news that the peace there is concluded, and that an express from my Lord of Ormond is upon his way from Chester with all the particulars. The utmost extent of my Lord of Ormond's power to grant was the suspension of [Sir Edward] Poyning's Act [temp. Hen. VII], as to the passing of such Bills as should be first agreed on, the repeal of the Penal Laws, and the allowing of the Papists some chapels in places for the exercise of their religion; but you may not take notice that he had so large a power, for happily he may have obtained a peace upon a better bargain. Thus much for that business. His Majesty approves very well of the course proposed by you for such aids as may be obtained from Denmark, but above all things let the matter of money be laroured in, for without some comptent stock of that against the next spring it will be impossible for us ever to have a resource again. My former letters will have acquainted you with our progress since our retreat from Wales, and the reasons of it, and I make no doubt but you will be satisfied that the King's busniess hath been well conducted in that retreat from Wales and since, as the desperateness of our condition could admit of, and that in fine, we are likely to have gained the only thing we could hope for, which was to preserve his Majesty's person safe till the season of the year should secure him in any of his principal garrisons from the danger of a siege. 'Tis true I could have wished that the rebels had given us some leisure either in the north or at Huntingdon, where we have done some mischief, and gained some reputation, and not obliged us to go to Oxford yet this fortnight, but pressing us as they have done, and do, it is not to be avoided; but I hope it is not possible that they can anywise endanger Oxford before the winter relieve it. You write to me to tell you freely of our condition without flattering you or myself; you will find in my letters of late, especially by Porter, that I have not been guilty of that fault, nor shall I now; but the freedom which I shall at this time use in stating to you the greatest mystery of our misfortunes, I desire may be received by you as the breathings out of my soul unto my

dearest friend by way of prediction. It is most true, that as desperate as our condition seems, I have no apprehension, but that having got thus far in the year, we shall be safe till the next from any further great mischiefs, and that probably by helps from Denmark and Ireland and moneys from you, our quarters being well managed for the preservation and recruit of our remaining forces, we may possibly have a fresh and hopeful resource next spring. These hopes, I am confident, the condition of our business itself will bear, would the humours of our own party bear the [delay with] patience; but alas, my Lord! we must not expect it, there is such an universal weariness of the war, despair of the possibility for the King to recover, and so much of private interest grown from this, test to God, I do not know four persons living besides myself and you that have not already given clear demonstrations that they will purchase their own, and, as they flatter themselves, the kingdom's quiet, at any price to the King, to the Church, and to the faithfulest of his party. But to deal freely with you I do not think it will be in the King's power to hinder himself from being forced to accept such conditions as the rebels will give him, and that the next news you will have, after we have been one month at Oxford, will be, that I and those few others who may be thought by our counsels to fortify the King in firmness to his principles shall be forced or torn from him; and you will find Prince Rupert, Wm Legg, [the other names are crossed out and may read Byron, Gerard, and Ormond- Gardiner thought that Colepeper's name may have been there] are prime instruments to impose the necessity upon the King of submitting to what and most of the King's party at Oxford shall think fit. Truly I have great confidence in the King's virtue and steadiness, and I am much improved in it, by the enclosed letter, which he wrote to Prince Rupert in his great distress in Wales upon occasion of his Highness declaring unto him that there was nothing left for him to do but to seek conditions. I protest to God I knew nothing either of the letter or of the occasion till a good while after it was sent, but having then gained a sight of it I got leave to communicate a copy of it only to the Queen and to yourself. My dear Lord, I shall add no more at this time, but only to conjure you first to believe, that if I have any truth or honour in me, I have not the least unfriendly thought in the world towards any mentioned or pointed at in this letter more than purely in relation to the King's service; and in the next place, that though I stand singly against the world, I shall not vary a tittle from those foundations of justice and right to the honour and interest of my gracious master and mistress which I have professed myself built upon, and that I will in spite of the world carry to my grave the honour of a servant entirely faithful and unbiassed, and of being worthy of that happy relation to you of being your best friend [17/27 August 1645, S.P.Dom., Vol. 510, probably amongst the letters captured at Sherburn; also in Warburton, III].

Hereford, 4 September 1645, Digby to Jermyn.

I hope by this time Petit is safe arrived, and will have let you know our lucky progress since the desperate condition we were in at Cardiff, for although we did not do anything eminent, yet the preserving ourselves, as we did, was little less than a miracle. I durst not by him acquaint you with the design which we had laid even from Newmark, lest it should have appeared too chimerical, but now that it hath succeeded you must give me leave a little to triumph in it. You will have understood how the Scots' horse leaving their foot engaged in the siege of Hereford got betwixt us and Scotland, and joining with all the rebels' forces of the North obliged us to retreat to Newmark, from whence we resolved to make a show of marching to the [Eastern] Associated counties, but still with an intent if they did either cross over by Lincolnshire, and so cast themselves behind us as to Worcester, or dallied behind in

the north, with a sudden and swift march to gain the passes of the Severn before they could reach us, and so to fall upon the Scots' foot before Hereford, while their horse were severed from them; by that time we were come to Huntingdon, which place we took with great store of prisoners and arms; we heard that [Col.] Rossiter, with his own and some of the northern horse, were as we conjectured, before crossed over to Lincoln, and pointing to the Associated counties, but the Scots, we knew not why, demurring about Nottingham, till at length we understood the occasion of it to be the Earl of Montrose's glorious victory at Kilsyth and possessing himself of Glasgow, and with it, as we are informed of all Scotland; whereupon not neglecting this opportunity we hastened round by Bedfordshire through Oxford, and came so seasonably to Worcester that the Scotch army took such a panic fear that, after all their great losses and dishonour before Hereford, they raised the siege and retreated in great disorder towards Upton, not being suffered to come through Gloucester, where we hear this day that some of their horse are returned, as we confidently believe to convoy them to Scotland, where I make no doubt but the Marquis of Montrose will complete that judgement which God hath decreed upon them, they being a generation whom as no duty nor conscience can restrain, so no applications, of which we have tried all sorts that can consist with honour or conscience, can gain. In the meantime Fairfax, being engaged before Bristol, which place will be likely to destroy his army, and so leave the prince of Wales in the west and us in Wales free to make levies, and the peace of Ireland being concluded, I allow you, in case you supply us with money and arms, to be hopeful against the next spring. S.P.- I have received yours of the 25th August, and when anything comes to me concerning the shipping I shall be careful to do my part in it. As for Mr Hemfleet's business it shall be done as you desire when anybody shall repair to me about it, which will be necessary, for my part is only to dispatch the warrant; the passing of the Bill will require solicitation and great charges at Oxford [4/14 September 1645, S.P.Dom., Vol. 510].

Newton, 21 September 1645, Digby to Jermyn.

Complaints about Prince Rupert [B.M. Add. Ms 33,596 f. 17].

n.d. but evidently 1646 (before the fall of Pendennis; not 1645 as thought by calendarers of the Clarendon State Papers), Hyde to Jermyn.

Has received a letter by Sir Dudley Wyatt. Will with Lord Colepeper enter into the particulars of the despatch, and first concerning the Princess at Exeter and the governess Lady Dalkeith. Quotes Sir F. Wenman's saying on friends "In reply to your postscript concerning the Princess and her governess, I think it will break her heart when she hears of the Queen's displeasure; which, pardon me for saying, is with much severity conceived against her. Your motto seems to be that an unfortunate friend is as bad as an unfaithful. I'll be bold to say, let the success be what it will, that the governess is as faultless in the business as you are, and hath been as punctual, as solicitous, and as impatient to obey the Queen's directions, as she could be to save her soul. She could not act her part without assistance; and what assistance could she have? How could she have left Exeter, and whither have gone? She had just got the Queen's letter, when the Prince was last at Exeter, about the end of September; she showed it me, and asked my help; I durst not communicate, the season being not come which was pointed out by the Queen for her remove, which was when Exeter should be in danger to be besieged, which we had no reason to believe would be before winter was over. It was no wonder if they were not forward to leave that place till

forced, since there they had complete subsistence, which nobody else had, and which they could not expect in any other place in England. No more remained to be done but to foresee the danger, and to provide in time for her remove. On the enemy's advance, we had reason to believe our troops, then little inferior in number, would have stopped them awhile, and, moreover, a report was just then raised that we were carrying the Prince of Wales to France, which caused fresh disturbance, and at Exeter itself, people would have formally protested against it, had not the Governor prevented it. In Cornwall, at the public sessions, a petition was framed by the judges that the Prince should be desired to declare that no adverse fortune should drive him out of the kingdom, but it was suppressed by Killigrew; even the servants spoke big and vowed what they would do, if the Prince's removal were undertaken. Was this the time to remove the Princess? Had it been done, all security for the Prince's safety would have passed away. The governess would have procured a pass to bring the Princess to Cornwall, had not letters been taken at Dartwell, by which the designs of transporting her transpired. You have now the whole story, and may conclude the governess could as easily have beaten Fairfax, as prevented being shut up in Exeter, from whence I hope she will yet get safely with her charge, to whom I am confident she hath omitted no part of her duty". They can no more take the Prince to France than beat Fairfax with one regiment. Prays for help from Lord Goring in the defence of Pendennis. Lord Hopton will willingly lay down the government of the army. Does not wish to meddle with the army, but to fulfil the King's trust. Is weary of his part. Has seen Lord Jermyn's letter to Colepeper. Tells him to be careful of their reputations, and impute this plainness to the kindness and affection of faithful friends. Sir Dudley Wyatt will inform him of the supplies spared to the castle by the Prince; who has undertaken for 500l to be paid. Hopes that the Queen will speedily send further supplies [Clar.S.P. no. 2072, partially quoted in Cartwright's Madame].

Jersey, 20 May 1646, Hyde to Jermyn.

Would gladly go to Paris, but as he is to live in retiredness is to explain his motives. The transport of the Prince into France will prove either the preservation or ruin of himself, the King, the Queen, and the crown of England. Sees not much force in the arguments urged for the Prince's going to France. Points out several inconveniences that will attend his leaving the King's dominions; but upon the least probability of his being surprised by the rebels, will advise his going thither at once [Clar. S.P. no. 2222, draft].

Newcastle, 22 July 1646, Charles I to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham.

Sirs, Since you three, 385, 386 and 383 have joined yourselves in a letter to me, I will not sever you in my answer. Then know, what severally, what jointly, I received upon Saturday last, six letters from you (and four from the queen), whereof I shall only answer to that of the 19th July, which will serve for all, as to public business. It is no small comfort to me to find that I have some friends yet, that neither have forsaken me, nor are doubtful of me; for of late I have found many demases, and I cannot but say, that if opportunity could have ruined my constancy, I had not at this time deserved your confidence. Indeed, it is almost incredible (it had been altogether to me, if I had not seen it) with what impudence I have been assaulted to yield unto these London propositions, no man dissenting. In a word, what Ashburnham saw concerning the Covenant was but slight insinuations to what I have found since (incivilities only excepted, which, to say the truth, are left

off); for now I am faced down, that this is all for my service; and, if I will be ruled by them, I cannot kiss to be a great and glorious king, it being upon debate the result of all my faithful servants in London. I only mention this, to show you that it is likely I shall still deserve your confidence. But now let me warn you all (I include my wife and son) truly to deserve that praise of constancy which you command in me. For I am deceived if you be not homerput to it than yet I have been. Wherefore I conjure you, by your unspotted faithfulness, by all that yoy love, by all that is good, that no threatenings, no apprehensions to danger to my person, make you stir one jot from any foundation in relation to that authority which the prince of Wales is born to. I have already cast up what I am like to suffer, which I shall meet (by the grace of God) with that constancy that befits me. Only I desire that consolation that assurance from you, as I may justly hope that my cause shall not end with my misfortunes, by assuring me that misplaced pity to me do not prejudice my son's right. And mistake me not, for I am in this so far from abandoning myself, that I believe this resolution is the best way for my preservation; however, that no man's person ought to be put in balance with this cause. Now, as for your advice to me, you speak my very soul in everything but one; that is, the church. Remember your own rule, not to expect to redeem that which is given away by Act of Parliament. Shall I then give away the church? And excuse me to tell you that I believe you do not understand what this is that you are content (I confess not upoin very easy terms I should give away. I will begin to show you, first, what it is in point of piety; and first, negatively. It is not the change of church government which is chiefly aimed at (though that were too much); but it s by that pretext to take away the dependency of the church from the crwon, which, let me tell you, I hold to be of equal consequence to that of the militia; for people are governed by the pulpit more than the sword in times of peace. Nor will the Scots be content with the alteration of the government, except the Covenant be likewise established, the which does not only make good all their former rebellions, but likewise lays a firm and fruitful foundation for such pastimes in all times to come. Now, for the theological part; I assure you the change would be no less and worse than if Popery were brought in; for we should have neither lawful priests nor sacraments duly administered, nor God publically served, but according to the foolish fancy of every idle person; but we should have the doctrine aganist kings fiercer set up than amongst the Jesuits. In a word, set your hearts at rest; I will less yield to this than the militia, my conscience being irreconcilably engaged against it. Wherefore, I conjure you as Christians to assist me particularly in this also. Yet I say not the Scots are to be shaken off; but to be sought with all possible industry usque ad aras; nor do I mislike your fancyconcerning the prince of Wales treating with the independents, wherein I give you full liberty (according to your own cautions) to try your fortunes, though I believe it will not hit [Clar. S.P. no. 2263].

Newcastle. 12 August 1646, Charles I to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham.

That he had received letters from them all since the first of the month. He thanked Jermyn for news fof his daughter's arrival in France. He did not think that Presbyterian government, and abolition of Episcopacy, without the Covenant, would please the Scots. He considered Presbyterian doctrine anti-monarchical and therefore even worse than Catholicism: neverthe less the Scots must be gained over as much as possible. He cannot get the libel indefence of Lilburne answered. The apearance of a strong force for him, which must begin abroad, is the only thing to bring the Scots to declare for him. The Queen wil be careful of his preservation. Must soon be a prisoner in his own dominions, or at liberty elsewhere. Begs them not to press him against his

conscience. Notes some mistakes in the cypher [Clar.S.P. no. 2277, draught, endorsed by himself "not to be burned"].

Newcastle, Wednesday 19 August 1646, Charles to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham.

