

A BIOGRAPHY OF
THOMAS CLIFFORD,
FIRST LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH.

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'When I invent a History I think I should make
things much more perfect than they are.' Clélie.

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PREFACE.

The preliminary words to any thesis and more especially to this one should perhaps be uttered less in invitation than in apology. And apart from the gross weight of personal shortcomings there are several factors militating against the production of a satisfactory biography of the Lord Treasurer Clifford. The greater part of his political career was passed under the sagacious wing of the Earl of Arlington but only a few of Clifford's letters to his patron have survived and for the most part they are the less intimate ones; moreover, with one or two exceptions, they all belong to the year covered by Clifford's embassy to the Scandinavian kingdoms and his service with the fleet. The obverse side of the coin is even more disappointing for only have a dozen of Arlington's letters to Clifford are in existence. Further the two most important fields of his activity, the Treasury and the working out of the 'Grande Designe', yield but a poor harvest of biographical information. In the one case it is almost impossible to disentangle his particular line of policy until he becomes Lord Treasurer and even then his brief term of office is rendered less illuminating by the absence of the all important Minute Book. The other sphere into which his energies were directed is not unnaturally shrouded in mystery and while recent researches amongst the Clifford MSS have done much to set the treaty of Dover in its proper perspective there is little in these papers that is indicative of his particular attitude to the questions of policy at

issue. Lastly the almost complete absence of any correspondence of a family nature cannot be too much deplored.

At the same time some answer is necessary to the strictures of older, Whig, historians and some corrective or development required of the naturally flimsy and sometimes imaginative reconstructions of more recent writers. Clifford's bravery and honesty have always been acknowledged but there has been a tendency to regard him as a swash-buckling adventurer who visualised the 'ranks of ordered chivalry riding arrogant over traitors'. Born to a small fortune and an obscure station in life his rise to power was meteoric in its rapidity but though he was a strong supporter of the prerogative, even to the extent of crushing opposition to Crown policy by force, he was no time-serving courtier. He believed strongly in his own opinions, was consistent in policy and courageous in advice. If his anxiety for the advancement of Catholicism in England led him into a mistaken calculation which must be deprecated in the minister the sincerity of his conversion and the surrender of his offices speak well for the character of the man. His economic policy was always liberal whether it was a matter of sweeping away trade monopolies or encouraging foreigners to settle in England, concerting measures for closer relations with Scotland or applying the maxim that an elastic demand for a commodity can be made more profitable by a reduction in price. His constant antipathy to the Dutch republic, if it had a constitutional bearing, was grounded in the main on a belief that the Dutch were the obstructors of England's future as a commercial and colonising power. In the direction of the financial affairs of his country he showed courage, energy and honesty without those spendthrift qualities which have been so sharply urged against him. Affectionate,

generous, loyal and incorruptible, he was more solid than the flighty Buckingham, more consistent than the self seeking Shaftesbury, more courageous than the cautious Arlington and more sincere than the servile Lauderdale.

Unless otherwise stated all dates are given according to Old Style. A guide to manuscript references and abbreviated titles will be found at the end of this volume. The underlying principle in bringing together the volume of ' Letters and Papers ' has been in the main the rendering accessible important letters and documents in private archives.

CHAPTER 1.

THE DEVONSHIRE GENTLEMAN.

Modern tendencies in biography have laid increasing stress on the importance of biological factors in determining the mental, physical and moral make up of the child and accordingly an avid search has been made for the eccentric grandfather, the saintly greataunt and the scapegrace uncle. Such factors are indeed of vital importance but only too frequently the strained inference follows from a paucity of material and the criss cross Mandeléeveian web is woven from the rags and tags of an odd relative or so. In the biography of Thomas Clifford, then, disappointment is tempered with relief for the obscurity of his origins precludes the formation of rash generalisations; his immediate ancestors were of little importance, living their lives quietly without much incident and leaving the pages of English history untroubled with their chronicle.

The future lord treasurer of England was however undoubtedly of ancient lineage belonging, as he did, to the younger, Devonshire branch of a family which traces its origins back beyond the Norman Conquest to Richard, third Duke of Normandy, the great Cliffords of the north of England with their long tale of acres and castles. Active in the royal cause or against it their name appears again and

again as we turn back through the ages - ' Butcher ' Clifford of Wakefield fame, the pliant Bishop Richard Clifford who found favour with Richard II and Henry IV alike, the Lollard Sir Lewis Clifford and in more recent times the Don Quixote of the seas, the glittering, foolhardy and selfish third Earl of Cumberland. Though the connexion was by the seventeenth century too far removed to be of any real assistance to the more humble Devon Cliffords, the knowledge of the brilliant past of his family may have urged on the ambitious Restoration politician in his climb to power.

The Devonshire branch of the family owes its beginnings to the Lollard Sir Lewis, the companion of John of Gaunt and a younger brother of the tenth Lord Clifford and the elder branch of his line, the Earls of Kent, becoming extinct in the fifteenth century the descent passes through to Anthony Clifford of Borsecombe in Wiltshire. It was this Anthony who, by his marriage with Anne Courtenay of Powderham, brought the Ugbrooke estates in Devonshire to the Cliffords. He died in 1581 leaving a family of five sons and three daughters: the third of these sons, Thomas, was the grandfather of the first Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.

Dr Thomas Clifford, of whom an admirable portrait by Cornelius Jansen still hangs in the yellow drawing room at Ugbrooke Park, was born in 1572. He is said to have seen service in the Netherlands, fought with the Earl of Essex at Cadiz and journeyed to Italy and to Germany as Elizabeth's envoy to several princes. His subsequent life ran on more sober lines for in 1611 he took orders, became a prebend at Exeter cathedral and rector of Black Torrington. Through his mother he

had inherited the Ugbrooke estates and to this he added, by his marriage with Amy Staplehill, the small property of Bremble. He died at the age of sixty two, perhaps ignominiously enough drowned in a duck pond, and was buried in the chancel of St Martins, the parish church of Chudleigh, having accumulated some little property, a library valued at three hundred pounds and the degree of Doctor of Theology from Exeter College. A justice of peace for his county he was a man of some little importance in North Devon.^{1.}

Of Hugh, the eldest son of Dr Thomas we know very little beyond the fact that he was born in the year of James I's accession to the throne of England and was married some twenty five years later to Mary, daughter to Sir George Chudleigh of Ashton - a family long established in Devon. At the outset of 1629 the first of their children was born, a daughter who was given her mother's name. Thomas, their eldest son, followed quickly afterwards being born on the first and baptised on the twelfth of August 1630. Just a month had passed since the birth of another eldest son, Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales. Destiny in its curious fashion was to bring together the lives of the two but for almost thirty years their paths lay apart.^{2.}

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1. Top. Devon e. 3, ff. 32, 34-6: Harleian 2218, f. 10b: Clifford, Pedigree, 12.V.73, (drawn up by Sandford and certified by Walker, Bysshe and Dugdale.) : Clifford, Scrap Book, Elizabeth Courtenay's will: Athen. Oxon., 11,390: Prince, 217: Coll. Clifford., 67: Oliver, 16-21: Polwhele, 123.
 2. Top. Devon e. 3, ff. 34b, 35: Clifford, Pedigree. Pepys, Burnet and the author of the 'Alarum' combine in attributing to Thomas a clergyman father. This may be ascribed to a confusion between Dr Thomas and Hugh Clifford; possibly in the absence of accurate information, to a desire to find an appropriate foil for the energetic minister of Charles II.

Concerning the early years of Thomas we are singularly uninstructed. His infancy was passed in the troublesome times when the Arminian Laud was disciplining the country into his way of thinking, when Strafford was taming the unruly Irish and Hampden was making his stout stand against Ship Money. But far from London in the old Tudor manor of Ugbrooke only a faint echo of these movements would disturb the rural quiet. Incidents like the death of his grandfather Clifford, his first visit to the Saturday market at Chudleigh, to the village fairs ^{on} ~~at~~ St Barnaby's and St Martin's day, to the old parish church with its four altars to Jesus, the Blessed Virgins, St Martin and St Christopher, or stories about the Pixies Hole, the home of the Devon fairies, would be much more vivid and interesting to the young Thomas. It is probable that as he grew up he attended the parish school in ' Church House ', taking his place amongst the sons of the neighbouring farmers and yeomen. No trace survives of any of his childish escapades except perhaps it was in this way that he recieved, when eight or nine years old, a severe cut on the head from an iron spade. Fate had in store for him a still more serious blow for a few months later the Scots rose in revolt and his father, who had accompanied the king in his northern march as the colonel of a foot regiment, was brought back to Ugbrooke to die in the early months of 1640. He was buried in the north side of St Martin's where a floor stone was inscribed to his memory.^{1.}

1. Top. Devon e. 3. ff. 4b, 16, 36: Ashmolean, 436, f. 58: Westcote, 437: Polwhele, 135.

Subsequent to this events combined to make Thomas an enthusiastic supporter of the Royal cause. Henry, fifth Earl of Cumberland, the last male representative of the elder branch of the Cliffords, espoused the Stuart cause without hesitation, for, as he explains, ' the loyal blood of my ancestors runs still in my veins which they were never sparing of when their sovereigns commanded them to fight for them.' His mother's relations after a brief appearance on the side of Parliament returned to their traditional loyalty, his uncle, James Chudleigh, who had taken a prominent part in the fighting, was slain in the service of his king and the Chudleigh family had to submit to heavy composition fines. Too young to take an active part in the struggle himself those events cannot have been without effect in the shaping of his political ideals and it is interesting to speculate what were the reactions of the fiery youth to the occupation of Chudleigh by the Parliamentary general, Fairfax, in the early months of 1646¹.

The first Civil war was drawing to a close when, at the age of sixteen, he was admitted a fellow commoner to Exeter College - a not unnatural choice as it was then largely attended by natives of Devon and Cornwall. There his tutor was a fellow of the college and a member of an old Devonshire family, Baldwin Acland. With what success his studies were attended we cannot say. It was perhaps unfortunate that the more conservative university should have been his choice for

1. Bagshaw to Clifford, 14.VI.1709, Clifford, Miscell., 111; Top. Devon e. 3, f. 20; Prince, 210-211; Cal.Comm.Compounding, 1879, 2691; Cal.Comm.Advan.Money, 93, 1278-1279; Trans.Devon.Assoc, xlii, 662.

Cambridge was then shaking off the intellectually deadening scholasticism; and if the then Rector of Exeter, Dr George Hakewill, was himself in the forefront of the new movement, as a consequence of the civil war, he had withdrawn himself to Heanton and was rarely resident in the college. There is some evidence that Clifford became a proficient Latin scholar and may have read Greek but no indication that his stay at Oxford was of any great or lasting value; and indeed for a large part of one of his two years of residence he was seriously ill with a tertian ague. As it was, despite his curtailed residence and the uncharitable opinion of his contemporaries that he was a ' young man of a very unsettled head and a roving shattered brain ', in after years he remembered his old college with gratitude. Exeter was outstanding even amongst the Oxford colleges for its loyalty to the Stuarts and it would appear that Clifford, along with his tutor and many other fellows and undergraduates, was expelled by the Parliamentary visitors in 1648. Nevertheless, in 1650, he supplicated for his degree of B.A. but it does not appear that he was admitted and so was terminated a brief
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University career.

As was customary Clifford had by this time passed to the Inns of Court. There he was admitted to the Middle Temple, where his father had preceded him, and bound with Gregory and Robert Cole of the Utter Bar. How long he remained there and with what profit is not known;

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1. Clifford, Accounts, 1666-1700: Ashmolean, 436, f.58: Travels, Cosmo 111, 273: Prince, 218, 464-468: Visit. Devon, 419: Alum. Oxon., 3,291: Athen. Oxon., IV, 160: Reg. Coll. Exon., cviii, 100: Reg. Visit. Oxon., 499.
In 1671 Clifford contributed £50 to the building fund of the college.

Pepys alone with his usual complacency of judgement throws any light on the matter when he remarks that Clifford had ' little learning more than the law of a future justice of the peace, which he knows well.' If the diarist's statement, which he based on the authority of Evelyn, is true, Clifford's stay at the Inns of Court was justified for according to the ideas of the time the ordinary student was intended to learn only sufficient law to keep the wheels of local administration running and at the same time to make an entrance into London society.^{1.}

His residence at Oxford and the Middle Temple completed it is probable that Clifford returned to his native Devonshire. It is true that Prince tells us that he went to travel in parts beyond the sea; if he did so, and there is no further evidence to substantiate the statement, his stay must have been of short duration for on the 29th of July 1650 he married Elizabeth, daughter of another Devonshire gentleman, William Martin of Lindridge. Of the appearance of this lady we are strangely ignorant. He himself was by this time a tall,^{2.}

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1. Mid.Temple Recs., 11, 967: Prince, 218: Pepys, 26.1v.67.
According to Evelyn Clifford was related to him ' by the marriage of his mother to my nearest kinsman Gregory Coale '. Though no evidence survives in support of this it is not inherently improbable - the ' Temple ' Gregory Cole was a royalist and a native of Ashton. Some confusion does arise by his later statement that Clifford's future father-in-law was Evelyn's uncle. Neither Evelyn's mother nor his wife were Martins and there is no evidence of any of his aunts marrying into that family. ' Father-in-law ' means *defendant*, so it is correct.
 2. William Martin died in 1640 leaving a son, Thomas, and five daughters. In debt at the time of his death he directed that his manors of Lindridge and Ideford should be sold to pay his debts and to provide £700 - £800 for each of his daughters or £1000 apiece if their brother should die. With the connivance of her brother-in-law, Richard Martin, and her father-in-law, George Westcombe, his wife the sole executrix of the will attempted unsuccessfully to prevent the sale of the lands. (Clifford, Decree of the Court of Wards, 15.XII.41.)

well built and vigorous man, with a roundish pleasant face, a ruddy complexion, good eyes, a strong nose and a firm mouth.^{1.} A graceful, eloquent and copious speaker, he was inclined to stammer when angry or impassioned. Courageous both in mind and body, generous and incorruptible, with a hot temper which he strove - not always successfully - to keep under control,^{2.} he was a severe enemy and a firm friend. John Gadbury, the famous London astrologer who lived appropriately at the sign of the Black Horn over against the Halfe Moone Tavern, hints at amours, in his horoscope, which Clifford kept well hidden from the world. The knowledge of these has indeed been concealed to future generations and on the surface such secretive proceedings ill accord with what we do know of his character. And though we are unfortunately deprived of the correspondence which must have passed between him and his wife, his solicitude for her is obvious from his accounts and his love and the trust he set upon her is permanently recorded in the terms of his will. From the capable manner in which she managed the estates after the death of her husband and reared a large family of young children it is clear that she was a woman of strong character and clear intellect.^{3.}

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1. A 'tall lowse' says Marvel, Margoliouth, 1, 141.
 2. Writing many years later to Joseph Williamson from Ugbrooke Clifford lamented that he was out of touch with current affairs, 'but the advantage I have for my ignorance I appeare cautious and reserved.' S.P.Dom.C.11. xc, f.30.
 3. Ashmolean, 179, ff. 16-17; 436, f.58: Pepys, 26.1v.67: Evelyn, 27.XI.66, 18.VIII.73: Political Satires of Seventeenth Century, 21. There are three portraits of Clifford extant. Two of these are by Lely; the one painted early in his political career shows him in undress and hangs in the yellow drawing room at Ugbrooke Park - it has been engraved by H. Robinson; the other hanging in the dining room represents him in all the magnificence of his robes as Lord Treasurer - a copy hangs in the National Portrait Gallery. In 1672 Cooper painted an admirable miniature which is still in the possession of the Hon. C.O.H.Clifford. It was engraved by E.Scriven and has been reproduced by C.H.Hartmann in his 'Charles and Madame.'

About the same time his sister Mary was married to his former tutor, Baldwin Acland. Acland had refused the Engagement in 1650 and retiring to Devon had become the rector of St Mary Tidborn. A man on the wrong side of forty, he was of medium height, red faced and corpulent; witty and loquacious he must have been an interesting companion. Of Mary, his wife, we know little beyond that she was ' a virtuous courteous and well accomplished ' woman. Only one startling phrase of Prince peirces through the obscurity that is hers; she was, he says, ' one too zealously affected to Geneva ', thus she presents an interesting contrast to her^{1.} eldest brother. Their union was unblessed by children but prior to the Restoration seven in all were born to Clifford. The first two sons, both named Thomas did not survive infancy and their fate was shared by a fourth son, George; Thomas the third and only surviving son was born on the 18th of December 1652. Of the three daughters, Elizabeth, Elizabeth^{2.} and Mary the second only reached maturity.

The lands to which Clifford succeeded on the death of his father were not extensive. In Chudleigh itself the list is made up of 12 houses, 6 gardens, 8 orchards, 20 acres of meadow, 21 of pasture and 206 of heath, in Kingsteignton a house with a garden, 2 orchards, 2 acres of meadow, 20 of pasture, 40 of wood, 60 of haath together with 3 grain mills - in all some four hundred acres. To this must be added a half share in the manor of Bremble, which belonged to the widow of Dr Thomas. But even these lands he did not enjoy in full for his grandmother

1. Prince, 24-25.

2. Top.Devon, e.3. ff.35-6: Clifford, Pedigree.

survived until 1663 and his mother, who had remarried, had a life interest in the Kingsteignton lands of thirty pounds a year and the use of the Greensbury lands in Chudleigh after the death of her husband' uncle Hugh. The aggregate value of the family lands must have been small and while Burnet was underestimating when he set Clifford's income at £140 a year it was probably low for a gentleman.^{1.} This lack of money during the early part of his life may account for the careful and methodical accounts which he always kept and with an ever increasing family to think of it may have urged him to seek some addition to the scanty income derived from his estates.

Thus during the Interregnum Clifford continued quietly on his estates. His sympathies were undoubtedly royalist but we have no indication of their expression in action. Indeed one shred of evidence alone does something to dispel the mist of ignorance which surrounds this early part of his life. In his short account of the life of Dr Edward Cotton Prince tells us that ' there was at that time in the county, a Triumvirate of topping wits, Gentlemen of excellent Parts and accomplishments, Thomas, afterwards Lord Clifford of Ugbrook, Henry, afterwards Sir Henry Ford of Nutwel, and William Martin of Linrege, Esquire, all great amicos: with these did Mr Cotton much associate himself; being all so well suited, as to their Humors, Parts, and Education, that they could not easily be then matched, in this, or any other County. And to signify the esteem that Mr Martin had for Mr Cotton, and Mr Ford, altho' he was of a different Opinion in point of

1. S.P.Chan. 142/595/102,105: Cal.S.P.Dom.,1640-1, 220: Burnet, 1, 402: Pepys, 26.IV.67: G.N.Clark, 25.
The fine imposed by the Court of Wards on the estate was £250 in yearly instalments of £50.

Religion, he bequeathed, by his last Will and Testament, his study of of books, to be divided between those two Gentleman, and the present Lady Dowager Clifford, of Chudleigh, his near relation.' ' When ', he continues in his short life of Ford, ' the sun of the monarchy was under an eclipse, these stars of the first magnitude in our hemisphere, sparkled only among themselves and their familiars in their own dark orbs, contenting themselves with the happiness of enjoying each other and the rest of their acquaintances in private.' The composition of this group is indeed interesting. Cotton, twenty two years senior to Clifford, was an Anglican priest who had retired from Exeter during the troubles and established himself at Silverton some seven or eight miles from Chudleigh; a scholar and a collector of books he became, subsequent to the Restoration, Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral. Richard^{1.} Martin of Lindridge, probably the oldest of them all, was uncle to Clifford's wife and it would appear from what Prince says probably a Roman Catholic; he died in August 1659. Ford, but a few years older than Clifford, had like him been educated at Exeter College; tall, portly, eloquent if ' somewhat too overweening in his opinions ', a royalist, a churchman and a lover of learning he was a man of some moment in the district; in 1656 he purchased a part of the lands of the Martins and figured with Cotton and Clifford as executor^s of Richard Martin's will; later he was to support Clifford in his antagonism to the Dutch and when acting as secretary to the Earl of Essex

1. Prince refers of course to William Martin of Lindridge but Elizabeth Martin's father died in 1640 and his only son, who did not survive, was named Thomas. It is possible that William Martin was a cousin residing at Lindridge but in the absence of further information, the suggestion, made to me by Mr C.H.Hartmann, that Prince mistakenly wrote William for Richard, seems to be the most reasonable.

his close intimacy with Clifford was a source of considerable annoyance
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 to the Lord Lieutenant.

All of these men were royalist in their sympathies and in their private meetings we may safely conjecture that their talk turned not infrequently to the King over the water. And as the winter of 1659 drew to a close and a new year opened out the possibility of a royalist restoration must have given point to their discussions.

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1. Clarendon, lxxx, f.373: Add., 17,677 Z,f.60: Clifford, Miscell., 11: Exeter City Library, Copy of a fine of Property: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1660-1, 83; 1661-2, 544; 1662-3, 32: Prince, 221, 314-6.

CHAPTER LI.

POLITICAL APPRENTICESHIP.

The reaction of moderate English opinion against a military despotism had begun even before the death of Oliver Cromwell and with the succession to power of his mild son Richard a political confusion resulted in which the only circumstance pregnant with hope for the future was a growing if uneasy coalition between the Presbyterian magnates and the Cavalier interest. And in conditions more favourable to a professed Royalist Clifford first emerged from local obscurity with a public speech at Exeter in October 1659. The tenour must remain a matter of conjecture but we do know that it gained him the esteem of the people. It is probable that he had already identified himself with his county in urging General Monck, himself a Devonshire man, along the path which led to the Restoration.^{1.}

At the Quarter Sessions in Exeter, January 1660, a remonstrance was drawn up and presented to the Speaker of the Rump by Thomas Bampffield, Recorder of Exeter and a cousin by marriage to Clifford. Dwelling particularly upon the decay of trade it urged the recall of the members excluded in 1648. And when it was learned that Bampffield had been ordered to quit the city they sent off several spirited letters to

1. Ashmolean, 436. f. 58: Thomason Tracts. 660 f. 22 (71.)

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 Monck reinforcing their arguments for a free Parliament. Nor were their efforts confined to the drafting of letters. In conjunction with Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, also a relation of Clifford, Sir Coplestone Bampfild raised a troop of one hundred and twenty gentleman who rode throughout the county securing and disarming the disaffected. It is more than probable that Clifford made one of these for when the militia was regulated by Parliament in the following April he appears with the rank of Major in Coplestone's regiment.
 2.

Amidst a confused welter of political intrigues the Restoration was effected with an astonishing rapidity and on May 25th Charles 11 came into his own again. To Clifford the Restoration meant opportunity, royalism would no longer be a bar to his advancement and already he had established some sort of claim on the gratitude of the King. But only the bottom rungs of the ladder of preferment were in this way to be achieved.

A first step to greater things was taken when he was returned by the borough of Totness to the Convention Parliament. Of the circumstances of his election we are ignorant. A town of great antiquity its trade was then declining and it was by the end of the century to have 'more gentlemen in it than tradesmen of note.' In the previous

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1. Thomason Tracts 669, E 1013 (20) and f.22 (23): Parliamentary Intelligencer, 31.XII.59; Clar.S.P., 111, 654.
 2. Prince, 123; Mercurius Publicus, 12.IV.60: Acts and Ords. Interreg., 11, 1430.

century the Martins had been possessed of local influence there and it was later to become the preserve of the ' great commoner ' Edward Seymour who made a fellow member with Clifford in 1661; it had in all a body of somewhat over a hundred freehold voters who were reported by James II.'s agent in 1688 to be almost without exception dissenters. Beyond these few facts and that Thomas Brookling and Sam Justling, whoever they were, opposed his election we are unaware of the influence^{1.} that were brought to bear in Clifford's favour.

Whatever the circumstances of his election it was not long before Clifford made the acquaintance of the restored monarch. Accompanied by his fellow member and two aldermen of the town, on the second of August he had what was perhaps his first interview with the king. After making a short speech he read to Charles an address of congratulation and presented him with a gold wrought purse containing a hundred pièces - remarking that the present would have been more considerable but for the decay of trade and expressing a wish that a peace with Spain would follow shortly. This, we are told, the king received graciously assuring them that it was his intention to care for and to encourage commerce.^{2.} A similar interview took place the following May. This time introduced by Monck, now Duke of Albemarle, Clifford, on behalf of Bampffield's regiment, presented another address to the King

1. Rawl., 287,f.119: Cal.S.P.Dom.,1667, 518: Westcote, 409: Defoe, Tour, 224-5: Returns of M.P.'s 1,512,513: Duckett, 231.

2. Mercurius Publicus, 2.VIII.60.

3. " " and the Kingdome's Intelligencer, 18.V.61.

declaring their abhorrence of all anti-monarchical and anti-episcopal practises. Once again Charles received him kindly and returned his thanks.^{1.} In reward for his various services in behalf of the royal cause on the twentieth of December 1660 he was sworn by the Earl of Manchester a Gentleman in Extraordinary of His Majesties Privy Chamber.^{2.}

In the house of commons Clifford was not long in gaining recognition. Equipped, says Prince, ' with a great presence of Mind and Body, a Sound Judgment and ready Elocution, he became a frequent speaker in the House.' This testimony is echoed by Colbert de Croissy, Roger North and Sir William Coventry while the shrewd Pepys records that at their first encounter in the Fishery Tavern in Thames Street that he ' did speak very well and neatly.'^{3.} In the predominantly Presbyterian house, it is true, his progress was for a time retarded but in the Cavalier parliament of 1661 he comes rapidly to the fore. During the sessions 1661-4 he averaged more than fifty committees a year, from which he reported on occasion, and he not infrequently acts as a manager in the periodical conferences with the Lords and a bearer of messages to the King.^{4.} Unfortunately no record was at this time kept of parliamentary speeches so that his early political evolution is not as clear as it might be.

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1. Mercurius Publicus and the Kingdomes Intelligencer, 18.V.61.
 2. Letters and Papers, 6.
 3. Coventry to Arlington, 2.IX.65, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 546: Colbert to Lionne, 8.XII.72., Corresp.Ang., 104, f.197: Pepys, 11.X.64: North, Examen, 38: Prince, 219: Athen.Oxon., 1V, 161.
 4. C.J. VIII, 1661-4.

According to Prince Clifford spoke ' at first against but at length on behalf of the Royal Prerogative.' In the absence of conclusive evidence this statement must be regarded with some suspicion. Certainly he would appear to have been among those who regarded the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion as ' Indemnity for the King's enemies and Oblivion for his friends ' for he gave his full support in June 1661 to an attempt to raise the whole question once again by attaching a proviso to the act and we are told that he made a noted speech in this connexion. Further he was one of those appointed by the house to wait upon Charles with the request that commissioners might be named for the disposal of the sixty thousand pounds ear-marked for the compensation of loyal cavaliers. And more significantly still he acts, after a warm debate, as teller for the yeas that enquiry be made into the buying and selling of offices subsequent to the Restoration. Amongst the Wharton papers there is a short list of members of the house of commons probably drawn up in 1661; in this Clifford figures along with several other cavaliers, Sir Patrick Curwen, Sir Thomas Strickland, Mr Winston Churchill, Mr Christopher Musgrave and Mr John Lowther, as a ' moderate man '. His position would therefore appear to have been that of a disgruntled cavalier who felt that he had not received his just reward. This did not involve any disaffection towards the throne but rather an antagonism towards the ministerial powers that were and especially towards the^{1.} virtual prime minister, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

1. Ashmolean, 436, f.58: Carte, 81, f.83: C.J. Vlll, 272,381,474.

The origins of Clifford's disagreement with Clarendon are obscure. Burnet would have it that at the outset of his parliamentary career Clifford attempted to attach himself to the party of the all powerful Chancellor but was repulsed on account of the latter's knowledge of Clifford's conversion to Catholicism prior to the Restoration.¹ But the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of a much later date for this change in Clifford's religious convictions and little reliance need be placed, at anyrate, on the retrospective ascription of a motive for Clarendon's attitude. If Clifford had indeed made an offer of his services it is probable that Clarendon rejected his proffered allegiance on other grounds and not working under him it is only natural that Clifford should find a leader and patron in Sir Henry Bennet.

Only an approximate date can be given for the commencement of Clifford's friendship with Bennet. It was not until the April of 1661 that the latter was able to secure his return from Spain and as there was no relationship between the two men, or evidence of a previous acquaintanceship, it is probable that the connexion was built up during the following year. By that time Bennet had been disappointed in his pretensions to the post of Ambassador to France and also to the lucrative farm of the post office, in part at least as the result of Clarendon's opposition, but had secured, with the support of St Albans and Bristol, the much more important position of Secretary of State at the expense of that old cavalier and friend of the Chancellor, Sir Edward Nicholas.² Some little time before this appointment Bennet wrote a

1. Burnet, 1, 402.

2. Barbour, 46-58; also, Carte, 47, f.371; Pepys, 24.VI.67.

letter of recommendation for his friend to the Duke of Ormond:

' I aske your Graces pardon if I trouble you too often in this [veine]. I doe it now by his Majestys expresse commandes in faver of Mr Thomas Clifford a Member of Parliament, whose merit towards the king and his service cannot bee unknown to your Grace. his pretensions are to some cheife[s] Rents that are forfeited to the Crown in Irelande the grant of which are made to him and Mr Trelany x by his Majestys letters attested by Mr Secretary Morrice and sent to your Grace some dayes agoe. It is certain your Grace cannot doe a courtesy to any man who has more vertue and good parts to deserve it then saide Mr Clifford nor in whose obligation I would more willingly share for the particular freindship I have with him which I presume to adde to his other qualities.' (1).