Yours of the 17th I received upon Monday last, which gave me much contentment, finding that the answer that I have given to the proposition doth concur fully with your judgements. And now you must not take ill, that I preach constancy to you as much as you have done to me. For, as you had reason to do so, because of the company I am in, I believe to have no less, considering how your judgements have been abused by a fallacious treaty concerning church government, which the Scots have thought to make use of as a shoeing-horn to draw on all their ends. For which there is not so infallible way under heaven as the establishing of Presbyterial government, with the extirpation of episcopacy (they scorn the motion to settle the one, except the other be totally abolished); for thereby the doctrine of rebellion is made canonical, their former acts approved, and none condemned. Besides, how can I keep that innocency which you (with so much reason) oft and earnestly persuade me to preserve, if I should abandon the Church? Believe it, religion is the only firm foundation of all power; that cast loose, or depraved, no government can be stable. For where was there ever obedience where religion did not teach it? But which is most of all, how can we expect God's blessing, if we relinquish His church? And I am most confident that religion will much sooner regain the militia than the militia will religion. Thus in my harsh, brief way (not having time to make large discourses) I do my endeavours to make your judgements concur with mine in this particular, as they do in all the rest. For albeit, I believe that my letters upon this point may have silenced you by way of obedience, yet I am not satisfied unless your reasons be likewise evinced. Now, as to the proceedings here, I have yet no certainty to send you; but there are two things much discoursed, both naught, first, that the London rebels will seek to satisfy the Scots, which thought no hard work where to make them retire their army, and quit their garrisons, before they will declare anything concerning my person. Secondly, their great desire is to make the duke of York king. Albeit, these hitherto are but discourse, yet are they not to be contemned. And you will be deceived if do not expect that the Scots have resolved to destroy the essence of monarchy (that is to say, reduce my power in England to what they have made it in Scotland), from which nothing can divert them but a visible, strong declared party for me, and either the Prince of Wales or I on the head of a good army. And do not think that any other eloquence will make the English and Scots rebels hearken to any reason for the business of Ireland alone (which yourselves confess that I must stick to) will hinder all accomodation, until (as I have said) other sort of arguments be used. Wherefore my opinion is, that you presently begin to press France and all the rest of my friends, both to declare for my restoration, and set some visible course on foot to order it. I will say no more at this time, but only that you will not forget to answer the quere in my last letter concerning myself. So farewell [Clar S.P. no. 2285].

Dublin Castle, 29 September 1646, Ormond to Jermyn.

My Lord, The vnhappy successe our endeavours to serue the king, by a peace with the confederates of this kingdom, haue mett with, brings mee no affliction more sencible thena [sic] rises out of the shame that soe little faith is found in a place where I haue soe much interest of blood and alyance, and out of greefe that the perfidy heere should

force mee to counsellis contrary to my former way of serveing his majestie and to my owne inclinations. My lord Digbye will at large enterteyne your lordship with the true reason, as well of our mishaps (with the visible springs of them) as with my present resolutions, and the true grounds of them, wherein your lordship may be pleased to giue him full credit; and aboute all, when he shall (as from his friendship and iustice I expect he will) assure your lordship of my faithfull and constant being, Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant, Ormonde" [Carte, vol VI, pp 436-7].

Newcastle, 31 August 1646, Charles I to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham.

Has received two dispatches of two weeks. Is deeply grieved that they condemn his wilfulness. Is certain that nothing short of the destruction of the monarchy wil content the Scots. And with this Episcopacy would be totally abolished, "the dependency of the Church torn from the Crowne, and the Covenant firmly established". Is firmly convniced of this, and begs them, if his arguments prevail not, to shew him particularly why [Clar. S.P. no. 2294, original draught].

Newcastle, 7 September 1646, Charles I to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham.

Denies the possibility of the union of Presbyterian and regal government. If the former can be established the dependency of the Church on the Crown will be taken away. Is assured that there can be no satisfaction unless the Covenant can be established. Recommends Dr Stewart to them as his accredited adviser in matters of religion. Has received no letters from France by the last packet [Clar. S.P. no. 2307; draught, endorsed, "by London"].

Newcastle, 21 September 1646, Charles I to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham (draft endorsed "censure upon their draught of an answer to the propositions").

I have now deciphered (which when I wrote last I had not) and considered of the draught ye sent me for an answer to the London propositions, which I find (to my inexpressible grief and astonishment) to be not only directly against my conscience, but absolutely destructive to your ends, which is the maintenance of monarchy. For you have taken such care for the perpetual establishing of Presbyterian government, that you have not forgotten the universities; as ye have (as I believe purposely) omitted othe things better worthy the remembering, as the naming of officers. It [is] true ye pretend to give an honourable mention of episcopal government, but so meanly, and in a way so sure not to do that effect which it faintly offers, that it is a shame to see it. And then for Ireland (though I concur with you fully in the intention), it is a poor juggling answer, and such a one that the silliest understanding must at first sight easily look through. Indeed, for therest, I confess it smells much of the old stain; and I perceive you imagine that the dexterity of the latter part will scure the inconvenient concessions in the former, which is a great mistake. For albeit all were agreed unto as is set down, it will be in the power of the pulpits (without transgressing the law) to dethrone me at their pleasures, at last to keep me in subjection. But, suppose they thank me for my concessions, and demure upon the rest, what then? You will say all is but conditional, so that I am obliged to do nothing. I grant this were a good answer, if I had a power to dispute, and that the conditions were not aganst my conscience. But as it is, besides the hazarding of my soul for nothing, what I have yielded unto will be held for good; and I may expect the rest, when all the Lower

House turns saints, or mankind leave factions. Now you may wonder why I have taken all this pains, for you will find that I shall not be out to a particular answer to the propositions; but this point of religion hath so great and necessary an influence throughout all my affairs, that I find it most necessary to rectify your judgements herein; for, albeit my condition be sufficiently sad, yet [it] is made so strangely worse by your misunderstanding the point of church government, whereby I am made the scourge of my kingdom and family, that rather than I will undergo that burden, I will (laying all other considerations aside) hazard to go to France, to clear my reputation to the queen, and all the world, that I stick not upon scruples, but undoubted realities, both in relation to conscience and policy. Indeed, this is a right way to make me a Papist; for I follow your present advices concerning religion, I foresee such a necessity for it, that the time will come you will persuade me with earnestness to submit to the pope, than now ye do for the concession to Presbyterian government; for, questionless, it is less ill, in many respects, to submit to one than many popes. I think Dr Steward will be with you before this letter; wherefore, and I do again jointly and severally recommend him unto you, commanding you to hear and advise with him in this point of religion [Clar S.P. 2314].

9/19 October 1646, Charles I to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham.

Has received from them and the Queen two despatches. "This letter will need a preamble, for otherwise, what I shall write may be easily mistaken. Wherefore know and be assured, that I am so well satisfied of the loyalty, fidelity, and affection of you three to my crown, cause, and person, as what I shall hear after is without any detriment to this my profession; in which if you were not firm, I should not think you worthy of this ensuing freedom....I found Davenant's instructions to be such both for matter and circumstance, that my just grief for them had been insupportable, but that the extraordinary and several kinds of expressions of my wife (meeting casually at that time) abated the sharpness of my sorrow....I am condemned to willfulness....And who causes me to be condemned but those who either take courage and moral honesty for conscience, or those who were never rightly grounded in Religion according to the Church of England....Wherefore instruct yourselves better, recant, and undeceive those whom ye have misinformed.....Only one particular I must mention, wherewith Davenant hath threatened me; which is 351 [Henrietta Maria] retreating from all businesses into a monastery. This if it fall out (which God forbid) is so destructive to all my affairs- I say no more of it; my heart is too big" [Clar. S.P. no. 2352, rough draught endorsed by the King "to be kept"].

Newcastle, 10 October 1646, Charles I to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham.

Is grieved to find by their letter of the 28 September that his argument concerning Religion does not weigh with them. Will never forsake his conscience, his crown, or his friends. Is experiencing the truth that Presbyterian government is incompatible with monarchy. The government of the Church is as necessary a flower of the crown as the Militia. Hopes much from the rebels' distractions. Will do all he can to obtain union with the Scots [Clar. S.P. no. 2328 rough draught, endorsed by the King].

Newcastle, 17/27 October 1646, Charles I to Jermyn, Colepeper and Ashburnham.

In what I have offered by Will Murray's journey to London do not make the Scots declare for me, in case my offers be rejected at London (as I believe they will) the



devil owes them a shame; and you may see, if you be not blind, that they will rather hazard their own ruin than help me, except I do that which will be sure to make me and my successors titular kings. And I believe they are flattering themselves that their union with England will secure them, though I and the monarchy be ruined, hardens their obstinacy against me. And this makes me offer an opinion to you, which at first I suppose you will think a paradox. It is, that my remaining in these kingdoms, though I be not a direct prisoner, is the only means, in my mind, to secure the Scots, and settle a new government here, without a breach between the two nations. For so long as I remain as I am, though in Scotland, I (being but a cipher as to power) shall be no impediment to the change of government. And yet the English will not dare to break with the Scots, lest they, setting me up to claim my right, should raise a great party for me in England; whereas, if I were in a secure freedom anywhere else, I believe the two nations must needs fall out, and so give me an opportunity, either to join with the weaker party, or to frame one of my own; for then men will begin to perceive that, without my establishing, there can be no peace. Now, how strange soever this fancy of mine may seem at first to you, I earnestly desire of you to consider of it well; for I have discoursed with M. de Bellievre, who confesses that, if my condition should happen to be as I have stated it, he knows not what to object against me. And, seriously, if I did not suspect that the just distaste I have to the Scots (especially wanting the liberty of my conscience) does make me partial to an opinion which is in order to the quitting of their company, I would take my oath that I never was of righter judgement all my life. Wherefore again, I desire you to consider well of it; and if you find reason in what I say, that you will think to prepare things accordingly [Clar. S.P. no.2337].

Newcastle, 19 December 1646, Charles I to Jermyn and Colepeper.

Makes only a few observations on theirs of 11 December. Presbyterian discipline would be forbidden by the oath of allegiance. Episcopacy less hateful to them than royal supremacy. Is much hurt at its being supposed he could yield to Presbyterian government. Prays them not to bring him to the hazard of as ill effects as any that his "melancholy offer" could bring about [Clar. S.P. 2380, rough draught].

Jersey, 1 January 1647, Hyde to Jermyn.

Thanks him for his favour in his last to the Governor, who makes much of the writer. They study without his Tully, and serve God without is velvet, though they would be the better for both. Has great faith in the Scots. Wishes they were all back in that ill-inhabited city, which is pleasanter than either Paris or Jersey [Clar. S.P. no. 2397]. The editor of the Clar. S.P. indexed this as meaning Jermyn's copy of Tully and his velvet.

Jersey, 8 January 1647, Hyde to Jermyn.

Has received his of the 8th [n.s.]. Is not alarmed at the King's removal to Holmby. The message is a prudent one. Is willing to let Presbyterians and Independents fight it out. Discusses the relative position of parties, as in former letters [Clar. S.P. no. 2405].

9 January 1647, Charles I to Jermyn and Colepeper.

Theirs of 20 December has made him wonder not a little. Their correction of his message would have done more harm than good. Thought that they had relied on Francis [France?] declaring for him if he were a prisoner. Neither the Highlands, Ireland nor Jersey are open to him; the only question now is, whether he shall be a prisoner in England or Scotland. Recommends to them the opinion he sent the Queen concerning her and the Prince's declaration [Clar. S.P. no. 2411].

Jersey, 16 January 1647, Hyde to Jermyn.

Begs to assure the Queen of his devotion. Position of Scotch and English affairs. Sends this by Mr [John] Nicholls [a native of Jersey] [Clar. S.P. no. 2418].

Jersey, 25 April 1647, Hyde to Jermyn.

Thanks him for his letter by Mr Nicholls. Has had some speech with the Governor, of whose fidelity and zeal he has a high opinion; and who deserves all kindness from Jermyn [Clar. S.P. 2501]

London, 19 May 1647, anon. to Jermyn or Colepeper.

The differences between the Independents and Presbyterians are growing. To take advantage of this the King should be urged not to give way to the Presbyterians. Begs him to use his influence in the French Council [Clar. S.P. 2517].

31 May 1648, Prince Charles to Jermyn.

Commission "for the Admiralty" [H.M.C. 70 Pepys MS 141, letters taken at Worcester, delivered by Boreel to the council 1651 and later owned by Evelyn].

Goree, 3 July 1648, Captain Thomas Allen to Jermyn.

Reports the rout of Fairfax and revolt of some Parliament ships [H.M.C. 70 Pepys MS 312, letters taken at Worcester, delivered by Boreel to the council 1651 and later owned by Evelyn].

7 July 1648, Prince Charles to Jermyn.

Commissions to be Lieutenant General of the Channel Islands [H.M.C. 70, letters taken at Worcester, delivered by Boreel to the council 1651 and later owned by Evelyn].

16 June 1648, Hyde to Jermyn.

Has received his of the 16th [n.s.] and will dispatch an answer the same day. Prays him to thank the Queen and Prince for the great favour of their commands. Will come to Saint-Germain as soon as he has boots to put on. Thanks him for sending supplies. Will now put off sending for a physician for himself and Sir Philip Cartaret. Makes arrangements for receiving money for his journey [Clar. S.P. no. 2811].

29 September 1648, Ormonde to Jermyn.

"I am infinitely obliged to Her Majesty for her care to keep me in Prince Rupert's good opinion. I shall be, and have been, industrious to gain his favour, and my endeavour has hitherto been successful. Neither do I apprehend any danger of a change; his carriage towards me having been full of civility, as well in relation to my employment as to his person" [Carte Letters II 406].

Newhaven, 30 September 1648, Ormond to Jermyn.

My Lord, Since my being ready to imbarque, the winde hath been directly oposite to my voyage, and soe continues; but if the wether comes faire, I will put out to sea with any winde, least I be worse becalmed ashore, and haueing receiued very pressing invitations from my lord of Inchiquin, with some intimation of the disapointment of affaires there, for want of an appeareing authority from the king or prince. His letters are too long to be copyed; but they are full of his wants, the hopes he has they will be releued vppon my coming; and in that case he giues very greate assurances of a speedy settlement, and of all the advantages that can be expected by it. This dispatch came by one captain Dyamon. a man imployed long since to him for releefe from South-Wales, who touched at Silly, and brought with him those sent thence to the queene. He is gone hence yesterday to the prince, and caryed with him letters from mee to his highnes, wherein I againe vrged the vse and necessity of sending shippes and releefe thither, by al the arguments I had tyme to put together; but they had principally relation to the advantage of my owne imployment, for what may concerne the safety of shippes, and the securest place for them to come first to. Captain Diamon, a very good seaman, and now many moneths practising that coast, will sufficiently enfrm them. Hee tould mee that my lord Inchiquin had soe fortified all the harbours in his power, that noe parliament shipp could come or ride in any of them to the anoyance of any within them; and my lord himselfe tells mee as much of Corke, adviseing my landing there. But from a seruant of mine there I am tould that corne is at 5l a barrell, which is 4l more then vsualy it was at in deere yeares at this tyme of yeare; soe that they must not think of victualling there, especially for that parte of victuall. How the country may be provided of flesh, I know not; but the captain cannot be ignorant of it. If the fleete or any parte of it come, I pray be pleased to move againe that they would not only bring with them some provisions of graine for the army, but that they would procure merchants to bring good quantytypes vnder their convoy to furnish the marketts, who will not faile to make huge proffitt by it, and to returne laden with other vsefull comodities. I am, Your lordship's faithfull humble servant, Ormonde. The Silly busines seemes to be but a tumultuary riseing of the common souldier; and I feare will come to noething, vnless care be taken to reduce it into order by some good gouernour, and mony, with other provisions, to introduce him" [Carte vol VI pp 652-3].

The Hague, 28 November 1648, Hyde to Jermyn.

He is being aspersed for differing in opinion from Dr Goffe in the matter of the Duke of Lorraine's levies, and his probable loss of the Queen's favour, moves him to give Lord Jermyn a full account of the matter. He gives details of the engagement of the Duke of Lorraine; in which Lord Goring, Sir M. Langdale and others were concerned. On Dr Goffe's return from France he brought the Queen's orders respecting the employment of the expedition against Guernsey, which was not thought practicable. He depreciates any prejudice that may have arisen against him, and begs Jermyn to

remove it [Clar. S.P. no. 2926].

Kilkenny, 24 January 1649, Ormond to Jermyn.

"My Lord, By the articles of peace and other papers sent by the lord Byron for her majestie's consideration, you will be enformed of the present state of affaires heere; and by the coppie of my letter to the prince, your lordship will find my sense of his comeing hither. Soe that there remaines very little matter for a letter; yet you may please to receiue this short collection out of it all; that all the armyes and townes, except those possessed by Jones, and the party vnder Owen O'Neale, wee reckon vpon as ours: that these armyes will be about 15,000 foote and 2500 horse; that the country is soe wasted by the incursions of Jones and O'Neale, and by the want of good order in the armyes that are right, that the best care that can now bee taken of it will not recouer it to a degree to be able to doe much more then to keepe the army in quarters; and that consequently, for action in the feild, (which, if early vndertaken, will probably bee successfull,) wee must looke vpon your endeauours that are abroarde to furnish vs in the best proportion you are able, as well with money as with ammunition, and what other necessaryes for warr you can possibly procure. Wee are heere in very greate paine by reason of our ignorance of what hath passed in England since that desperately wicked remonstrance of the army, which, whatever mischeefe it may doe, hath yet done this good, that it put vs quite of from all disputes vpon the niceties of conditions, and was noe small cause of the speedy and, I hope, happie conclusion of the peace. I beseech you, my lord, remember, that wee are heere put forth vpon a troublesome adventure, and let vs not want the comfort of your frequent advices, and, if it be worth it, of your approbation of our endeauours. And let me haue the great satisfaction of being assured that I am still beleued to be, as I really am, Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant, Ormonde" [Carte vol. VI p. 598-9].

The Hague, 31 March 1649, Hyde to Jermyn.

That he was desirous that the King should go to Ireland. Strongly condemns the conduct of the Scotch, who besides requiring the King's taking of the "damnable Covenant", would have him consent to all the most extravagant propositions ever offered to his father. In their proclamation and letters they express no detestation of the murder or murderers of the King, nor mention it otherwise than if it had been an ordinary accident. If the King, however, does not comply with their humours, but encourages the loyal party, Hyde is convinced that they will soon comply with him [Clar.S.P. no. 25, endorsed sent by Mr Raynsford"].

The Hague, 12 April 1649, Hyde to Jermyn.

On the plans for the King's removal, and the extravagant propositions of the Commissioners of Scotland [Clar. S.P. no. 38].

The Hague, 13 April 1649, Hyde and Cottingham to Jermyn.

They inform him of the King's intention to send them to Spain to procure a loan and, on their way, to negotiate with the Archduke for the King's passage through his country. They desired to know the Queen's pleasure as to what address they should make to the French king. They wrote in similar vein to the Queen [Clar. S.P. 41 and

42].

1 May 1649, Charles II to Jermyn ("our trusty and welbeloved Henry Lord Jermyn Governor of our Island of Jarsey") and Sir George Cartaret, Lt Governor of Jersey.

Authorises imposition of martial law, should that be necessary.

Saint-Germain, August 1649, Robert Long, Secretary of State to Jermyn.

Instructions to Jermyn as Plenipotentiary to the French Court [B.M. Add. Ms 37, 047 f. 31, in Latin].

29 August 1649, Mazarin to Jermyn.

Tells him that one of the greatest reasons why he wanted peace was for the sake of Charles II [P.R.O. transcript 31/3/89 copied from A.E.Angleterre LX f131] .

Madrid, 29 November 1649, Hyde and Cottington to Jermyn.

To inform him of their arrival. They discover that they shall have huge difficulties to contend with; all their present comfort is, that they have reason to believe that Don Louis de Haro is not in any degree averser to them [Clar.S.P. no. 170].

Madrid, 15 December 1649, Hyde and Cottington to Jermyn.

Audiences with the King and Queen of Spain. Communicated to Haro Cardinal Mazarin's desire for an interview, who replied he would willingly meet him at any place in France near the borders. They were obliged before the audiences to have new habits made to avoid appearing in mourning. A very good house, that of the Marquis de Villa Magna, has been assigned for their use by the extraordinary care and favour of Don Lewis [de Haro] [Clar. S.P. no. 188].

Madrid, 3 January 1650, Cottingham and Hyde in Madrid to Jermyn.

The Spaniards are disposed to be as kind to the King as their affairs will permit. Account of their first private audience, in which the King of Spain "let himself out in as patheticall a discourse against the horrid villany against his late Majesty as you can imagine", and expressed strong desires for peace with France. Quarrel between the Admirante of Castile (Duke de Medina del Ryo Seco) and the Marquis of Leche (eldest son of Don Luis de Haro); they are both in consequence ordered away from Madrid; and the former, for evading the order, is to be carried prisoner to the Castle of Burgos [Clar.S.P. no. 204, compare with Cl.S.P. vol. ii 507 and Hist. Reb. book xii].

Madrid, 6 January 1650, Hyde to Jermyn, using Venetian Ambassador's express.

Repeats contents of his letter of the same date to Henrietta Maria, viz, that they believe that if the Cardinal and de Haro met, "to which the last is marvellously inclined" or if Commissioners were sent to the borders, a peace between Spain and France would undoubtedly ensue. He sent the Commendation of the Venetian Ambassador (Pietro Basadonna) [Clar. S.P. no. 208].

Madrid, 31 January 1650, Hyde and Cottington to Jermyn.

Chiefly upon the desire of the Spaniards for peace with France. Good reports on the successes in Ireland; much also is said of Montrose's progress in Scotland [Clar. S.P. no. 223].

Madrid, 25 February 1650, Cottington and Hyde to Jermyn.

Are glad that the Venetian Ambassador is to inform the Queen of whatever passes towards the treaty between France and Spain; the Venetian ambassador in Madrid seems exceedingly to depend upon the Queen's power in that negotiation. Complain of being slighted by Cardinal Richelieu in his returning an answer to the Spanish Court on some matter which they had mentioned through the Venetian ambassador rather than through them. It is reported that one Dr Bonde is coming to Spain as agent for the rebels. They desire to hear more frequently about the King's movements; the last letter from Jersey was of November 6 or 10 [Clar. S.P. no. 242].

Madrid, 2 March 1650, Hyde and Cottington to Jermyn.

Concerning conferences with de Haro on the terms of peace with France; Spain will cede Roussillon on the French side of the Pyrenees, but will not consent to the giving up any part of Catalonia, which was not conquered, but revolted; a general amnesty will be granted to the Catalonians with the confirmation of all liberties, and only a Viceroy sent to govern the province [Clar. S.P. no. 244].

Madrid, 18 March 1650, Cottington and Hyde to Jermyn.

"Our very good Lord, There have, since our last from your lordship, arrived two expresses from Paris to the Venetian ambassador; the first, with two letters of the 17th of the last, which came hither with great expedition, and the last with others of the 2nd of this month; by which we find that your lordship had no notice of these dispatches; neither can we discover that Contareni hath been yet with the Queen; which by his appointment he should have been some days before the date of your last letter; so that it is very probable, what desire soever they seem to have of the queen's interposition, they do in truth more desire to have the whole truth and entire managery of the business to themselves; and we shall therefore forebear meddling further in it, except we receive immediate commands from the queen (who can best judge when the king's mediation will be seasonable and effectual), or are called upon here to do some assistance towards it... we have at present nothing more for enlargement, and so kiss your hand, as, Your lordship's very affectionate humble servants" [Clar. S.P. no. 261 quoted in full in Ashburnham's Vindication].

Madrid, 21 July 1650, Hyde to Jermyn.

Give notice of a suit in the Spanish council of war brought by some London merchants about some bars of silver, in the name of the Parliament; whereupon the plea was ordered to be amended, and the names of the persons inserted instead. But it is whispered that (on account of Ascham's murder) they have invited the rebels to send an ambassador; if so, the Queen's opinion is desired whether Hyde and Cottington should stay an hour [Clar.S.P. no. 348].

Fere, 5/15 February 1652, Digby to Jermyn.

I humbly thank your Lordship for your care in advertising me of what I had desired you concerning the Duke of Orleans. As for what my concerns my business of the Garter, when I call to mind how positively the King promised it me at Beauvais when there should be any more void, there being but one, as I take it, when I first pretended to that honour, that His Majesty bid me rely upon his word for it, excusing his not bestowing it then upon me upon an engagement to the Duke of Courland, and that in confirmation he gave me his hand to kiss. I profess to you that I cannot but believe my brother Dyves [his half-brother Sir John Dyves] discourses of engagements to the Italian princes, and other less reasonable excuses, to be dreams of his own by the way or a raillery of the Queen's and yours to try my temper. You will think I have reason when I shall have told you that I was so wary not to expose myself to the affront of a denial nor to make use of the Queen's favour in vain, that before my brother Dyves moved it to her, I made a friend of mine sound the King, as from himself, whether such a motion would be acceptable to him or no, who was pleased to express gracious dispositions in it without any of those objections. Having said thus much to you I leave the matter unto their Majesties, and to your friendship as your concernment in my interests shall dictate" [H.M.C., Ormonde I and catalogued in Ormonde IV, quoted from the copy sent by Digby to Ormonde].

The Louvre, 11/21 February 1652, Ormonde to Jermyn.

"Sir George Hamilton goes towards you with all the recommendations from this to that Court that can be thought necessary to entitle your Lordship to a mediation for his concernments upon which he principally hopes for success. He has made many expensive and dangerous voyages for the late and this King and entirely lost his fortune by his faithfulness to them against the rebels of all their kingdoms, but his not going the last voyage he was designed for and is attendance so long upon it will conclude his ruin if he prevail not in his pretensions to the French Court, or will cast him as a very unseasonable and unwilling burden upon His Majesty's care, who, God knows, had need bestow it wholly upon himself. Your Lordship knows his relation to me and how highly you may oblige me in him" [H.M.C., Ormonde I and catalogued in Ormonde IV].

Cologne, 31 October/10 November 1654, Charles II to Jermyn (delivered by Ormonde).

"I have received yours of the 24th and another of the 29th October both together, and I thank you for the news you send me. But I do very much wonder, that every letter that comes from Paris should mention the endeavours that is used to pervert my brother Henry in his religion, and that you have most reason of all others to do it makes not the least mention of it. I will not say to you too much upon that subject because I have instructed my Lord of Ormonde (who will give you this letter) so fully in the point that I shall refer all to him. Only I must tell you this myself, that if you do not use all the means possible you can to prevent my brother from being seduced, and not only say, but give such testimonies of it that may satisfy me and all the world you do your best, you must never think to see me again, and that this shall be the last time you shall ever hear from me, being so full of passion that I cannot express myself. Consider well of this, and if I have not my desire granted it will be such a breach between the Queen and me as can never be made up again [Cal. S.P. no. 2063].

December 1654, Charles II to Jermyn, draft.

Has received Jermyn's of 20 November by the last post. Is sure there was nothing in his own for Jermyn to wonder at, considering the trouble he was in. Does not understand what he says of omission of prevention by those on whom it was naturally incumbent, and the expecting it from him; for no one could have prevented it but the King himself, and he only by removing his brother, from which Jermyn had very much dissuaded him, and thought him very unreasonable in apprehending danger; therefore the King had the more reason to expect that he would take care of the Duke, or at least give the King notice when he found his own care not sufficient. Thanks him for what he has done since, and for his readiness to join with the Lord-Lieutenant; if the mischance is prevented, all's well [Clar.S.P. no. 2096, 2].

February 1655, Charles II to Jermyn.

Has already signed a warrant to Sir Richard Foster to pay his pension for December to several creditors, and therefore cannot sign a warrant for the payment of it to Jermyn. For January and the future will send such orders as Jermyn shall judge necessary, but desires that nothing be done to trouble or discountenance the good old man, [Foster?] to whom much money is due [Clar.S.P. no. 63].

February 1655, Charles II to Jermyn.

Knows not what to say about the business of Rome until he knows who is Pope and what good will he is likely to bear. On Thursday night Sir Ch. Lloyd came to Antwerp from Breda, and, being very drunk, told a friend that Mr Page was gone to Dusseldorp, and that a better man would soon follow him; and that he was told this day by an English officer, who came from the Burse (where he was told it by a friend) in company with Lord Norwich. This gives the writer much trouble. Mr Pickering [Ormonde] and he set out to-morrow; when he comes near Dusseldorp he will rest until he hears from Jermyn, who is to sign "Jackson", and direct to "Mr Page". Leaves out the Lady's name who told the officer, lest it trouble the other sisters who are like to be trusted [Clar. S.P. no. 64].

Bruges, 21 July [1656], Charles II to Jermyn.

For my Lord Jermin, I haue three of yours vpon my handes, one of the 7, an other of the 14, of this month, and that of the 24 of the last month which Tom Talbott brought me yesterday. I must tell you there is a mistake in your bill for the 350 pistols, for Tom Blagge shewes me your letter wherein you tell him you haue returned him 200 crowns, for which he is to receaue 465 gilders out of my bill, whereas I am informed by the marchant whome I imployd to receaue the mony for me, that there is but 21 poundes Flemish (which amounts but to 120 gilders and some odd shillings) more then is due to me vpon the exchange for the 250 pistols, therefore you must returne to him what is due ouer and aboue that summe. I hope you haue before this time receaued an order for the six monthes that are due, which I pray returne with all possible speede to me, for I want it very much, though the ratification be come to me from Spayne as fully as I could expect, of which I hope to receaue frute very shortly, to which purpose I intende to send to Brussells within few dayes; there greate worke of Valancienes being as you know well ouer, I shall be very glade that a treaty



betweene the two crownes may follow. Now, concerning what you write to me by Tom Talbot I am of your opinion that I must be advised by these ministers heere in the conducting that businesse, there credit and authority being likly to be of most vse to me in that place. I haue seald the Earle of Inchequin's patent, which I had signed so longe since, therefore I pray lett notice be taken of it that he may enjoy all his rights. [p.s.] I would haue you pay to Sr R. Foster 200 liuers out of the first mony you receave for me [Camden Soc. 1864].