Apparently this letter did not do much to speed up the grant for we find Viscount Dungannon, in the following January, explaining to Clifford that the delay resulted from the dilatory conduct of the Court of Claims.² And indeed we are ignorant as to whether anything ever came of the matter for there is no subsequent mention in his correspondence of Irish lands or rents. It is evident, however, that Charles was now beginning to look with favour on the young Devonshire squire and moreover that the foundations of a firm friendship with Bennet had been laid. As a patron Bennet, unlike Clarendon, never erred on the side of meanness.³ It was perhaps by his efforts that Clifford obtained by September 1662 a grant, along with four others, of the farm of the customs on logwood which, though it turned out to be less lucrative than had been thought, brought him in the next five and a half years a total sum of four hundred and seventy three pounds. And shortly afterwards Clifford secured a first reversion of a teller-ship in the Exchequer, an office which his rapid promotion never

x. Perhaps Francis Trelawny - a friend of Albemarle. (Carte, 38, f.301)

1. Carte, 221, f.11. (13.IX.62.)

2. Clifford, Miscell., 1. (21.1.63.) From this letter we learn that Clifford lodged in London at the sign of the Iron-hoop near Charing Cross.

1.
 allowed him to enjoy. For nearly twelve years those intimate relations
 2.
 continued between the older and more cautious secretary and the
 impetuous and militant Clifford to be severed at length by the keen
 edge of mutual jealousies and distrust arising out of Clifford's
 advancement to the office of Lord High Treasurer.

Only one of Clifford's speeches in the House during this early part
 of his career has come down to us; it is in the form of rough notes
 and indeed we are uncertain as to whether it was delivered or not. An
 onslaught on the company of the Merchant Adventurers it is interesting
 in that it shows him as a Devonshire man anxious for the commercial
 3.
 development of his own county.

The Merchants Adventurers, a regulated corporation tracing its
 origin to the beginning of the 13th century and formed for the export-
 ation of wool to the Baltic countries, had prospered exceedingly
 during the reign of Elizabeth, but during the early part of the 17th
 century its trade was on the decline. A national organisation with
 its centres in most of the English ports, in times of depression it
 failed to preserve its unity and its methods met with a great deal of
 criticism - particularly from the cloth makers of Devon and Somerset.
 Two resolutions of the Commons in 1624 had for a time flung open the

1. Clifford, Excise, 'Logwood Account': Clifford, Accounts 1657-66: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1662-3, 50; 1667-8, 200, 243; 1668-9, 43: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 53, 84, 129, 224, 235.

A mistaken entry in Cal.S.P.Dom., 1662-3, 75 ascribes to Clifford a pension of £200 as keeper of the King's Closet and Pictures; the grant was made to Thomas Chiffinch, see Entry Book, 1X, 279.

2. Comenge, however, refers to 'Le Chevalier Benet qui a lesprit chaud.' Corresp.Ang., 82, f.209. (13/23.X.64.)

3. He had already shown his interest intrade by delivering a petition to the house on behalf of the Patentees for Wine Licenses. See Egerton, 2043, f.24. (4.X11.61.)

cloth trade to Germany and the Netherlands but despite the obvious success of this measure other influences secured the withdrawal of the privilege; loud complaints from the Exeter clothiers in 1638, 1643 and 1645 proved ineffectual, Parliament continued favourable to the company and indeed by an ordinance of 1643 still further restricted the right of entrance. Towards the end of the Interregnum, however, the Company became involved in grave financial difficulties and as a consequence, in 1657, a resolution was passed by the Committee of Trade in favour of free merchants; but prior to the Restoration nothing further was done.^{1.}

During the trade depression of 1646 all but one of these incorporated traders retired from Exeter and when the clothiers of that town resumed the export of cloth they were unwilling to enter this close corporation and to saddle themselves with the Company's debts. The whole matter was brought to a head by the petition of the clothiers of Suffolk and Essex on the 19th of March 1662 and was referred to the Grand Committee of Trade.^{2.}

The objections urged by the ' Interlopers ' before the committee and subsequently in the House were in the main directed against the practical policy of the company. Particularly they resented the arbitrary limitation of the volume of exports and the favouritism shown in its distribution, the necessity of bringing their cloths to

1. Scott, 1, 8, 32, 100, 142, 169, 236-8, 267: Anderson, 116.
2. Scott, 1, 268: Anderson, 116: C.J. Vlll, 390, 394.

London rather than shipping from the nearest port, the rigid system of only three ^cembarkations each year and the damaging jealousy which which resulted abroad from confining the staple to only one town in each country. They pointed out that during the period 1616 to 1641 £182,295 had been raised in home duties but the company was still badly in debt and their consequent taxation would have a ruinous effect on trade. They further objected that the powers the company enjoyed of imposing oaths and levying fines was contrary to the law of the land and finally by way of rendering the pretensions of the company absurd they drew attention to the fact that from Midsummer to Michaelmas 1661 five or six Exeter merchants had exported 9,254 ^{1.} pièces of cloth - those of the company only 225 pièces.

These argumentants and others were urged by Clifford in a speech which may have been delivered on the 24th of March 1662. The woollen trade was, he said, ' England's golden fleece ' and a trade of such importance must not be confined to a few privileged merchants; what, he asks, would be the result of an attempted monopoly of wines in France, of fruit in Spain or of silks in Italy, countries where the boast of freedom was not so loudly urged. Enunciating the general principle that ' a restriction is to enrich private man the interest of the nation is to multiply traders ', with the accepted qualification that it did not apply to long and hazardous voyages requiring the resources ^{2.} of a group of men, he seized upon the legal objections already noticed

1. Anderson, 116-7.

2. e.g. the East India Company.

and skilfully drawing attention to the bribes lavished by the company upon the courtiers of James I. he called upon Parliament to take measure of this ' Monstrum Horrendum.' ' For', he added, ' to bar any free borne subject from the exercise of our inventions and industry or to hinder us from convert(ing) our universall native commodity to our advantage at home or abroad is to deprive us of part of our birth right and of that which god and nature ordayned for our subsistance: and not only so but it is to set a marke of strengenes or rather a
 1.
 Kind of Slavery upon us.'

The company entered a denial to these complaints, emphasising the national character of their organisation, the value of the exemptions which membership brought to the merchant abroad and declaring that it was untrue that a limitation was placed upon exports or that there was any engrossing by the rich merchants to the detriment of their poorer
 2.
 fellows. The immediate outcome of the parliamentary proceedings was
 3.
 to throw open the trade until the 25th of December 1662. At the end of that period petitions were again presented to Parliament by both parties but no direct Parliamentary action seems to have resulted and in actual fact, with the weakening of the Company, the individual traders
 4.
 seem to have been tacitly allowed to vend their goods as they wished.

Shortly before this one colourful incident is recorded in the sober pages of the Journals of the House of Commons. While conversing

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1. Letters and Papers, 1-5.
 2. Anderson, 118.
 3. C.J. Vlll, 394,396,400.
 4. Ibid, 448,489: Anderson, 118.

in private a quarrel had arisen between the short tempered Andrew Marvel and the no less impetuous Clifford. Of the circumstances of their disagreement we are not informed but it is interesting to note that the Speaker's finding was that Marvel gave the first occasion and moreover that it was the latter who refused to be reconciled. After a reprehension from the Speaker the two culprits were brought to ask the pardon of the house and to undertake to drop their differences. Subsequent references to Clifford in Marvell's poems must accordingly^{1.} be discounted in view of this early disagreement.

Considerations of trade though they bulked large in contemporary opinion scarcely find so prominent a place as religious controversy in the thoughts of Englishmen of the seventeenth century. The circumstances of the Restoration, which if it was effected by any one party was the work of the Presbyterians, had seemed highly favourable to a partial establishment of religious toleration, for^e man were weary of strife and distinctly distrustful of fanaticism on either side. But the persecution of the Anglican church during the civil troubles had severe repercussions once Charles was firmly seated on his throne and moreover the old argument of preserving a unity in both church and state was still a potent force; Conformity could still dumbfounder Zeal and Scruple by refusing to accept reasons of state or the merits of the party as basic reasons for toleration.^{2.} In face of this the advocates of a liberal

1. C.J. VIII, 389,391: Miège, 430.

2. 'Toleration Discuss'd', Roger L'Estrange, Lansdowne Tracts, 91.(12).

1.

policy, including the King himself, were powerless and the Act of Uniformity passed into law on the 19th of May 1662. Striking down the hopes of Presbyterians and Independents alike this measure caused so widespread a spirit of unrest that in the latter part of 1662 Bennet united with Lord Ashley, Lord Robartes and the Earl of Bristol to advise the King to issue a general declaration to allay the discontent. Such a document was drawn up and published on the 26th of December of the same year and was intended to reassure the people that the Act of Indemnity was to be upheld and further, disclaiming any intention of ruling by military force, it avowed the King's determination to induce Parliament to uphold the declaration of Breda with regard to both Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics. The declaration did not meet with a cordial reception. Protestants, refusing to be coupled in a toleration which comprehended Catholics, joined in condemning it and though the speech from the throne attempted to minimise the advantages accruing to the Catholics it met with unbending opposition from the Commons which the combined efforts of Bennet, Sir Winston Churchill, Sir Richard Temple and Clifford himself were unable to overcome. A motion was carried, in which Clifford acted as the teller for the Noes, ' that this House do now proceed in debate upon the King's Declaration and Speech ', an address was presented to the King disputing his right to invalidate the law and a bill against the growth of Popery was launched in the Commons. With the failure of Robartes and Ashley to pilot a bill

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1. Though Charles was eager to set bounds to the dominance of the Anglicans he was never favourably disposed to the Presbyterians. A request was made on his behalf to Abbé Montagu for an ' Expedient that embroyling Episcopacy, will not advance presbitery.' [Mr Bel ?] to Abbé Montagu, 23.VIII.60, Clarendon 73, f.184.

~~pilot a bill~~ through the Lords granting discretionary powers to the King in matters religious Charles saw the necessity of yielding and did so as gracefully as was possible in the circumstances.

Thus early was Clifford identified with the cause of toleration. As yet he was undoubtedly still a member of the church of England and in view of the sceptical attitude of contemporaries to the sincerity of his later attempts to force a policy of toleration upon the country, when he himself was turning to Rome, it is interesting to meet a practical illustration of the policy he professed. As a result of the Act of Uniformity a Nonconformist minister and graduate of Exeter College, Thomas Voisy, was committed to prison and remained there for some fifteen months; on Clifford's intercession at the Secretary's^{1.} office immediate steps were taken to secure his release. Most people were convinced, however, nor were their fears entirely without grounds, that a step towards ^{Toleration} ~~Roman Catholicism~~ was a step towards the restoration of Catholicism and only incidentally a measure of relief to other dissenters.

Clarendon's opposition to these attempts to mitigate the severity of the Act of Uniformity was dictated not so much by religious intolerance^{2.} - he himself had striven in the same direction - as by a respect for settled law and moreover a strong dislike to the persons of the promoters. The dominating figure in the Restoration settlement, an

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1. White Kennet, Register, 1, 871. Clifford did not however hear of the matter accidentally as the Bishop supposed. See Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 103.
 2. E.H.R., XXXXI, 407-8; XXXXIV, 289-91.

able statesman and a man of high moral character, he had few friends and many enemies. His desire for the exclusive control of affairs was early realised by Albemarle, who stigmatised him as a second Wolsey in the making, and this inability to share political power drove not a few potential supporters into opposition. And as time went on the ranks of his supporters became woefully thin. Amongst these the chief was the Earl of Ormonde, par excellence the grand seigneur of England; combining abilities of a high order with an excessive self indulgence, his removal to Ireland diminished the value of his support and he was moreover on friendly terms with the unspeakable Bennet. The Earl of Southampton was a close personal friend but comparatively powerless through his unwillingness to mix in Court intrigues and factions. The venerable Holles, a firm Clarendonian, was during those vital years much too occupied in cross grained wranglings with the Court of France where he upheld the interests of his master with more courage than ability. The Earl of Sandwich seeing the shipwreck of Clarendon's influence showed a strong tendency to desert the sinking ship. Of the smaller fry Daniel O'Neil, the 'Infinite Subtle', Geoffrey Palmer and Cromwell's 'godly cavalier', Sir William Compton, died early in the reign, Sir Edward Nicholas, already an old man, was forced to give way before the rising fortunes of Bennet and Sir Hugh Pollard died in the summer of 1666.

1. Clarendon 74, f.77.

2. 'I have few such friends left.' Clarendon to Ormonde, 24.X.63, Carte 217, f.478.

The opposition to Clarendon being based on conflicting interests rather than differing policies was of a most heterogeneous nature. The kernel is to be found in the Bristol, Bennet, Coventry clique. Bristol, a Roman Catholic, a most unstable politician and an old enemy was naturally enough antipathetic to Clarendon; Bennet had received several rebuffs from the Lord Chancellor and was tied by bonds of gratitude to Bristol his erstwhile patron, and a strong mutual distaste existed between Clarendon and Sir William Coventry for which a partial explanation may be found in the former's jealous recognition of the outstanding abilities of the secretary to the Duke of York. And the Earl of Lauderdale who objected to Clarendon's interference in Scottish affairs, Robartes and Ashley who made one with Bennet in the attempt to turn aside religious persecution, St Albans who took his political orders from the Queen Mother and Buckingham who would take orders from no one^{1.} were all at some time openly opposed to the Clarendonian régime.

Two incidents are of importance in the kaleidescopic changes that troubled the balance of political power. The first was a concerted move by Bennet and Coventry in the spring of 1663 against Clarendon's power in the Commons. It had been the custom to communicate the intentions of the Court to a select number of members that they in turn might give a lead to their followers and in this Pollard had acted as Clarendon's henchman. Against this exclusive control

1. According to Gourville in 1663 Buckingham was receiving money from France for 'caballing' in Parliament. *Mémoires de Gourville*, 540.

Coventry and Bennet rebelled. Assuring Charles that 'many worthy and able Men, of whose Wisdom the House was so well persuaded, that, They commonly consented to whatsoever They proposed,' were complaining of their ignorance of the King's wishes they persuaded him to raise the matter with the Chancellor. The upshot, despite the vigorous protests of Clarendon, was an order from the King that in future Bennet, Clifford and Churchill should be summoned to the preparatory meetings^{1.} held for this purpose. The transaction is of importance as illustrating the cohesion of the Bennet - Coventry clique and also as an indication that Clifford was already of sufficient importance to be admitted to the innermost counsels of the government.^{2.} The other incident may be more briefly touched. In the summer of 1663 Bristol hurled a wild impeachment at Clarendon's^{3.} head which had no other result than to lead to his own complete discredit and to momentarily strengthen the position of the man he sought to ruin. Significantly Bennet severed his connexion with Bristol and if Ashley and Lauderdale were more equivocal in their attitude for the next few months they kept up an appearance of friendship with the Chancellor.^{3.} But Bristol's tactical error did not long dismay them; in the following year the rising feeling against the Dutch permitted them to try a fall with Clarendon in more propitious circumstances and in those proceedings Clifford took a prominent part.

1. Clarendon, Contin., 11, 350-6.

2. In June 1663 Alan Broderick writes to Clarendon complaining that letters are being tampered with. 'Wee hear', he adds, 'that Province is assigned by Mr Secretary Bennet to my Freind Tom Clifford and would bee glad to know how Hee manages it.' Clarendon 80, f.6. (24th)

3. Carte 32, f.708; 46, f.172; Rawl. A.130, ff.4b-5; Pepys, 2 & 22.11.64. About this time Turenne in his memorial to Ruvigny underscores Bennet's augmentation of credit. Turenne, Lettres et Mémoires, 369. (15.VI.63.)

CHAPTER 111.

COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS IN THE SECOND DUTCH WAR.

The chief feature of public opinion in the early part of the reign was jealousy of the United Provinces. Bristol had made it a chief article in Clarendon's impeachment ' that he should be the author of the peace made with Holland lately upon such disadvantageous terms ' and there was a solid basis of conflicting interests mitigating against a peaceful settlement of the points at issue. Disputes in the Baltic, North America, India, West Africa, the Persian Gulf and Constantinople, the unsatisfied claims for the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Adventura, the Hopewell and the Leopard, the bitter shame of Amboyna and the almost daily clashes of the two nations over the herring shoals - all these factors kept English mercantile opinion inflamed against the ' Dutch butterboxes '. On the other hand the Dutch did not sit easily under the renewal and strict enforcement of the Navigation Act, they viewed with bitter jealousy the English acquisition of Bombay and Tangier while the activities of Sir Robert Holmes and the seizure of the New Netherlands but added fuel to the high flames of their resentment. The unofficial war in foreign seas

1.
 knew no bounds not dictated by self interest. ' The trade of the
 world ', said Pepys' sea captain, ' is too little for us two therefore
 2.
 one must down.'

Opinion in the English court was much divided as to the advisability
 of war. Despite his personal animus against the Dutch and his inces-
 sant jealousy of their power at sea, Charles himself, throughout the
 best part of 1664 sought for satisfaction by peaceful methods.
 3.
 Clarendon entirely disapproved of the war and was indeed suspected of
 concerting measures with and receiving money from the Dutch ambassador
 to stop it.
 4.
 His opinions were shared by Ormonde, Southampton and for
 a time by Holles.
 5.
 Bennet was at this time still undecided in his
 6.
 attitude and Sir William Coventry did not pursue a consistent policy
 7.
 in the matter. But one powerful section of the people combined to urge
 the King to cut the Gordian knot. The merchants who had suffered severe-
 ly at the hands of the Dutch sought to bring matters to a head in
 Parliament and with this party Clifford identified himself so

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1. Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 83-129; Khan, 93-124; Ranke 111, 417-24. Cf. Burnet 1, 390, 'The grounds were so slight that it was visible there was somewhat more at Bottom than was openly avowed.'
 2. Pepys, 2.11.64.
 3. Corresp.Ang., 84, f.12; 85, f.29; Add. 29,577, ff. 42, 44-7; Japikse, xlix; Hartmann, 112-3; Cal.S.P.Ven., 1664-6, Nos. 35,63, 138,331.
 4. Corresp.Ang., 84, ff.12,96; Japikse, xlix; Colenbrander 1, 150; Cal.S.P.Ven., 1664-6, Nos. 44,327; Clarendon, Contin., 11, 383-422.
 5. Add. 22,920, ff.46,85; Japikse, xlix; Clarendon, Contin., Ibid.
 6. Pepys, 13 & 29.V.64. Cf. Clarendon, Contin., 11, 435.
 7. See page 34.

completely that he may be said to have been the leader of the anti-Dutch section in the house of Commons: Temple, at anyrate attributed^{1.} the outbreak of war in part to Clifford's violence in the house: on the back of one of his papers Clifford has noted, 'When injurd will you say you are afraied'^{2.}

Early in March Clifford had a lucky escape from injury or death, a house in Holborn, which he had just quitted, falling down immediately^{3.} after his departure. Had he been less fortunate the Dutch would have had reason to be thankful for in the spring session of parliament he took a leading part in the campaign for satisfaction or war. A committee was appointed 'to consider how the Trade of the Nation may be improved and advanced' and Clifford would appear to have acted as chairman, delivering all its reports to the House. The first of these, made on the 6th of April, recommended a revival and improvement of commercial relations between England and Scotland and further to encourage foreigners to settle in England that they should be granted naturalisation on taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Opinion was not favourable to more intimate relations with Scotland and the latter proposal was rejected at the instance of the London

1. Temple, Works 11, 43.

2. Clifford Holland 11. This pamphlet urges the reasons for declaring war on Holland. The Turkey company is losing its cloth trade to Holland, in the East Indies the Dutch are masters of the spice trade and in Africa the English trade in negroes and gold has been damaged by them to the extent of £150,000: on the other hand the English have the superior navy, their naval stores are in a good state, their seamen animated against the Dutch. As for the cost of the war the prizes taken in the previous one realised £960,000.

3. Ashmolean 436, f.58.

1. merchants. The committee continued to meet, however, and a fortnight later Clifford reported that it had unanimously resolved, ' That the several Wrongs, Dishonours, and Indignities done to His Majesty by the subjects of the United Provinces by invading his rights in India, Africa and elsewhere, and the Damages, Affronts and Injuries done by them to our Merchants, be reported to the House, as the greatest obstruction of our Foreign Trade --- and that he [the King] be most humbly moved to take some speedy and effectual course for the redress thereof, and all others of the like nature, and for the prevention of the like in the future.' ^{2.} With this vote the House concurred, ^{3.} managers for a conference with the Lords were appointed and Clifford reporting ⁴ that the Upper House had agreed two meetings were held. At the first conference, held on the 22nd of April, Clifford represented that the Commons had found the Dutch to be the ' cheife authors ' of the decay and obstruction in foreign trade, that the losses of the East India, the Turkey and the Royal African companies amounted to £714,500 not including the retention of Poleroon for which compensation was assessed at four million pounds. The East India company was scarcely able to pay three per cent; under cover of letters of marque from Spain the Dutch had seized two ships of the Turkey company and in

1. Clarendon 107, f.202 or Add 17,677 Z, f.64: C.J. Vlll, 544.

2. C.J. Vlll, 548.

3. Vaughan, Temple, Littleton, Hussy and Garroway attempted to postpone the vote and to revive the unsuccessful precedent of James I.'s last parliament by which a council of war and a treasurer were nominated in parliament to direct the war for the recovery of the Palatinate, ' dreaming good men that my Lord Bristol and themselves might fall within the compass of that nomination.' Broderick to Ormonde, 23.1V.64, Carte 215, f.29b.

4. C.J. Vlll, 549.

West Africa they had incited the negroes to destroy the English while
 themselves taking possession of Cape Coast Castle.^{1.} The House of Lords
 agreed with this vote and at a second conference the Lord Privy Seal,
 Lord Robartes, communicated the King's answer that he would demand
 reparation from the States General and 'use his utmost endeavours to
 assure his subjects from a like violence in the future.'^{2.} This reassur-
 ing reply was communicated to the Commons by Clifford and while the
 House continued to sit the committee went on meeting, hearing further
 complaints and representing through Clifford those wrongs to the House.^{3.}

During the recess of Parliament opinion in England hardened.^{4.} The
 Duke of York soon stood at the head of a party, comprising the dukes of
 Buckingham, Richmond and Monmouth, the Earl of Oxford, Viscount Fitz-
 harding and Lords Berkeley and Henry Howard of Suffolk, which was eager
 to seek distinction in a naval war.^{5.} Albemarle, though it is affirmed
 by his biographer that he did not appear against the Dutch until the
 winter, was reported as having said that 'our nation must have a
 share [of commerce] or peace will not be long,'^{6.} and Ashley definitely
 flung in his lot for war.^{7.} The attitude of Sir William Coventry was
 more doubtful. In the summer he drafted a paper for York urging an

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1. Letters and Papers, 6-8. Cf. L.J. XI, 599-600.
 2. L.J. XI, 600, 603. 'Charles' reply was curt, he did not want war yet.' Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 121.
 3. C.J. VIll, 553, 555, 560.
 4. Carte 75, ff.195, 212; Pepys, Further Corresp., 27.
 5. Corresp. Ang., 85, f.30; Cal.S.P.Ven., 1664-6, Nos. 44, 72, 73.
 6. Grumble, 410; Van Gogh to De Witt, 20.Vll.64, Pontalis, 311
 7. Clarendon, Contin., 11, 435.

early declaration of war as the fleet was in excellent order though its maintenance on a war footing would be expensive, the rich Dutch merchant fleets were on their way home and a plague at Amsterdam would to some extent cripple their fighting forces.^{1.} Subsequently, however, he quarrelled with Bennet and on the first of April, after war had been declared, he submitted a paper to Fitzharding, now Earl of Falmouth, which had for its main thesis that trade could not be improved by war, that the Dutch were strong at sea and that even a successful war would beggar the crown.^{2.} But by the fall of 1664 even Clarendon admitted that it was almost too late for the Dutch to seek peace and Charles himself^{3.} was beginning to doubt the efficacy of negotiation.^{4.}

When Parliament met again in November the prosecution of war against the Dutch was at once raised and on the 25th a vote of money was made to the King. In a letter to Sir William Coventry, Clifford has left an interesting account of the debate.^{5.} It had been arranged, according to Clarendon, at the instance of Southampton and himself, that Paston^{6.} should propose the sum of £2,500,000 but matters did not go quite so smoothly. During the recess the City had made an advance of £100,000 to Charles and the Lords sent down to the Commons for their concurrence in a vote of thanks. Prynne, seconded by Vaughan, dissented and it seemed for a time that they would carry the House with them. And, 'if

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1. 'Some Reasons why his Majesties interest is to press the Dutch to a speedy Resolution June 19 64. given to R.H. fould paper.', Coventry 101, f.19.
 2. Add 32,094, ff.49,50-1.
 3. Clarendon to Downing, 24.XI.64, Clarendon 104, f.94. (copy)
 4. Cal.S.P.Ven., 1664-6, No. 97.
 5. Letters and Papers, 9-12.
 6. Clarendon, Contin., 11, 438-40.

they had bin succesful in this they would have bin farther encouragd to have opposd other matters of greater consequence relating to the same matter which made us very carefull to get the houses concurrence to theire Lordships in it which was done without much strugling ---.' The question of supply was then raised by Sir John Holland and Paston porposed his two and a half millions. This hitherto unheard of sum caused at first some consternation and the opposition party, Sir John Goodrick, Sir Charles Hussy, Littleton, Temple, Vaughan and Garroway, adopted the tactic of arguing against a set sum as precluding the method of raising it by subsidy and then followed this up by proposing a half a million pounds. The absurdity of this figure brought on a motion for one and a half millions supported by Holland, Sir Henry North, Sir Edward Walpole and ' many other sober men'. This was rejected by some seventy voices and the House warming to the debate were at last brought to agree to Paston's original proposal.^{1.} This 'monstrous' sum was not accepted in the country with equanimity, Edmund Verney thinking that Holland could be conquered with half the sum.^{2.} Pepys, however, was not blinded by the novelty of such a large grant. ' I am well able to say',^{3.} he writes, ' this sum will not support the war two years and a half.'

When, towards the end of 1664, the opening of hostilities with Holland had seemed imminent, a commission for the care of the ' sick,

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1. Clifford concludes his letter with a wish that Coventry will let him know ' who does great daring things when you have a sea fight.'
 2. Verney, Memoirs IV, 76-7.
 3. Pepys, Shorthand Letters, 20.

wounded and prisoners ' was set up. To this on the 28th of October were appointed four House of Commons men, Clifford, Sir John Evelyn,^{1.} Sir William Doyley and Sir Bullen Reymes. Clifford's particular district centred round Plymouth and probably consisted of the two counties of Devon and Cornwall. This district, as may be learned from his accounts, was not a very busy one and his main concern was with prisoners and less with the sick and wounded. And as a consequence of his active service with the fleet and his absence in Norway and Sweden his duties were to a large extent discharged by his clerk at Plymouth, James Blackbourne, and by the friendly co-operation of Evelyn. In addition to his settled district, however, he was chosen to represent the Commission on board the fleet and it was therefore upon his shoulders that fell the burden of distributing the sick, wounded and prisoners to the various ports, while in this roving capacity he frequently came ashore at various places and temporarily took over their direction.^{2.} Little of his personality emerges from what we know of his activities in this office; something more can be learned from his other commissionership - of the Prizes.

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1. Add 36,782, f.24b: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 113: Evelyn, 27.X.64. For a full account of the 'Commission' see appendix 1.
 2. ' Instructions to attend the fleet at sea ', Clifford, Holland 3: Clifford, Holland 10: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 310; 1665-6, 334, 436; 1666-7, 40, 46, 53, 56, 87: Evelyn, Corresp. 111, 303-4: Letters and Papers, 15-16: Appendix 1., Vlll-X.

Towards the end of 1664 a commission was appointed to look after the prizes taken at sea. Ashley and Bennet were given the important posts of treasurer and comptroller, respectively, and the rest of the personnel was drawn almost entirely from the war party in opposition to Clarendon. And yet more significantly the money realised by the sale of the prizes was not to be paid directly into the Exchequer but was to be set aside as a separate fund at the disposal of the King. Clarendon, who resented this slight upon the Lord Treasurer, his friend Southampton predicted that this fund would be used in gifts to courtiers but in actual fact it was almost entirely devoted to the prosecution of the

1.
war.

A few weeks later the commissioners themselves appointed thirty subcommissioners to the most important ports in England. The great majority of these men were members of the House of Commons and were, with the exception of London, as a rule appointed to ports within reach of their own home. Amongst these was Clifford who was assigned to the port of London. The duties of these subcommissioners consisted, in the main part, in the examination, the bringing to adjudication and

2.
the sale of captured vessels brought into their particular port. On the 23rd of March, however, Clifford had been selected to discharge his duties as commissioner of the sick and wounded on board the fleet;

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1. Harleian 1509, f.24; Egerton 812, ff.75,124; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 122; Clarendon, Contin., 11, 463-8; Barbour, Arlington, 81,83; Brown, Shaftesbury, 120. In all the sale of the prizes realised £646,248; of this only £22,416 was granted away by the King.
 2. Harleian 1509, f.28; Clifford, Holland 3.

the following day he was appointed to perform a duty with regard to the prizes which was agreeable with this roving commission. In the absence of a duly authorised representative of the commission of prizes a great deal of embezzlement of the prize goods had taken place at sea, not infrequently with the connivance of the captain of the capturing vessel. To check this consequent loss to the King Clifford was ordered to go with the fleet as a general commissioner, though still in subordination to the central commission. His duties consisted in the examination of the prizes, the taking of depositions, which he was empowered by the Admiralty to do on oath, the sealing up of the hatches and the sending of the prize, together with his report and inventory, into
1.
whatever port he thought most suitable.

It was in this double capacity, then, that he joined the fleet in March and sailed towards the end of April for the Dutch coast. He took up his quarters in the flagship of York's Rear Admiral, Sir William Berkeley. The Swiftsure was a second rate carrying a crew of 380 men and mounting 60 guns and for company he had a volunteer, Mr Edward Montagu, Master of the Horse to the Queen. The English, confident of
2.
victory, hoped for an early action with the Dutch and strategically

1. Letters and Papers, 13-15.

'Thogh Clifford in the caracter appeares
Of supra cargo to our fleete and theirs } 'A Second Advice to a
Wearing a signett ready to clapp on } Painter.'
And seize all for his master Arlington.' } Sir John Denham.

2. 'I shall dedicate', says one of Williamson's correspondents, 'the first Dutchman eares for an umbrella to the window of your lodgings that look Southward, and if their thickness will not secure you from the Sun I know not what will!'

the early sailing of the English was an admirable move separating, as it did, the two portions of the Dutch fleet in the Texel and the Vlie. But an absence of finesse in the movements of the English fleet and an inadequate provision of victuals forced a return to port without the hoped for engagement. Clifford was apt to be scornful of the timidity of the Dutch but it was well that their valour was tempered with
1.
discretion.

When the fleet sailed again, a fortnight later, from the Gunfleet Clifford was again on board and received his baptism of fire in the fierce battle off Lowestoft. We are ignorant of the details of Clifford's conduct though we may infer from Evelyn that he showed his customary bravery in action for shortly afterwards his brother commissioner writes congratulating him on an action in which he had ' the honour to be a signal achiever.'
2.

Whatever personal bravery he may have shown it is evident that in those two voyages his conduct with regard to the prizes was everything that was to be desired. His diligence and the exact accounts which he sent were warmly approved by the commissioners in London who sent him a letter of thanks, shortly after his second sailing, saying that as a result of his exemplary conduct ' his Majestie is like to have a more entire account of these than of any other prizes yet seized or taken '
3.

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2. Robert Southwell to Clifford, 9.VI.65, Clifford, Holland 5, ' My Lord Arlington asked Bap May very earely for you, after the Duke.' : Evelyn, Corresp., 111, 307; Savile, Corresp., 7; Tedder, 118-126.
1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 281,337; Sandwich, Journal, 174,181; Letters and Papers, 15-16.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 310,356; Letters and Papers, 17.

And Bennet, who was more personally interested, had written on the same day wishing him ' as good lucke at sea as you have had by land and upon all occasions continue your long relations to the Lords commissioners as well as myselfe who am much pleased with all your transactions'. His hand strengthened by an order from York to all captains to give him every assistance and urged ' to proceed with the same vigour wherwith you have begun '^{1.} he continued to discharge his duties efficiently and exactly. Towards the end of June in recognition of his services and in reimbursement of his expenses he received a grant of the prize ' Patriarke Isaaks '. The value of the gift shows the esteem in which his services were held. During his absence in the north of Europe the ship, with its cargo, was sold by his only, and younger, brother George, who was then located at Harwich where shortly he was to become storekeeper to the prize commission. Though the ship was an old one it had a valuable cargo of wine, vinegar, molasses and prunes and must have fetched^{2.} in all some eighteen or nineteen hundred pounds.^{3.}

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1. Arlington to Clifford, 31.V.65, Clifford, Holland 3.
 2. Commissioners of Prizes to Clifford, 31.V.65, Clifford, Holland 3: Admiralty 2/1733. A copy of Clifford's cipher, dated 22.V.65, is in S.P.104/6/7.
 3. A copy of the King's warrant to the Commissioners and the original of the authorisation are in Clifford, Holland 3. The particulars of the sale of the prize are to be found in George Clifford's letters to his brother of the 9th & 11th July, the 4th of August, the 10th & 14th of September 1665. (Clifford, Holland 3 & Miscell., 3) George's appointment and relevant details will be found in Harleian 1509, f. 271; 1510, ff. 118b, 126b, 173b: Clifford, Enquête.

Various other recognitions of his services testified to his rising importance in national affairs. In the summer or early autumn of 1664^{1.} he had recieved the honour of knighthood and early in the following year he had been appointed a commissioner to manage the estates of the youthful Duke of Monmouth, who had recently married the heiress to the Duke of Buccleuch.^{2.} Very shortly afterwards he petitioned the King for a five years lease of some six hundred acres of Crown land in Lincolnshire, a lease which was apparently granted to him.^{3.} A more lucrative grant was the farm for seven years, dating from June 1665, of the wine and strong water licenses in Ireland, which he shared with the Earl of Carlingford and Sir Chichester Wrey. Along with the Earl of Ossory these men were to divide the profits after paying a rent of four thousand pounds. As the farm was sublet for five thousand two hundred pounds Clifford's annual share in the profits would amount to three hundred pounds.^{4.} It was, therefore, with a rising reputation at Court and a more stable and substantial financial position that Clifford prepared for his third and more momentous voyage with the fleet.

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1. Between the 13th of May and the 11th of October, see C.J. Vlll, and Pepys, 11.X.64.
 2. Clifford, Miscell., 1.: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 173.
 3. A lease of these lands, in the honour of Bolingbroke, had been granted in 1639 for a period of thirty one years to two separate parties who together paid a rent of two hundred and Seventy pounds. For a consideration of one hundred and forty pounds they resigned their claims to Clifford.
Indenture between Clifford and Wm.Beecher, 1665, Clifford, Miscell., /1., (copy)
" " " " C.Bishop, 1665, Clifford, Miscell., /2., (draft)
[Clifford's] petition to Charles, [1665], Clifford, Miscell., 5, / (draft).
 4. Clifford, Miscell, 2; Cal.S.P.Irish, 1663-5, 209-10.

CHAPTER IV.

BERGEN AND THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE NORTH.

Clifford's third voyage with the fleet was made in the months of July and August. This time the supreme command was entrusted to the Earl of Sandwich with orders to intercept the return of the richly laden Dutch East India fleet which was expected shortly in the North Sea. In event of the Dutch going towards Norway for shelter the instructions of the Admiral were to follow ' though they should go into any harbour belonging to the King of Denmark in those parts ' and there^{1.} to capture or destroy them. This preconceived breach of neutrality was the outcome of the negotiations of our envoy at Copenhagen.

Since the Restoration our relations with Denmark had been cordially though loosely knit. With Frederick III, Charles was connected by blood, the treaty of 1661 had provided a defensive alliance and a commercial *modus vivendi* and the visit of the Danish heir apparent in the autumn of 1662 had drawn closer the dynastic bonds. The States General, it is true, had given vigorous support to Denmark in their late war with Sweden but they had exacted a very considerable pound of flesh in return and Denmark becoming conscious ' that the Estates of

1. Colenbrander, I, 249-50; Sandwich, Journal, 237.

Holland seemed to desire to reduce the King of Denmark to some sort of dependance upon them ^{1.}, looked to England for support in their grievances against their truculent Dutch creditors. Already in November 1663 Downing, at the Hague, had promised his aid to the Danish envoy and throughout 1664 he made good his promise by coupling Danish complaints with those of his own country. ^{2.}

In June 1664, with the impending war with Holland in view, Charles had sent off the warm tempered and sanguine Sir Gilbert Talbot to Copenhagen to press for the guarantee of the treaty of Copenhagen, the exclusion of Dutch commerce from the Baltic and, if possible, for the conclusion of an offensive alliance against Holland. Talbot was not eminently successful in his negotiations. In the spring of 1665 he secured with difficulty the signature of a commercial treaty and a vague declarati^on of Danish intentions to enter the war against Holland; but he found it impossible to secure any guarantee of the treaty of Copenhagen - the first step to a successful combination against Holland by both the Scandinavian nations -, the subsidies to which he committed his government were pronounced exorbitant and the treaty was left ^{3.}unratified. The victory of Lowestoft, however, inclined the poverty stricken Frederick to look more favourably upon an English alliance and in a casual interview, on the 14th of June, Talbot seized the

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1. Hannibal Sehestedt to Bennet, 12.VII.64, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.142.
 2. Clarendon 105, f.110: Add 17,677 Z, f.54: Lister 111, 259: E.H.R., XXV,
 3. E.H.R.XXV, 462-41 : Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 184-6.

opportunity,' as a private person devoted to his interests ', to propose the seizure of the Dutch merchant ships lying in Norwegian ports, England providing the necessary force and Denmark receiving for her connivance a half share of the booty. Frederick welcoming the suggestion, Talbot wrote to England and on the 11th of July received a reply that the fleet was ready to execute the design. On the 20th of July a ship sailed into Copenhagen with the news that De Ruyter was off the coast of Norway but it was not until four days later that orders were despatched to Gyldenløve, the Viceroy of Norway and Count Ahlefeldt, the Governor of the province of Bergen, to allow the English to attack any Dutch merchantmen sheltering within Norwegian ports. Along with these orders Talbot sent an explanatory letter to Sandwich and in addition sent away his secretary, Pierre du Moulin, to seek out the English fleet. Du Moulin was unable to complete his journey and at least a fortnight must elapse before the 'orders' would reach Bergen.

1. Talbot's Narrative, Speculum XXII, 25-6.
2. Talbot to Arlington, 17.VI.65, Clifford, Holland 5; Arlington to Talbot, 30.VI.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.30.
3. Talbot to Sandwich, 20.VII.65, Rawl., A.252, f.150; 24.VII.65, Letters and Papers, 18-19; Talbot to Arlington, 22, 24 & 25.VII.65, Lister III, 389-91; Speculum, XXII, 37-40.

A French copy of those orders has survived and is printed by P.W. Becker in his ' Samlinger til Danmarks Historie ---' II, 454. In view of the subsequent negotiations it is essential to realise that Ahlefeldt's instructions precluded any idea of open co-operation between the English and the Danes. '--- vous usiez de toutes les apparences possibles de vouloir empêcher, qu'il (l'amiral anglais) ne se fasse aucune violence aux navires hollandais, comme d'envoyer d'abord une protestation à l'amiral anglais pour cet effet, et de témoigner beaucoup de mécontentement de ce qu'il fera à l'encontre, mais en effet vous conniverez à tout ce qu'il entreprendra contre la dite flotte du vice-amiral de Ruiter ou d'autres vaisseaux hollandais.' Quoted by Warnsinck, 28-9.

Cf. Clarendon's hopelessly confused account, Clarendon, Contin., II, 529-30.

In the meantime the English fleet had sailed. For some days Clifford made his quarters on board the Swiftsure but later on Sandwich's invitation he joined him in his flagship, the Prince.^{1.} Throughout the campaign he was the main channel of information to the home government and further being 'well instructed in all the Transactions which had been at Copenhagen' his presence was welcomed at the councils of war. Later, when justifying his command, Sandwich laid stress on the frequent use he made of those councils and emphasised the presence at them of 'Sir Thomas Clifford --- a person of great esteem and discretion,'. It is evident that as a friend of Sandwich and a persona grata with the government Clifford exercised a considerable influence on the shaping of events.^{2.} While he remained with the main fleet he was busily occupied examining and reporting upon the prizes that were brought in; a list of these, together with his findings upon those taken early in the campaign, is still preserved amongst his papers.^{3.}

From the 6th to the 17th of July Sandwich cruised in the region of the Dogger Bank; but not meeting with any news of De Ruyter and hearing of the presence of Dutch merchantmen in Flekkerö, he quitted this station and sailed for the Naze of Norway. On the same day he sent John Worden, a volunteer on board the Prince, to desire Talbot to secure what help he

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 471; Sandwich, Journal, 237, 241.
 2. Sandwich's Narrative, Colenbrander, 1, 252, 254.
'My Friend (in whom I am very happy) Sir Thomas Clifford', Sandwich to Arlington, 14.VII.65, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 475.
 3. Clifford MSS.

could from Frederick in event of an attack upon the Dutch in a Danish
 1. harbour. And definite information coming in of a large number of Dutch
 merchantmen in Bergen haven it was decided on the 26th to despatch a
 squadron to that port under the command of his Rear Admiral, Sir Thomas
 Teddeman, 'of whose fidelity and valour I am assured'. Every scrap of
 information that could be brought together about the port was carefully
 collected and at six o'clock on Sunday afternoon, the 30th of July,
 Teddeman parted from the main fleet taking with him one third rate,
 seventeen fourth rates, three fifth rates, two fireships and four
 ketches. He was accompanied by several volunteers. The youthful Earl
 of Rochester, Sandwich's own son Sidney, Mr Steward, Mr Windham and
 Captain Charles Harbord left the Prince for Teddeman's flagship, the
 Revenge and they were joined from the Swifsure by Sandwich's cousin,
 Edward Montagu. Finally the Rear Admiral had, in Sandwich's phrasing,
 'the help of Sir Thomas Clifford's presence, which gave me great
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 assurance of the discretionary part also.'

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1. Sandwich, Journal, 239-49: Sandwich's Narrative, Colenbrander 1, 254: Speculum XXII, 38-9.
 Talbot asserts that Sandwich's order for the immediate return of the ship carrying Worden to Copenhagen was a serious blunder and suggests that it was meant to prevent any hindrance of the attempt upon Bergen. Sandwich was justified by his instructions in carrying out an immediate attack upon Bergen and as Worden arrived at Copenhagen only on the 26th after a journey of nine days it is difficult to see how he could in any circumstances have returned sufficiently early to the fleet to have prevented the action.
 2. Sandwich, Journal, 243-4, 251-2: Sandwich's Narrative, Colenbrander 1, 254; Rochester to the Countess of Rochester, 3.VIII.65, Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography IV, 595.
 For a list of the ships see Appendix 11.

The objective of the squadron, the Dutch merchantmen in Bergen, was a prize worthy of the greatest efforts. Just a day or two before they had set out ten East Indiamen had arrived in Bergen, having left Batavia shortly before Christmas under the command of the experienced Dutch sailor, Pieter de Bitter. The cargo they brought with them was extremely valuable; carpets and chinese silks, diamonds and rubies, ebony and rare porcelain, spices and saltpetre. And they found already collected in Bergen some forty odd Dutch merchantmen from Smyrna, Portugal, Spain and the Bay of Biscay. The combined wealth of these ships dazzled contemporaries, Sandwich himself being 'apt to beleive scarce at any time in one place soe great a mass of wealth was ever heaped together' and Ahlefeldt reckoned their value at not less than six million pounds. Their loss would have crippled Holland irreparably for the rest of the
1.
war.

A strong south-east gale blowing the squadron sailed in a north-easterly direction reaching Kors Fiord the following day. Through this narrow fiord, with the help of eleven local pilots, the majority of the ships passed in safety but seven, missing their passage, were driven to the leeward and after waiting fruitlessly for them for three hours Teddeman sailed on to Buck ap Ra, a narrow fiord some eight leagues south of Bergen, where he anchored for the night. This was scarcely a congenial anchorage being 'so wild a place that it was a great providence We came from thence without running upon the rocks or breaking one

1. Clifford to Arlington, 12.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 49: Sandwich's Narrative, Colenbrander 1, 257: D'Estrades to Louis, 17/27.VIII.65., Corresp.Holl., 76, f.154: Warnsinck, chapters 2-4.

the other in pieces ', and it was with considerable difficulty that^{1.} they worked their way out on Tuesday morning. From Buck ap Ra, Harbord, who spoke both French and Dutch, was sent to the Governor of Bergen with letters from Sandwich and Teddeman declaring the intention of attacking the Dutch, desiring his ' help and furtherance therein hoping the King of Denmark hath already authorised you thereunto ' and giving assurance that all possible care would be taken to prevent any damage being done to the town. Harbord's pinnace, with its red clad oarsmen, came to the landing place before the Castle about ten o'clock on Tuesday morning, the letters were handed over to the Commander of the Castle, Johan Caspar Von Cicignon, who in consultation with Ahlefeldt sent a prompt and politely worded reply which promised everything possible within the limitations of treaty rights but tacitly refused to co-operate with or connive at any attack upon the ships in his port. With this answer Harbord left about two o'clock in the afternoon and rejoined the fleet which was by this time not more than a league distant from the town.

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1. Teddeman to [Sir W.Coventry], [4].Vlll.65. Letters and Papers, 34: Clifford to Sandwich, 3.Vlll.65, Letters and Papers, 22: Clifford's Relation, Warnsinck, 116: Sandwich, Journal, 253-5: for the ships driven to the leeward see Appendix 11.
Kors Fiord is variously spelled Cruseford, Cruise fiord etc. Warnsinck identifies Buck ap Ra with Bukken but this is obviously mistaken; Bukken is more than sixty miles to the south of Bergen and to reach Buck ap Ra the English passed through Kors Fiord itself no more than twenty miles S.S.E. of Bergen.
 2. Sandwich, 30.Vll.65, and Teddeman, 31.Vll.65, to Cicignon; printed from the originals with minor inaccuracies by B.E.Bendixen in Kampen paa Bergen and reproduced by Warnsinck, 73-4: Cicignon to Sandwich and Teddeman (2), 1.Vlll.65, as above but not as stated from the originals. Copies and translations of the above letters are to be found in the S.P.For.Holland, 177,f.164et passim, Clifford, Holland 4, and Coventry 95, f.113.
Clifford to Arlington, 3.Vlll.65, Letters and Papers, 25-6: Ahlefeldt's Report, Warnsinck, 76 (trans. in S.P.For.Den., 17, f.34 et passim and Clifford, Holland 4.): Toller's Relation, Warnsinck, 83.

Undeterred by this unsatisfactory reception Teddeman sailed merrily on, arrived at the buoy before Bergen between six and seven o'clock in evening with his fifteen men of war and six smaller ships, manoeuvred his way into the narrow roadstead, ' with the yard armes sticking in the very rocks ', and slowly warped in under the castle. His arrival was attended with some confusion for the Revenge and another ship narrowly escaped running aground and a third came so near the flagship that their riggings were for a time entangled. In this disorder the customary salute to the Castle was forgotten and Ahlefeldt, displeased at this apparent want of courtesy, fired a shot across the bows of the Sapphire, which wounded a seaman in one of the boats which was engaged in carrying out the ship's anchors. Regardless of this incident, however, the English fleet ranged itself across the bay. In the centre the Prudent Mary, the Breda, the Foresight, the Bendish, the Happy Return, the Norwich and the Pembroke lay anchored bow to stern in the shape of a half moon, stretching across from the Castle on the one side to the Toll House on the other, their broadsides pointing to the Dutch merchantmen. On the North, close against the shore batteries were the Golden Lion and the Society, and on the starboard quarter the Guernsey, the Coast Fregat, the Guinea and the Revenge took their places opposite the North Fort. The fireships lay in mid-channel behind the fighting line.

1. Teddeman to Coventry, 4.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 34; to Sandwich, 12.VIII.65, Journal, 261; Clifford to Sandwich, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 26.
2. Teddeman to Coventry, 4.VIII.65, Ibid, 35; Clifford to Arlington, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 27; Clifford's Relation, Warnsinck, 116; Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 83, 85. See C.H.'s map reproduced by Warnsinck to face p.46 and that in Sandwich, Journal, 262. The former was perhaps the one shown to Courtin by the King when he was recounting the narrative of Bergen, Courtin to Lionne, 3.IX.65, Corresp. Ang., 86, f.129.

While these arrangements were being carried out Jens Toller, the son of a Norwegian gentleman and himself Receiver of the royal customs in the province of Bergen, was sent to Teddeman by Ahlefeldt. Toller had accompanied Hannibal Sehested to England some two years before, spoke English with facility and when his services were required at this juncture acted as official interpreter. The immediate purpose of his journey was to demand an explanation of the conduct of the English, as by treaty it had been agreed that not more than five warships at a time were to be allowed to enter Danish ports; if the whole squadron persisted in their entrance, he was authorised to say that the Governor would feel compelled to resort to force. Teddeman, assisted by Clifford, returned answer that he could not comply with Ahlefeldt's demands; the treaty allowed six men of war to enter and in times of necessity more, apparently the Dutch were there in far greater numbers and in the absence of satisfactory pilots or a suitable anchorage without the bay he was unwilling to risk his ships in a nocturnal withdrawal; if the Governor put his threats into action he would meet with a firm resistance. The reasoning producing no effect on Ahlefeldt, Toller paid a second visit to the Revenge with a message similar to his first. Then it was that Teddeman and Clifford resolved to send Edward Montagu to the Castle in the hope that a personal interview might do something to
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bring about a suitable agreement.

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1. Clifford to Arlington, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 26: Teddeman to Ahlefeldt, 1.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 19: Clifford's Relation, Warnsinck, 116-7: Ahlefeldt's Report, 77: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 83-4.

Montagu was received with the greatest of courtesy by Ahlefeldt and Cicignon and as all three men spoke French Toller's services were dispensed with. At this conference Montagu acquainted the Danes with the facts of Talbot's negotiations but as they had no knowledge of it no agreement was reached. Ahlefeldt's advice to the English was to await the arrival of the orders they spoke of and in the meantime to leave the bay within the space of an hour.^{1.}

Such a course did not commend itself to the English and as they showed no signs of withdrawing Toller was sent a third time to the flagship, apparently to request a further interview between Montagu and the Danish authorities. This time Clifford was eager to accompany Montagu ' but that there were severall despatches upon my hand, that were to be given to severall the officers of the fleete, and Sir Thomas Teddeman was likewise unwilling to part with me, besides I had an injunction from my Lord of Sandwich not to quit the Revenge '. Montagu departed alone to this conference, which took place about ten 8'clock in the evening. This time his efforts met with somewhat better results. The shot which had been fired across the Sapphire's bows was excused as the blunder of an inexperienced militia man and ' as to the riches within this port he now sung another song.' The Governor was prepared to allow an attack by six English warships if the Dutch first refused

1. Ahlefeldt's Report, Warnsinck, 77-8: Tollers Report, Warnsinck, 84.

1.

his command to leave the port. Montagu returned to the Revenge and articles were immediately drawn up by Clifford. The gist of these propositions was that six English warships should remain in the harbour and if the Dutch did not submit when called upon to do so by Ahlefeldt, they were to be attacked by these ships, assisted if necessary by the Castle; no harm would be done to the town and the booty was to be

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shared by the two parties, each choosing in turn. These articles were carried to the Castle by Montagu and the General gave his consent only excepting that they should not be put into execution till Sunday. To this postponement the English would not agree. The expectation of the Dutch fleet made them anxious to rejoin Sandwich as soon as possible and the hint dropped by Ahlefeldt of the probable arrival of twenty two Danish men of war increased their apprehensions of a delay. At a fourth conference with Montagu, Ahlefeldt reduced the period of waiting to two days but a suspicion that Ahlefeldt wished to secure the whole booty for himself, which was strengthened by a further proposal on his part that the whole should be left in Bergen till Frederick's decision

1. Clifford to Arlington, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 26-28. This does not agree with the corresponding part in Toller's Report. According to Toller, Montagu accompanied him on his second visit as a hostage for the good behaviour of the English fleet during their overnight stay in Bergen and remained at the Castle till dawn. In adopting this account of Toller, Warnsinck, who indeed draws far too slightly on English sources of information, ignores the fact that Toller is least reliable where Montagu is concerned as his services were not then required. The existence of the 'Propositions' (see below) and Ahlefeldt's own account, though somewhat obscure at this point, combine to demonstrate the veracity of Clifford's report. The supposed offer of the Garter to the Governor by Sandwich originates in the ill informed letters of Talbot. (S.P.For.Den., 17, ff. 99-101; Coventry 25, f.101.)
2. 'Propositions', 1.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 19-20: [Proposals of Ahlefeldt, 1-2.VIII.65.], Letters and Papers, 20-1: Clifford to Arlington, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 28.

1.

was made known, lead to a complete break down of the negotiations. A council of war was held at which it was decided to reject Ahlefeldt's proposals which meant the retiral of all but six ships by dawn and the withdrawal of these as well if the Dutch tamely submitted to the Danes. Accordingly it was agreed to waste no more time in negotiating but to attack at once, firing low so as to avoid doing injury to the town and Montagu's final visit to the Castle was an attempt not to persuade the Governor amicably but to cow him into submission by a representation of the forces that would be brought against him.

2.

All this while the bay was echoing to the blast of trumpets and the beating of drums as the Dutch roused their sailors to action and brought in the laggards from the taverns and meanwhile the inhabitants of Bergen barricaded their shops or fled, panic stricken, with their valuables to a less dangerous neighbourhood. De Bitter took immediate steps for defence. Eight of the most heavily armed ships, reinforced from the others, were brought into a line across the bay some two or three hundred yards from the English and forty guns and three hundred sailors, under the command of his Vice Admiral, Jacob Burckhort, were landed to strengthen the Castle and the shore batteries. When, by five o'clock in the morning, the red flag was shown from the Revenge the Dutch had placed themselves into a very fair posture of defence.

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1. [Proposals of Ahlefeldt, 1-2.VIII.65.], Letters and Papers, 20-21: Clifford to Arlington, 3.VIII.65, Ibid, 28-30: Ahlefeldt's Relation, Warnsinck, 78-9: Clifford's Relation, Warnsinck, 118.
 2. Ahlefeldt's Report, Warnsinck, 79-80: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 85: 'Deduction', Letters and Papers, 132.
 3. Warnsinck, 41-2.

A chance shot falling upon an English ship two broadsides were immediately discharged upon the Dutch. For a time the Castle and the forts remained silent but after a volley from the English ships, dismounting two guns and killing four men, they opened fire and the somewhat later appearance of two white flags upon the Castle seems to have been ignored not only by the English but by the Danes themselves. An off shore wind preventing the use of fireships and combining with a light drizzle and the smoke of the guns to obscure the vision of the English gunners rendered the attack of the English less harmful than it might otherwise have been and in actual fact the strict injunction to aim at the hulls of the Dutch vessels caused many of the English shots to fall short into the sea. The fierce resistance of the Dutch ships, a plunging fire from the Castle and forts ' that cut our cables to pieces, so that we had like to have driven foul one of another ' and the heavy losses on board his ships forced Teddeman to cut his cables and retire after an action of a little over three hours.^{1.} Casualties were particularly heavy in the ships which had been athwart the bay and in all 112 men, including six captains, were killed and 309 wounded. The Revenge itself escaped somewhat lightly with a loss of only four men killed. Amongst these, however, was Edward Montagu who, crossing to comfort Rochester, was wounded in the stomach^h and back by a chain shot which killed Windham outright.

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1. Clifford to Arlington, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 30: Teddeman to Sandwich, 12.VIII.65, Journal, 262-3: Cicignon to Captains Commanding, 4.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 36: Ahlefeldt's Report, Warnsinck, 80: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 85: Sandwich's Narrative, Colenbrander 1, 257-8: De Jonge, 48, note 3.