Bruges, 19 September (o.s.) 1656, Charles II probably to Jermyn.

Being come to town late last night with my brother the Duke of York, and having very little to say, I desire you to make my excuses to the Queen and my sister, that I do not trouble them with letters by this post. I know not whether my brother has anything to say to me, and from whence he comes. We have yet had so little liesure to speak together, yesterday being the day we met, that I have not spoke to him as yet one word of business; only according to his desire I have sent you the note for the nine hundred pistols, which I intend to be out of the arrears due to me; for I do not propose to receive any pension for the time to come by the Cardinal's means, till I shall be better understood than I am [qu. Bryant, Letters of Charles II].

Bruges, 20 October [1656], Charles II to Jermyn.

For my Lord Jermin, I haue receaved yours of the 13, and am so farre from being vnsatisfied with the Cardinall's retrenching my pention, that I am sure I haue tould you before, if he had inclined to haue continued it, I would absolutly haue refused it. I pray therefore sende me worde to what time they haue pay'd it, and so how much I haue receased from them, as likewise how much is in truth in arreare to that time, that I may be able as well to say how much they haue failed of making good what they promised, as to acknowledge what I haue receaved. You say the Cardinall preserues one equality towards me, that it, if here be any thing attempted vpon England, he shall complayne of nothing that is done; and yett, whilst he hath much more reason to beleue that will be the case then the contrary, he complayns more then would become him whateuer the case shall be, and in all companyes talkes of establishing Cromwell, and vses other expressions then I expected from his discretion, when I gaue ouer expecting any thing from his kindnesse. I wish you should tell him, that a man who hath thought a necessity of his owne making warrant anough for such proceedings against me as no necessity could in truth excuse, should allowe a reall visible necessity, which he cannot butdecerne, a good iustification of my doeing what all the world would laugh at me if I should not do; and you shall do well to put him in minde that I am not yett so low, but that I may returne both the courtisyes and the iniuries I haue receaved [Camden Soc. 1856].

July 1658, Charles II to Jermyn.

He had received Jermyn's of the 12th. The character he formerly gave of Balcarres was then deserved; if the Queen thus contracted an esteem for him, she will certainly lessen it now she is assured that he deserves a much severed sentence than that which is put upon him. Is confident the Queen will desist from this matter. If the consideration of making an absoluyte breach between him and his sister can move anything, the matter will be foreborne. Jermyn is therefore to use his interest that the King mauy not find Balcarres' satisfaction prefered before anything he can say

[Clar.S.P. vol. 58 f. 121].

16/26 July [1658?], Charles II to Jermyn.

Jermyn knows how much he has endeavoured to have a good understanding among them all; had his advances been seconded, their enemies would not be rejoicing at their disunions. Agrees that there is not such communication between the Queen and himself as there ought to be; otherwise he would have acquainted her with his intentions of giving the Chancellor the place he holds; omitted it because he considered the Chancellor had the misfortune not to be understood rightly by the Queen. Any account the Chancellor might have given of his promotion would have been liable to a worse interpretation than his silence. Will say no more till he sends to the Queen the paper concerning Balcarres, only that if he receive not satisfaction in this matter all will go amiss [Clar.S.P. vol. 58 f. 132].

2 August [1658, the year 1657 queried by editor], Charles II to Jermyn.

For my Lord Jermin, I was sorry to heare that the Queene had forbidden Dr. Cosins the exercise of our religion, as he was wont to do; you will see what I haue written to her vpon the matter, and I do coniure you to vse your vtmost endeauors that her Majestie would withdraw her commandes, and permitt the deane to officiat as he hath done formerly, for otherwise it will produce those inconveniences which are so visible as I thinke I neede not put you in minde of them [Camden Soc. 1864].

24 June/4 July 1659, Charles II to Jermyn.

That his of the 27th gave complete satisfaction. Hopes to receive the Queen's answer to his last on Tuesday, with his pass and an intimation where to meet her, but cannot give her the time until he hears again from England. Need of money. To refuse good offices from Cardinal Retz would make people cry out that he is an enemy to Catholics; but there can never be any friendship to Mazarin's prejudice. Bodkin is an impostor; he was with Charles before he went last to England and wished to have letters for the Queen, Cardinal or Jermin; he is not to be believed [Clar.S.P. vol. 61 f. 307 (part in Cl.S.P. iii 515-6)].

9/19 January 1659/60, Mordaunt to Jermyn.

My lord, Our many changes here have so inclined the people to that interest can only serve them, that though I dare not advise, I deliver my opinion playnly in the poynt of the Kings coming that he will infallibly carry his business with little or no opposition if he appeare in person either with or without forces, if without by treaty, if with a body without termes. I am so concerned for him that I am uneasy to heare what advantage his enemies take to traduce him by reason of his stay. But yet I do not counsell his remove, though I would almost give my head that he were here. Many considerable towns have declared as Exeter, Plimmouth, Bristole and a free parliament or 48, all center in the King. If this finde you returned, and France will assist, I think no time is to be lost, if on the way let me begg of you to hast to Paris, and if you can give me any assurance of being seconded, I dare assure you I will be in a considerable seaport ready to receive you, in fine every way I looke upon the King as restored, and nothing can prevent it under God but Monck, who may be ours too. All we want is the King's person which if you will bring us, you will blesse the whole

nation. [General] Lambert some think has an aftergame, but my opinion is he will scarce be able to raise a partie. All here is confusion. Your cipher is so bad I can scarcely write by it, els I had given you a larger account [Mordaunt's Letter Book].

31 January 1660, Ormonde to Jermyn.

That the oath of abjuration should not proceed, though it hath been industriously persued by the greater number of the house, nor the city become any thing more pliant to the desires of the rump, and yet that Monck should declare (as in his letter to the city he does) for this individual parliament and a free commonwealth, and march towards London (as some say) with his whole army, leaving Scotland to be kept upon the matter by the Scots, are matters which induce me to expect something from him, at least beyond what he pretends; and I believe it possible, that he brings his army, under this pretext, (which he finds most proper to lead them unanimously,) to be mastered, rather than to master the city and dissenting members; which he might do doubtless by sending his declarations. But what his further intentions are, or for whom, I will not so much as guess, supposing it possible that they are but conditionally formed by himself, to be persued, or laid aside, as he shall find his power capable of accomplishing them upon the place. It is true all of our side write as if they were pleased with the face of things; but I see no particulars that warrant so much satisfaction. I will hope it is a general inclination towards the king, grounded on as general a despair of settlement without him; which they are better able to observe than describe" He laid so much stress upon this general inclination, that he was the less alarmed at the reestablishment of the rump "Though (says he) the submissions of the parliament seems universal and hearty in all those that have any military or civil authority in the three kingdoms; and though I conceive the appearance of its being so, and the drawing of the army towards London, reason enough to stop the king, if he were ready to embark with a force that a month since in the judgement of all men would have done his work; yet you may take it for a certain truth, that many of those who pretended to secure places for the parliament, and possessed themselves accordingly of them, did it for the purpose of making use of them in the end to the king's advantage, if the contest had been kept up a little longer. Of this we have good evidence, besides the known inclinations of many persons that acted. Whence it may be inferred that upon the like conjecture (which infallibly will happen) we shall still have them to a friend, and in a posture more able to help us. Nor are we the less to account upon them for their taking any oaths, or making any abjurations contrary to it, since all in any sort of power there have long learned and often practised the absolving themselves in such cases; and it is no melancholy remark by the way, that the imposing of an abjuration of the king's family met with such considerable opposition in the house, even from some that had an hand in the last king's murder [Carte, vol III p. 698-9].

Brussels, 24 March/3 April 1660, Charles II to Jermyn ("For the Earle of St. Alban's").

I have very little to say to you, the post being not yett arrived from England, which comes very unseasonably, for we did expect by these letters something of consequence, and the wind continues so full east, as no ships can stirre from thence. There is reports here that come from Calais as if they should have passed a vote in the house for king, lords, and commons, the truth of which you know by this time. Pray hasten all you can my coming to you; for, besides the passion I have to wayte

on the Queene, I think it the properest place for my publique concernes. There is a gunn which I bespoke of the Turennes; if it be finished pray send it to me, and I returne you what it costs. God keepe you [Camden Soc. 1864].

n.d., but certainly post December 1659 and probably post Restoration, Sir Richard Browne to Jermyn ("Earl of St Albans"), endorsed "Concerning Cambrian Regis".

Right Honble, Wee have according to your Lops Dircetions had strong confroner with Coll Smith and doe uppon full examination of the whole designe proposed by him judge it to be very well layd, and likely to produce nott only benefitt to all persons instructed therein and noe objection or difficulty as yett occurringe unto which wee doe nott finde a ready answear, and easy resolution. We are absolutely that this affaire is most worthy of your Lops appearinge in the head thereof as Principall Partner joyned with the Coll (with Mr Richard Law of the Bedchamber & Mr Sheer [added above]) 3 Jersey men whom Coll Smith will recommend and for this your Lops Patronage the Coll doth give... assigne unto you for your share and for whom you may please to take in for some part... instrumental in procuring & it unto you an Entir third of the whole profits Your Lop will be pleased to write letters of Recommendation to the King & to my Lord Chancellor but also to procure His Majesty letters to them both to the same effect" [B.M. Add. Ms 34,702 f. 179].

2 March 1660/1, Winchelsea to Jermyn.

Was leaving for Pera in the Ottoman Empire. hopes their friendship may be continued by correspondence . Hopes that the tales he will afford Jermyn some novelty and divertisement and hopes that Jermyn will send him news from home [H.M.C., 71, Finch I].

Pera, 1 April 1661, Winchelsea to Jermyn.

Concerning impending war; the French Ambassador threatened the Vizier who imprisoned the Ambassador's son and the Vizier resolved on war against Translyvania since Chimianus had taken control there. It would be best to place the French under English protection. As Charles was involved "I know you will be passionate and violent" [H.M.C., 71, Finch I].

8 April 1661, Hyde to Jermyn.

Since my last to your Lopp I have received yours of the 29th, and have seene four of your others to the Kinge, the severall particulars whereof I have direction from the Kinge to discourse with you upon, leaveinge, as I shall always do, the generall occurences to your other correspondents, who have more leasure. I am very gladd you concurr with the generall opinions of most heare, that the overture with Parma [Bristol's project for Charles to marry the Princess of Parma] is very happily layd asyde; yet I musyt tell you, the discourse of it, and the spreadinge it by the promoters with more than ordinary vanity, hath had a good effecte, and made the other allyance with Portugall, which is not yett discoursed of with any authority, celebrated with the most generall applause, that I thinke any thinge of that nature ever was, by the people of all interests, excepte the Catholiques, whoi generally, I meanethose who are given most to talke and would fayne be thought the Plenipotentiaries of the body, invaigh against it with most seasonable sharpnesse, of which the most sober are enough

ashamed. The truth is, there is enough in that Treaty, after the passionate desire of a Protestant which was rather wished than hoped for, to render that alliance very popular; for, besides the portion in money, which is two millions of crowns Portugeses, and I believe which much more then could be had any where else, that advantages and benefitts to trade make the marchants most enamoured on it; and sure we have very ill luck if, in the East and West Indies, they do not make incredible benefitt by the concessions, even to their own hearts desire. The thorough digesting of them, and some circumstances in the formality of the marriage, (for it must not be made in Portugall, because of the differences they have with the Pope, which will obstructe the dispensation,) is the grounde for the delay. As soone as a more particular digest can be made, it shall be sent to the Queen. I suppose the matter will be made publique before the Parliament, excepte somewhat hinders it, that I cannot foresee; but you may be confident the Parliament it selfe will be constituted to your wish, and will proceed with that duty they ought to doe, and I am confident will be moderated even in that particular with which they are most transported, against the Catholiques, by his Majesty's influence in spite of the vanity and brags of some foolish priests, who do their friends more harm, than their enemies could do without them.

I am confident you will finde that all the steps which have bene made in that busynesse have bene with full deliberation, nor can the Kinge reasonably expecte, from your negotiation, more of countenance, in this affayre, from the Kinge of France (how agreeable soever in truth the same is to his interests, and consequently must be to his wish), than that hee will in no degree discountenance it, or appeare publicquely, upon any importunity of the Spaniard, to be dissatisfied with it, which would be inconvenient, and of ill consequence to our master, though his hearte be never so right. It could not be reasonable to expecte, that so soone after such an alliance with Spayne, he should do any thinge publicquely to our Masters advantage, as if he did concurr in the disobligation. The Spanish Ambassador heare braggd aloud among his friends, that as soone as the Kings intention in this pointe shall be manifest, he must praepare for a storme from France, as well as from Spayne. You may reasonably conclude, that whatsoever can come from the latter, hath bene well weighed, and that the apprehension of it ought not to terrify us, and when indeede we shall not be obliged to do more, by this alliance, than we ought in discretion to do without it.

I am sure you will not believe that I have gone a sharer in any intrigue with Bartett [Baron de Vatteville, Ambassador from Spain to England], who it seems hath payd deere for his activity; and I dare sweare, by the enquiry I have made into it, that his own vanity hath engaged him in those inconveniences, and that he had pretended to know whatsoever he thought, and to be detected when he hath only obeyed his own fancy. Sure you would never be melancholique enough to believe that he, or any body else, can have trust from the King in your province, and apart from you. No liberty Princes have to electe their own ministers can support such a paradox; and I pray never suspect that, by your want of instruction in any particulars which appeare necessary to your full negotiation; for we can never be sharp-sighted enough to decerne all necessities or conveniencies of that kinde; but you must your selfe give us advize of what you see must be fitt to be done by you, upon what is probably to fall out, and then you shall not want instructions.

I am exceedingly glad that all things in the marriage [of Madame] hath succeeded to your wish. I am fully of your opinion, that it had bene to no purpose to have insisted

upon the disposall of places, which shall hereafter falle, in which no promise would have bene kept. I wish all may stande fast who were in possession at the marriage. I much depende upon your Lordshipp (since I dare not take the praesumption of writing to her Ro. He) to lay me att her feete, in the most humble and devoute congratulations of her happiness that can ve expressed.

The Kinge is most really affected (as he hath good cause to be) with the expression of a firme affection the Kinge of France makes towards him; and you may lay your life his Majesty will always sett a just valew upon that friendship, the praeservation whereof is so necessary for the good of both kingdomes, which, if well united, may give lawes to their neighbours of what greatnesse soever. However, as you will do all you can to establish that mutuall confidence and disposition in the two kings, tyou will proceede with all the warynesse and tendernesse that is possible, in preaeparinge such additional articles as must obleige each other kinge in givinge assiatance upon the occasyon of domestique troubles, which how unnaturally enough practised heare of late, are more naturally to be expected in France, for the tyme to come: all which I say only to you, at least that these propositions may aryse from them rather then be pressed by us, and that the Kinge may be cleerely informed from your Lordship what is offred and expected ther, before you conclude any thinge positively; and you will finde the difficulty the greater, because (though you may sweare no rebellion that shall aryse ther, on what grounde or praetense soever, will finde less countenance from our master then from any Pr. in Europe) you will observe in many treaties, if not in all, some articles in favour of the Protestants; and if any thinge should be soe expresse in the Articles, that might oblige the Kinge to do any thinge against them, it would make an ill noyse, to the King's praejudice, without any other advantage to the Kinge of France then of that praejudice.

You have reason to complayne that you have nt the Treaty made with France by Cromwell, which though I thinke is not my faulte, I am sure is no bodyes else. I told you when wee parted that I had a copy of it, but I thought not fitt in such an affayre that you should proceede upon the confidence of a copy, and I did not nor could get the originall into my handes, which I now have, under the Greate Seale of France (except only the Article of Dunkirke), till within these 3 or 4 dayes. It shall be copyed out, and sent to you with all speede. Nor can I yet send you any davize what you are to do, concerninge Orange, because our time hath hitherto bene spent with the Electour of Brandenbourgs Ambassadors, upon what concerned the education of the Pr of Aurange, which six Deputies of Hollande, whereof De Witt is the chiefe, would ingrosse to themselves (in which transaction Oderte will I feare be founde very inexcusable): but wee shall this next weeke enter upon that of Orange, and you shall be then advertized at large what is to be done.

Though the animadversion you give the Kinge concerninge the Ld Aubigny well oblige the Kinge to do what in many respects is a little inconvenient, you may be confident his Majesty will not leave the Kinge of France unsatisfied in that particular, much lesse that he will interpose for any particular mans sake, in any thinge that will be ingracious to France [Lister III pp 119-124; Clar. S.P. vol. 74 ff 311-2;]

Pera, 3 May 1661, Winchelsea to Jermyn.

Urges the French King's order; news of Turks preparing for war [H.M.C., 71, Finch I].

Dunkirk, 16 May 1661, Sir Edward Harley, English Governor there, to Jermyn.

Writes that he would desist from burning Gravelines and Bourbourg until the question of to whom they should pay taxes was decided between the two kings [Welbeck MSS].

Pera, 3 June 1661, Winchelsea to Jermyn.

Prays for license from the French King to his subjects to secure their trade under the English flag [H.M.C., 71, Finch I].

17 June 1661, Hyde to Jermyn.

Writes that a defensive alliance, rather than an offensive and defensive one, would be much more to the advantage of the French than the English. This last horrid rebellion being now suppressed, France may have ten rebellions before the English have another. The King will offer to assist with foot and horse. Desires if he needs assistance it shall be in money. He will not need men unless the Navy be lost. Jermyn must prevent France from entering into a treaty with Holland. Has seen a concept of such a treaty and the Dutch brag that it is much advanced. The satisfaction Jermyn receives about the alleged offer to guarantee the Dutch fishing will show whether the French really desire the good intelligence with Charles which they pretend [Clar. S.P. vol. 74 ff 466-7, draft].

Pera, 8 July 1661, Winchelsea to Jermyn.

The French Ambassador has left and Winchelsea asks Jermyn to congratulate him on his arrival in France and take notice of Winchelsea's regard for him [H.M.C., 71, Finch I].

30 September 1662, Charles II to Jermyn.

By advise of our Council, it is thought just that French vessels coming into Jersey should pay 5d a ton on the tonnage of the vessel, as they do in England and Ireland, in recompense of the sums levied upon our ships going to France. We therefore require you to have the said sum levied, and delivered according to our former letter to Dan. O'Neale, groom of our bedchamber, to be enjoyed by him and other farmers of the said duty, under the rent payable to us [S.P.Dom., Entry Book 3, p. 92].

3 August 1663, Ormonde to Jermyn.

Yours of the 18th of the last, conveying her majesty's comands to me in favour of the lord of Antrim for the restoring him to his estate, I received not till after the king's letter directed to me and the council had been read, and the substance of a return resolved upon. I do not offer this as an excuse absolving me for want of performing, with due obedience, the queen's pleasure; which had been enough known to me before. But I sall in this case resort to her justice, believing with much confidence it was not her intention the marquis of Antrim should be preserved at the rate of destroying many less faulty persons and families, or that I must be instrumental in it, with such circulstances as must in consequence transfer his guilt upon myself, and not without some reflections upon the proceedings of the late king. If his restitution could,

or can yet, be contrived without these hard conditions, I neither was nor will be opposed to it; and part of the severity of the case had been avoided, if the letter in his favour had not been directed to me and the council, but immediately to the commissioners, who were to execute it, if they found themselves in a capacity to do it. And that this, if any, was the right way, I freely and seasonably told my lady of Antrim, I think, before she brought me your letter. I beseech you assure the queen, that as all her commands are in that reverence and estimation with me which is due to them, so I have no private reluctance towards those that concern the marquis of Antrim, nor any the least remaining resentment against him; but that, if I had, I should, on the least knowledge of her will, lay down at her feet, as I do, with all humility, myself, and this which is offered for her satisfaction, from your lordship's " etc... [Carte vol IV p. 176-7].

[14 November] 1666, Ruvigny to Jermyn.

Advises him that peace was possible and that he should "return thither with powers to treat, and with information what conditions the king expected; for that his most Christian majesty had so prepared the Dutch, that he should have present power to treat and conclude; and that all things might be settled before the formality of a treaty should be entered into or heard of." Hyde tells us that this did not alter Charles' resolution, but he decided that Jermyn should go to Paris and that if the situation was as Ruvigny had said he should make it known that Charles was indeed anxious for peace. Jermyn should try to establish whether Louis would make a settlement with England excluding the Dutch. If not, that he should see if it would be possible for a treaty involving the Dutch should include the restoration to Charles of the lost forts and islands off Guinea [Pularun?] and compensation money. He should inform Charles through Ruvigny or Henrietta Maria what the answer was. In truth, the instructions were really designed to determine whether or not Louis was serious about his offer to try to persuade the Dutch to conclude a peace with England. Provisions included that both the English and the Dutch would agree to retain whatever colonies they had conquered during the war, but reference to the 1662 Anglo-Dutch treaty implied that the English East India Company would expect to be allowed to keep the island of Pularun.

January 1667. Instructions for Jermyn on mission his to discover the inclinations of the King of France towards peace, with notes concerning Cormantyne, St Christophers, Canada, Nova Scotia &c. Draft by Hyde.

"If, upon your arrivall at Paris, you receive cleare and manifest information of the reality of the Fr Kings intentions for peace (which wee have to much cause to apprehende), you shall, both to him and his Ministers, expresse the same desire to be in us; and, if we may be assured from him, that the Dutch shall agree to just and honorable conditions, wee shall be contente speedily to send over Ambassadors, to such a place wher all the severall interests may be debated and adjusted. "Wee are contented that all things shall stande in the same condition they are at present betweene us by reason of the warr, that is, that wee enjoy what wee are in possession of, and they what they possess; the last Treaty being hear to be observed in all particulars, and security given to us for the regulation of trade and commerce out of Europe, &c. See last letter from the States.



"Qu. of Cormantyne, &c. "If you discover that the French designe, vnder the condition of each partyes keeping what they at present possesse, that St Christophers shall still remayne in ther hands, you shall with much warmth protest against the same, as a thing wee will never indure, and shall take the very proposition as an instance of their insincerity.

"Qu. concerning Canada and Nova Scotia, &c. "If you find that their intentions are real for a peace, you must presse, as a matter of absolute necessity to us, that the Dutch do pay us £200,000 sterlinge; or, at least, that they leave to us to treat upon that pointe with them, they havinge upon the matter declared, that they wil be contente to pay us such a summ; which our affaires, even in order to peace, do inevitably requyre, &c.

"Wee are not to be pressed further with reference to France, then to a neutrality betweene them and Spayne, &c.

"Swede to be comprehended &c "With all care enquire what preparations are made or make for the war; what the strength of their fleete is and what they intende to do with it in case of peace.

"A speedy resolution to be sent to the Kinge, what he may trust to and rely upon" [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 48-9 qu. Lister III pp. 443-4].

1 March 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Has received his of 7th by Sir Thomas Bond. Is sorry they do not perceive that the choice of Breda is the pure effect of Charles II's compliance with the advice of Louis XIV. If such light intelligence concerning the Baron d'Isola shall introduce doubts of England's sincerity there will be no end to their suspicions and jealousy. Charles II entered on the present work with frankness and sincerity and has long laid aside thoughts of making peace with Holland and not with France. There is no cause to prefer the friendship of Spain before that of France; of the advantages of Spain's friendship, the King has said enough to the Queen his mother. Did not imagine that Jermyn would conceal the paper sent to the Queen, as the foundation of all their complains was that a matter, Poleroone, should be raised after all their demands had been satisfied. Suposes they have now seen it in the Queen's hand and deposited their obligations there likewise [Clar.S.P. vol 85 f. 100-1].

2 March 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Acknowledges his of the 2nd by the post with the despatch to the King, and the other by Mr Mollins. Thought in spite of the previous suspicion, that after those two papers in French had been given to Jermyn, the peace was [ratically concluded. It is, alas, their master's and his brother's vice to be over-inclined to France. His distrust can after this never be reasonably abated. Account of preliminary overtures by the Dutch. Jermyn's overtures upon his first intelligence from Ruvigny and assurances of Louis XIV's desire for peace, resolved Charles II to treat a neutral place, such as Bruges, Gant, or other place in Flanders, and to send Jermyn to Paris where he knew the most difficult part of the business was to be prepared, wherever the treaty should be. When the Sewedish ambassadors intimated that Flanders would be unacceptable to France, Charles II as a compliment resolved on the Hague. Reasons why this choice was first

mentioned to Holland and not to France. The correspondence with the latter has been kept secret even from the Swedish ambassadors. Thinks France now refuses the Hague because they intend to reject whatever the King proposes. Denies any thought of design to make factions and conspiracies among the States, or that the Baron d'Isola contrived this plan to advance Spanish and Austrian counsels. Charles II's true reasons for desiring the Hague, besides the compliment to France and the memory of the civilities he received there when he embarked for England, was the convenience of treating with seven deputies in the place where the States General met, instead of with ambassadors bound to instructions. There is little honour to Charles II in bringing the ratification to be treated at Dover after all differences are adjusted and signed at Paris. Asks Jermyn not to be too much in love with having it at Dover. If France insists on the matter of Poleroone, all hopes of mutual trust are vanished. The Dutch suggestion that they delivered it before the war and retook it is false and groundless. The question of Van Beunningen's signing was purposely left out of Jermyn's instructions; Jermyn's business was to be fully assured of Louis XIV's sincere resolutions, both to make peace himself and to dispose Holland to it. Jermyn was told to reply to his arguments in favour of treating and signing all matters, that whatever was transacted in France was to be in great secrecy and that it was only preparatory. The digesting of particulars was to be left to the treaty; to hasten that, and even during the treaty, Jermyn would have more to do at Paris than the ambassadors where they should be. He has punctually observed his instructions, and if what is agreed be pursued, he will have great honour by it. Taking Van Beuningen into the party and calling on him to sign has produced this mischief and perhaps was the cause of the unhappy letter to the Hague. The King was much offended at the communication to Van Beuningen of what Jermyn wrote to the Queen; he is transported at the additional provocation [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 102-7].

18 March 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

His of the 19th has so prevailed with writer that he like Jermyn is laughed at. Is inclined to believe De Lyonne's excuses as to Polerooine and that France may yet desire peace, in spite of the weekly dispatches from Paris to the Hague and Van Beuning's account of conferences with Jermyn. The King will let the affair of Poleroone take its fortune in the treaty. He will not insist on the Hague and has sent to the States for a pass for his ambassadors to come to Breda. Jermyn is to procure the like pass from France without delay. The King considers Jermyn's presence in Paris is much more necessary than at Breda [Clar S.P. vol. 85 145-].

22 March 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Acknowledges his of 23rd. Jermyn's advice is so fully followed that "You will never be able to look us in the face", if France does not thoroughly stick to us in treating" and if he does not immediately send the safe conduct. Hopes the next work will be the Queen's return to Somerset House never to travel again. The Dutch now pretend that France only opposes the cessation and that the Dutch would receive the greatest benefit by the freedom of their trade. Jermyn will see by the insolence of Van Beuningen what mad work there would have been if he had to sign anything with him. Expects all will be quickly done at Breda and that the preliminaries are ready to be signed according to Jermyn's instructions except the business of Poleroone. The King of France will put a writing into the Queen's hands for the delivery of the Islands taken by him in the West Indies. Charles II will exactly observe this paper for his

forebearance for one year. The ambassadors will have precise orders for a strict correspondence with Jermyn [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 156-7].

Berkshire House, 25 March 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Receipt of his of the 26th. "I doe very well remember Monr Ruvigny's letter, in wch, to amifest the cleere intentions of France, to advance the peace upon those preliminaryes, he sayd, of you brought powers wth you, Van Beuningen and the Dane should be ready to sign with you; but it was as evident to us then, as it is to you now, that how sincere soever the desires might be on all sides, yett that the very reducing the whole matter into such expressions as might establish the peace, would take up very much time, and that you and Monsr Van Beuningen would not easily adjust it; but that the same would be best done by treaty in the neutrall place; so that your busines (wch was and is the greatest) was only to secure our Master, that the King of France was reall in his mediations, and that he would, in order to it, deliver up what he had taken from us in the West Indies; all wch, we thought, would be transacted in great secrecy, and that nothing would be publique til the generall meeting. And I say still, it is evident enough, that if Van Beunninghen were to beare any part at Paris with you, he wold exceedingly perplex and retarde the dispatch. And methinks the answer, you say, was given to your Quere, with whom you should signe and exchange papers,- that you should doe it with whom soever the King of France should direct, - made it plaine that it had no aspect upoin Van Beuningen, or the Danes, with whom you had no authority to treat, but with such as the King should employ in this secret transaction with you.

But all this matter is at an end, in the appointment of the place, where a speedy dispatch will be acknowledged to the effect of your preparatons: and you must give me leave still to say, that if France be sincere and reall (wch you have brought me again to beleeve), there must be a speedy dispatch. If your news be true, as for ought I now it may, that Poleroon was fairly delivered and since retaken, the matter is concluded, in our choice of alternative; if it be not true, or true in such a manner as they will be ashamed of, I hope that such expedients will be found in the Treaty, that the peace will not be broken upon that point; to which purpose the King hath appointed the East India Company, to chuse two or three of their Company to attend the Ambassadors, that they may be ready to advise, and to confer with those of the other Company, whereby some expedients may be agreed upon.