Clifford himself received a slight wound on the face being struck by the end of a severed cable. The losses of the Dutch and the Danes were comparatively light - in all 32 killed and 96 wounded.^{1.}

In a badly damaged condition the English squadron sailed out of the haven; the Sapphire and one other ship, in a sinking condition, were forced to seek safety close to the island of Askö and a third, the Guernsey, ran aground further up; the rest of the fleet came to anchor near the island of Herlö and busied themselves in repairing the shot holes, splicing their ropes and fixing their masts and yards.^{2.}

The day following the battle, Thursday, Clifford decided to go to Bergen ' to see if I can accomodate misunderstandings between the governour and us ' and had gone so far as to draft a letter from Teddeman recommending himself to Ahlefeldt ' as a person not unacquainted with the late propositions between the two Crownes of England and Denmarke '. But at a council of war held later in the day the captains unanimously decided against further negotiation and resolved upon a scheme to loose the fireships, supported by the Pembroke and the Martin Galley, upon Bergen. These ships sailed for Bergen but apparently were unable either to put this plan into action or to achieve the alternative one of burning seven Dutch ships in Kors Fiord. Full of vigour, as he was, the conclusion of Clifford's letter of this day to Arlington^{3.}

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1. Rochester to Countess of Rochester, 3.VIII.65, Wordsworth, Ecclesiastical Biography, IV, 611: Clifford to Coventry, 26.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 56; Ahlefeldt's Report, Warnsinck, 81; Sandwich, Journal, 296-7; Burnet, Life of Rochester, 17; Ashmolean 436, f.58.
 2. Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 85-6.
 3. Clifford to Sandwich, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 22-3; to Arlington, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 31-2; Teddeman to Ahlefeldt, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 34.

sounds a note of weariness. Apologising for any incoherence there may be in his relation, he continues ' but if your Lordship knew with what distraction and disturbance I write what with perpetual company where I am and what with wanting of sleep and accomodation by changing of ships I should be excused by your Lordship; the repulse and losse of my friends also is no small trouble to me'^{1.}

Negotiations with the Danes were nevertheless reopened. On Friday, hearing of the grounded ships, Cicignon sent a letter by his trumpeter offering his assistance.^{2.} Captain Eliot of the Sapphire sent on the messenger to Teddeman^{3.} and the Admiral wrote to Cicignon requesting that Toller might be sent to him once again.^{4.} Toller duly arrived, late on Sunday night, with explicit instructions to confine himself to the limits laid down in the existing treaties but Teddeman and Clifford,^{5.} not thus easily disheartened drew up a project of agreement with the Governor. In short they proposed that Teddeman should make a renewed attempt upon the Dutch in Bergen, in which he should receive the assistance of the Danes, that the prizes should be equally divided, Denmark receiving the first choice, and that hostages should be exchanged for the exact observance of these conditions. Under protest Toller carried these articles^{6.} to Bergen arriving there early in Monday morning.

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1. Clifford to Arlington, 3.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 32.
 2. Cicignon to 'Captains', 4.VIII.65, Ibid, 36-7: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 86.
 4. Teddeman to Cicignon, 5.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 37: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 86.
 3. Clifford to Arlington, 12.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 43.
 5. Ahlefeldt to Teddeman, 5.VIII.65, Ibid, 38: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 86.
 6. 'Propositions', 7.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 39-40: Teddeman to Ahlefeldt, 7.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 38-9: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 86-7.

When Toller reached Bergen he found circumstances entirely changed; The orders from Frederick commanding him to connive at an English attack had just reached Ahlefeldt and if the situation was to be redeemed there was an immediate necessity of concerting measures with Teddeman. To avert suspicion a fictitious letter repelling the English advances was shown to De Bitter and at the same time Toller was ordered to return forthwith to the Revenge to acquaint the English with the arrival of the King's instructions and to propose an interview between Ahlefeldt and Clifford. For the better preservation of secrecy the interview was to take place at night, Clifford was to come in disguise^{1.} and the pass words were to be 'Frederick' and 'Christian'. Toller reached the Revenge shortly before midnight and delivered his letters and messages. It was at once agreed that Clifford should return with him and in the early hours of the morning the former drafted his instructions from Teddeman. The assistance and not the connivance of the Danes was now insisted upon, especially in the event of the Dutch fleet arriving during their stay at Bergen, the provision of pilots, hawsers, anchors, nails and if necessary provisions was demanded;^{2.} Clifford was to return not later than Wednesday morning. And about three o'clock on Tuesday morning they departed together, Clifford disguised 'in a saylers habit, under colour of getting bread and fresh meat ', a proceeding which 'went very much against the haire

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1. Ahlefeldt to Clifford, 7.VIII.65, Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 368-9; to Teddeman, 7.VIII.65, [copy of the fictitious letter], Letters and Papers, 40; Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 87-8.
 2. Instructions to Clifford, 8.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 40-41.

with me'. The rest of the day was spent at the country house of Toller's father-in-law, near Langmandensz Gaard: between ten and eleven^{1.} o'clock in the evening the parties met at Kollenschanzen.

The usual exchange of compliments and expressions of goodwill made the parties got down to business. Clifford soon found that his French was insufficient to the purpose and when he spoke directly resorted to Latin, with which Ahlefeldt was well acquainted; for the most part, however, he relied upon Toller's services as an interpreter. But no confusion of speech could have disguised the very real differences of opinion that existed between them. Ahlefeldt definitely refused to allow the English to pass the boom, which the Dutch had constructed as a measure of defence, he would not allow English sailors to come ashore and even to Clifford's request that the Dutch should be prevented from fitting out a fireship he returned a firm refusal. In other words, he would connive but not assist and the limits of his connivance were so narrow that the action would 'be no more than a Cock Match and he the Umpire between us '. Clifford, on the other hand, in accordance with his instructions, constantly insisted that the English, crippled by their recent attack, would require the assistance of the Danes. But from his original position the Governor would not recede. 'He was descended of a great race his ancestors for 700 years gentlemen of the Empire, and he would not do any act that should sully the memory of them '^{2.}

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1. Clifford to Arlington, 12.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 44-5: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 88.
 2. Clifford to Arlington, 12.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 45-7: Toller's Report, 88-9.

Eventually articles were drawn up but they can scarcely be entitled articles of agreement for it is obvious that there was little chance of the English falling in with them. The Governor was still to preserve his appearance of neutrality, the Dutch were to be attacked only after the offer of their lives if they surrendered and even then the Governor was to attempt to arrange their submission half way through the action, on no account were the English to pass the boom; in event of a successful issue the Danish share of the booty was to be screened by leaving four English frigates to guard it in Bergen for six weeks and in the meantime all the Dutch prisoners were to be sent off home in old rotten ships. When these articles had been performed both copies of the agreement were to be committed to the fire.^{1.}

This unsatisfactory conclusion reached, Clifford returned, along with Toller, to the Revenge, arriving at four o'clock on Wednesday morning. There it was quickly decided that these conditions were impossible of fulfilment and a resolution was therefore taken to weigh anchor, put to sea and join Sandwich.^{2.} Two letters were drawn up and sent by Toller to Ahlefeldt, the one, for the benefit of the Dutch, asserted their intention of attacking the port at the first opportunity, the other announced the postponement of the attack to a more favourable opportunity.^{3.} 'They

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1. 'Articles agreed upon between both the parties.' [8-9.VIII.65], Letters and Papers, 42a-c: Talbot to Arlington, 26.VIII.65, Lister 111, 398: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 89: 'Deduction', Letters and Papers, 134-5.
 2. Clifford to Arlington, 12.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 48: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 89.
 3. Teddeman to Ahlefeldt, 9.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 41-2: Toller's Report, Warnsinck, 89-90. The letter for the Dutch eyes has apparently not survived, the gist of it is given by Toller and it was presumably not unlike a similar letter which Clifford carried with him the previous day but for which he evidently found no use. This would explain the endorsement, 'Teddeman to Ahlefeldt' 8.VIII.65, L & P, 41.

gave us such rules and conditions ', Clifford wrote to Sandwich,
 ' that none but madmen would attempt it the second time; for if we
 should drive them from their ships, yet we must be under the power of
 their Castles, how we are to dispose of them '.

Mist and bad weather delayed the departure of the English fleet but
 on the tenth, with their supply of victuals running short, they set
 sail for home. The voyage was stormy and at one time a fear was enter-
 tained that they were about to run into De Ruyter's fleet. There was
 however no meeting with the Dutch and on the eighteenth, in a sadly
 battered condition, they joined Sandwich off Flamborough Head. Once
 more they were in touch with England and they may well have wondered
 with what reception they would meet. And Clifford, who had no news
 of his family during the past six weeks, was anxiously expecting letters
 from home.

The failure of the attempt upon Bergen was due not so much to
 inclement weather conditions at the time of the attack as to the
 indefinite arrangements made at Copenhagen. If Talbot had made it
 quite clear to the home government that a definite arrangement would
 not immediately be made on the receipt of their reply to his proposals
 such clear cut orders would not have been issued to Sandwich. There
 is abundant evidence that Frederick was afraid lest his connivance

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1. Clifford to Sandwich, 12.VIII.65, Sandwich, Journal, 264-5.
 2. Clifford to Arlington, 12.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 51-53;
 Teddeman to (Sir W. Coventry), 16.VIII.65, Coventry 95, ff. 45-5; to
 Sandwich, 12.VIII.65, Sandwich, Journal, 263; Sandwich Journal, 266.

would draw him into open war with Holland and this may have been the root cause for his dilatory despatch of the final orders to Ahlefeldt. It should have been realised that the movements of a fleet at sea are not easily co-ordinated with dilatory negotiations on shore and that the essentials of a successful policy was a timely decision to come down from the fence on one side or the other. Teddeman fearing the possible arrival of the Dutch fleet off Bergen could not easily submit to a delay and he was justified by his instructions in delivering an immediate attack. In only one circumstance can blame be attached to the English. Throughout the subsequent negotiations Teddeman hoped not only for the connivance but also for the assistance of the Danes, a hope that was shared by Sandwich but one that was impossible of realisation in view of the character of the Governor's orders. Realising that in his disabled state he was unable to capture the Dutch merchantmen singlehanded and that no aid could be expected from the Danes, he should have at once fallen back on the main fleet. The final responsibility for the failure must nevertheless rest with Talbot and the Danish government.

The Bergen fiasco was a severe blow to Sandwich, on whom rested the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of the fleet, and it is indicative of Clifford's rising influence at Court that the Earl 'entreated' him to go to Charles and to James that he might give them satisfaction concerning the late passages at sea. Clifford at
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once complied. Landing at the mouth of the Humber on the 19th he

1. Sandwich, Journal, 269. On the 13th Sandwich wrote to Arlington that he rejoiced 'to find him preserved who is so well qualified to serve my Master and to be a very good friend.' Rawl., A.252, f.16.

reached York late that night, spent Sunday, the 20th, with York and Sir William Coventry, left the following day for the court and travelling by way of Nottingham and Oxford arrived at Salisbury on the ^{1.} the Thursday.

His good offices would seem to have been effective; Charles, York, Rupert, ^{Clarendon,} Coventry, Arlington, Cartaret and Manchester all combine in ^{2.} exonerating Sandwich and Teddeman from blame. Holles almost alone among contemporaries found fault with the planning and execution of the design and his acerbity arose from ill founded reports of what ^{3.} actually happened. Burnet, drawing his account from Talbot's statement of his case, has nevertheless laid the foundations of a legend which makes of it ' a desperate Attempt ', avariciously undertaken, ^{4.} with Clifford as the arch adviser. The untruth of such an account needs no demonstration.

The want of success attending this campaign was a severe set back to the hopes of the English government though, as we have seen, no fault was attributed to their own seamen. And Arlington's first letter to Clifford, on the latter's return to England, evidences both the close friendship between the two men and the Secretary's recognition of his protégé's attempts to redeem the situation.

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1. Sir W.Coventry to Sandwich, 23.VIII.65, Carte 75, f.335; Clifford to Sandwich, 1.IX.65, Letters and Papers, 67.
 2. Harris 1, 311; also, Arlington to Clifford, 20.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 54; Clarendon to Sandwich, 28.VIII.65, Carte 223, f. 287.
 3. Holles to Fanshawe, 10.IX.65, Harleian 7010, f.396.
 4. Burnet 1, 345; ~~Life~~ of Rochester, 9; Lediard, 581; Naval Miscell., 11, 155; Evelyn, 31.V.72.

' However Our succese was at Bergen and how much soever I lament the losse of Mr Mountague I was exceeding glad to receive all your Letters and Papers last night giving a most perfect and exact account of ^{1.}all our transactions ther, the good part you have had in them and Your coming off alive and with all your Limbs from so hazardous an undertaking, I have always told you you are reserved for some good fortune.'
Of the sincerity of Arlington's friendship there is no question and it was largely by his efforts that Clifford was very shortly afterwards ^{2.}despatched to Denmark and Sweden.

In his letter of the 12th of August Clifford had suggested that in view of the rough and stormy weather usual in the Baltic towards the autumn it was improbable that De Ruyter would come out at all and that being so the Dutch merchantmen would very likely winter in Bergen. In that case it might be possible to induce Denmark to declare war on Holland if only Frederick could be reassured as to the attitude of Sweden in such a juncture. Ahlefeldt, he said, had inclined him to this opinion. ^{3.}The suggestion was adopted and, ignorant of the fact that Clifford was already on his way south, Arlington wrote to hasten ^{4.}him to Salisbury. On his arrival immediate steps were taken for his despatch on a diplomatic mission, ' in which ', says Arlington, ' we ^{5.}hope there is life yet.

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1. Coventry 64, 257.
 2. Arlington to Clifford, 20.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 57.
 3. Clifford to Arlington, 12.VIII.65, Ibid, 51: Arlington to H. Coventry, 2.XI.65, Ibid, 104-5.
 4. Arlington to Clifford, 20.VIII.65, Ibid, 54.
 5. Arlington to Sandwich, 28.VIII.65, Carte 223, f.289. In this letter Arlington thanks Sandwich for his good care of Clifford while he was with the fleet.

The negotiation in which Clifford was to be employed embraced both Denmark and Sweden. Though our relationship with the latter was more distant, Sweden was perhaps the more obvious ally, not so much on account of the positive basis of a treaty similar to that concluded with the Danes as the pressure of the more weighty factors of their strong antipathy to Holland. This hatred is easily understood if we recall the Dutch naval pressure on Sweden in 1658, the Elucidations of Elbing in 1659 and their unsatisfied claims for arrears of subsidies. 'We need not many cords or pulleys to draw them towards us who are coming spontaneously, and are driven by their proper interest as much as they can be led by our invitations.'^{1.}

On the face of things, therefore, a Northern coalition against Holland seemed feasible but to shipwreck all such schemes there remained the 'permanent rock of Swedish Danish hostility'. At this time Sweden holding the Elbe and the Oder, commanding the northern coast of the Sound and supporting the client state of Holstein was aspiring to the complete control of the Baltic. The treaty of Copenhagen, which had put an end to hostilities in 1659, left Sweden unassured of her conquests and Denmark unacquiescent in her losses.

A third and powerful factor in the medley of cross interests was France, for it was becoming more and more apparent that her neutrality in the Anglo-Dutch war would not be of long duration. As far as Sweden was concerned it is true that the old Franco-Swedish alliance of the Thirty Years war had fallen into abeyance, that French influence

1. Earl of Carlisle to H.Coventry, 15.XI.64, Coventry 64, f.30.

in the Empire was resented, that the recent French support of the Bishop of Mayence was regarded with an anger at once secular and religious and that Louis' activities in Poland were a fruitful source of diplomatic friction. Active opposition to France was, however, rendered somewhat remote by the presence of a strong Francophile group in the government. The relations of Denmark and France were more straightforward. In 1663 a treaty of alliance and commerce, Roeskilde, had been concluded between the two countries and apart from French leanings to Sweden their interests did not usually clash. Consequently the alliance of France and Holland was an ever present divisor in the calculation of the advantages to be derived from a close co-operation with England.

By the autumn of 1665 Henry Coventry, our envoy at Stockholm, had been hardly more successful than Talbot in his negotiation. In March 1665 he had been able to despatch a treaty guaranteeing the treaty of Copenhagen, declaring the Elucidations null and void and providing for a defensive alliance. But the larger questions remained unsettled, the subsidy negotiation was bungled at Whitehall and even the slight advantages of the March treaty set at naught by Dutch compensation of Swedish claims in Guinea and the cancellation, under French pressure of the Elucidations. While Talbot, with the Bergen fiasco on his conscience, was glooming over Danish approaches to Holland, Coventry was already making somewhat querulous demands for his recall.

To remedy this indecisive impasse in the Scandinavian kingdoms Clifford was appointed envoy extraordinary to the two courts in

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 conjunction with Coventry and Talbot. His instructions dated the 29th of August are short and straight to the point. He was to proceed with all possible speed to Copenhagen in order to bring the matter of Bergen to a definite conclusion. If he found that Frederick regretted the part played by his subjects in the repulse and ^{was} ready to break with Holland he was to ratify the earlier commercial treaty negotiated by Talbot, adding within reason any further articles, and to allow, if necessary, all the booty at Bergen to pass to Denmark providing ^{ed} they agreed to devote the proceeds to setting out their fleet or supporting that of England. He was then to proceed to Stockholm and with Coventry's help bring in Sweden as a third party to the proposed triple alliance. On the other hand should he find a Dutch-Danish rapprochement he was to deliver a warning to Frederick that a breach with England would necessarily ensue and if that did not produce a change of counsels pass to Stockholm there to arouse the anti-Danish passions of the Swedes, promising the inclusion of Austria in an anti-Dutch league and according all reasonable demands if they would join with England against both Denmark and Holland.

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1. Credentials to Denmark in conjunction with Talbot, 29.VIII.65, Clifford, Holland 6: Credentials to Sweden in conjunction with Coventry, 29.VIII.65, Coventry, Box, 1,1.
 W.Coventry to Arlington, 2.IX.65, S.P.Dom., Chas.11, 132, f.23, '--- hee is the fittest man you could send, and I wish hee had bin there at first, and yet at this time I must also say I regret the loss of soe considerable a man in Parliament---'.

To provide for the anticipated Danish agreement with regard to Bergen he was to concert matters with Sandwich, if the latter had not already sailed, so that the English fleet would be in readiness to support an attack upon the Dutch ships. The instructions were evidently drawn up in great haste and two marginal comments by Arlington suggest that there was no time for a final copy to be prepared. Though clear cut in their general directions they left a great deal to the discretion^{1.} of Clifford, Coventry and Talbot.

On Tuesday the 29th Clifford took his leave of the Court and made his way to Solebay where he had anticipated meeting with Sandwich. The Admiral had however sailed on Monday and though disappointed Clifford made immediate preparations for his passage across the North Sea. He secured the Norwich frigate, now repaired after its heavy battering at Bergen, and embarking at Harwich on Friday evening sailed the next morning.^{2.} Along with him went a kinsman of Sir George Cartaret, Major Andros and four or five servants. A storm arising^{3.} had swept the Dutch fleet and its rich convoy from Bergen into a panic stricken jumble of erring squadrons and on the third the Norwich passed safely through them, 'they were in so much apprehension that none of them durst chase us.' And on the fourth, meeting with the

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1. Instructions to Clifford, 29.VIII.65, Letters and Papers, 57-62: Charles to Sehestedt, 27.VIII.65, Ibid, 55.
 2. Sloane 4182, f.37b: Carte 75, f.350: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 546: Clifford to Sandwich, 1.IX.65, Letters and Papers, 67-8.
 3. Before the arrival of De Ruyter's fleet Ahlefeldt demanded 100,000 Rix-Dollars from De Bitter but received only 3000 (£600) with a promise of 8-10,000 more. This was however all he got except the 41 Dutch guns which had been sent on shore and with which he refused to part. Brandt, 307-8.

Henrietta, Clifford learned of Sandwich's happy junction with the Dutch. Friday following he reached Gothenburg, hastily penned a letter to Coventry to catch the Stockholm post and on the following day set out for Copenhagen, arriving there on the 13th without incident.^{1.} Talbot, who had been gloomily prognosticating a Danish Dutch agreement the week before, warmly welcomed the appearance of this 'lucky Angell to my deliverance'.^{2.} 'I cannot chuse but express', he assured Arlington, 'the satisfaction I have in the conjunction with soe particuler a freind.'^{3.} Throughout the negotiation the relations of the two envoys remained perfectly cordial.

No time was lost in entering upon the preliminaries of the negotiation. On the night of his arrival in Copenhagen Clifford delivered his letters to Hannibal Sehestedt and visiting him in person on the following ~~Friday~~^{Thurs.} morning, arranged for an audience with the King the following day. At this audience Clifford delivered in his credentials, outlined the chief heads of his business at the Danish Court and concluded with a promise to deliver in his demands in writing the next day. The remainder of Friday was spent in complimentary visits to the Queen and to the two Danish princes.^{4.} on Saturday the promised memorial was submitted to Frederick. England, the envoys represented,

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1. Clifford to Coventry, 8 & 14.1X.65, Letters and Papers, 69-71.
 2. Talbot to Coventry, 7 & 14.1X.65, Coventry 25, ff.111,115.
 3. Talbot to Arlington, 16.1X.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.86.
 4. Talbot to Arlington, 16.1X.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.86.

had been keenly disappointed by the manner in which all previous Anglo-Danish negotiations had hung fire; now the repulse of their fleet at Bergen left only two courses by which the honour of the country might be vindicated to the world at large; Denmark must join with England in a strict union against Holland or else face the avowal of the agreement to seize the Dutch merchantmen at Bergen. A neutrality, the envoys insisted, would no longer serve the purpose, Denmark must join with England. In return the latter country would ratify the treaty of commerce concluded by Talbot and bring in Sweden as a third party against Holland. The envoys were ready to offer a project which might form the basis of the proposed triple alliance and accordingly requested the appointment of commissioners to treat with them.^{1.}

Frederick, now in his late fifties and more of the student than the king, was irresolute in his treatment of the situation. Subsequent to the Bergen disaster he had made approaches to Holland and at this moment a newly arrived Dutch envoy was pressing him to a decision against England. And for some months past Louis had been urging the necessity of a conjunction between Denmark and Sweden to shut England out of the Baltic. Now Charles was threatening to disclose their secret agreement of the previous July. War with either Holland or England seemed inevitable and he was unwilling to enter into hostilities with either country. In the meantime the evil day must be

1. 'Memoriall to the King of Denmark Sept 16 1665 '. Letters and Papers, 72-5.

postponed and accordingly commissioners were appointed to treat with
 1.
 Clifford and Talbot.

The men selected were his two chief and rivalling ministers, Christopher Gabel and Hannibal Sehestedt. Gabel, originally from Strasbourg, was said to have entered the King's service as a barber. In Clarendon's words he was an 'illiterate and unbred man', and his ascendancy was bitterly resented by the nobility. He was strongly pro-Dutch. Sehestedt husband to one of Frederick's numerous illegitimate daughters, was on the other hand generally credited as an Anglophile and he took all opportunities to convince Talbot of the sincerity of his friendship. Biereman, to whom the drafting of the Danish proposals fell, had been
 2.
 educated in and was a pensioner of France.

On Monday the commissioners had their first meeting. The discussions were held in French, a language spoken by the majority of the Danish nobility, and it is probable that Talbot interpreted for Clifford
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 'qui ne parle aucune langue étrangère'. A first essential was a clear understanding in regard to Bergen and on that day an account, drawn up by Clifford, was presented to the Danes. Accurate in detail

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1. Holles to Coventry, 8.1X.65, Coventry 33, f.8: Louis to D'Estrades, 8/18.1X.65, (2), Corresp.Holl., 77, ff.25,29: Louis' Mémoire to Terlon, 20/30.VI.65, Rec.des.Instrs. Suède, 51-61: E.H.R. XXV, 474.
 2. Talbot to Coventry, 15 & 31.VIII.65, Coventry 25, ff.99-100,107; to Arlington, 23.1X.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.87; to Morice, 22.VI.65, Rawl., A.252, f.148: Courtin to Lionne, 23.1X./3.X.65, Corresp.Den., 12, p.373: Williamson's note in S.P. 9/28: Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 185.
 3. Courtin to Lionne, 16/26.1X. & 23.1X./3.X.65, Corresp.Dan., 12, pp. 366,373.

it failed to seize upon the real circumstances of the failure, the dilatory despatch of the orders from Copenhagen and not realising that the Governor's orders precluded Danish assistance to the English it complained that the conditions he allowed would have rendered a second attack ' like a cock-match, one party on one side of the Boom^{1.} and the other Party on the other '. The Danish reply is not extant.^{2.}

At the same time Clifford and Talbot submitted proposals for an offensive defensive alliance against Holland. The articles they proposed were not unfavourable to England. The Bergen affair was to be buried in oblivion and under no circumstances was it to be made the subject of future recriminations between the two kings. And to induce the poverty stricken Frederick to declare war against Holland Charles agreed to ratify the commercial treaty and to provide an annual subsidy of £40,000, half of which was to be paid three months after the ratification of the treaty, the other half within a further three months; in addition England would undertake to furnish Denmark with gunpowder, tinder, lead, and coal to the value of £10,000. In return for these considerations English ships were to be freed of all Baltic tolls and a certain number of English merchants

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1. Coventry 28, ff.78-80. A copy is printed by Warnsinck but certain differences prevented him from realising the circumstances in which the 'Relation' was drawn up.
 2. We are told in the 'Deduction' that Frederick was ashamed of the conduct of his officials and the delay in despatching the Governor's orders but little reliance need be placed on this retrospective statement. Letters and Papers, 137-8.

were to be allowed to join the Islandic association. Moreover certain rules were laid down for the conduct of the war against the Dutch. Subjects serving in Dutch ships were to be punished with death, merchants trading with the Hollander were to be deemed traitors, their ships confiscated; prizes were to be adjudicated indifferently in English or Danish ports; where an enemy ship was made prize by the combined efforts of the ships of one country and the shore batteries of the other the booty was to be equally divided but in the case of hot pursuit the capturing vessel was to have the whole. By this treaty Denmark was to be bound only so long as Sweden adhered to her defensive alliance with England and if an ally of the latter should abandon her in the course of the war that country would ipso facto be treated as
 1.
 an enemy.

It is not surprising that the Danes found these articles unsatisfactory. The subsidies offered by the English showed no advance on what they themselves had some months before demanded for their entrance into
 2.
 a defensive alliance, provision was made only for the neutrality of Sweden and the articles relative to prizes were favourable to the more powerful maritime nation. On Thursday Talbot wrote to Coventry that they 'begin to offer fayre to us againe' but his optimism was sensibly reduced by Saturday. A proposal made by Sehestedt on Wednesday to

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1. 'Articuli Foederis offensivi ac deffensivi inter serenissimos Magnae Britanniae ac Daniae Reges ineundi.' September 1665. Letters and Papers, 76-80.
 2. E.H.R. XXV, 469.

seize the considerable number of Dutch ships still remaining in Danish ports came to naught for on the following evening the news of the return to port of the English fleet and the departure of the Dutch from the Sound reached Copenhagen. Studied delays and irresolute replies impeded the negotiation at every turn while the constant jealousy of Sweden bade fair to wreck it completely. Once again Frederick took refuge in the country and for a time put a stop to all business by taking Sehestedt along with him. A strong threat of Clifford's immediate departure brought Sehestedt back to town on the 26th but the reopening of the negotiations brought them no nearer to an agreement. Though an unfinished project was drawn up by the Danish commissioners providing for their entrance into a triple alliance on condition that the ultimate peace, to which Charles should stand guarantor, should oblige the Dutch to pay tolls in the Sound in accordance with the pre-Brömsebro scale of rates and the allotment of a certain number of English ships as a measure of protection for the Danish King in the Baltic, the provision for the entrance of France into the treaty showed in what channels Danish minds were running. The delays continued, the Danish commissioners now blamed anew the precipitancy of the English commanders at Bergen, protested that the Governor could not have delayed the departure of the Dutch ships and maintained that their country was not in a condition to enter upon a

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offensive war.

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1. 'The project for a triple alliance proposed by the Danes', [-28.1X.65] Letters and Papers, 86-88; Talbot to Arlington, 23, 26 & 30.1X.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, ff.87, 88, 89; to Coventry, 21 & 28.1X.65, Coventry, 25, ff.119b-120, 121; Clifford to Coventry, 30.1X.65, Letters and Papers, 89-90; 'Deduction', Letters and Papers, 138-9.

In these circumstances the envoys notified the Danish Court that Clifford would depart for Stockholm the following day. The immediate effect of this threat was an offer, conveyed by Sehestedt, to treat of an offensive alliance against Holland, actually the negotiation advanced but little. At eleven o'clock on Sunday morning Talbot had a private audience with Frederick in which he offered, in return for the exclusion of Dutch ships from the latter's ports, a protecting squadron of twelve to fourteen ships and an advance of £50,000 upon the Customs. His proposal was not well received. £50,000 was, Frederick said, a small sum on which to enter a war and but a poor compensation for the consequent loss to his Customs, he did not believe that England intended anything to his prejudice but if she did ^{1.} he hoped God would protect the innocent and just ^{1.}. By way of reply Clifford and Talbot presented a strong memorial on Monday in which they desired the King to come to a 'final Resolution' ^{2.} and on the following day Clifford made a formal demand for his audience of congé. Assurances were then forthcoming that the commissioners would submit proposals for an offensive alliance and hastened by a further intimation of Clifford's imminent ^{3.} departure these were produced on Saturday evening.