I did tell you (and it is very true) that the Dutch, in one of their dispatches to the King, doe say that they doe intend the observatio of the Treaty of 62: and, in truthm they have reason soe to doe,- they having no other tyle then that Treaty to the amnesty of the busines of Amboyna, and of infinite other damages this nation hath sustayned by them, as well in other laces as the Indyees, in the later time of the last King, and since our present master came to the Crowne; amongst wch you have thought your selfe injured in your old traffique with Hasdunke. Nor can it occur to me what exceptions they can take to any other Article but Poleroon; for though Van Beuningen, in one of his fitts, talked to you of the two ships, God knows, there is so slender provision made by the Article for that affaire,- one side interpreting the word one way, the other an other way,- that I doubt not the differing partys (for it concerns only the particulars) will, at the Treaty, agree upon such explanations as will putt an end to that busines; and in order thereunto, there will some well informed person in that affair atend upon the Ambassadors. But if they shall travell against into that Treaty, there can never be

an end, and that party that desires it cannot intend to make a peace. And the truth is, the matter of Poleroone is, upon the matter as you desired, referred to the King of France; for it will be in his power to dispose it in the Treaty, and therefore we hope well of it one way or the other" [Clar S.P. vol. 85 167-8; partly in Lister iii 453-5].

Clarendon House, 11/21 April 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Receipt of his of 13th and 15th (n.s.). "Yours of the 15th, wch came to my hands the last night, hath made any enlargement upon your other of the 13th unnecessary. You must take great care for the suppression of all jealousies, for which there is not the least cause; and, therefore, whatever reports they heare (wch coming, it seemes, from the Baron d'Isola, considering the character they give of him, should not obtaine much credit [is Hyde lying here?]), you may be confident all I have told you is true; and if my Ld Sandwich hath signed any Treaty (wch we doe not yett hear of or beleieve), it is purely a Treaty of comerce, and no prejudice to France: and though, it may be, Spayne would be glad to reprieve themselves a year longer from trouble, by breaking or preventing this peace, I am sure it will not bee in their power to doe it with us; and you shall see the King our master pursue it to the utmost, and observe religiously what he hath promised to France; and if a speedy peace doth not ensue, we shall have too much cause to complain of France, upon whose faith we only depend. And when they see us unmoved, notwithstanding the many reports of speeches and actions wch might raise some jealousies in us, me thinks they should, in justice restraints themselves from being transported with every discourse they heare, with what confidence soever transmitted to them. And truly, if we were not very confident of France, which cannot be innocent, if we are deceived, every weekes letters from Holland, of discourses made by De Witt, of a new peace and garranty to be entred into by France, Holand and Denmarke, wch cannot but obstruct the mutuall confidence that ought to be between us. and I know not what declarations made by the States, that they shall not hold themselves bound by their alternative, at least, if all be not concluded within one moneth; I say, if the King our master did not really depend upon France, yt it will bring to passe, wch they have promised, we had too much matter for jealousy administered to us" [Clar S.P. vol. 85 203-4; Lister iii 460-1].

Clarendon House, 15 April 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

A peremptory insisting on the delivery of Poleroone shall not break the peace. Knows of no reason why France should defer their enterprise one hour. The indisposition of Holland towards the peace ought to dispose France more vigorously to pursue it. All here look upon Reuvigny as a man of sincerity. It is necessary that direction be given the French amassadors to enter speedily into all freedom with the English who will have the like direction. No indisposition of De Witt's could then do much harm. The warm carriage of France in this treaty will prove Louis's integrity and friendship to Charles and facilitate "those noble designes which may contribute to the greatness of both crownes". Longs to see the Code Royal [Clar S.P. vol 85 213-4 see Lister iii 461-2 where it is incorrectly dated 10/20 April].

22 April 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Has his of 27th. Is sure he has said positively in former letters that insisting on the re-delivery of Poleroone should not break the treaty. M. Ruvigny has taken notice of Hyde's having satisfied them in this particular. Repeats it now [statement follows]. No

declaration on this war was made to Isola, though it was then thought that France had accepted the mediation of the Emperor. He has written since his departure and seems to apprehend that all the obstructions of the peace will proceed from France and that there are positive resolutions in Holland to insist on other conditions than the alternative will lead the to. This is not credited. Tjhe ambassadors depart on Wednesday. The intelligence from Sweden is not true. England in due time will do all offices to persuade Holland to quit the elucidations of Elbing but this will not be mentoned till the peace is concluded. It is not known that the French have taken anything besides St Christophers and Antigoe [Clar S.P. vol. 85 f. 227-8].

29 April 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Acknowledges letters of 20 April and 4 May n.s.. Knows not how to speak plainer than in is of 22nd. The whole matter of Poleroone lies in the King of France's hands. Isola's intelligence makes no impression here though he pretends great credit with De Witt. The King, in spite of his anger, would have Jermyn do all the good he can for the Duke of Richmond with "reverence to Aubigny" [Clar S.P. vol. 85 248-9 Lister iii 462-4; "I have both yours of the 30th April and of the 4th of May; neither wch gives me cause of saying more, nor can I speake playner, then I have done in mine of the 22nd, and am sure in many former letters: so that if what I say doth not satisfy, you must send me the very words I must use. I told you, in my last of the 22nd, that the not delivery of Poleroone to us should not break the peace: and in mine of the 15th, wch was in answer to yours of the 20th, I sayd full as much: soe that for my life I know not what expessions to add: nor have we ever sheltred ourselves under any ambiguous tearmes, but act really according to any reall expectations that can be drawn from our words. I a word, that whole matter lyes in the King of Frances hands, and he may dispose of it as he thinkes fitt. That you may know how equally sollicitous we are with you, to prevent all accidents, wch may occasion disputes or unkindness, the King had, before the receipt of yours, given such instructions to the Ambassadors to that purpose as you could wish, and hath since enlarged them in your tearmes; and they are departed, with the best and most prudent resolutions, to performe their parts towards the French ambassadors, as to their Masters true friends: and I hope, as soon as they come together, the cessation will be published on all parts. I am very willing to continue my good opinion of the Baron of Isola, (who, no doubt, is a man of parts and experience,) yett, assure yourself, his intelligence makes no impression on us- it being very naturall and just in him to doe all he can to prevent a peace, wch is like to bring soe much damage to his Master; but if he be not able to worke more upon Holland then upon us he will not raise many difficulties. He pretends to have great credit with De Witt, and that it will not be in the power of France to induce Holland to accept a peace, but upon their owne conditions;- that they will strike out all those Articles of Peace 1622, wch they dislike, particularly with wch obligeth their ships to strike: and another, by wch they are not to entertaine and shelter the rebells, wch is mutuall, and other things full of insolence. But the King our Master is most confident of the King of France, that he will not suffer his honour to be invaded by any insolent demands, wch must continue the breach and animosity.

I must not forget to tell you, that how angry soever the King is with the Duke of Richmond, his Maty would have you doe him all the good you can with reference to Aubigny [Clar S.P. vol. 85 203-4; Lister iii 460-1].

Brussels, 3/13 May 1667, Sir William Temple to Jermyn.

My Lord, Since my acknowledgement of the honour I received some time since from your Lordship, I have had nothing to give me countenance in offering any new trouble; and indeed the party is so unequal on regard of our stations at this time of Paris and Brussels, as well as all other circumstances, that no commerce can pass without very great presumption on my side, and as great condescension on your Lordship's: for we are so amazed with the number and bravery of the French preparations to invade this country, that we can hardly lift up our eyes against the rising of this sun, that, it is said, intends to burn up all before it: yet, not to flatter you, though men's eyes are weak at first sight, when they have gazed a while I believe they will find their hands, and try to defend themselves against gold, as well as against iron: and perhaps the stomach they have conceived at being treated with so little ceremony as to be invaded without any declaration of war, to have the Duchy if Brabant not esteemed worth the demanding, nor any colours given to the justice of the invasion, will make the defence sharper than is expected, as it has done the voluntary contributions larger than was imagined. This makes all Friars already despair of praying against the war, and begin to look like other worldly men; and the very Nuns fear they may be forced to work to, before the business ends: in short, all prepare for a warm summer, only the Spanish Duennaes cannot think so ill of a King that married an Infanta, and will never leave wondering that un rey qui tiene que comer en su casa, y de regalarse tambien, should resolve to give himself and them so much trouble for nothing. Our poor Nuns at Louvain have more faith, and not less fears; and therefore the reverend mother hath sent to desire me to recommend them to your Lordship's favour, and to beg of you to get them protection from thence, in case the scholars and learned there should not find arguments to defend their town against the French, who, I can assure your Lordship, will not lose much by the bargain, as far as I see of that nunnery, nuns and all; for it seems, by their faces, as well as their buildings, to be an ancient foundation, and gone much into decay. Now they have put me upon desiring passports, my wife needs have me recommend her to your Lordship for another for herself and her servants, and baggage. to go over into England: and, if she shall find it convenient, to pass as far as Calais, and embark there, because she is no lover of the sea. Upon the first of these requests your Lordship has occasion to merit very much; but by the second, to deal freely, I know not what you will gain, besides the obligations of a person who is already all that can be, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant [Temple, Works vol. I, p. 268-9].

Breda, 10/20 May 1667, Henry Coventry to Jermyn "at Paris".

"My Lord, I thought it a duty incumbent upon me to give yor Lordship an accompy of our arrival here though we have not as yet made our Entry nor as yet had any communication with ye Ministers of any other Prince, unless ye King of France has & betwixt us & both his Ambassadors there have passed mutual visits from which my former obligation of writing to yor Lordship is much increased, in order to ye rectifying a mistake which where it lyeth unless informed by yor Lordship I cannot divine. Monsieur 139 352 714 702 755 the two thirds of Bona Esperanza and Bona Adventura were declared 94 88 904 and Monsieur 696 to be 587 742 789 264 602 756 51 744 660 503 745 784 and 500 216 475 to 84 632 205 53 that 156 had declared it 88 444 746 904 this 345 706 133 742 663 668 746 our 359 354 701 that it much surpriseth 791. I pray will you be pleased ye most speedily that may be to inform us what you know of it./ We being so lately arrived have not much that we can tell yor Lordship, and that (ye way is so insecure) we know not well how to venture till we

finde some more confiding way of transmitting our Services to you. The Swedes, that were to be our Mediators, are not yet arrived, though we are informed they passed from London within a day or two as soon as we. I beseech you, my Lord, present my most humble duty & services to the Queen her Majesty, and be pleased yourself to accept of the unfeigned service of him yt is, my Lord, Yor Lordships most faithfull & most humble servant" [Longleat MSS, Coventry Papers, vol. LXXXI p.1].

27 May 1667. Hyde to Jermyn.

There is too much cause here to be melancholy, hence Jermyn's letter of 21st was not acknowledged. Has received his of the 28th and June 1 [n.s.]; also the large treatise. The ambassadors at Breda have strict orders to correspond punctually with Jermyn. The King is confident that Jermyn said nothing regarding the two ships that Courtine and others loudly proclaim, but Jermyn should be as loud in disavowing it. D'Estrades declares the Dutch will rather continue the war than give satisfaction for them; the King will never depart from his demand for it. He is to remind de Lionne of the promise that if Charles II gratified them in the point of Poleroone, the French would allow no other thing to be proposed if the Dutch did not agree to the alternative. As regards restoration of Lacady to France, the King hopes it will not be insisted upon in the public articles, but it will be done by private stipulations.

The King wishes Jermyn to be at the Court to pursue these two particulars and to secure easier correspondence with Breda [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 299=300].

30 May 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Has received his of the 4th. The French ambassadors do not discountenance the insolence of the Dutch and of the Dane. The Dutch renounce the treaty of '62 as if no preliminaries were adjusted at Paris and M. Courtin says plainly Louis XIV can do nothing but is bound by de Linne's engagement to Van Beunningen. Jermyn is to hasten to the Court and remind them that Jermyn was invited to France by Ruvigny when the Dutch themselves offered the choice of alternatives, if England would treat at a neutral place. All apprehensions of France's insincerity disappeared after de Lionne delivered the two papers. If the King of France recedes from his obligations there is no room for future confidence. Jermyn is to expostulate very warmly if he sees cause. Besides the insolencies at Breda, their fleets are out with all designs of war. The King has commanded his ambassadors not to recede from the treaty of '62 except as regards Poleroone. De Witt who is a declared enemy of the peace, may find that the

country is not of his mind. Louis can never compel England to consent to a dishonourable peace [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 313-4].

6 June 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Has received his of the 8th,. Concludes he has gone to the army. An expedient to reconcile the business of the two ships will not easily be found. Complains that the French ambassadors calmly look on as uninterested persons; the performance of Jermyn's agreement must be exacted. Danger of dissolving the whole foundation of the future peace, namely that of '62. Receipt of his of 11th. The expedient Jermyn proposes for the two ships is not applicable. Argues that the Dutch are obliged to observe the treaty of '62 by their own letter delivered to the commissioners at Breda. If France sticks not fast to their engagement in this matter, will not believe they ever intend a fast friendship with England. The King desires a copy of the paper signed by Louis and deposited with the Queen. The blame will be laid upon Jermyn "if it is not as it ought to be". The French ambassadors have shown no disposition to

demand either the delivery of Poleroone or satisfaction for it, though some of the East India Company were sent with the approval of France to treat upon that composition. Jermyn is to take notice of this. As to the rest of M. de Leon's letter, he is to point out that no bagatelle is being insisted on; it is the conservation of the whole treaty of '62 [Cla.S.P. vol. 85 f. 301-2].

15 June 1667, Hyde to Jermyn.

Has received his of the 15th [n.s.] He may now be returned to Paris, for by all accounts of affairs at Breda, Jermyn's reception at the Court has not been what he expected. England has bot swerved from anything agreed upon, but France has performed nothing it promised. By letters intercepted at sea from d'Estrades and de Witt to the Duke of Beaufort, it is found that France entered into a new treaty with the Dutch on May 5 whereby their two fleets are obliged to a conjunction against England. It is most necessary for Charles to have a copy of the King of France's paper, as the treaty is expected to be broken off every hour. There is much more reason to complain of France than of Holland. The Dutch Fleet is now advanced very far into the River [Thames] and as done much mischief. Knows not how much more they may do, nor what the conjunction between the Dutch and the French fleets may produce. England will be glad of a good peace if France keeps its promise; of not they must treat no more. If yielding the matter of the ships will do the business, Jermyn may consent to it and procure positive orders to the French ambassadors to conclude upon it. Jermyn must send advice to Breda as well as to England, regarding what they may trust to [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 326-7].