The proposals submitted by the Danes agreed with the earlier ones

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1. Talbot to Arlington, 1 & 6.X.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.90 & Lister 111, 405-9; E.H.R. XXV, 475-6.
 2. Copies in the 'Deduction', Letters and Papers, 139-40 & in the Coventry 25, f.123. Talbot mistakenly states that this memorial was presented on Thursday. Lister 111, 408, cf. Clifford to Coventry, 2.X.65, Letters and Papers, 92.
 3. Clifford to Coventry, 5.X.65, Letters and Papers, 93; Talbot to Arlington, 6.X.65, Lister 111, 409.

made by the envoys in so far as they recommended an oblivion in all matters relating to Bergen, the punishment of subjects serving or trading with the Dutch and the adjudication of prizes indifferently in the ports of either King. No vessel, however, was to have the right of 'hot pursuit' save with the permission of the commander on shore, such booty was to be halved in all cases and lots drawn for the first choice. And like their own earlier project, provision was made for the restoration of the old rate of tolls in the Sound upon the Dutch but an additional article that lest the war should be unduly prolonged by England that country should submit a list of her grievances against Holland. The demands made upon the English were very considerable. Twenty ships of war, of specified rates, fitted out and victualled for a year and subsequently at the expense of England should the war last longer, were to be provided for the protection of Denmark and on no account were they to be recalled. In subsidies Charles was to furnish 400,000 Imperial Thalers annually together with hemp, lead and gunpowder to the value of a further 100,000 Imperial Thalers, or in all £100,000 a year. In return for this subsidy English merchants would be freed from tolls in the Sound for the space of two years. Should the occasion arise England was to be prepared to increase these supports to Denmark. The treaty was not to be prejudicial to France and by a private article it was provided that it was to be carried out only if Sweden joined
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the alliance against Holland.

1. 'Articuli aetioris Foederis inter Serenissimos Daniae et Magnae Britanniae Reges ineundi', 6.X.65, Letters and Papers, 94-102.

This project of the Danes was too one sided to meet with the approval of the envoys. Writing to Coventry on the ninth, Clifford mentions ' a body of articles for an offensive war against Holland as they stild them but there was little or nothing in them that spoake that language. They are so disingenious and unreasonable that the observations you make upon theire project of a triple league are but toyes to what I can tell you of them '. So unsatisfactory did he deem it that unless the next meeting of the commissioners produced a reduction in their demands he would immediately leave Copenhagen.^{1.} But continual pressure upon the Danes produced a considerable revision in the proposed treaty, on Friday the 13th orders were given for its engrossing and on the following Wednesday Clifford, Talbot, Gabel and Sehestedt set their signatures to an offensive defensive alliance^{2.} against Holland.

The terms of this final agreement represented a certain recession from the Danish demands of the sixth of October. In the case of 'Hot pursuit' into a fortified harbour the prize was to be equally divided between the two parties and where the escaping vessel sought refuge in an open harbour the pursuing vessel was to have the whole. Instead of twenty England was to furnish twelve ships, stored and victualled for a year and thereafter they were to be equipped at the expense of

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1. Talbot to Arlington, 7 & 10.X.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, ff.92-4; to Coventry, 13.X.65, Coventry 25, f.126; Clifford to Coventry, 9.X.65, Letters and Papers, 103. The project to which Clifford refers was a proposal for a triple alliance sent to the Danish resident at Stockholm in August; ' what concerneth England as I heare is chiefly that it should pay much money for little service '. Coventry to Clarendon, Clarendon 83, f.198b. See also Lister 111, 402-3.
 2. Talbot to Arlington, 15 & 18.X.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, ff. 95,96. The first letter is printed in part by Lister 111, 413.

Denmark. Consent was given, it is true, to the larger subsidy of £100,000 but in return the Danish King was required to set out his fleet and to exempt English merchants from tolls during the war and for a subsequent period of five years. The treaty was to be ratified within two months but only if Sweden became a party to the combination against the Dutch. The articles relating to the subsidies and ships^{1.} were to be concealed from Sweden.

Immediately the treaty was signed Clifford took his leave of Frederick. Thursday he spent in making hurried preparations for his journey and in taking leave of the acquaintances he had made at the Danish Court, including the inquisitive Courtin whom he assured that Denmark had made him many promises only. On Friday, together with Talbot who accompanied him as far as Elsenore, he departed from the Danish capital. The next morning he crossed the Sound, hoping to reach Halmstad the following day; 'but Sunday', Talbot wrote, 'was soe stormy a day for winde and raine full in his face that I hope he had the grace to keepe a house over his head, if not, he is seasoned for a Swedish journey'. But despite the snow and rain, which rendered the poor roads even more impassible he reached Halmstad according to schedule,

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1. S.P.For.Treaty Papers, 111; Letters and Papers, 140-4; Talbot to Arlington, 21.X.65, Lister 111, 415.

Pomponne, shortly afterwards French ambassador to Stoskholm, believed and there was grounds for his belief, that Frederick agreed to the treaty only to gain time, knowing that Sweden would not agree. 'En effet, il y avoit de telles conditions touchant l'autorité absolu que l'Angleterre s'obligeoit de maintenir au Dannemarke dans le Sund, que la Suède ne pourroit y consentir sans perdre un des plus grands avantages qu'elles ait acquis par tant de sang et par tant de victoires.' The restoration of the tolls was however to apply only to Holland and Sweden was in no way affected unless perhaps she feared that the ell would follow the inch. Pomponne, Mémoires, 22.

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Jonköping by the 25th and Stockholm a week later.

Before Clifford set foot in Stockholm it was already obvious that his relations with Coventry were unlikely to be amicable. He came from Copenhagen where he had been working in close co-operation with Talbot who was not on the best of terms with his confrère in Sweden.^{2.} And Coventry, disappointed in the outcome of his negotiations with the Swedes and extremely uncomfortable in the rigours of a Swedish winter^{3.} had been clamouring for his immediate return to England. A conditional recall had been granted in August but a successor could not be found - Downing's name was mentioned - and the mission of Clifford rendered it necessary that he should remain at least until the former reached Stockholm. It was perhaps in anticipation of Coventry's probable attitude that Arlington wrote so strong a letter of recommendation for his protégé. 'I hope the esteeme you see justly have for one another will easily oblige You to Unite yourselves as one man in his Majesties service; This for the publique sake for my own particular it is certaine you cannot more sensibly oblige me then in being kinde to one whom I love and esteeme so much.'^{4.}

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1. Clifford to Coventry, 19 & 29.X.65, Letters and Papers, 103; Talbot to Arlington, 21.X.65, Lister 111, 415; to Coventry, 23.X.65, Coventry 25, f.130; Courtin to Lionne, 21/31.X.65, Corresp. Dan., 12, 352; Terlon to Lionne, 4/14.XI.65, Corresp. Suède, 29, f.84.
 2. Talbot to Coventry, 2.XI.65, Clifford, Holland 7, '--- we shall drink your health, and Mr Coventry's will not be forgotten, it being Allsoalles day.'
 3. A Swedish summer, he wrote to Arlington, 'unlesse they have more months to their year and more hours to their day cannot be of long duration.' S.P.For.Sweden 5, f.202.
 4. Arlington to Coventry, 29.VIII.65, Coventry 64, f.216.

Coventry for a time remained in ignorance of the revocation of his permission to return to England and consequently concerned himself in no small degree with petty anxieties relating to the disposal of his baggage and the early arrival of Clifford. At the same time he vented much of his chagrin in caustic comments on the letters he received from Clifford while the latter was at Copenhagen. Particularly the latter's request for information about Sweden's probable attitude to the triple alliance annoyed him. ' As if I were the father Confessor of this Court, and while he keepeth in his pocket all the powers instructions and overtures by which they are to bee inclined to deliver theyre minds --- It seemes Sir when hee came to Copenhagen hee found new orders new Councells or a new humour.

Coventry's comments were tantamount to an accusation that Clifford was deliberately withholding information concerning not only the passages at Copenhagen but also the line of policy to be pursued in Sweden. The facts do not lend themselves to such a construction. Some blame does indeed attach to Clifford in that he allowed more than a fortnight to elapse before he communicated in any detail with Coventry, but during that time, despairing of an agreement with Denmark he was again and again under the impression that his departure for Stockholm would be only a matter of a few days. This is the most that can be said in favour of Coventry's severe strictures. On the other hand it must be realised

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1. Coventry to Clifford, 23.1X.65, Letters and Papers, 83-5: to Talbot, 21 & 25.X.65, Coventry 80, ff. 53b, 55: to Arlington, 11.X.65, S.P.For. Sweden 5.
 2. Coventry's remarks on Clifford's letter of 21.1X.65, Letters and Papers, 81-2.
 3. Arlington to Coventry, 2.XI.65, Letters and Papers, 104-5.

that the information Coventry hoped for Clifford was not in a position to give. Coventry had hoped for orders to return to England but letters had been despatched from Oxford revoking the permission which had formerly been given and Clifford was as ignorant of the probable date of Coventry's departure as the envoy himself. Again the attitude to be adopted in Sweden was dependent on the success or failure of the negotiations in Denmark. Finally it was not intended that Clifford should furnish by letter a clear account of the Bergen affair; communications by post were always dangerous and as Arlington explicitly stated an important reason for Clifford's despatch into the Northern kingdoms was that he might thereby personally communicate ' many circumstances relating to his Majesties service which could not well be done by letter ' ^{1.} Coventry was, therefore, scarcely justified in his ill tempered and loud voiced grievances. ^{2.}

The news that Clifford was joined in commission with him to treat and conclude at Stockholm brought Coventry's anger close to the boiling point. Pressing immediately for his instant recall he urged the likelihood of their disagreement on vital issues relating to the negotiations. ' Sir Thomas and I in the greate Councell ', he wrote to Clarendon, ' have often differed in things of very great weight, and maintained it on both sides (to confesse the truth I with very greate heate) and I doe not remember that ever one convinced the other ' ^{3.}

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1. Arlington to Clifford, 2.XI.65, Letters and Papers, 104-5.
 2. Instructions to Clifford, Letters and Papers, 60: Clifford to Coventry, (with 'comments') 8,14,21,28,30.1X; 2,5,9,19,26.X.65, Letters and Papers, 69 et passim: Clarendon to Coventry, 4.X.65, Coventry, 64,239.
 3. Coventry to Clarendon, 4.X.65, (2), Clarendon 83, ff.245,249. Cf. his less critical estimation of Clifford in his letter to Arlington, 4.X.65, S.P.For.Sweden 5.

Nor did Clifford's arrival at Stockholm do much to ameliorate the
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situation . A fortnight later Coventry was still pouring forth his
woes and peevishly exclaiming that ' now I finde, you have such plenty
of Parliament-men that you can afford two chairmen to a Stockholm
Committee '. 2.

It was perhaps significant that Coventry not only refused
to consider Clifford's suggestion that he should lodge in Coventry's
house but also found himself unable to secure accomodation for him in

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the immediate vicinity. Where Talbot had enthusiastically accepted
Clifford's co-operation and worked with him in perfect harmony Coventry
showed a pettiness and perverseness which can hardly be ascribed to
his anxiety pro bono publico.

It was then scarcely surprising that Coventry found much in the
treaty with Denmark to which he took exception and in three letters
despatched simultaneously to Morice, to Arlington and to Clarendon he
outlined his objections. The subsidy of £100,000 a year and the loan
of twelve ships was in his opinion too great a price to pay for the

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1. After Clifford's arrival Coventry made an acknowledgment - but to
Arlington alone - that he was mistaken in his accusations: ' I finde
the fault was not in secresy but in the Indigency '. Coventry to
Arlington, 8.Xl.65, S.P.For.Sweden 5.
 2. Coventry to Sir Hugh Pollard, 15.Xl.65, Coventry 80, f.62.
 3. Coventry to Talbot, 14.X.65, Coventry 80, f.52; Clifford to Coventry,
30.lX. & 5,26.X.65, Letters and Papers, 91,93,104.
'--- if it could have bin in the same house ', Clifford wrote, ' I
would have bin content with very ordinary accomodations and I beleive
it would be for the advantage of Our publick affaires as well as my
own particularly '.

inclusion of Denmark in a league against Holland, Sweden would demand no less and of course his instructions did not allow such generosity. Again the treaty did not expressly insist that Denmark should wage war with the allies of Holland, while at the same time the inclusion of the article concerning France would make the treaty difficult of acceptance in England and thus the ' stopp must lye at your doore '. And apart from the actual articles of the treaty, since the arrival of Clifford his position at the Swedish Court was somewhat dubious; the new credentials were general and joint, thus suspending all previous commissions, while the instructions were directed to Clifford alone; should Coventry become a signatory to a treaty with Sweden he would have no legal justification for his acceptance of the various articles. Further Clifford had come without any additional inducements to offer to the Swedes and moreover he was unwilling even to show the late treaty with Denmark to the ministers at Stockholm before it had secured the approval of the home government.

Clifford's rejoinder to these criticisms was made the same day. He pointed out that it was unreasonable that Sweden should expect an equal inducement to join the triple league for to offset the subsidy to Denmark that country had granted English merchants an exemption from tolls throughout the duration of the war and for a subsequent period of

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1. Coventry to Morice, Arlington and Clarendon, 8.XI.65, Coventry 80, f. 59, S.P.For.Sweden 5, Lister 111, 418-9. (This last letter is O.S.): Coventry to Clarendon, 3.I.66, Clarendon 84, f.18. Coventry was careful to express no dissatisfaction with Clifford to Arlington:- ' Hee hath beene, I must acknowledge, very franck and kind in communicating to mee both what hee hath transacted at Copenhagen, and what hee hath in instructions for this place, and giveth mee many marques of a franck and kind camerade '.

five years. English customs had formerly amounted to £14,000 a year and if, as Coventry argued, they had recently sunk to £6000, the reason lay in the use our merchants were making of Swedish vessels to pass their goods through the Sound duty free. As a consequence of this new agreement English trade would so increase that the tolls saved would amount to at least £20,000 a year. It was impracticable, he continued, for Denmark to be at war with Holland and at peace with their active allies and further little stress need be laid on the point of honour raised by the article that Sweden must not consent to a peace without the inclusion of Denmark. Finally, Coventry's belief that Denmark was merely trying to gain time might be correct, ' the truth is they are so poore so irresolute in theire Councells and so false that I cannot say there will be dependance upon them ', but as far as honour went they were bound to ratify the treaty if Sweden declared against Holland. This convincing reply to many of Coventry's points ended on a personal note, a suggestion to Arlington that he might consider the possibility of marrying Hannibal Sehestedt's daughter, ' her person mends since she was in England ' and she would bring a dowry of
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 £40,000.

Somewhat earlier Coventry had been optimistic concerning an agreement between England and Sweden in regard to the Dutch war,
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1. 'Minutes of my first letters from Stockholm Nov 8 65', Letters and Papers, 106-9: see also, Talbot to Arlington, 21.XI & 23.XII.65, Lister 111, 415-6, 420-1: Williamson's note, [1664], S.P.9/28.
 2. Coventry to Arlington, 11.X.65, S.P.For.Sweden. Clifford, he said, ' will finde that I have kept the gate open for him, and hee will finde there will neede no petard, nor any of those engines of battery, hee hath beene forced to employ in Denmark '.

and on the whole opinion was favourable to a junction against Holland. Sweden's king, Charles XI. was then a sickly boy of some ten years and the country was governed by a Regency of five and a Senate of forty two noblemen. The youthful Queen Mother, Hedwig Eleonora, was the nominal head of the Regency but she was guided in the main by her brother-in-law, the Chancellor, Count Magnus de La Gardie. La Gardie, handsome, intelligent, rich, a magnificent liver and a public spendthrift was the head of the French faction at Court. Opposed to him in this particular of foreign policy were three of the other four Regents, the honest, elderly and unbending aristocrat, Per Brahe, Admiral Stenebuck and General Wrangel, then absent in Germany. The remaining Regent, the taciturn and efficient Treasurer, Gustaf Bonde, a persistent opposer of La Gardie's corrupt financial dealings, was strongly in favour of a neutrality as most favourable to the interests of Sweden's trade. Amongst the Senators, whom Coventry and Clifford frequently entertained, the majority were strongly opposed to Holland but with the exception of Coventry's friend, Bierenclau, they seldom interfered actively in the direction of Sweden's foreign policy. The situation was not without promise and Terlon, the French envoy, wrote despondently to Louis that

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he feared Sweden would close with England's offers.

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1. 'Sir Thomas Clifford's Paper of Sweden', Letters and Papers, 121-2: Coventry to Bennet, 12.X.64, S.P.For.Sweden 5, f.158b: Terlon to Lionne, 7/17, 11/21.XI.65, 1/11.1.66, Corresp.Suède, 29, ff.39, 65, 168: of. same to same, 25.XI/5.XII.65, Ibid, f.101: Dep.Keeper.P.R.O. Rep. 43, 11, Charles 11. to Per Brahe, 26.VI.66. Frederick III., engaged in negotiations with Holland but as yet uncertain of their issue instructed his Resident at Stockholm to give his full support to Clifford. A copy of his letter is in the Corresp. Dan., 12, 356 is dated 23.IX.65 but should obviously be 23.X.65. Cf. 'Deduction', Letters and Papers, 145.

Actually during Clifford's four weeks stay at Stockholm very little was achieved. It was almost three weeks before he was able to get through the ceremonial preliminaries at the Swedish Court, prepare his equipage and have his formal audience with the King and the Queen Mother. At this interview he successfully requested the appointment of commissioners to treat in conjunction with the English envoys of a more intimate union between the two countries. In the meantime, however two circumstances conditioned a state of inertia in the proposed negotiations. On the one hand Coventry refused to lay the treaty with Denmark on the table until the approval and sanction of Whitehall was forthcoming and on the other Sweden required information regarding the future attitude of England to their Russian enemies, assurances of the adhesion of Austria to the anti-Dutch bloc and an understanding that Charles II. would not permanently depress the Protestant interest in Europe by the complete ruination of Holland. Consequently the first essential to further proceedings was instruction from England and more immediately this took the form of the conditional revocation of Clifford.

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1. Clifford's address to Charles XI, and his reply, 20.XI.65, Letters and Papers, 118-9, Clifford, Holland 8: Clifford's address to the Queen mother and her reply, 21.XI.65, Clifford, Holland 8: H.Oxe to Clifford, [-20.XI.65.] (2), Clifford, Holland 8: Coventry to Morice, 22.XI.65, Coventry 80, f.66.

Clifford's largesse to the coachmen of the King, Queen and Regents amounted to about £20, Clifford, Miscell., 3.

2. 'Minutes of my letter to my Lord Arlington Nov 15 65', Letters and Papers, 111-2: Coventry to Clarendon, 8.XI.65, Lister 111, 419; to Morice, 15 & 22.XI.65, Coventry 80, ff.61, 63.

This letter to Arlington evidently contained several items of interest -t which show that Clifford was keeping his eyes open. He notes that the Swedes have a ship on the stocks which will carry 110 guns, thus surpassing the Royal Sovereign and further suggests that the Swedish militia principle might be applied to Ireland.

As letters took almost a month to pass between London and Stockholm the Court in England were always much behindhand in the information they received.^{1.} Actually the letter which resolved Clifford to return forthwith to England was dated the second of November and was in reference to what had passed a month earlier at Copenhagen. At that time negotiations with the Danish Court had seemed unlikely to bear fruit and Clifford was accordingly ordered to set out immediately for Stockholm whence, having delivered his 'informations' to Coventry, 'if you doe not see a necessity of your stay to conclude something jointly there',^{2.} he was to take his leave and return to England. At the same time soothing letters were sent to Coventry. Morice, who excused Clifford's appointment as made during his absence, somewhat strangely^{3.} held out hopes that Clifford might remain as his successor and Arlington put a somewhat narrow construction upon Clifford's commission by assuring the irate Henry that 'there was noe thought of his longer stay there then you should thinke usefull to you and His Majesties service, his want of the French language and his unreadiness in the Latin rendered him unfit to be settled there.'^{4.}

Clifford's new instructions did not, as Coventry pointed out, require his immediate return from Sweden but after considering the

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1. Morice to Clifford, 19.X.65, Clifford, Holland 7. In Morice's phraseology, '--- the Affaires there havinge perhaps since had many faces and we being ignorant what aspect they may now beare, it passeth our physiognomy to make iudgments upon them or to advise how to conduct or dispose them'.
 2. Arlington to Clifford, 2.XI.65, Letters and Papers, 105-6: Talbot to Coventry, 10.XI.65, Coventry 25, f.145.
 3. Morice to Coventry, 2.XI.65, Coventry 64, f.257.
 4. Arlington to Coventry, 2.XI.65, Letters and Papers, 104-5.

matter for a few hours he decided so to interpret them. Morice believed that Clifford had wished to remain longer at Stockholm and was accordingly angry at his recall, but in view of the fact that he had himself requested his revocation some three weeks before and had now seized the first opportunity to leave it is more probable that his anger was directed against the fractious Coventry. And had he waited for only a few days longer the letters from England would have hastened his departure for while Arlington more sympathetically expressed a hope that the negotiations in Sweden were sufficiently advanced for him to bring proposals to England, Clarendon and Morice, surely in ignorance of the precise nature of Clifford's instructions, wrote to assure Coventry that Clifford's journey to Stockholm had been intended solely that he might have an accurate account of what had passed between England and Denmark and that there had never been any thought of a joint negotiation. Perhaps an additional reason for his hasty departure was the possibility he entertained of meeting Hannibal Sehestedt in England: at anyrate, dispensing with ceremonials, he had his audience of congé on the 6th and quitted the Swedish Court on the 7th of December. Taking the road to Gothenburg he left Coventry to 'act or freeze'.

1. Clifford and Morice were not on the best of terms. The former had taken 'fiirely a harmelesse sparke I strucke out to Sir Gilbert Talbot which he not suitably either to his discretion or freindship acquainted him with'. Morice to Coventry, 29.XI.65, Coventry 64, f. 258b.
2. Clifford to Sandwich, 29.XI.65, Carte 223, f.297; Coventry to Morice, Talbot and Arlington, 29.XI.65, Coventry 80, f.63b,66, S.P.For.Sweden 5 Morice, Cornbury and Arlington to Coventry, 9.XI.65, Coventry 64, ff. 258b,219, Letters and Papers, 110; Clarendon to Coventry, 16.XI.65, Coventry 64, f.261; Morice to Coventry, 30.XI.65, Ibid, f.290; Talbot to Arlington, 9.XI.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.110; Ashmolean 436, f.58. In his letter to Arlington Coventry is as usual discretely enthusiastic in his praises of Clifford, '--- it is not possible any Gentleman could have lived more obligingly with mee ---'.

At Gothenburg the Blue squadron had been waiting for some four weeks to convoy the English merchantmen home and Clifford, anxious to secure his own passage, took horse and ' jogged along so fast riding as well by night as by day ' that he arrived there on Monday the 11th of December. He arrived only to find that the fleet had sailed the previous Thursday and that Rear Admiral Sir John Hermon had had the ill grace to leave no answer to the letters of the envoys requesting the detention of a frigate for Clifford's use. But ' soe bent upon his Countrey ' was Clifford that he determined to undertake the journey in a Swedish merchantman which was bound for Newcastle. In view of the presence of Dutch warships off the coasts of Norway and the north of England a passage in an ill found vessel would be fraught with much danger though perhaps less hazardous than the alternative scheme he at one time entertained of making the journey by land. But Clifford was determined to secure a speedy passage to England cost what it might. The river in which the ship lay was frozen but with the aid of fifty men from the guard of the Swedish Governor he had a passage cut out by the end of December. That accomplished, and his small store of patience almost exhausted, he waited for^{1.} a favourable wind with which to put to sea.

During his enforced five weeks stay at Gothenburg several letters

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1. Clifford to Coventry, 13, 20 & 22.XII.65, Letters and Papers, 112-6; Talbot to Arlington, 16.XII.65, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.111; to Coventry, 26.XII.65, Coventry 25, f.149; Coventry to Arlington, 20.XII.65, S.P.For.Sweden 5; Morice to Coventry, 21.1.65, Coventry 64, f.305b; Rec.des.Gazettes, 1665, 1249.

came to Clifford from England. More immediately he learned that the treaty with Denmark had secured the approval of the court and that though the articles relating to shipping and money seemed a little heavy ' the reasons you gave on the other hand so pregnant and convincing that I make no doubt of our agreeing to them '. His arguments against according a like subsidy to Sweden were accepted, judgment given against Coventry's opinion that the joint commission superseded his own and Clifford's 'Instructions' to refer to Coventry¹. pronounced to be a virtual instruction to Coventry himself. And the arrival on January 10th of letters of immediate revocation justified Clifford in his hasty departure from Stockholm. Such an arrangement was necessary, Arlington explained, ' to [remove the opinion which is] entertained here that two [persons at once] in that Court will rather [prejudice then advance] his Majesties affaires, and the truth is [that having] handed over to Mr Coventry [at Stockholm your] observations upon the Court of Denmarke I know not of what further use you can bee there '. At the same time he received assurances that Charles was perfectly satisfied with his conduct in the negotiations and Clarendon, then recovering from a bad attack of gout, hastened to write to Clifford in his own hand, 'which I suppose ', he remarks with justice, ' putts not mee to so much payne to write, as it will you to reade, and yet I assure you I doe it not with much ease '².

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1. Arlington to Clifford, 16.XI.65, Letters and Papers, 112: Talbot to Clifford, 9.XII.65, Clifford, Holland 9: Morice to Coventry, 23.XI.65 & 7.XII.65, Coventry 64, ff.210,217.
 2. Clarendon and Arlington to Coventry, 7.XII.65, Lister 111, 423 & Coventry 64, f.275: Morice, Arlington & Clarendon to Clifford, 7.XII.65, Clifford, Holland 9. (This last letter/ is printed by Lister from a copy in the Bodleian which is dated simply 'December'. The original in Coventry 64, f.273b has the full date.)

from Clarendon to Coventry /

Throughout the first two weeks of January the wind continued to blow off shore but before the frigate, commanded by Captain Cartaret, could reach Gothenburg Clifford had confirmed Arlington's fears that he would hazard himself in an insecure vessel for on the 15th of January^{1.} he cleared from Gothenburg in the Swedish merchantman. The voyage was not uneventful. Besides a terrific storm which had to be passed through the Swedish vessel was unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of a Dutch caper and Clifford was released only after two days hard persuasion during which he convinced his captors - perhaps in Latin - that he was a Moldavian sent as an agent to England by the Prince of Moldavia who was then residing at Stockholm. However he landed safely at Scarborough on the 29th of January, stayed the following night at York^{2.} and riding post haste arrived at Oxford three days later.

The sudden departure of Clifford, without first visiting Copenhagen, gave umbrage to the Danish Court where malicious tongues suggested that he was hastening to Elsenore to meet with Talbot that they might drown their sorrows in debauchery and Talbot, at the mercy of contradictory instructions from England was left ' hanging like Mahomet's Tomb at Meca, betwixt heaven and earth '^{3.} Actually Frederick was now far advanced in his negotiations with Holland and a few days after Clifford's arrival in England he signed an advantageous treaty in which he agreed

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1. Arlington to Coventry, 11 & 18.1.66, Coventry 64, ff.300,303: Talbot to Arlington, 6.1.66, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.116: Coventry to Arlington, 3 & 10.1.66, 1.11.66, S.P.For.Sweden 6, ff.47,48,50: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 120.
 2. Arlington to Coventry, 2.11.66, Coventry 64, f.307b: Ashmolean 436, f.58: London Gazette: The Historians Guide, 87.
 3. Talbot to Arlington, 9.XII.65 & 20.1.66, S.P.For.Den., 17, f.110, 18, f.119; to Clifford, 9.XII.65, Clifford, Holland 9; to Coventry, 25.1.66, Coventry 25, f.158.

to close his ports and break off his commercial relations with
 1. England. The attitude of Sweden to the war became therefore of more
 importance. In fulfilment of a promise to Coventry Clifford drew up,
 shortly after his arrival in England, a paper which gave an accurate^{account}
 of conditions in Sweden, her relations with France, Russia, Austria
 and Denmark and suggested the points in which Coventry particularly
 2. desired instruction and authority. Something had been done to give
 Sweden further inducement to enter the war against Holland but the
 knell to English hopes was sounded when in February the combination
 of France, Denmark and Holland stood revealed. Throughout the war
 Sweden remained friendly to England but all hopes of her entering
 3. actively into the struggle had to be abandoned. The Northern coalit-
 ion against Holland stood a baseless fabric where well it might have
 been the turning point in the war.

No responsibility for the failure of the negotiations in the North
 can be ascribed to Clifford who had conducted his part with vigour,
 resolution and judgment and Southwell's enquiry if the diplomatic
 debacle had injured his progress at the Court can be answered with a
 4. direct negative. After a short stay at Ugbrooke around Easter, in
 which he transacted some private business, busied himself with his
 duties as a commissioner of the sick and wounded and gathered together

1. E.H.R. XXV, 478.

2. Letters and Papers, 119-124.

3. Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 193-5.

4. Add 34,329, f.119.

his papers relative to Denmark and the action at Bergen, he returned to London to work out in conjunction with Arlington a relation of England's transactions with the Northern kingdom.^{1.} Two successive drafts of the 'Deduction' are to be found amongst the Clifford manuscripts complete with additions and corrections by Arlington and Clifford and indeed the document embodies at many points, almost word for word several of the latter's letters and papers - particularly the relation of Bergen which he drew up for Frederick's edification. In the main the account they drew up was accurate in detail, despite Talbot's exclusion from the work, though the inference that Frederick first proposed the seizure of the Dutch merchantmen was false, the statement that Clifford was recalled to England as a consequence of the rumours of Danish negotiations at the Hague a retrospective perversion of the facts and the alleged bribery of the Danish ministers by Holland, the sum of £2000 being mentioned, a wild if not extravagant guess. In truth the circumstances were such that a strong and unanswerable case could easily be made out against the Danes without the aid of fabrications of exaggerations. The Deduction was printed in the following September in justification of Charles' declaration of war.^{2.}

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 316: Clifford to Arlington, 2.IV.66, S.P.Dom., Dhas. 11, 155. This latter contains a rather cryptic reference to Ossory which evidences nevertheless the close relationship between Clifford and the Secretary. 'I am sorry the resolutions I had taken from your former of waiting on my lord Ossory are forbid by your latter: I was ever proud of his Lordship's esteeme and kindness and would have bin glad of this occasion to have testified my acknowledgements and service.'
 2. Letters and Papers, 125-147. Frederick's manifesto published at the outset of 1666 did not answer any of the points made in the Deduction, S.P.For.Flanders 3, (Newsletters), Antwerp, 5.V.67.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE DUTCH WAR.

In the spring of 1666 the fleet, now jointly commanded by Rupert and Albemarle, was divided into two parts on the intelligence that the Dutch were not yet out while the French were cruising off the Channel. The information was wholly false and as a result De Ruyter with ninety sail caught Albemarle with a much inferior force off the North Foreland on the 1st of June.

Eager to participate in the anticipated action Clifford, on hearing of Ossory's intended service with the fleet, resolved to tempt fortune once again and departed from London in company with Ossory and Lord Cavendish to seek out the fleet. By midnight of Thursday, the 31st of May, they had arrived at Hampstead and after three or four hours sleep in their clothes they went forward again reaching Harwich at seven o'clock on the following evening. There, impatient lest they should miss the engagement, they hired the Young Rupert, a shallop carrying six guns and forty men, and set sail the same night. If, says Clifford, we should fall in with the enemy ' we will doe somewhat better than the Knight of Malta in the Victory '. Favoured by a fresh gale they came up with the Royal Charles ,

Albemarle's flagship, on Saturday afternoon, Ossory being greatly disappointed that he had not had an opportunity of exchanging a
 1.
 broadside with De Ruyter himself.

By the time of their arrival the English had suffered heavily. Clifford's old ship, the Swiftsure, had been boarded and its Vice Admiral, Sir William Berkeley, slain after a heroic fight, fifteen other ships had been taken or disabled and a want of discipline, which was severely stigmatised by Clifford, did not help matters. Consequently a retreat was begun. On Sunday Rupert's squadron of twenty ships successfully joined Albemarle but before this the Royal Prince, which had run aground on the Gelloper, had tamely surrendered to the Dutch and been committed to the flames. ' A little resistance ', Clifford wrote, ' would have preserved her. She was like a Castle in the sea, and I beleive the best ship that ever was built in the world to endure battering.' While blind to the tactical errors of Albemarle Clifford was strongly critical of the conduct of many of the English captains in this disastrous action with the Dutch. ' And if the King ', he informed Arlington, ' do not cause some of the captains to be hanged, he will never be well served '. There was nothing Clifford so detested as a lack of courage and if his expressions were unnecessarily strong allowance must be made for the circumstances in which he wrote, having had on an average only two hours sleep a night since he left London. Nevertheless, he adds, ' the battle I would not have lost seeing for

1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 433: Clifford to Arlington, 1 & 5.Vl.66, S.P. Dom., Chas 11. 158, ff.1,46: Carte 46, f.315: Behington, 11, 215: London Gazette, Nos. 58,59.

1.
halfe I am worth '.

By July 19th the fleet was ready for active service again and sailed for the Gunfleet. A fortnight earlier, on Charles' recommendation and perhaps at the invitation of Rupert who had conceived a high ^{opinion} of him, Clifford had joined the Admiral on board the Royal Charles. From that time until St James Fight, nearly three weeks later, he sent almost daily accounts to Arlington. Indeed his position was little less than that of the intermediary of the government in the communication of news to and from London. His own letters to Arlington are detailed and circumstantial and it is evident that he was becoming acquainted with nautical science and nautical terms. And that impatience with laziness and carelessness which was one of his strong characteristics comes out in his demand that the postmasters if found wanting in their duty should be severely punished. In those days of crude communications some such strictness was very necessary, especially when similar delays had been in part responsible for the tardy junction of Rupert and Albemarle.

2.
The spirits of the seamen in the fleet soon revived after their

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1. Clifford to Arlington, 5.VI.66, S.P.Dom.Chas 11., 158, f.46: The London Gazette, No. 60: Tedder, 155-67: Mahan, 117-26.
 2. Clifford to Arlington, 5,7,9,11-16,18,20-23.VII.66, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 501,506,512-3,524,528,536,543,549,558-9,567: Rupert to Arlington,1.VII.66, Ibid, 486: Albemarle to Arlington, 7.VII.66, Ibid, 506: Arlington to Ormonde, 17.VII.66, Carte 46, f.335.

severe mauling in the Four Days Battle and it was with a ' new air and vigour in every mans countenance ' that the English bore down on the Dutch on Wednesday, the 25th of July. The Royal Charles in the centre came in for some savage fighting and was for a time forced out of the line to repair but the battle was a complete victory for the English, their opponents losing some twenty ships in all. On Friday Clifford was sent off from the fleet with letters from Rupert and Albemarle to the King acquainting him with their crushing victory. Warning Penn on the road of the necessity of furnishing the fleet with fireships and guns, he arrived at Whitehall at four o'clock in the morning and officially confirmed the welcome news that England was once more in
1.
command of the seas.

A week later Clifford returned to the fleet with instructions for the two Admirals at sea but hindered by unfavourable winds it took
2.
him a further seven days to reach Rupert on the Royal James. His stay on board the flagship for the next five weeks was comparatively uneventful. At the instance of Albemarle he took over the examination of one or two prizes but having no servants with him could not fully discharge the office and besides there had been a change since 1665, discipline was very much slacker and feeling that he could no longer discharge the duty in such a manner that it would be profitable to the King and not injurious to his own reputation he declined to act

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1. Clifford to Arlington, 27.VII.66, Colenbrander 1, 428-31; to Penn, Add 32,094, f.160; Rupert to York, 27.VII.66, Ibid., f.158; Cal.S.P. Dom., 1665-6, 580; London Gazette, No. 73.^{21, 22, 23}
 2. Carte 46, f.346; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, 13_x; Bebington, 11, 231.

permanently in that capacity. At this time also he laid the foundations of a firm and lasting friendship with Sir Robert Holmes, rough Robin whose destruction of the Dutch East Indiamen off the Vlie was the only memorable action during the war. But there was little to detain him on board the fleet and on the 15th of September he landed^{1.} at Dover and betook himself to London. This was his last voyage at sea for the fleet was not set out in 1667 and by the time of the third Dutch war he was no longer in a position to volunteer so irresponsibly. John Sheffield, later Duke of Buckingham but then a lad of seventeen, had been a volunteer in the same ship with Clifford, Henry Savile and others. He has left an interesting note on this last campaign. After this six weeks together, though the best of friends, those gentlemen ' were then so satiated and clog'd with each other by our being shut up together so long in one ship, that I remember we avoided one another's company at least for a whole month after; tho' except my self^{2.} there could hardly be any more pleasant.'

In September, then, Clifford returned to a London he must have with difficulty recognised after the holocaust of a fortnight before.^{3.} There Pepys saw him at Sir William Coventry's lodgings and thought him ' a very fine gentleman, and much set by at Court for his activity in

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1. Clifford to Arlington, 13 & 18.VIII.66, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, 37,50: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, 43,58,128: London Gazette, No. 87.
 2. Sheffield, Works, 11, 4-5.
 3. While still with the fleet Clifford had acted as a mediator between the Admirals and Sir W.Coventry in a quarrel arising out of the dilatory provision of beer and fireships for the fleet. (Clifford to W.Coventry, 2.IX.66, Letters and Papers, 149-151). ' we often ' he writes, in an earlier letter to Coventry, ' remember you but oftner his (Henry Savile's) Uncle Henry; we condemm you sometimes for an heretick '. (Letters and Papers, 148.)

going to Sea, and stoutness every where and stirring up and down.^{1.}
 Parliament sitting he resumed his place in the Commons but during the stormy session of September to April he does not come prominently forward. Already Parliament was somewhat critical of the conduct of, and expenditure for, the war. And Buckingham, by this time a power in the two Houses, was doing his utmost to unsaddle those who at present held the reins of government. On the 5th of October he drew the Lords into a long debate on fraudulent practices by the King's revenue officers, set himself to drawing up a bill that would impose the death penalty for such practices, ' and has ', Clifford wrote, ' nothing else in his head '^{2.} Nothing came of his proposal and equally unsuccessful was the only proposition with which Clifford's name was associated during this sitting of the Houses, a motion for a general excise on all inland goods. In this he was seconded by Sir Charles Harbord but the measure was strongly disliked by the Commons and was quietly dropped.^{3.}

More important as a catalyst of political parties was the bill against the importation of Irish cattle. Already in pursuit of their narrow interests Parliament had so limited the time of transportation of the beasts that no fattened cattle could be sent over to England. Not content with this stringent regulation they determined to stop the exportation altogether and around a nucleus of Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale gathered a group of landowning peers, Robartes, Carlisle, Berkshire, Dorchester and Oxford supported in the Commons by Littleton

1. Pepys, 17.1X.66.

2. Clifford to Arlington, 6.X.66, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, 185.

3. Add 33,413, f.12b. (31.X.66.)

and Temple. They were opposed naturally enough by the Irish landowners Conway and Anglesey in the Lords, Broderick, Churchill, Sir William Petty and Sir John Talbot in the Commons. But self interest was not the only determinant in the struggle. From a broad governmental point of view the ruining of Ireland was detrimental to the interests of the Crown and it was obvious that the bill was in part a political move against the Lord Lieutenant. Consequently we find Clarendon, York, William Coventry, Heneage Finch, Doyley, Harbord and Holland in strenuous opposition. ^{1.} Arlington's attitude was somewhat dubious. Ostensibly no friend to the bill he was however content to swing with the pendulum of majority opinion. When the houses came down strongly for the bill he persuaded Charles that it would be politic to yield and backed by the western and northern county men it passed into law. Clifford, we may infer from somewhat scanty evidence, was evidently inclined against this measure but he either did not feel strongly on the matter or was receiving his political cue from Arlington for he ^{2.} took no part in the struggle.

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1. Brown, Shaftesbury, 135-9. Also, Carte 34, ff.413,442,448,450,452; 35, f.101; 47, f.464; 48, f.68; 217, ff.336,383; Add 33,413, f.1b.
 2. Brown, Shaftesbury, 139; Barbour, Arlington, 96; Clifford to Arlington, 6.X.66, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, 185; Harleian 194, ff.2-4.

There are several papers of 'reasons' against the passing of the bill. The main stress is laid on four points. (1.) A loss of approximately £31,000 of customs revenue to the King. (2.) A resultant increase in the price of beef and, as more lands in England are given over to pasture, higher corn prices. (3.) The exportation of cattle representing ninety per cent of the total Irish trade its prohibition would ruin the country, decrease the King's Irish revenue and the importation of English manufactures. (4.) The abolition of an important 'nursery' for seamen. See Carte 35, f.38, (Irish Privy Council); Carte 34, f.440, (Conway); Coventry 101, f.81, (W.Coventry); S.P.Dom.Chas 11., 223/125.

On the 27th of November 1666 Sir Hugh Pollard, Comptroller of the King's Household and a firm Clarendonian, died and on the following day the post was conferred upon Clifford. The appointment was^{1.} undoubtedly due to Arlington's influence with the King but contemporaries on the whole regarded it as well merited. In the house of Commons Clifford had been a constant supporter of the royal interests and his activities in the prosecution of the war against Holland had met with much commendation, 'having been observed to have made it his choice to take his share in the warmest part of those services'. Yet, as Evelyn notes, he was 'by no means fit for a subtle and flattering courtier. Some little jealousy there was, Sir George Savile, the future Marquis of Halifax, had apparently made great efforts to secure the place and Pepys thought the promotion was 'a great skip over the heads of a great many, as Chichly and Duncum, and some Lords that did expect it.'^{2.}

The board of the Greencloth, on which Clifford now took his place, may be regarded as a sort executive committee of the officers of the Royal Household. Presided over by the Lord Steward, at that time the Duke of Ormond, it entered into every detail of the household management, providing the royal provisions, wine and fuel, seeing to the accommodation of officers at Court, appointing the household servants and punishing offenders within the jurisdiction of the palace. The

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1. Evelyn, 18.VIII.73: Arlington to Ormonde, 27.XI.66, Carte 46, f.406b. 'The King hath this day lost a worthy servant Sir Hugh Pollard but hath recompensed himselfe well by the choice of Sir Thomas Clifford to succeed him for whose respects to Your Grace My Lord Oxford and My Selfe will bee cautions.'
 2. Evelyn, 27.XI.66: Pepys, 26.IV.67: Add 28,569, f.303: London Gazette, Nos. 108,110: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, 298,299: Cal.S.P.Irish., 1666-9, 252: Courtenay, Temple, 1, 269.

Comptroller, who was the Lord Steward's third in commend, had for his special duty the examination and reckoning of the Royal accounts, though these were passed by the board as a whole. At that time his yearly emoluments were officially a fee of £107-13-4 and a table of sixteen dishes and some idea of the profits of the place may be gathered from the fact that on the accession of James II. the wages and board wages of this office were run together to make a salary of £1,200 a year.¹ Such an appointment brought Clifford into close contact with the Court and his definite inclusion amongst the important officials of the kingdom was recognised by his elevation to the Privy Council on the 5th of December following.²

Three interesting documents amongst the Clifford Papers testify to the closeness of the friendship³ between Clifford and Arlington at this time. The latter had, along with Lord Berkeley, taken over the lease of the Post Office in 1665 and in the following year had become himself sole Postmaster.³ It is evident that Clifford interested himself in this farm for he drew up a scheme of management which is illuminating in its details.

1. Clifford, Miscell., 3: Chamberlayne, 1669.

' But if to match our crimes they shall presume,
As th'Indians, draw our luxury in Plumes,
Or to score out our compendious Fame,
With Hook, then, through the microscope, take aim
Where like the new Controller, all men laugh
To see a tall Lowse brandish the white staff. '

(The Last Instructions to a Painter, A. Marvel, Margoliouth, 1,)

2. Clifford, Miscell., 3.

3. Barbour, Arlington, 101.

The inland Post Office had formerly been divided into six sections. The North Road and the Chester Road were managed each by a clerk and his assistant, while the roads to Plymouth, Bristol and Yarmouth had one clerk apiece. Out mails were despatched on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and in mails were received on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The Dover Road, a more important section, was managed by a clerk and three assistants; mails were despatched and received all nights of the week except Sundays. The foreign office had a somewhat smaller staff of three clerks and one assistant; outward mails were sent away to France on Mondays and Thursdays, to Flanders and to Holland on Fridays; in mails were received from France and Holland on Mondays and Wednesdays, from Flanders on Mondays and Thursdays - 'if the wind hindered not'. A clerk in this office received £100, an assistant £50 a year. The letter carriers, of whom there were ~~th~~twenty eight for inland and six for foreign mails, received £25 and £26 a year respectively. This was the organisation for collecting, sorting and conveying parcels and letters to particular points. In addition there was a network of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred postmasters whose duty it was to distribute these articles; those of England had formerly divided £10,900 amongst them, those of Ireland £1,803 and those of Antwerp and Paris £2,000. Paper, candles and mail bags added another £100 to the expenditure and office rents were £200. In all the total expenses came to £17,259 a year.

The new scheme, drawn up by Clifford, proposed a reduction of these charges to £11,200. This was to be achieved in two ways, first of all by a centralising and cutting down of the number of employees, and

secondly by a reduction in their salaries. Both offices were to be supervised by an inspector, that of the foreign office receiving £150 a year, his counterpart in the inland office £20 less. Four clerks with three assistants were to take over the work of the inland, two clerks that of the foreign office and the salary of an assistant was to be reduced to £40 a year. And further the inland office was to employ only sixteen letter carriers while the foreign letter carriers were to be remunerated on the same wage basis. In all a saving of £4,400 was to be made in the distribution of letters in England and Ireland and £400 in that at Paris and Antwerp.^{1.}

We cannot say whether Clifford's scheme was put into operation or his advice taken that small articles, other than letters, should be carried for 6d instead of a 1/- an ounce and that a reduction in the charge on foreign letters be made to secure an increased volume of business.^{2.} But it is likely that some similar scheme was adopted for expenditure was certainly reduced to something like his suggested figure.^{3.} But apart from figures the help which Clifford accorded to his friend and patron is interesting. Arlington, we are told, if on slight authority, had no head for figures while Clifford over a period of six

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1. Letters and Papers, 154-6.
 2. Clifford's notes on 'Mr Hills Paper', Clifford, Accounts 1657-66.
 3. A paper on the profits of the Post Office (Clifford, Ibid.) gives us the following figures:-

Receipts	£42,577
Rent and Charges	<u>£33,984.</u>
Profit	<u>£ 8,593.</u>

As the rent was £21,500 a year expenses must have been about £13,000. D'Avenant, however, estimated the receipts of the post office in 1698 at the somewhat lower figure of £30,000 a year. See, D'Avenant, 1, 125; Anderson, 11, 122; Barbour, 101, note 2.

years shared or had the sole direction of the finances of England itself.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMMISSION OF THE TREASURY.

(1667 - 1671).

The Earl of Southampton, who had for six years been Lord High Treasurer of England, died in the spring of 1667. His disapproval of the behaviour and policy of the King, the interference of Clarendon in his ^{office} and the ravages of a painful disease upon an already delicate constitution had combined during the latter part of his term of office to withdraw him from the active direction of the Treasury. While scrupulously honest in his rejection of perquisites, his dilatory methods and general remissness had contributed to that chaos of the royal finances which brought the war against the Dutch to a disastrous close. Though earlier attempts by York and by Coventry, Ashley and Arlington to displace him had been unsuccessful it was obvious that in the crisis of 1667 his dismissal could not long have been avoided.

As it was the news of his approaching death and the urgent need for

1. Add 33,413, f.35b; Egerton 627, f.79; H.M.C.Rep.1V., 303; Pepys, 4 & 8. 111.67; Cal.Trs.Bks., 1660-7, xliii-iv; Clarendon, Contin., 11, 780-90, 111, 592,613-8; Foxcroft, Supplement, 57-8; Christie, 11, lix.

financial reorganisation caused the question of his successor to be eagerly debated. The appointment of the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashley, Sir William Coventry, Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir John Duncombe to exercise the office in commission came as a complete surprise even to well informed courtiers. For not only was it a step significant of the decline of Clarendon from power but also a sign of the approaching emancipation of the Treasury from the tutelage of the Privy Council. As a form of financial administration the commission was not unusual, though hitherto it had been used rather to bridge the gap between successive Lords Treasurer than to function as a permanent institution, what was novel was the departure from the traditional grouping together of the great officers of state, the Chancellor, the Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and one or more Privy Councillors. Clifford and Coventry, the nominees of the King, and Duncombe, held no high office and if the choice of Ashley and Albemarle, at the instance of Clarendon, was more in accordance with older ideas the latter, at anyrate was merely the ornamental figure head for an otherwise business like department - ' a puppet to give honour to the rest '. Conscious of the character of this innovation Arlington, in communicating their names to Ormonde, remarks that ' being chosen from a lower Station than formerly that Commission ranne into gives occasion of much discourse but I am perswaded they will not prove unfitting instruments

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1. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 1: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667, 115. The letters patent are dated 24.V.67.
 2. Pepys, 22.V.67.
 3. Carte 47, f.152.
 4. E.H.R. XLIV, 600.

1.
to rectify the disorders of the Exchequer.' It was an experiment the boldness of which we are perhaps slow to appreciate and it was one for which Doyley prophesied a speedy end. The wager into which he entered was illplaced for in spite of frequent rumours of the appointment of a Lord Treasurer or the addition of other members the Commission sat for more than five years.
2.

Of the five men Albemarle was, as we have seen, of little intrinsic importance in the Commission. He was aging rapidly and though he appeared with fair regularity at the meetings until the summer of 1669, his interference in the business is rarely recorded. Ashley, on the other hand, combining in a rare fashion the qualities of the successful business man with the subtle intellect of the thinker was a valuable acquisition, and the more so, in that, as the nephew of the late Lord Treasurer and himself formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had a wealth of experience on which to draw. Coventry, his equal in mental stature, brought to the work in hand a courageous temper unusual in the politician and as one time secretary to York a knowledge of naval administration eminently useful while the cost of the Navy bulked so large in the national budget. The irascible Duncombe, a Commissioner of the Ordinance, received the respect if not the admiration of the shrewd Pepys, and even if he did have the unenviable distinction of being the brother-in-law of Bap May, his attendances at the Treasury

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1. Arlington to Ormonde, 22.V.67, Carte 46, f.478b.
 2. Egerton 2539, ff. 331,335: Add 26,916, f.131: S.P.Dom.Chas 11., 235/140: H.M.C.Rep., 1, 51; 11, 97: Pepys, 28.1X.68.
 3. It is at times difficult to realise just how large an item of expenditure it was. On a peace footing it cost not less than £400,000 a year and it was estimated that before the third Dutch War £1,156,761 would be necessary to put it on a war footing. (Ashley Papers, XXX, No.95.)

meetings was most exemplary. Clifford's qualifications for the post are less obvious than those of Ashley and Coventry; but already through his experience as Comptroller of the Household and the efficiency he had shown as a commissioner of the Prizes he was marked out as a rising man. There can be little doubt that once more Arlington lent his powerful aid for at that time their relations were of the closest. Shortly after the appointment Povey told Pepys that 'there is not so great a confidence between any two men of power in the nation at this day, that he knows of as between My Lord Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford.^{1.}' The Commission was therefore not wanting in talent and in its secretary, Sir George Downing, it had a financial expert and an excellent organiser. Significantly they were with one exception all outstanding speakers in Parliament.

The new Commission was popular and set to work with a will to alleviate a situation which had reduced Southampton to despair and was in truth one difficult to contemplate with equanimity. During the first seven years of the Restoration the average ordinary revenue of the Crown had fallen short by somewhat more than a third of the estimated yield, the debts of the King and his father were unacknowledged by Parliament and in large part unpaid, the extraordinary provision for the wartime expenditure had been inadequate and the clumsy and immature attempts of the Crown to anticipate revenue by assignation or farming had proved inefficient or resulted in defalcations and local oppression. An attempt had been made as early as 1663 to reduce expenditure but without result;^{2.} now with the additional losses due to

1. Pepys, 24.VI.67

2. Bennet to Ormonde, 21.VIII.63, Miscell. Aulica, 299-300

the Plague, the Fire and the war the total Crown debt stood at more
^{1.}
 than two million pounds. When the Dutch fleet sailed up the Medway
 national bankruptcy seemed imminent and inevitable. ' The Custome
 house here ', wrote Anglesey, ' may be shutt up, other branches of the
 revenue will faile, the Bankiers are in greate danger to breake,
 scarce any will pay bills of exchange or any other debts --- we are
^{2.}
 studdying wayes of supply but feare all will faile '. Apprehensions
 of a stop of payments in the Exchequer caused a run on the bankers
^{3.}
 which was only with difficulty checked by the Government.

1. Carte 46, f.520: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1660-7, vii-xlv.

An estimate of the debt, dated 29.IX.67, in Clifford's hand lists the separate items thus:-

	£.	s.	d.
To the Treasurer of the Chamber for Wages and Warrants.	119,437	-18	-8.
To the Cofferer.	85,537	-00	-00.
Workes.	10,988	-00	-00.
Greate Wardrobe.	78,333	-00	-00.
Debts to particular persons upon Privie Seales in the Exchequer	65,893	-00	-00.
Arreares of Perpetuities.	861	-00	-00.
" " Creation Money.	1,200	-00	-00.
" " Pentions and Annuities.	126,909	-00	-00.
" " Fees and Salaries.	43,656	-00	-00.
Due for interest about	111,000	-00	-00.
	565,634	-18	-00.
Debt to the Navy about	1,000,000	-00	-00.
Debt to the City	775,849	-00	-00.
Money borrowed in the PollBill	230,000	-00	-00.
(Clifford, Miscell., 4.)	2,571,483	-18	-00.

2. Anglesey to Ormonde, 15.VI.67, Carte 47, f.155.

3. London Gazette, No. 167. (18.VI.67.)

It was in these circumstances that the Commissioners got to work,
^{1.}
 meeting regularly four times a week. A first essential was a clear understanding of the financial position, a matter which was of very considerable difficulty in those days of rudimentary organisation. Accordingly at their first business meeting, on the 27th of May, immediate steps were taken to ascertain how each separate department of state stood financially. Letters were despatched requiring an exact statement of anticipations, expences and debts, names of farmers and terms of farming.
^{2.} This rendering of accounts was no mere formality as is evident from Pepys' solicitude for Sandwich, the Master of the Great Wardrobe, ' for whom I am in some pain, lest the Accounts of the Wardrobe may not be in so good order as may please the new Lords Treasurers, who are quick sighted, and under obligations of recommending themselves to the King and the world, by their finding and mending of faults '
^{3.} ' But ', as he himself says elsewhere, ' I do like the way of these lords, that they admit nobody to use many words, nor do they spend many words themselves, but in great state do hear what they see necessary, and say little themselves, but bid withdraw '
^{4.} The necessity for some such accurate proceeding becomes at once apparent if we consider for a moment that the farmers of the London excise more than probably cheated the King out of £12,000.
^{5.}

1. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 3.

2. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 2.

3. Pepys, 7.Vl.67. cf. Brown, Shaftesbury, 183.

4. Pepys, Further Corresp., 216: Pepys, 3.Vl.67.

5. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1669-72, 150: Letters and Papers, 157-8.

Not content with this measure the Commissioners took steps to see that they were kept au courant with future departmental expenditure and receipts. To this purpose it was ordered that the ' Customs Officers, Treasurer of the Navy, Lieutenant of the Ordinance, Cofferer of the Household, Treasurer of the Chamber, Paymaster of the Guards, Master of the Great Wardrobe, and Master of the Robes sent weekly certificates of their receipt and disbursement in the week and of their remains. These Certificates to end every Saturday, and to be brought every Monday to my Lords at the Treasury. The Farmers of the London Excise and of the Chimney money are to give a weekly Accompt of their payments on the Kings accompt as part of their rent. The Surveyor of the outports is to give an accompt weekly of what is received for the outports.^{1.}' The information thus received, combined with the orderly records kept by Downing, at least enabled the Treasury to be aware of the financial position at all points of the national economy and to impose some sort of check on the hitherto somewhat haphazard method of accounting.

The position having been defined, the excess of expenditure over income made retrenchment of the utmost importance and to effect this purpose the Commissioners were not wanting in effort. Before they had been a week in office successful application was made to the King ' that before any warrant be signed by His Majesty for the issuing of Money or the charging the revenue or making any grant of any part thereof my Lords be acquainted with the address made to His Majesty

1. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 12-13: see also pp. 26, 52, 76.

concerning it, and make their report of their opinion to him as to matter of fact and as to the condition and present state of the revenue'.^{1.} This was a far remove from the former half servile relation of the Treasury to the Privy Council, it was one that was especially necessary in the service of a somewhat easy going and good natured monarch and other steps were shortly taken in the same direction.

On the 29th of July 1667 a committee of the Privy Council was appointed to 'take into serious Consideration all the Branches of his Majestyes Expence and Issues, and what proportions of each may best, and most conveniently, be retrench't and spared for the future'. The committee consisted of the Commissioners of the Treasury along with the Earls of Manchester, Bridgewater and Anglesey.^{2.} They were soon^{3.} hard at work preparing estimates for future expenditure.