15 June 1667, Charles II to Jermyn, express.

Tells him to appeal for peace and Hyde told the envoys at Breda to tell the Swedes of the secret arrangement between Louis and Charles which Louis had just broken.

24 June/4 July 1667, Camp before Douai, Le Tellier to Jermyn.

That he had received his of 30th yesterday morning, with duplicates sent other ways. The King will make a sincere return to Charles's good intentions for the peace and strict union. Has communicated Charles' orders to his ambassadors to d'Estrades and Courtin and instructed them to haasten the conclusion of the negotiation [Clar.S.P. vol. 85 f. 228-9].

Breda, 27 June/7 July 1667, Holles and Coventry to Jermyn.

We have not had any from yor Lordship since yor leaving Paris, and although the English Letters tell us of your having been at Arras, and ye Dutch say.. of yor having had Audiences of ye King of France; yet neither we, nor ye French Ambrs have as yet rec'd any News where you are. They have remained here so positive upon ye Alternative, yt rather then ye Peace should break upon t, we have consented to it in that sence France would have it interpreted, & yet remained something to be agreed with Holland; but truly I think not of that importance, as yt it should be reasonable to retard ye Peace upon it: ye greatest obstacle is like to be from [the King of] Denmark, who persists to have all those Debts he owed ye Hamborough- Company and other English Merchans cancelled, because he confiscated them himself during this Warr. Betwixt ye French & us, there is no other Dispute, but onely concerning two Islands, Tobago & St Eustache taken by us from ye Hollanders, & by ye French from us, whether they should be rendered to us or ye Hollanders. The next is about Slaves in



St Christophers, wch we desire may be returned to their Owners. They say, such as are willing shall have liberty; but such as assisted them to take ye Island from us, & for that had their liberty given them, they cannot in honour render up to us. Upon all these Points we shall send an Express into England to-morrow to received a final resolution, we being this afternoon (as we hear) to have a meeting in ye Castle, & upon ye result of that we shall dispatch our Express immediately. Some French Declaration from ye Court of France would much facilitate our Affair. However, we have been at a distance in matter of opinion concerning ye Alternative, yet as to all other things (notwithstanding ye Reports spread hereabouts of our fighting and killing) we have lived sure with ye greatest freedome & least Formality that ever Ambrs did, and we cannot but acknowledge a great disposition in ye French Ambrs to it. We long with great impatience to hear from yor Ldship, as being most sincerely, my Ld, Yor Ldships most humble Svants" [Longleat MSS, Coventry Papers, vol. LXXXI p 43].

Breda, 1/11 August 1667, Holles and Coventry to Jermyn ("ye Earl of St Alban's, Ambr at Paris").

"Since we either [sic] wrote, nor recd any from yr Ldship upon ye return of Mr Coventry from England, we have concluded & signed all three Treaties: upon wch ye French Ambassadors immediately departed for ye Hague, we are left without any certain way of our Letters coming to you. Sr John Coventry went with ye Treaties signed for England, & we expect him every day back with ye Ratificon, to wch in reason we can see no obstacle, but yet they have since ye Treaty (those of Holland we mean) made some Proposals concerning ye manner of commanding ye delivery of such Places, as shall be or have been taken on either side since ye 10/20th May -67 & seem to lay so much weight upon them, as if ye Ratification were to depend of it; if they persist in it, we know not what ye affect may be: for sure, as ye manner of ye Provarding (??) is totally unusual (especially ye Treaty having been in their own Country where they had both power and opportunity, to doe or diminish, as they pleased, before ye Treaty signed) so without doubt it is Affronting enough to violate a Treaty so signed, and where no less than four Kings Ministers are witnesses. We have wrote to ye French Ambassadors upon it, and though we have not rec'd any Answer as yet from them, yet ye Swedish Minister at ye Hague yt delivered it, assureth, yt they were very sensible of so extravagant a Proceeding; & we doubt not,, but ye Court of France will be so too: neither will ye three Kings (we hope) remain at Warr, onely in complaisance of ye humours of ye States here, after they have had all their Prtensions satisfied to ye content of their own Ministers employed in ye treaty. We are in expectation of some considerable Newes out of ye River and the great silence here maketh us hope it may be to our advantage. We are with very great earnestness, my Ld, Yor Ldships most humble svants" [Longleat MSS, Coventry Papers, vol. LXXXI pp. 58-9].

1668, Thomas Spratt's dedication of Cowley's Complete Works to Jermyn.

"...And a little before his death he communicated to me his resolutions, to have dedicated them all [the essays, although Spratt may perhaps have meant all of Cowley's works] to my Lord St Albans, as a testimony of his entire respects to him; and a kind of Apology for having left humane Affairs, in the strength of his Age, while he might still have been serviceable to his Country. But though he was prevented in this purpose by his death: yet it becomes the Office of a Friend to make good his intentions. I therefore here presume to make a Present of them to his Lordship. I doubt not but according to his usual humanity, he will accept this

imperfect Legacy, of the man whom he long honoured with his domestic conversation. And I am confident his Lordship will believe it no injury to his Fame, that in these Papers my Lord St Albans and Mr Cowleys name shall be read together by posterity" [Sprat, qu by C.L.Martin; Drinkwater (p.88).

1/11 July 1668, Lionne to Jermyn ("Milord, Germain").

That he had discussed Charles' letter with Louis yesterday and that Louis would send orders at once to De La Barre and would send copies to Charles and to Jermyn [Correspondence, France].

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 15/25 July 1668, Lionne to Jermyn at Colombe.

Writes that Louis' orders for the restitution of the English part of St Christopher had been sent to De la Barre, the French Governor there, but since then De la Barre had written to Louis that he had told Lord Willoughby he was ready to give up possession "upon the carrying out of the other articles of the treaty concerning America". It was possible that confusion might arise and that "De la Barre might not execute even these last orders, which would give high displeasure to the King of England" and Lionne asked Jermyn to ask Charles to expect a delay. Colbert would inform the Louis of exactly what must be done for the full execution of the treaty and would be leaving Saint-Germain "on Sunday at the latest" [S.P.Colonial; West Indies and America]. In his covering letter, Jermyn told Arlington that that a member of the West India Company had made a proposition to him concerning St Christopher which would be put in writing for him to send to Arlington. Jermyn told Arlington that he foresaw that even were the Treaty of Breda to be fully executed and St Christopher was returned it would be a long and costly business to reestablish themselves, "for the proprietors of our part of the island are so dispersed that 'twill be impossible to get them together again, and new ones will be a great while before they reduce the place to those advantages it afforded to the former planters" [S.P.Colonial; America and West Indies].

1677, Charles Signieur de Saint-Evremond to Jermyn.

"No company is so agreeable and good, but one time or other it must part; therefore, by a much stronger reason, a melancholy society ought not to last for ever. As for ours, my Lord, 'tis the most doleful that ever was known. Since I have begun to play at Madame Mazarin's, I have not had Spadillo six times; Basto has come oftener to me, but 'tis a decoy that tempts me to play, and causes me to be beasted. I draw none but Trays of Clubs or Spades, or Sixes of Hearts and Diamonds. However, my Lord, I return Heaven thanks, when nothing but lamentations or murmurs might be expected from me. God be praised, I set a good example, and such a one as your partner ought to set; however, it will, at long run, ruin my Affairs, and not mend yours; which made me say last night, like Monsieur de Bellegarde, 'I pay and play no more, and do what I please'.

"Let us comfort ourselves, my Lord, that we are in a better condition than those that win our money; for 'tis better by much to suffer an injury, than to do it. Madame Mazarin has an excellent hand at filching my Fishes, and dropping a Card out of the stock, when I play without taking in, with four Matadors in hand. I address my self to the Prince de Monaco, who tells me very seriously, and with an air of sincerity; 'Upon my word, Monsieur de Saint Evremond, I look'd another way'. Your friend the Marquis de Saissac laughs much, and decides nothing; and Monsieur Courtin declares that my hardships are great. But all the declarations of Monsieur Courtin signify little or nothing. The Ambassador is as little regarded in this house, as he

would be at the Exchange, if he went about to Justify Sir Ellis Layton there. In this extremity I call heaven to witness, but heaven has no more credit than the Ambassador.

"Come to town, my Lord, to maintain your own rights your self; the Country was never made for such as you. Let those be disgusted with the world, with whom the world is already disgusted. But let those persons of worth and honour, who are beloved by it, still continue in it. A man of honour and politeness ought to live and die in a capital City; and, in my opinion, there are but three capital Cities in Europe, Rome, London, and Paris. But Paris is no longer a place for your Lordship to live in; of the many friends you had there, some are dead, and others are imprison'd; Rome cannot suit with you; nor can the Disciple of St Paul like a place, where St Peter's successor is the sovereign; this goodly and great City, called London, daily expects you; and here, my Lord, you ought to fix your abode. Free conversations at table, with a few guests; a game of Ombre at Her Royal Highness's, and Chess at home, will make you as easily wait the last period of life at London, as Monsieur des Yveteaux did at Paris. He died at eighty years of age, causing a Saraband to be play'd to him, a little before he expir'd, 'that his soul', as he express'd himself, 'might slide away the easier'. You'll not pitch upon Musick to soften the hardships of that voyage. A Vole [a grand-slam] at Ombre, and three aces eldest hand against three nines at Crimpo [another card-game], will determine your days with as great satisfaction. This will not happen the Lord knows when, if you come and live in London; but I'll not give you six months life, if you stay in the Country with those melancholy thoughts you have taken up there". [Letter no. 52].

1677, Charles Signieur de Saint-Evremond to Jermyn.

I have been at Death's door, my Lord, since I had last the honour of seeing your Lordship; and what contributes to make me yet more unhappy, there is no Distemper now stirring at London, but only what I languish under, no Gout, no Rheumatism, nay not so much as the Tooth-ache. My Lord Arlington, to whom you yielded the title of the first gouty Man in England, might now take twenty turns in the Mall, as well as the good Gentlewoman that uses to attend you. As for my self, I am not yet fully restor'd to my health; and had it not been for some Remedies I met with, I had certainly died. But why, my Lord, should you resolve to pass winter in a Country where the Horses are a hundred times better look'd after than we are? where there are Mayernes to cure the diseases of the Race-horses, and little better than Fariers to cure those of the men. If you were possess'd with any of those religious Enthusiasms, which make so many Fanaticks weary of their lives, I should be able to account for this strange impatience of yours to die. But, my Lord, if you are a Man like one of us; if you still preserve a natural inclination to live, as Monsieur the Mareschal de Villeroy, the Master of the Horse to the King of France, Monsieur de Ruvigny, and your other contemporaries continue to do; why should you so obstinately pitch upon a place where you don't pass one day, without retrenching five or six, at least, of your life?

But I dwell too long upon a Discourse, which I ought to have lightly pass'd over. I must now come to more agreeable ideas. The Duchess of Portsmouth will give you what share in her Bank you please. My Lord Hyde promises to shew you certain Civilities, which will almost amount to a Confidence. My Lord Ambassador offers to give you a full insight into the affairs of Hungary, and the War that the Northern Princes are now going to engage in; and what I esteem more, the Duke of Ormond is ready to play with you at Trick-Track [a popular version of Backgammon] without odds. You will tell me now, that you are scarce able to see, and that you are troubled

with so many indispositions that the World is weary of you. My Lord you take the thing wrong; 'tis the Country, and not the World that is weary of you. In the Country, people judge of you by the weakness of your sight; your Infirmities there are taken for faults; and you can't imagine what a despicable opinion your robust Country Gentlemen have of an infirm Courtier. Here in Town, my Lord, you are valued for the strength of your Judgement; your Infirmities are pitied, and your good Qualities reverenc'd. What a difference is there then between those two places to live in! and yet, my Lord, you have chosen that which is so contrary to your Health, and to your Reputation. That which uses to be the greatest punishment of persons in disgrace, you have voluntarily imposed upon your self; you have deprev'd your self of the Society of men that know the world, and with whom you have always lived. A man may comfort himself for the loss of his Fortune, but cannot receive consolation after he has lost the sweetness of agreeable Conversation, and is perpetually persecuted by Impertinents. Relieve your self with Reason as long as you please; the relief of Reason signifies nothing, where the delicacy of one's Taste is offended. Return, my Lord, return to your friends, that know your merit, as you know theirs. There is not one of them who will not contribute, as far as in him lies, either to your relief, or your pleasure. The politeness of my Lord Sunderland, will soon make you sensible, that that sort of life, which you thought the sweetest and most natural, is rude and gross; and that easy, free, and unconstrain'd way of living which he has set up at Court, will for ever make you out of love with the false tranquillity you boast of in the Country. The Duchesse Mazarin will ease you of your scruple about Visits; she will not take it ill that you sit just by her without seeing her; and, less sensible of the injury she will receive than the loss you will suffer by it, she will make you taste the sweetness of a Conversation, which is not at all inferior to the charms of her Beauty. For your sake she will suspend her eagerness for Basset [a card-game just introduced from France]; and oblige you with that pure and calm Reason, which she refuses us every day. Mr

Waller has in store a delicious Conversation for you. I am not so vain as to tell you any thing of my own; I had better promise you my services on Sundays, and suffer my self to lose at Chess, every time that Monsieur de Saissac bets on my side. I will say nothing to you of Mistress Crofts; since she has been Dutchess of Chastellerault, I can't tell you how she will behave herself towards the Earl of St Albans. If these temptations are too weak, and you are fully resolved to retire out of the world from this hour; pray consider, my Lord, that a person of Quality ought to retire into a capital City. Your Reason will steal you out of the world in a City, whenever you please; your Imagination will carry you into the Country, even when you would not have it. Live here, my Lord, like a Philosopher at your own house. 'Twill be a new merit, for which the world will esteem you. To live like a Philosopher in Suffolk, is to make one's self obscure rather than wise; and forgotten by others, instead of knowing one's self. The greatest Philosophers of Antiquity lived in the finest City of Greece; and he [Epicurus] who advised his Disciples to "conceal their Life", had delicate fine Gardens at Athens, where five or six of his Friends plaid the Philosophers with him. I know not how to find the way from Athens back to London. However, I could wish that you would return thither as soon as I. And now, my Lord, I am here to expect you, and desire you to bring Mr Jermyn [Harry] along with you. Restore him to the World, even in spite of himself. It will not be long ere he will return you thanks for a violence so happily committed; neither will you, my Lord, be behind-hand with us long, for owing this Resolution to our advice [Saint-Evremond's Letters, Letter no. 53

9 February 1677, Williamson to Jermyn at Rushbrook.

Asks him to send back by the same express his proxy in blank, to be filled up in London with the name of such of his friends as the king should lease, and enclosing a draft of the proxy [S.P.Dom, Entry Book 43, pp 133-135].