The first retrenchment scheme presented to the Privy Council in November was no sooner brought up for discussion than it was referred

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1. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 2-3: P.C.Reg., 60, 46.
 2. S.P.Dom.Chas 11., 211/67: Carte 35, f.628; 46, ff.516b, 567: P.C.Reg., 59, 515: H.M.C.Rep., 11, 94.
 3. 'The matters that take up most men's observations at present', Pepys wrote to Sandwich on the 7th of October, 'are the proceedings of the Commissioners of the Treasury, whose tax, and a great one it is to provide it, is to provide for the paying of the fleet and the other navy debts. To which end they are reduced to the seeing all ways of raising and saving monies. Towards the latter of which they are likely to make a good step by the reductions of charge they seem to design through all the parts of the kingdom's expense, from which they are likely to contract from particular persons much envy; but I do not see but that the generality are not only well contented with their proceedings, but look upon them as persons proper to redeem the nation by the right administration of the treasury. And that which increases their hopes is, the countenance given them by the King in cases where powerful solicitations have not been wanted to oppose them.' Pepys, Letters and Second Diary, 30-31.

back to the committee for further reduction. This scheme had allowed for an annual expenditure of a million and a quarter, a figure still
^{1.} far in advance of the revenue. Another report was presented in December and approved on the 3rd of January. Unfortunately we are unacquainted with the details beyond the fact that it contained a careful set of
^{2.} rules to be observed in the receipt and payment of the royal revenue. After some time however, when the committee had been added to by the
^{3.} inclusion of Ormonde and Carlisle, a new scheme on much more drastic lines than the first was drawn up, approved and ordered to be put into
^{4.} execution on Michaelmas 1668. But not much better success attended this than the last. Several branches of the royal expenditure, which had simply been omitted, had to be reconsidered, the proposed reduction of the numbers of the Gentlemen Pensioners from fifty to thirty had to be given up, the expenditure of the Wardrobe allowed to exceed the £16,000 allotted, the servants of His Majesties Privy Buckhounds
^{5.} released from retrenchment and his Falconers reinstated. Some economies and reforms, it is true, were effected, in minor matters, the reduction by one third of the wages of the Royal Household, the return of the ambassadors' plate to the Jewel House, the surrender of certain perquisites by the Treasurer of the Navy and the Keeper of the Wardrobe

1. Appendix 111: P.C.Reg., 60, 57; Cobbett 1V, 427.

'The Committee for Retrenchment have almost finisht their worke and with all theire good husbandry I doe not see that they can yet bringe his Majesties expence under twelwe hundred and fifty thousand pounds which is three hundred more then we can yet make of the Revenue.'

Clifford to Ormonde, 10.XI.67, Carte, 215, f.382.

2. P.C.Reg., 60, 57-8.

3. P.C.Reg., 60, 313; Egerton 2539, f.218b; Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 352.

4. P.C.Reg., 60, 389, 398; 61, 36-8; Appendix 111.

5. P.C.Reg., 61, 17, 36-8, 74, 97, 107, 110, 121-2, 292, 360; 61, 7; Clifford, Miscell., 3 & 4; Add 28,080, ff.1, 3, 5; Add 10,119, ff.21-8; Egerton, 2539, f.280b.

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and a more exact supervision of defalcations, while in more important branches, Guards and Garrisons and Tangier, savings of £45,000 a year were made. 2.
But the approach of the Dutch war swept away this last major reform, Chamber and Household expenses increased rapidly during 1671-4, and the general proposal to remove all payments to the Exchequer itself and to make the revenue officials entirely dependent on their salaries was one that in view of the anticipations and debts could not be put into practice. 3.
Though expenditure was notably reduced in 1669 yet as Sir Thomas Osborne notes it rose far above what had been budgeted for. 4.

The effective reduction of expenditure proving impracticable there remained the possibility of extracting a larger yield from existing sources. The existing farm of the Customs, in itself in a sorry way as a consequence of the late war, was regarded by the Commissioners 5.
with considerable dissatisfaction and a new contract was made with a differently constituted body of men in which the rent was increased by

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1. Carte 35, f.595b; 46, f.567: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 444, 470: Pepys, 3.VIII.67: Fanshawe, Memoirs, 297: Harris 11, 163-5, 187.
 2. Guards and Garrisons, 1661-7, £200,000. (Average annual cost).
1667-9, £175,000. "
1669-73, £200,000. "
 - Tangier, 1661-7, £90,000. "
1667-71, £61,000. "
1671-4, £97,000. "
 - (Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, xxiv-xxviii, xxix-xxx; 1669-72, xix-xxii.)
 3. P.C.Reg., 61, 38: Add 10,119, ff.211-8. This last, a 'Scheme for settling his Majesty's Expence upon the severall branches of his Majesty's Revenue', presented to the King on the 28th of October 1669, at once reveals the root cause of the trouble. The anticipations upon the Exchequer totalled £1,600,000 and when the scheme of 1668 had been put forward it had not been realised how heavily the Customs, the Chimney money and smaller branches had been overcharged.
 4. Add 28,043, f.3.
 5. Pepys, 3.VIII.65.

ten to four hundred thousand pounds. During the peace which followed after the agreements at Breda the yield of the Customs did show some improvement but the real increase came in 1671 when the new Farm had been replaced by Commissioners and was due in part to the additional duties imposed by the two Wine Acts, amounting to £135,000 a year and ^{1.} in part to a cycle of trade prosperity. And a more than proportional increase resulted from the Excise; over the period 1667-73 it rose from the average annual yield of £298,000 in 1660-7 to an average yield of £355,000, the figure for the year 1672-3 being £487,506.^{2.} But while this increase of revenue was considerable it was insufficient to leave a surplus for the reduction of the heavy debts which had been contracted when a large disparity had existed between receipts and issues.

The inevitable conclusion being that the revenue of the Crown was insufficient to meet its purposes it is not surprising that the Commissioners strained every nerve to secure additional supplies. But efficient house of commons men though they were Coventry, Clifford, Duncombe and Downing met with scant success in their efforts to stir their fellow members to generosity. In all prior to the stop of the Exchequer six additional supplies were voted from which the total receipts by the end of 1672 came to less than £700,000,³ and even these were most grudgingly bestowed. The King's speech in February 1668, emphasising his obligations as a principal in the Triple Alliance, was indifferently received, Seymour, not yet a place man, audaciously ^{4.} stating that 'we may date our miseries from our bounty'. The sum

1. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, xvii; 1669-72, xv.

2. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, xvii-xx; 1669-72, xvi-xvii: cf. Harleian 1898, ff. 63-4. for lower figures showing approximately the same increase.

3. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1669-72, xxxiii-iv.

4. Grey, 1, 85.

eventually voted on this occasion, £300,000 over a period of two years, was quite inadequate and a bold attempt by Littleton, Meres and Seymour to add a proviso ' for fixing a part of the revenue arising by subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage for setting the fleet out every year ' was defeated by only 13¹/₄ to 93 votes. And the grant of a further supply of £400,000 in 1669 raised a storm of protest from the country party, Garroway calling for an examination of the King's debts and hoping that ' we shall not be in the condition of France, where all the money is in one pocket ', Sir Thomas Lee casting suspicion on Arlington's financial honesty and Meres reckoning up that a million pounds remained unaccounted for in the expenditure on the Dutch war. ² Everywhere we are conscious of the same lack of understanding or the same atmosphere of hostility. Clifford, Coventry and Downing made repeated attempts to set before the house in black and white the very serious state of the King's finances bringing in a paper, in November 1670, in which the list of the King's debts totalling two million pounds was set forth, ³ but with little result. Downing's plain speaking in the debate on the sale of the Fee Farm rents made no impression nor did a long speech of Clifford, in December 1670, in connexion with the land tax. ⁵

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1. Grey, 1, 148-150.
 2. Grey, 1, 186-9. ' If you know of a debt upon one office ', Clifford answered, ' of £500,000 will Four do it. '
 3. Margoliouth, 11, 109.
 4. Grey, 1, 266 -71. ' The Exchequer debt £600,000 Navy debts £500,000 and the debt not contracted in time of peace. When you was come to last for supply it was £3,000,000. The fleet you gave £300,000 upon wine to set out - it cost £1,300,000. The King has borrowed all for meat and drink, and every thing as high. - As we are in Peace, the Navy comes to £400,000 a year, and he cannot, by all his Arithmetic, make the King's revenue above £900,000 a year. - £140,000 this Act will make, and no more. How can this debt be paid, and the Crown stand, by the Act of Wine? (Downing).
 5. Grey, 1, 314-5.

Parliament was not to be stampeded into a generosity which would mean a partial surrender of its most valuable check upon the King's actions but it is interesting to note some of the expedients which were proposed to Clifford for the increase of the state revenue. One essay calmly advised the abolition of the hearth tax and excise duties and the recalling of ' the honour strength and safety of the king and kingdome in the re-establishment of the Royall Purveyance, tenures in
 1. Capite and by Knights service '. Another suggested the time honoured and ever fruitful device of a sale of honours. An order of the ' Royal Oak ' was to be set up to which twenty princes were to be elected on the payment of £25,000 apiece and was to include further fifty lords at £5000 and two hundred knights at £2500 a head. In this way a total
 2. of more than a million pounds might be realised. 3. Fabian Phillips, whose proposals are more in touch with realities, advised the use of the two statutes of Edward 1. and Henry IV. to stamp out fraudulent practises amongst the King's officials and in particular he urged that steps be taken to circumvent the deceits of the brewers who in many cases avoided the necessity of criminal collusion by becoming themselves
 4. farmers of the Excise. More conventional are the suggestions for an additional custom duty on French linen and on tobacco, duties on the enrolment of all purchases of lands, settlements and mortgages and the

1. Clifford, Excise.

2. Clifford, Miscell., 3.

3. Deputy Receiver of law duties and partner with Lord Richardson in a lease of the profits of reliefs, escheats, heriots etc. See, Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 277,490; 1669-72, 195,1053,1099,1311.

4. Clifford, Excise.

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selling or letting long leases of Crown forest lands. Even the more serious of these proposals were not adequate to any substantial and permanent increase in the revenue. For while there was undoubtedly a considerable loss to the state in the collection of taxes the essential cause of the Crown's insolvency lay in the unwillingness of Parliament to grant supplies. Such a state of affairs could not but lead to a crisis in less prosperous times and certainly the status quo could not stand the strain of wartime expenditure.

1. Clifford, Miscell., 3.

CHAPTER VII.

CABALS AND THE FALL OF CLARENDON.

The spring of 1667 witnessed a disastrous close to an already languishing war, money was becoming increasingly scarce, the seamen^{1.} were for the most part unpaid and the Dutch had sailed up the Medway. All over England people recovering from their panic clamoured against the ministers who had brought disgrace on England and it became imperative that the government should anticipate the sharp criticisms of Parliament by setting their house in order. The appointment of the new Treasury Commission was one step in the direction of reform, the other was the dismissal and impeachment of Clarendon.

The decision to relieve Clarendon of his office came very largely at the instigation of Arlington and Coventry. The latter had never made any bones about his dislike of the Chancellor and though the Secretary had at times worked in conjunction with him their relations had never been happy. A year earlier the two men had combined with Ashley to carry Downing's proviso to the money bill in despite of Clarendon's opposition and now that a scapegoat was urgently required to propitiate

1. Clifford acted as messenger from the Council to Albemarle at Chatham, see Carte 222, f.158.

the Commons they found in Clarendon an inexpensive offering. An arrogant patriot and in truth somewhat of a bore, he was by this time intensely unpopular at Court, where, amongst other short comings, he was unprepared to accord to the Royal mistresses the high social standing that was then their portion. And though he constantly refused to have his name associated with the unconstitutional designation of prime minister he had come very near to realising the most complete conception of that office. 'No vessel', said Osborne, 'to swim^{1.} without his hand at the rudder'. Now, with the ship of state amongst the shoals, the pilot was to be dropped irrespective of the unfavourable wind of circumstance or the mistaken calculations of those who had assisted in the navigation. Towards the end of August he was forced to surrender the seals of office and in the meantime every effort was made to conciliate the all powerful Buckingham.

When Parliament met in the fall of the year it became at once apparent that Clarendon was not to be allowed to live quietly in his retirement and on the 7th of October a meeting of his political opponents decided upon his impeachment. Primarily the direction of the impeachment lay in the hands of Buckingham who had nourished since their days in exile a hatred of the Chancellor which was increased by the latter's participation in a trumped up charge of conspiracy brought against him in the previous year. Now the dominating force in the Commons he could make his own terms and in the meantime his offices were restored to him and he was called to the recently constituted committee for foreign affairs. His party in the Commons comprised,

1. Grey, 1, 23.

amongst others, Osborne, his particular protégé, Garroway, Howard and Vaughan. Coventry, whose relations with Clarendon had been no less unfriendly, gave his powerful support at the outset, resigning his position under York that he might pursue the matter unhampered by connexions. Arlington did not himself appear openly for the impeachment. Recently he had had a severe shaking up when returning by coach, in company with Clifford, Trevor and Sir Henry Capel, from the Earl of Essex's house where they had been dining together; the coach had upset and the occupants had fallen in a heap with Arlington undermost.^{1.} But though he limped unsteadily about Whitehall for some time it is evident that the political situation gave him more pain. Rumours of his dismissal were current, reports of his impeachment along with Coventry were frequent and actually articles were drawn up against him. Ruvigny, writing to his master at the beginning of October, comments on this state of uncertainty and on the fears entertained by those not of the Buckingham faction. ' L'estat d'aujourd'huy est que Milord Arlington, Coventry, et les commissionaires des finances --- soient si craintifs qu'ils n'oseroient donner un conseil contraire aux sentiments de ces cabales '^{2.} It is characteristic of Arlington's tortuous reinsurance policies that members of his connexion, Temple, Littleton, Trevor and Carr were in the forefront of the debates directed against the Chancellor. Clifford took very little part in the proceedings in the lower House. As he had assisted Arlington, Coventry and

1. Egerton 2539, f.120: Carte 215, f.389.

2. Ruvigny to Louis, 8/18.X.67, Bas. Trs., 116.

Morice in the examination of Buckingham relative to the charge of conspiracy it is unlikely that his relations with the Duke were at this time amicable and there is no evidence of an attempted rapprochement. His one contribution to the debates, in support of the representation that it would be impolitic for the House to examine their witnesses before presenting the impeachment, was certainly unfavourable^{1.} to Clarendon but despite his earlier repulsion by Clarendon and his more recent disappointment of the place of plenipotentiary to Breda,^{2.} it is probable that he took his cue from Arlington and did not openly appear against him. Burnet's statement that he was one of those who successfully persuaded the King that his Chancellor was responsible^{3.} for the inadequate revenue voted by Parliament after the Restoration is not in itself improbable but it is evident from his desire to^{4.} reconcile the two Houses later in the proceedings that he did not feel very strongly on the subject of Clarendon's prosecution even if he did rejoice at his removal.

Two other constituents are observable in the opposition to Clarendon. From amongst the Country party we may detect men like Meres, Waller, Tomkins and Wheeler whose quarrel with Clarendon arose primarily from the fact that he was the head of the present unsatisfactory government. Mingled with them were several court and often place men, Denham, Windham, Strickland, Holles and Harbord who may have been convinced that Clarendon was responsible for the

1. Grey, 1, 114.

2. Clarendon, Contin., 111, 778-9.

3. Burnet, 1, 451.

4. A Collection of the Proceedings --- about Impeaching Clarendon, 121, 125.

failures in the Dutch war but who were more probably motivated by private grievances.

The anti-Clarendonians had amongst their ranks the pick of the speakers in the Commons and only the apparent injustice of the charges prolonged the proceedings in the House. Not that Clarendon was without allies for a number of men defended his cause with some tactical ability. Significantly one third of those prominent in his defence were practising lawyers and in view of the Chancellor's so-called rigidity of outlook it is interesting to find old royalists like Henry Coventry and Sir Philip Warwick, stout church of England men and strong defenders of the royal prerogative like Atkins, Finch and Charleton rubbing shoulders with stout Presbyterians and old Commonwealth men, Birch, Prynne, Clarges, Allen, Brooke and Maynard. Together with the moderately royalist North, Holland and Walpole they made up the tale of the ex-Chancellor's friends. But their efforts were in vain; the impeachment was ultimately a purely political move and it was his idealism no less than his short comings which contributed to his failure as a politician.

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1. The foregoing account is based on a large number of separate references which are perhaps best placed in one note:-
 Add 10,117, ff.87,206b,210b; Add 9825, ff.14,15; 28,005, ff.146;
 28,042, f.1; 28,045, f.19; 33,413, f.29 et passim; 35,865, f.9 et
 passim; 27,872, f.13; Harleian 1218, ff.36b-40b; Egerton 2539, ff.
 118b,135,139b-141; Carte 32, f.40; 35, ff.520,649; 46, f.567;
 220, ff.274,301b; Corresp. Ang., 89, ff.67,71,73,74,87,191;
 Bas. Trs., 117, 3,7 & 8.XI.67; C.J. 1X, 15,18,23-7; Lister 111, 468;
 Boyle, State Letters, 219,309,314,319-21; D'Estrades, Lettres, 1V, 43;
 Pepys, Letters and Second Diary, 30; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 54,245;
 H.M.C.Lindsay, 369; A Collection of Proceedings --- about Impeaching
 ---Clarendon, 1-31; Clarendon, Contin., 595-612,700,811,832,836-48;
 Clarke, 1, 431,434.

Clarendon's fall was rapid and complete but though there had been some talk of impeaching two of the other principal ministers of state, Coventry and Arlington, nothing came of the matter. As one of Nicholas' correspondents bitterly remarks, parliamentary anxiety for the good of the state was sensibly diminished when it was a question of an enquiry into the faults of the governmental intelligence. It is significant that the examination of Arlington's letters and papers in this connexion was deputed to Clifford and to Colonel Kirkby, a man not unfavourably disposed to the Secretary. In his report to the House Clifford was able to gloss over or excuse any faults in Arlington's judgement; ' the intelligence ', he said, ' was so far from being defective that it was very good '. And working in conjunction with Arlington, Clifford was successful in making a scape goat of Commissioner Pett for the neglects at Chatham, arousing the wrath of the Commons against the one time Cromwellian official by an opportune remark that Pett had employed men at his own expense to prevent the escape of the King after Worcester. The services of such a powerful and eloquent speaker in the Lower House must have been of no little value to the Secretary in avoiding the
 1.
 enquiries he so much feared.

For some time after Clarendon's exit from the political stage it is difficult to find in the scramblings of the smaller men who succeeded him any real unity of purpose. ' There is no rest to be made ', a correspondent of Ormonde wrote, ' upon intrigues and caballs for (besides they ayme no higher then the mastery amongst themselves, and

1. Add 35,865, ff.21,27: Egerton 2539, f.129: Grey, 1, 74,78: Pepys, 3.XI.67: C.J. 1X, 8: Barbour, Arlington, 109-110.

so are insignificant to the publique) they consist of such a hotch potch of interests, that they can never truly distinguish their own¹, or the kingdoms.' Buckingham and Arlington were the two principal aspirants for the chief place in the King's counsels. Coventry, who had been a strong runner in the summer, had followed up his early efforts for the destruction of Clarendon with a lukewarmness in the impeachment, tactics hardly calculated to increase the number of his political friends; his failure to secure a proper rapprochement with Ormonde or to regain the favour of the Duke of York left him in an isolated position from which he fell in the spring as a consequence² of his quarrels with Buckingham. The man of the moment was undoubtedly the versatile Buckingham and his party was one of considerable weight, including in the Lords, Bristol, Middleton, Robartes, Andover and Meath and with a nucleus in the Commons of Osborne, Seymour, Temple and Howard in addition to men who were primarily members of the Country party, St. John, Wheeler, Vaughan, Waller and Garroway. But no coherent policy can be attributed to them and only one consistent political move - the recall of Ormonde from Ireland³. In this last particular they had to reckon with the cautious Arlington. Conscious of the strength of Buckin^gham's position the Secretary had bowed to the storm and even at the turn of the year he had not felt himself strong enough to take the decisive step of joining in with the moderate party

Carte, Life of Ormonde, V, 92-3.

13. Add 28,053, ff.20,22; 34,771, f.10b; Carte 35, f.764; 36, f.25;
- 2 50, f.58; 220, ff.306,310b,312,326; 243, f.48; Egerton 2539, ff.178b, 192; Carte, Life of Ormonde, V, 64,83,93; Boyle, Letters, 314.
3. Add 28,053, ff.20,22; 34,771, f.10b; Carte 27, f.104; 28, f.27; 50, f.58; 220, ff.306,310b,312,326; 243, f.48; Egerton 2539, ff.178b, 192; Carte, Life of Ormonde, V, 64,83,93; Boyle, Letters, 314.

which Ashley and Anglesey were attempting to bring together under the leadership of the Earl of Northumberland and including at least two other Presbyterians, Lord Holles and the Earl of Leicester. When, with the signature of the Triple Alliance in the spring, the Secretary felt his feet on firm ground once again hostilities with Buckingham were reopened but towards the end of the summer of 1668 a further reconciliation^{reconciliation} took place between the two factions and Arlington was brought somewhat unwillingly to recognise the necessity for Ormonde's removal; this desertion he excused rather lamely on the grounds of the Earl's^{1.} friendship with Coventry and Duncombe.

Amongst Arlington's small party Clifford was his most trusted friend and with the Secretary he closely identified himself on this question of Ormonde's continuance in Ireland. To Ormonde he gave strong assurances of his friendship, he was present at the consultation between the Secretary when the expediency of the Lord Lieutenant's presence in England to repel the charges against him was discussed and in referring to an attack upon Ormonde in the Commons Arlington comments regretfully on the absence of Clifford during the debates. But his first allegiance was due to the Secretary and in the summer of 1668 he joined with him in unsuccessfully attempting to persuade Ormonde to consent to the appointment of a Deputy while he himself retained the title, privileges and emoluments of the Lieutenancy.

1. Carte 37, f.141; 48, f.278; 56, f.20: Add 28,053, ff.20,22: Bas. Trs., 117/2.X11.67: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667-8, 548: Carte, Life of Ormonde, V, 78,97: Pepys, 30.X11.67: Clarke, 1, 426,435.

His presence at this intimate meeting is evidence of the very close
 1. bonds which tied him to his patron and it is probable that he followed
 into the reconciliation with Buckin^gham. In August we find the two
 2. friends, accompanied by their wives, dining with Robartes at Teddington
 and already Clifford was on friendly terms with another member of the
 Buckingham faction, Sir Robert Howard, for in a letter of this summer
 the latter complains humonously of his persecution at the hands of
 Clifford, no doubt in relation to some of his literary efforts, and
 seriously of a current rumour that his poem the ' Duell of the Staggs '
 3. is an allegory and a libel reflecting on the King.

Of Clifford's other activities we know little during the year
 following Clarendon's exile and banishment. In Parliament he spoke
 infrequently and seldom at length. One debate is nevertheless
 illuminating in the insight it gives into the direction of Clifford's
 constitutional principles. Sir Richard Temple had introduced, without
 the leave of the House, a bill for the holding of parliament at least
 every three years; the Lord Keeper was to be authorised to issue out
 writs of his own accord and the King was to be held incapable of
 dissolving, proroguing or adjourning until forty days of the session
 had elapsed. The bill was backed by certain members of the Buckingham
 faction, or Undertakers as they were then called. Even in the sketchy
 reports of Grey we can detect the underlying current of passion in the
 opposition which Clifford offered to this measure. ' This is a Bill of

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1. Carte 46, ff.569,610b,627; 48, ff.219,220; 215, f.382; 220, f.279:
 Carte, Life of Ormonde, V, 99-101.
 2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667-8, 552. See also, Pepys, 15.XI.68.
 3. Howard to Clifford, 26.VII.68, Clifford, Miscell., 4.

ill consequence, breeding jealousy betwixt the King and his people - All persons indicted in the King's name; but this writ the Lord Keeper is to issue out, quite puts it out - A Lion put into an iron cage never leaves roaring - This Bill is contrary to Monarchy - Corruption of manners causes Laws - Is this proper for this House, who has repealed that Act? Is it proper for the King, who has declared so much affection to the Parliament? - In another country, (Sweden) there is a calling of Parliament by officers; but it is only in the minority of the King.' It was indeed a proposal strangely reminiscent of the early days of the Long Parliament but this time the burden of their grievances was scarcely heavy enough to justify such a measure, it met with little support in the House and Temple was ordered to withdraw it forthwith.^{1.} The temper of the House was, however, somewhat uncertain, they were still storming over the miscarriages of the late war against Holland and for a time it seemed probable that they would turn upon Sandwich. It is interesting to observe that Clifford retained his friendly feelings towards the Earl, assured him of his support in the House should an enquiry materialise and as, Sandwich^{2.} himself acknowledges, spoke for him ' very handsomely and justly '.

In June, after a few weeks holiday at Ugbrooke, Clifford returned to London. A month earlier Pepys had noted that Clifford ' as a man suddenly rising and a creature of my Lord Arlington's hath enemies enough '^{3.} but whatever the opposition to his political fortunes he

1. Egerton 2539, f.115b: Carte 36, f.167; 220, f. 354: Grey, 1, 82-4.

2. C.J. 1X, 80,82: Letters and Papers, 161: Harris, Life of Sandwich, 11, 193.

3. Pepys, 19.V.68: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667-8, 407: London Gazette, No. 269.

secured very shortly afterwards a promotion which evidenced his continued enjoyment of the King's favour. A few days after his arrival in London Lord Fitzharding, Treasurer of the Household, died; to this vacancy Clifford was immediately appointed. The annual fee and allowance attached to this office was £124-14-8 and a table of sixteen dishes and it carried with it the presidency over the Board of Greencloth in the absence of the Lord Steward.^{1.} More immediately he receievéd a grant of five hundred pounds towards the furnishing of his new lodgings at Whitehall and in actual fact the profits of the office as a whole cannot have fallen far short of two thousand pounds a year.^{3.} Once again Arlington's influence must have carried much weight but there is no reason to suppose that Clifford's relations with him were as servile as Evelyn insinuates. Clifford was by this time sufficiently important and influential in the state to be a very valuable ally to the Secretary; in the account of their mutual services the debit side did not wholly consist of favours from Arlington to the younger man.^{4.}

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1. Chamberlayne, 255: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667-8: The original warrant, dated 14.VI.68., is in Clifford, Miscell., 4.
 2. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1669-72, 34.
 3. Clifford, Accounts 1666-1700.
 4. Evelyn in a somewhat rambling note, dated 18.VIII.73., asserts that Arlington showed him Clifford's letters requesting this place 'as the very height of his ambition' and further adds that they 'were written with such submissions and professions of his patronage, as I had never seen any more acknowledging'. These letters have not survived so that we can only comment on this passage that Evelyn himself wrote a very submissive solicitation to Clifford. At the same time it is difficult to understand his previous statement in the same passage, that Clifford in furnishing him with letters and papers for his history of the Dutch war included amongst them his own private letters to Arlington. It is possible that Clifford preserved copies of these letters but unlikely that he would even accidentally pass them over to Evelyn.

Clifford was always closely interested in matters of trade and invariably he is to be found associating himself with the progressive party. Early in his career he gave his aid to the breaking down of the monopoly enjoyed by the Merchants Adventurers and this same liberal outlook is revealed in his laconic comment on the bill to prevent the growth of London, 'The bigger your city is, the better will your land in Carlisle let.'^{1.} This same freshness of mind is indicated in his attitude towards the commercial relations of England and Scotland.

An early suggestion of the committee of trade in 1664, in which he would appear to have been the dominating influence, had been an improvement of trading relations with Scotland. The idea was not favourably received and there the matter lay until the 19th of October¹⁶⁶⁴, when a committee was appointed by the Commons to look into the matter. Some three weeks later they made their report and received the instant backing of Clifford who was strongly in favour of a more preferential treatment of Scottish goods. Such a policy would, he argued, raise the customs, prevent the Scots from seeking out foreign markets and at the same time do no injury to England. 'We get their tallow, and send them candles; their hides, and send them boots and shoes - Manufactures they have few, because their people run in clans, and the rest are slaves.' To any such liberal treatment Downing, who had supported the Irish Cattle bill, was strongly opposed. The exports of Scotland, he said, coal, corn, cattle, sheep, salt and hides, were of such a nature as to be undesirable to England; he dissented from Clifford's

statement that Scotland was England's Indies, on the contrary the balance of trade was against England where Scots money was practically unknown. Consequently he recommended that the matter should be referred to a commission rather than have it hastily settled in a committee. In reply Clifford reaffirmed his previous assertions but
 1.
 Downing carried the day and in January 1668 a commission was set up.

Throughout this year the commissioners of both countries negotiated without result. On the one hand the English were unwilling to grant free trade to the plantations which had been built up by their labours and at their expense, they declined to allow Scottish ships to import goods into England as such a measure would injure English shipping, all they would offer was a preferential treatment for certain imports over a period of six years. To such terms the Scots were unwilling to agree. Pointing out that Barbados had been settled at the expense of a Scot they protested that they must not be treated as aliens, they demanded the same privileges of trading to the plantations and required a freedom to import foreign goods into England coupled with the removal of duties on Scottish cattle, salt, linen and other goods. Any negotiation, they insisted, must be for a permanent settlement. In the face of such an opposition of opinion no agreement could be reached
 2.
 and the commission quietly lapsed.

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1. Add 33,413, ff.19,46b: Grey, 1, 39: C.J. 1X., 33,38,41,42: Cal.SpP.Dom., 1667-8, 106: Margoliouth, 11, 59,63.
 2. Add 17,677 A.A., f.247: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667-8, 179-80,208,285,306, 510-11: Barnes, Memoirs, 219-22: Mackenzie, Memoirs, 137: Keith, Commercial Relations of England and Scotland, 153.