1680, Charles Signieur de Saint-Evremond to Jermyn, published by Hortense Mazarin without either the writer's or recipient's permission under the title "Friendship Without Friendship".

I was a long while of opinion, that Women have no inconsiderable advantage over us; in that we are loved only by the less wise; and that the wisest of Men thought fit to love them all his life-time. The politest Men in Antiquity, the most virtuous, and the greatest, I mean Alcibiades, Agesilaus, and Alexander, were acquainted with other charms besides those of the Ladies. The most magnanimous among the Romans; Scipio, the honour of the Republick, which can be reproach'd with nothing, but her ingratitude towards him; Scipio, I say, is commended for continency, which was no other than his want of taste, or sensibility for the Fair. Caesar, whose name alone is a Panegyrick, shew'd no averseness to any sort of Love. Solomon was altogether unacquainted with such various likings and disgusts; for he wholly devoted himself to the Female Sex, being insensible of any other charms but theirs. 'Tis somewhat surprising, that the politest, the greatest, the best of Men, and the most magnanimous, could forbear the love of Women; and as if this kind of Love was reserv'd for the wise, that Solomon made it his principal business of his Life. It is surprising, I own it; but after due reflection, I find nothing in it that we ought to wonder at. The Polite among the Antients had a great averseness to all manner of subjection; and in the pursuit of all Pleasures, they still retain'd the liberty of passing from one Sex to the other, according to their fancy.

The love of Women would have soften'd the courage of Men; the virtue of the good Men had been adulterated by it; and the spirit of the magnanimous might have been weakened; but true Wisdom ran no great danger with the Female Sex. The wise Man, still superior to their weakness, their unsteadiness, and their caprice, can either govern them at his pleasure, or part with them when he thinks convenient. While he beholds others in slavery, and toss'd by an unfortunate Passion, he enjoys a steadiness and calmness, that soothes his pain, and takes off the sense of a thousand disquietudes which are not cured by Reason alone. Not but that he may fall into some error; for there's no such thing as a constant stability in human nature; but it is not long before he recovers his wandering Judgement, and comes to re-settle his former Tranquillity.

The world has seen a egregious instance of this in Solomon, who loved the Fair Sex all his life-time; but differently, according to the different periods of his Age. When young, he had all the tenderness of a Lover; of which his self and melting expressions are sufficient proof; and 'tis but reading his Song or Canticle to be convinc'd of it. I must beg pardon for not interpreting it in a mystical sense. I shall never be persuaded to believe that Solomon intended to make our Saviour Jesus Christ speak of his Church with more effeminate sentiments, and more lascivious expressions than Catullus used for his Lesbia, and Propertius for Corinna; in verses more tender than those of Petrarch for Laura; and more galant than those of Voiture for Beliza [Vincent Voiture (1598-1648), one of the chief "precieux" poets whose ideas had been so favoured by Henrietta Maria]. Neither do I think that Solomon spoke of a Wife; a dear Mistress must undoubtedly be the object of such Love, such Raptures, such Eagerness. However, he loved less than he was belov'd; and he knew by experience that the Women were more passionate than the Men. This is a truth which even the Holy Scripture has thought fit to confirm; for, to express the sentiments

which David and Jonathan had for the other, it says "they loved one another with the Love of a Woman"; to denote the tenderest Love Solomon, in the vigour of his Age, shew'd less tenderness and sincerity in his Affections and Amours. He made use even of the fame of his Wisdom to make himself belov'd. 'Tis by that means he got so much Gold from the Queen of Sheba, a Princess so fondly intoxicated with his Wisdom, that she left her Kingdom to see a sage. When Solomon grew in years, he alter'd his conduct with the Fair. Having lost the merit of pleasing, he persued that of obeying. He might have commanded, and forc'd Love, but would not be beholden for it to Power; and endeavour'd by suppleness and submission to make up his past Endearments. Tho' a King, tho' a wise Man, he became a slave to his Mistress in his old Age; being of opinion, that in that melancholy and unfortunate period of our Lives, we ought, as far as possible, to steal away, as it were, from our selves to the charms of a Beauty that enchants out ills, than to sad Reflections and frightful Imaginations.

I am not ignorant that Solomon has been censured for this last conduct; but tho' Reason appear'd weaken'd, he was nevertheless wise with respect to himself. He thereby softened his sorrow, sooth'd his pains, diverted the ills he could not overcome; and Wisdom, which could no longer find out means to make him happy, made good use of diversions to render him less miserable. We scarce begin to grow old, but we begin to be displeas'd with our selves, thro' a disgust of our selves, which secretly grows within us. Then our Soul, void of Self-love, is easily filled with the love of external objects; and such of these as would formerly have pleas'd us but indifferently, thro' the resistance they met with from our own sentiments, charm and captivate us thro' our weakness. Hence it comes to pass, that Mistresses dispose of their old Lovers, and Wives of old Husbands, as they please; hence it was that Syphax abandon'd himself to the will of Sophonisba, and that Augustus was govern'd by Livia. And not to fetch all my examples from Antiquity, this made Monsieur de Senecterre, a person worthy to be named with Kings and Emperors, upon a bare score of being a man of true honour; this, I say, made that Courtier, who was equally wise, nice, and polite, supinely give way to the fondness of a young Woman he had married in his latter days. "If you knew", said he to his Friends, "the condition of a person of my Age, who has nothing but himself to entertain in his Solitude, you would not wonder at my resolution to have a Companion that pleas'd me, let the purchase cost what it will" [Henri de Saint-Nectaire, Marquis de la Ferté-Narbert, French Ambassador in London and Rome and a spy of Richelieu's. He died in 1662 aged 89]. For my part, I never blamed him for it; and indeed, how can one censure what Solomon heretofore, and the Mareschal d'Estrees [Francois -Hannibal Marquis de Coeuvres, who married in 1664 aged 91] of late years, have authoriz'd by their examples? However, in spite of all these Authorities, I should have a great esteem for a man who should have strength enough to preserve the taste of Liberty to the end of his Life.

Not that a full independency is always to be commended; for, such free and disengaged Gentlemen, often become indifferent and ungrateful. Let us avoid the two extremes of absolute Subjection, and entire Freedom; and content our selves with an easy and honourable intercourse, as agreeable to our Friends as to our selves. If any thing more is required of me than a hearty concern, and sincere endeavours, for the interest of those I love; any thing more than my small assistance, as weak as 'tis, when they are in distress; or more than discretion in conversation, and secrecy in affairs of moment, let them seek for a Friend elsewhere; for I can afford no more. Violent Passions are unequal, and portend the distraction of change. In Love, we must leave those excesses for the Alexander's and the Cyrus's of our Romances; and

in Friendship, for the Orestes and Pylades of our Plays. These are things we read, and see represented, which are not to be found in the commerce and practice of the world. And indeed, 'tis well they are not; for they would produce very extravagant adventures. What did Orestes ever do, that great and illustrious example of Friendship? what did he ever do, I say, that ought not to strike us with horror? He kill'd his own Mother, murder'd Pyrrhus, and fell into such strange convulsions of fury, that it cost some Players their Lives, who endeavour'd to top his Character [he refers to the actor Montfleury, who put so much gusto into acting Orestes in Racine's *Andromaque* that he dropped dead]. Let us carefully observe the nature of those entire Friendships, and Engagements which are so cry'd up, and we shall find them to be made up of sullen black Melancholy; the chief ingredient in the composition of all Man-haters. And indeed, the reducing oneself to love but one Person, is a disposition to hate all the rest; and what is taken for an admirable virtue with respect to a private person, is a great crime towards all the world. He that makes us lose the conversation of the rest of mankind, by deserting them as he has done, makes us lose more than he is worth, let his merit be never so great. Let us pretend to as great disinterestedness as we please; let us confine all our desires to the purity and excellence of our Passion, conceiving no good but what results from it; yet, we shall languish and pine in this refined Friendship, unless we draw from general Society, those conveniences and delights that enliven private Conversation. The Union of two Persons entirely devoted to one another; that sublime union wants yet the assistance of foreign things to excite the taste of Pleasure, and the sense of Joy. Notwithstanding all the boasted sympathy between them, the participation of Counsels and Secrets, it will hardly yield satisfaction in proportion to the vexation and uneasiness it occasions. 'Tis in the intercourse of the world, and amongst diversions and business, that the most agreeable and profitable Friendships are form'd. I set a greater value upon the correspondence between the Mareschal d'Estrees and Monsieur de Senecterre, who liv'd fifty years at Court in an uninterrupted intimacy; I esteem the confidence the Prince de Turenne had in the Marquis de Ruvigny, for forty years together, than those Friendships so often instanc'd, and never practis'd amongst men.

As nothing contributes more to the happiness of Life as Friendship, so nothing disturbs its repose so much as Friends, if we have not judgement enough to chuse them well. Importunate friends make us wish they were indifferent, so they were more agreeable. The morose give us more uneasiness by their humour, than they do us good by their services. The imperious tyrannize over us; we must hate whatever they do, be it never so agreeable; we must love what they love, tho' we think it nauseous and displeasing. We must do violence to our Nature; enslave our Judgement; renounce our Taste; and under the fair name of Complaisance, pay a general submission to all they think fit to impose upon us with authority. Jealous friends are an insupportable plague; they hate all Advice that is not of their own giving; and as they are angry in all the good that happens to us without their interposition, so they rejoice at all the ill that befalls us by following the directions of others. There are men in the world, that make profession of Friendship, and value themselves upon taking our parts at random, and upon all occasions; and such vain Friends serve for nothing else but to incense the world against us by their imprudent contests. There are others that justify us when nobody accuses us; who by their indiscreet zeal, bring us into affairs where we had nothing to do; and draw inconveniences upon us, which we would willingly avoid. Let who please be contented with such Friends. As for me, am not satisfy'd with a man's good intention, that proves to my prejudice; I would have it attended with Discretion and Prudence. A

man's Affection makes me no amends for the mischief his Rashness has done me. I return him thanks for his impertinent zeal, and advise him to seek to be applauded for it amongst Fools. If the light of the understanding does not guide the motions of the heart, Friends are more apt to vex and disquiet, than to please us; and more capable to hurt, than to serve us. In the mean time, we hear nothing talk'd of but the Heart, in all the discourses about Love and Friendship. Poets become troublesome upon this theme; Lovers tedious, and Friends ridiculous. We see nothing in our Plays but King's Daughters yield the Heart, but refuse the Hand [Henrietta Maria to Jermyn?]; or Princesses that give the Hand, but cannot consent to yield the Heart. Lovers become nauseous by perpetually demanding the sincerity of the Heart; and Friends setting up for affected Precisians challenge it for their due as well as Lovers. This betrays a very imperfect knowledge of the nature of it; whereas for a little irregular heat, for some unequal and uncertain tenderness it may sometimes afford, there's no caprice, ingratitude, and infidelity, but we ought to apprehend it.

Begging pardon of the whimsies of Poets, and imaginations of Painters, we call Love very improperly "blind". LOVE is a Pasion of which the heart makes generally an ill use. The Heart is a blind guide which leads us into our errors. 'Tis that which prefers a fool before a man of sense, that makes us doat on ugly Objects, and disown very lovely ones; that bestows it self on the most deform'd, and refuses it self to the most beautiful. 'Tis that, in short, that sets Joconde's friends a rambling, thro' the jealousy of a Dwarf. 'Tis that which disorders the most regular; that bereaves the reserved and discreet of their Virtue, and undermines the Devotion of the greatest saints among the fair Sex. It pays as little regard to rules in a Convent, as to duty in a private Family; 'tis faithless to a Husband, but much more so to a Lover; it discomposes the former, and distracts the latter. It acts without either council or knowledge; it rebels against Reason, that should be the guide; and being secretly moved by hidden springs it does not conceive, it bestows and withdraws its affections without reason; engages it self without design; breaks off without observing any decorum; and, in short, occasions strange follies, that make a great deal of noise in the world, and equally disgrace all the parties concern'd in them.

This is the common fate of Love and Friendship grounded on the Heart. As for those just and reasonable ties over-ruled by Judgement, there's no rupture to be apprehended; for either they last for life, or insensibly wear off with discretion and decency. It is certain that Nature has placed in our hearts a Loving Faculty, (if I may so speak) some secret principle of Affection, some hidden stock of Tenderness, which opens and communicates its self in time. But the use of it has been no farther receiv'd and authoris'd amongst men, than as it may render life more easy and happy. 'Tis upon this score that Epicurus recommended it so much to his Disciples; That Cicero exhorts us to it by his arguments, and invites us to it by several examples; That Seneca, as stern and rigid as he is, becomes soft and tender as soon as he begins to speak of Friendship; That Montaigne refines upon Seneca in more lively expressions; and that Gassendus sets forth the advantages of the Virtue, and as far as in him lies, disposes his Readers to acquire them.

All men of sense, honesty, and good breeding, agree with Philosophers, upon this foundation, that Friendship ought to contribute more than any thing besides to our happiness. And indeed, Man would hardly depart from himself, as it were, upon any account whatever, to unite himself to another, if he did not find more pleasure in this union, than in the first sentiments of self-love. The whole world affords nothing more precious and valuable than the Friendship of wise men. That of others, as it is boisterous and disorderly, so it disturbs the peace of publick Society, and the pleasures of private Conversations. 'Tis a savage Friendship, which reason disowns,



and which we could wish to be the lot of our enemies, to be reveng'd of them for their hatred to us. But let Friends be never so sincere and regular, 'tis yet inconvenient to have too many of them. If our cares are divided into many streams and channels, we can neither attend our own concerns, nor those of other men, with the application they deserve; for when the soul diffuses it self undistinguishably upon all objects, our Affections are so distracted, that they properly fix upon nothing. Let us live for a few that live for us; let us seek an easy and agreeable Conversation, with every body; and our private advantages with those that can promote our interest [Saint-Evremond's Letters, Letter no. 58].

21 March 1682, Treasury to Jermyn.

Asks him to pay his outstanding Poll-money amounting to £110 1/-. [Cal. Treasury Books 1681/2- Out Letters (General) VI p. 422].

Inscription on Jermyn's tomb in Rushbrook Parish Church.

Henricus Jermyn, Comes Fani Sancti Albani, Baro de Buria Sancti Edmundi, Thomae Jermyn de Rushbrooke in pago Suffolciensi equitis filius natus secundus, Henriettae Mariae, Caroli Secundi matri, equorum praefectus et Dominus Camerarius; post mortem ejus Dominus Camerarius et a Secretioribus consiliis Serenissimae Majestatis Filio Regi superstite nobilissimo ordinis periscelidos auratae eques Creatus in Castro Vindesorii pridie Kalendas Julias 1672. Honoratissimus vir Henricus Jermyn, Comes Fani Sancti Albani, sepultus erat 4to Idus Januarii 1683.