In the summer of 1669 a fresh effort was made, backed by Clifford, Lauderdale, Arlington, Ashley and York and embracing not only a commercial but a comprehensive union of the two kingdoms. At a meeting of the foreign committee, held in Arlington's lodgings, nineteen 'fundamental' points were agreed to as a basis for the proposed union. A debate then ensued as to the method of procedure, Lauderdale, Ashley, Arlington and Clifford insisting that the commissioners must be named by the King and not in Parliament - otherwise, as Clifford said, 'it much abridges the Prerogative'. Actually the nomination of the English commissioners was left to the King though the Scots Parliament insisted in naming them themselves. In September 1670 the first meeting of the commissioners was held in the Exchequer Chamber, but once again nothing was achieved. As the French ambassador remarked, Scotland alone was desirous of a union for England had little to gain by it and in the southern country fears were rife that the Scots had 'a further designe in it to get advantages over the English then in their trading only'. Jenkins, one of the English commissioners, though in favour of a sharing of trading privileges, objected that the proposal to unite the two Parliaments must break down on the vital differences existing in the laws of the two countries and the determination of the Scots to secure the inclusion of their Parliament as a whole could not meet with the approval of the English. In November the meetings were adjourned and finally abandoned on the following

1.
February. The attempt to bring together the two countries was perhaps premature; the association of Clifford with these attempts show him as something more than the so called political adventurer.

1. (cont.) F.E.B. 176/ 29.VI. & 13.XI.69: C.J. 1X, 98,121:
 H.M.C.Rep., 111, 421: P.C.Reg.Scot., 1669-72, 306: Cosin, Corresp.,
 254: Mackenzie, Memoirs, 138-141, 143-155, 184-5, 193-211:
 Wynne, Life of Jenkins, 11, 675-80: Magoliouth, 11, 200, 301.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE TREATY OF DOVER.

The cynical Charles though he died a Roman Catholic was far from being a religious enthusiast. In religious matters he felt strongly upon one point only - the humiliations to which the Scottish Presbyterians had subjected him. So far as his inclinations to Rome were evidenced throughout his life they point to a certain degree of intellectual curiosity on questions of doctrine and to a sympathetic leaning towards a religion which was more in accordance with absolutist principles of government. And his wife, his sister, many of his intimate friends and several of his mistresses were adherents to the older faith while in the Civil wars Catholic subjects had fully demonstrated their loyalty to the throne. But Charles was not in a position to make a free choice in questions of faith. When he could he exercised his authority to alleviate the pressure of the harsh penal laws but in the meantime England must be retained in its allegiance to the Crown even at the price of many Anglican sacraments. Only once in his reign did Charles take definite steps towards an open acceptance of Roman Catholicism and even then the suspicion remains

that he used his religious yearnings solely as a diplomatic lever for the extraction of larger subsidies from Louis XIV.

Towards the end of 1668 Charles revealed the secret of his inclinations towards Rome to Arlington, Clifford and Lord Arundel of Wardour and on the 25th of January, the date on which the Church celebrates the conversion of St Paul, a meeting of those men took place in the closet of the Duke of York who, himself an unavowed Catholic, was already acquainted with his brother's state of mind. Their business was 'to advise --- about ways and methods fit to be taken for advancing the Catholic Religion in his Dominions'; the decision reached was to seek the help of the rich, powerful and Most Christian King, the treasurer to necessitous sovereigns.^{1.} The inclusion of Arundel in this small group needs no further comment than that he was a trustworthy, Roman Catholic nobleman who, as a household official of the Queen Mother, might pass to and from France without arousing undue suspicion. The presence of Arlington and Clifford requires some further explanation; neither of the two men ^{who} were at the time, to our knowledge, ^{2.} avowed or secret Roman Catholics. Arlington, it is true, had long been suspected of leanings in that direction but personally he seems to have been indifferent to questions of faith. Essentially a politician to whom all religions were equally useful and toleration desirable for reasons of state, only the clearly expressed desire of his master could have brought him into a negotiation fraught with so

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1. Clarke, 1, 441-2; Mignet, 111, 14, 17; MacPherson, 148-150.
 2. An anonymous correspondent of Clarendon, however, includes Clifford and Arlington in the 'popish partie'. 'A poore countrey freind to Clarendon', 4.VII.67, Original Letters to the Earl of Clarendon, f.7.

much danger and one which meant the collapse of his one brilliant
 1.
 achievement, the Triple Alliance. On the other hand Clifford was by
 no means averse to a diplomatic revolution which would enable England
 to crush Holland and indeed his attitude had caused Temple some
 forebodings in the spring of 1668. For, ' Sir Thomas Clifford said
 to a Friend of mine in Confidence, upon all the Joy that was here at
 the Conclusion of the Triple Alliance: " Well, for all this Noise, we
 must yet have another War with the Dutch before it be long." And I see
 plainly already, that he and Sir George Downing are endeavouring with
 all Industry that can be, to engage the East-India Company here in such
 Demands and Pretensions upon the Dutch, as will never be yielded on
 that Side ' 2.
 Clifford certainly retained his old antipathy to Holland
 and if his connexion with Arlington put a check upon his actions he
 would rejoice in the opportunity which this new arrangement of the
 powers of Europe would afford to appear once again against the Dutch.
 Like Arlington, however, Clifford was not at this time a Roman Catholic.
 He had, indeed, some half a dozen years before given his support to the
 Secretary's move towards a toleration based upon the extensive use of
 the King's dispensing power and in 1668, when the Commons were debating
 their bill for the suppression of conventicles, he had made one of the
 opposition of courtiers, Undertakers and Presbyterians, reminding them
 of the King's promise at Breda and advising against any rash measures
 of severity - ' We have a fire in the middle of the room let us not
 3.
 kick it about to set all on fire.' But he did not show any tendency to

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1. Barbour, Arlington, 155-7. Also, Pepys, 17.11.63: Colenbrander, 1,
 563.
 2. Temple, 11, 123.
 3. Egerton 2539, ff.210b,215: Grey, 1, 106,159.

to ~~make~~ a conscience of the matter. As a privy councillor anxious to appease the angry Commons, he had affixed his signature in 1667 to a letter directing that the laws against popery should be put into full execution and that all Jesuits and Priests be apprehended and his eldest son was sent in the summer of 1668 to the strongly Protestant Queens College where he showed a most exemplary constancy at prayers. However interested in, or sympathetic with, forms of religion other than that of the Anglican Church the King's peace must be kept and help provided to Bishop Ward of Exeter should he require assistance in the suppression of the numerous conventicles abounding in North Devonshire.

In view of the heavy responsibility shared by the members of this select coterie it is somewhat surprising to find signs of a split between York on the one hand and Clifford and Arlington on the other. In this same month of January York had succeeded, by a timely reconciliation with the Countess of Castlemaine, in forestalling an attempt by Arlington and Buckingham to substitute, as Chamberlain to the Queen, their nominee, Sunderland, for the son of the exiled Clarendon, Lord Cornbury and the onslaughts of Clifford and Ashley, throughout the year, upon the Navy Office give colour to the suggestion of the Duke and of Ormonde that Buckingham and Arlington were seeking to oust him

1. H.M.C. Various, 1, 149.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1668-9, 48.

3. Bodl. Add. e.305, f.142.

It is, I think, a mistake to draw any inference as to his religious convictions from his resistance to the attempt to exempt from search a peer's house in which it was suspected that conventicles were being held. His objection can be explained very fully by the jealousy that the Commons always had of any attempt of the Lords to secure special privileges for themselves. Clifford knew 'no reason why mortar, stone and timber should have an exemption one more than another.' Grey, 1, 245, 265. Cf. Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 269

4. Fonds Francais 10665, f.85; Corresp.Ang., 94, f.36; Add 32,499, f.25.

from his position as Lord High Admiral. Clifford's unsuccessful attempt to supplant the Duke's favourite, Dennis Gauden, by his own friend Josiah Child was the subject of heated debates and in the controversy over the Navy Office the little Clerk of the Acts came very near to giving Clifford the direct lie to his face. Clifford was evidently convinced of Pepys' own worth and he set himself to make a friend of him. Towards the end of March 1669 the two had a long interview in Clifford's lodgings at Whitehall. There Clifford set forth his objections to the constitution and personnel of the Navy Office. Sir John Mennes and Colonel Middleton were, he urged, too old and ' My Lord Brouncker did mind his mathematics too much '. Pepys, himself, was well aware that reforms in the Office were long overdue and though he was anxious lest the Duke should think he was deserting from his party he was only too glad to stand well with a man of Clifford's importance.

Clifford was not, however, a ' battering ram ' used by the all ambitious Buckingham to overthrow the heir apparent to the Crown. There had been an uneasy alliance of the Buckingham and Arlington factions during the past winter but in the spring of 1669 it was becoming evident that their friendship would not be of long continuance. Long conferences held in March at Hampton Court between Arlington, Clifford, Ashley, Lauderdale and Ormonde gave rise to grave suspicions amongst the Buckingham group and rumour asserted that Arlington was to become

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1. Carte 50, f.18b; Mignet, 111, 58; Pepys, 15 & 18.111.68, 9.1X.68, 12.11.69, 9,23,29 & 30.111.69, 8.1V.69.
 2. Bryant, Pepys, 363-4.

~~was to become~~ Lord Treasurer being succeeded in his Secretaryship by Clifford, ' qui est entièrement dans les intérêts de ce ministre.'^{1.}

Nothing definite came of these consultations but by August signs of a rift in the Arlington-Buckingham entente were becoming every day more apparent. The latter was backing the Earl of Orrery whose long interviews with the King were evidencing his increasing share of the Royal favour.^{2.}

At first York also gave his support to the new favourite but in October the good offices of St Albans effect a reconciliation between Arlington and the Duke. For a time, Colbert reports, when Buckingham and Orrery met the Secretary they could scarcely bring themselves to salute him.^{3.}

Arlington's uneasiness at this time was in part the result of Clarendon's intrigues for a revocation of his sentence of banishment.^{4.} The Secretary suspected Louis of having a hand in the matter and it is evident from the deciphers of the ex-Chancellor's correspondence in the letter book of the noted seventeenth century cryptographer, Dr John Wallis, that York, Mordaunt, Alan Broderick and perhaps Buckingham, Buckhurst, Bridgeman, Holles and Orrery were favourable to Clarendon's return. In this correspondence Clifford's name is mentioned four times in such a way as to indicate that he would give his support to a motion for Clarendon's recall but in three of the letters it is fairly obvious that the correct decipher should have been ' Lord Cornbury ' and indeed there is nothing in the whole correspondence to suggest

1. Bas.Trs., 121/216: Egerton 2539, f.231.
2. Corresp.Ang., 95, ff.44,48,63: Bas.Trs., 122/364,384; 123/9: H.M.C. Montagu House, 423,437-8.
3. Corresp.Ang., 95, f.128: Mignet, 111, 114: Christie, 11, 44-5.
4. Mem.et Doc.Ang., 26, f.295: Turenne, Lettres et Mémoires, 1, 666: E.H.R., 43, 396.

1.
that he was ever approached on the matter. Though he did not concur in the suggested impeachment of Orrery his attitude was not dictated by any friendly feelings towards the President of Munster while in the same session he showed himself favourable to Arlington's friend Carteret who was being taken to task for his share in the late naval
2.
disasters.

It was, no doubt, to support the new orientation of England's foreign policy that Clifford was added to the committee for foreign affairs on the 29th of June 1669. There he gave his support to York and to Arlington in avoiding further entanglements with and a further extension of, the Triple Alliance. Particularly he showed his aversion to De Witt's proposal that England and Holland should combine to assist Spain in the payment of the stipulated subsidies to Sweden for apart from considerations of foreign politics the Commissioner of the Treasury must have felt that England was hardly
3.
in the position to disburse money abroad. And as the only House of Commons man in the secret of the negotiations he had to work indirectly to prevent the passage of a proposed bill for the prohibition of brandy, a measure aimed directly at France with whom a tariff war
4.
had been commenced in 1667. By this time, moreover, as Charles' principal minister in the Commons he had become the main channel of communication between the King and the Lower House and his efforts

1. Add 32,499, ff.18,18b,25,27,27b.

2. C.J. 1X, 112,114: Grey, 1, 200,213: Barbour, Arlington, 163.

3. F.E.B. 177/ 13.V111,20.1X. & 3.X.69.

4. Grey, 1, 241-2.

to bring the members into a mood favourable to the Royal wishes was commented on by the Country party. When the deputation from the House came to thank the King for his timely intervention in the controversy over Skinner's Case Clifford carried them to the Royal cellar to drink their Master's health, a proceeding which much aroused the disgust of ^{1.} Andrew Marvel.

While the negotiations with France were in progress a virulent pamphlet entitled ' The Alarum ' was scattered in Westminster Hall. Evidently the work of a well informed member of the Country party in places it shows an amazing penetration. In substance it is a warning against a movement towards despotism in the government of the country, which, it alleged, was being assisted by the bribery and corruption of members in the House. The four main instruments in this conspiracy against English liberties were Arlington, Clifford, Ashley and Littleton. Arlington, the dispenser of places and bribes, is dismissed somewhat contemptuously as a time ^{re} server who was wedded to the profits of his office though naturally a lover of his ease and incapable of performing the work involved; the inclusion of Littleton was evidently dictated, not so much by a recognition of his importance in the scheme as by a resentment of his desertion of the Country party; where Ashley is concerned the personal distaste of the author is uppermost, ' this is knavery bound up in little, the very abridgement of villany '. In Clifford the pamphleteer recognises the really dangerous man and, apart

1. Add 36,916, f.168: Margoliouth, 11, 301: Bulstrode, 132: Harris, 11, 302.

from a wild accusation in regard to his supposed interest in the anticipated plunder at Bergen, in a negative sense the libel testifies to Clifford's energy, courage and personal honesty. ' --- hee playeth at no small game nor catcheth at small profits by which hee would seem to neglect his fortune, but it is that he may make it all at once. hee sets up to bee generous, by being free of the King's wine at his table, and of his money in the treasury; but do not mistake the man, hee hath too much ambition and too little money to bee content; hee would bee at the top, and thinketh of it at this very howre, and if things succeed as hee hath layed them you will see him throw off my Lord Arlington's livery and set up for himself --- a great part of the military modell of government will bee left to him; in his nature hee loveth absolute power and therefore whispereth it to the King; a plausible text to Princes, and to make it more so hee perswadeth it is easy to bee compassed --- in short hee's one that needeth a civill warre and therefore sure to promote a standing army.^{1.}'

At the time the pamphlet made quite a stir but unaware of what was being transacted with France the members speedily forgot it and before^{2.} the month was out the noise had died down.

Early in March 1669 Arundel was despatched to the French Court to inform Louis of Charles' inclinations to Roman Catholicism and to enter into an agreement whereby France in return for a close alliance with England would furnish a considerable sum of money and provide ships and troops if the occasion demanded it. Throughout the next fifteen

1. S.P.Dom.Chas 11., 266/152.
 2. Bas.Trs., 123/29.

months the treaty of Dover was slowly moulded into a form acceptable to both parties.

It is evident from the papers preserved at Ugbrooke Park that Clifford's share in the negotiations was an important one. The five French papers of proposals, sent to England between August and October are all of them repeated in an English translation in Clifford's hand, the two English papers of September and October were drafted by him, Arundel's original Instructions and the important 'naval' paper are in his writing and with the later assistance of Arlington he drew up the 'Project' of the Treaty of Dover.¹ With one exception, when an illness confined him to bed, he was present at all the interviews and conferences held with the French ambassador, Colbert de Croissy, and where² necessary a repetition of what had passed was made to him in English. Of his individual part in the negotiations we can infer very little. It is clear, however, that he was eager to draw the utmost advantage to England from the treaty and his close scrutiny of everything that passed was mentioned by Colbert as a reason for the dilatory proceedings in the spring of 1670. 'Enfin Mr Clifffort qui s'attache a examiner ces articles est si persuadé que les anglais se sont toujours laissé surprendre dans les traités que je ne puis mettre un mot qui serve a l'esclaircissement de ce qui a esté accordé qu'il ne rejette comme un piège qu'on veut tendre.'³ But during this spring the treaty was

1. Letters and Papers, 163, 165, 184, 185, 186, 193, 200, 203, 214: Hartmann, Charles II. and Madame, 292-5.

2. Bas.Trs., 123/170, 174: Mignet, 111, 100, 131, 138, 144.

3. Bas.Trs., 124/170.

gradually knocked into shape the greater part of the work falling quite naturally upon Clifford, Arlington and Colbert; when Madame paid her celebrated visit to Dover only one question remained to be settled, which should have precedence in time the declaration of Charles' conversion or the opening of hostilities with the Dutch. This question of precedence was a very vital one to the sincerely Catholic York and he was annoyed to find ~~on~~ his tardy arrival at Dover that the war with Holland was to come first; Clifford and Arlington, he alleges, were persuaded to this point of view by Madame. It is not improbable that Clifford and Arlington were already resolved in their attitude before they ever set out for Dover for as yet neither of the two men felt so strongly on the religious implications of the ^{1.} treaty as the Duke. At all events on the 22nd of May the fateful document was signed, on the one side by Colbert and on the other by ^{2.} Arlington, Arundel, Clifford and Bellings.

The treaty to which Clifford set his hand has been the subject of more criticism than any other agreement to which England was a party prior to the recent treaty of Versailles. Whig historians have argued that England's subservience to France during the next twenty years raised the power of the Most Christian King to a point highly dangerous to the liberties of Europe and one from which it was reduced only by the long wars of William and Marlborough. Even Tory historians have passed somewhat hastily over this aberration in England's foreign

1. Clarke, 1, 448-50.

2. Busy with the French negotiations Clifford was present at few of the meetings of the Treasury Commissioners from May to July.

policy. From a broad point of view the treaty is not indefensible^{1.} and has recently found a more objective advocate. England's real interest at this time lay in the bid she was making for colonial and maritime supremacy and though France was making an ambitious, if tardy, effort in the same direction the principal competitor was Holland. It is significant that when the Stuarts had been swept into exile it was only the commercial and colonial implications of the union of France and Spain under the one house of Bourbon that brought England into the struggle against French domination in Europe.

To Clifford the necessity of destroying the naval and commercial power of Holland was a very potent argument. He had been a leading advocate of the Second Dutch war for those very reasons and had subsequently recognised that yet another encounter would be required to reduce the power of Holland. The original 'Project' of this treaty, drafted by himself, had proposed the cession to England of Ostend, Minorca, Cadiz, ports in Naples and Sicily and the reduction of Spanish America, with the help of Louis, to an English allegiance in the event of a war with Spain. And two queries in the margin of this same document show that he had in mind the proposed treaty of commerce with France and also the possibility of the Dutch East and West Indies passing to his own country. In the final treaty the gains accruing to England from hostilities with Spain were left somewhat vague and their share in the partition of Holland confined to specified places

1. Hartmann, Charles 11. and Madame, 338-47.

on the Dutch coasts but the earlier suggestions show ⁱⁿ what channels English minds were running and their insistence that the naval part of the campaign should be left very largely to England pointed in the same direction.^{1.}

Clifford was the only Commissioner of the Treasury among the signatories to the May treaty and must accordingly assume some responsibility for the terms of the financial agreements. The subsidies ultimately agreed upon represent a very considerable reduction of the original demands made by the English. To aid him in his declaration of Catholicism Charles was to receive two million livres or roughly five sixths of his initial claim and during the hostilities with Holland Louis was to pay three million livres or about a quarter of what the English had first deemed essential to assist their country in the prosecution of the war. It is true that against the reduction of the yearly payment we must set the fact that France undertook to provide thirty warships for the joint fleet but even at that those French assistances would do no more than pay a fraction of the war expenditure involved. During the first year Charles would receive in all, providing he made his declaration of Catholicism, four hundred thousand pounds and a quarter of a million for each subsequent year^{2.} of the war. With the total cost of the Second Dutch war in mind, it cost seven million pounds over a period of less than three years,

1. Letters and Papers, 214, 217, 220: Hartmann, Charles 11. and Madame, 264-9, 291-5.

2. Letters and Papers, 190-2, 214, 219: Mignet, 111, 190, 194. Miss Trevelyan's belief that Charles sold himself to Louis may perhaps arise from the fact that she omitted to change livres into pounds when discussing the financial terms. See also the curious statement that Arlington did not sign the May treaty. Trevelyan, William the third and the Defence of Holland, 87.

Clifford must have realised that the financial solvency of the Crown would depend upon two somewhat uncertain contingencies, exceptional generosity on the part of Parliament coupled with a short, successful and profitable war. To be paid by France to attack their most obvious enemy was certainly a diplomatic triumph for England; it remained to be seen whether England would draw solid advantages from the situation.

CHAPTER 1X.

LAUNCHING THE 'GRANDE DESIGNE'.

Madame sailed for France on the 2nd of June and shortly after her arrival in Paris she wrote an intimate letter to Clifford, the only one she ever wrote in English, acquainting him that the King would very soon execute what he had promised her in reward to Clifford.^{1.} Exactly to what she referred it is difficult to say, possibly to Clifford's elevation to the peerage, though that honour was not bestowed by Charles till nearly two years later. More immediately Charles had shown himself favourable to Clifford's candidature for the place of Cofferer to the Household but the present occupant of that place, the old Royalist, William Ashburnham, made an unexpected recovery^{2.} to the admiration of his Phistians who had pronounced his doome as to bee executed in a few howres^{2.} Death had chosen another, more youthful, victim for while Ashburnham was struggling back to life Sir Thomas Armstrong was speeding from Paris with the news of Madame's sudden decease. The treaty to which she had so much contributed remained and the working out of its implications was peculiarly the concern of Clifford.

1. Hartmann, Charles 11. and Madame, 318.

2. Ormonde to Clifford, 25.VI.70, Letters and Papers, 222.

In the meantime it was necessary that at least a small section of the King's ministers should be won over to the French alliance. Since the spring of 1670 Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale, Orrery and Osborne had been working together in close friendship while Arlington and Clifford were reuniting themselves with Ormonde. But with the impending negotiation of the traité simulé in mind Arlington made tentative efforts to reconcile himself with Buckingham in order that he might give direction to the light and airy flights of the Duke into foreign politics. The treaty of December 1670 first brought together as signatories the names of the so called Cabal but in reality the divisions remained. Reciprocal ill offices rendered a sincere rapprochement between Arlington and Buckingham impossible; Ashley and Lauderdale sided with Buckingham, Clifford with the Secretary. Indeed, according to York, this negotiation, which must have afforded endless amusement to Clifford and Arlington, served rather to alienate the two protagonists still further and to bring Arlington into closer relations to himself: 'Whereunto' he adds, 'Sir Thomas Clifford, that Lord's great freind, and a very stout and loyall man, did very much contribute.' Whatever the divisions amongst them all five ministers stood definitely committed to war with Holland.

Oblivious to this radical change in the counsels of England, in the

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1. Add 36,916, f.179: Carte 37, f.152: Fond.Francais. No.10665, f.16b: Corresp.Ang., 98, f.55: Mignet 111, 216-7: Colenbrander, 11, 292: Margoliouth, 11, 303: Clarke, 1, 445.
By June 1670 there were already a considerable number of people in the secret of the treaty: in England, Charles, York, Clifford, Arlington, Arundel, Bellings, the Abbé Montagu and perhaps St Albans: in France, Louis, Madame, Colbert, Louvois, Lionne, Ruvigny, Turenne and the Bishop of Valence. It is not surprising then that rumours both wild and substantially accurate were current.

~~counsels of England~~, in the summer of 1670 De Witt sent over Van Beuningen on a special mission to secure the inclusion of the Emperor in the Triple Alliance. In London the Dutch envoy met with a cold and rather bewildering reception for while Bridgeman and Trevor, in their innocence, kept him assured of the adherence of England to the alliance and her willingness to have it enlarged, Clifford successfully spoke the wheels of the negotiation by an insistence that first of all Anglo-Dutch disputes with regard to Surinam and the East Indies must be settled.^{1.} And the recall of Temple in September was another pointer in the same direction though ignored by the majority of Dutch statesmen saving the shrewd De Groot at Paris. Temple himself had begun to realise that all was not well and when he reached London he found his worst suspicions confirmed. Arlington accorded him an interview of but a few minutes, Charles volunteered only a few polite questions as to his journey and Clifford for a time was equally elusive. A week later, at a meeting between the latter and the former envoy to Holland, the cat came out of the bag in no uncertain fashion. At first very gracious to Temple, Clifford sought to bring him round to his own anti-Dutch point of view, emphasising the long list of grievances the English had and asking him if he would undertake to bring Holland to reason in regard to Surinam and the East Indies. Temple, however, was unwilling to concede that England had been badly treated by the Dutch and tempers rose on both sides. ' I ask'd him in the Name of God ', Temple wrote, ' what he thought a Man could do more? Upon this

1. Bas.Trs., 125/225-6: F.E.B. 176/ 10.VII.70.

Shortly after this Arlington assured Colbert that Trevor would be removed on account of his pro-Dutch sympathies. Corresp.Ang., 98,f.6.

in a great Rage he answered me, Yes; he would tell me what a Man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was, to let the King and all the World know how basely and unworthily the States had used him; and to declare publicly how their Ministers were a Company of Rogues and Rascals, and not fit for his Majesty or any other Prince to have any thing to do with: And this was a Part that no body could do so well as I ¹. Temple did not return to the Hague and when the sleepy Boreel in England began to waken up to the situation Arlington and Clifford, joined in commission with Trevor, by postponed interviews ² and high demands stifled the negotiations at the outset.

In an indirect way Clifford sought to secure the co-operation of another helper in his drive towards a war with Holland. Evelyn, a brother commissioner of the sick and wounded and a distant relative, had written early in 1669 proposing that in view of the incorrect impression of the late Dutch war given by two recent publications the King should be moved ' to impose the province upon some sober and well instructed person, who, dignified with the character of his Royal Historiographer, might be oblig'd to serve and defend his Majesties, honor, and that of the public, with his pen '. Clifford welcomed the proposal and as Pepys' plan for a history of the Dutch war seemed unlikely to come to fruition the task was entrusted to Evelyn himself. While the work was in progress Clifford did everything in his power to aid Evelyn, securing for him all the relevant documents, recounting the

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1. Temple to Sir John Temple, 22.XI.70, Temple Works, 11, 244-7.
 2. Add 35,852, ff.32,36,37,38b,42,47b,48: Corresp.Ang., 100, f.103: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671, 178: Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 318. Burnet's statement that Charles sounded William with regard to a partition of Holland, during the visit of the Prince to England in the winter of 1670, is not improvable. (Burnet, 1, 494.)

episodes in which he himself was an eye witness, reading over the manuscript and suggesting alterations and additions. In actual fact only the introduction to this projected history was ever published and that after Clifford's death but it is interesting to note that this treatise, in which Clifford had shown so keen an interest, was ^{1.} perforcedly recalled at the instance of the Dutch ambassador.

While the bargaining over subsidies from France had been in progress Charles, anxious to impress the French with the sincerity of his desire to make public his conversion to Rome, had given constant assurances that he was taking the necessary steps to put his kingdoms in a state of readiness. Portsmouth, he urged, was already fortified, Chatham was being strengthened, he was sure of the governors of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Hull and Windsor, Orrery in Ireland would bring over the army to his orders and no less care would be taken in ^{2.} Scotland. And probably within a few months of the agreement at Dover Clifford drew up a document which testifies to his increasing zeal for the advancement of Roman Catholicism in England. The ' Scheme'

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1. Evelyn, 13.11.69, 28.V111.70, 14 & 21.X.70, 20.1.71, 22.1X.71, 19.V111.74: Evelyn, Corresp., 365, 375-8, 378-81, 390-2: Add 15, 948, f. 143: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1668-9, 490; 1671, 54-6, 193.
There is a long and interesting letter (23.X1.70.) from Evelyn to Clifford in the Clifford MSS. (Miscell., 4.) Recounting his losses in the Civil Wars and the little favour shown to him subsequent to the Restoration Evelyn seeks to enlist Clifford's help in obtaining some employment under the Crown. His request was not made in vain for some three months later he was appointed to the Council for Foreign Plantations evidently at the instance of Clifford. See, Evelyn, 28 & 29.11.71.
 2. Mignet, 111, 100: Hartmann, Charles 11. and Madame, 254.

made two main recommendations. On the one hand every care was to be taken to strengthen the King's military position; money was to be provided without arousing suspicion by allotting an additional one hundred thousand pounds to the Navy from the proceeds of the sale of the Fee Farm rents and was to be spent on the fortification of Gravesend, Norfolk, Bristol and Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, the repair of Windsor, the Tower, Dover, Harwich, Sheerness, Plymouth, Exeter, Pendennis, Chepstow, Chester, Tynemouth, Berwick, Carlisle and Clifford's Tower in York; arms and ammunition were to be bought and magazines established at various points; the army, both horse and foot, was to be increased though rather by increasing the numbers in each regiment than by the incorporation of new ones, a method calculated to provoke less comment; Lord Berkeley of Stratton must be given sufficient warning to enable him to model the army in Ireland and the strongly Protestant Scotland must be treated with great care. On the other hand, once the King's declaration was issued, no premature zeal must be shown on behalf of the Roman Catholics, the Anglican Church must be reassured in the continuance of its privileges for 'You must endeavor to keep them your freinds, you will else be upon too narrow a bottome, and you must leave to time and gods grace the full conversion of them.' However, a gradual substitution of Roman Catholics for Anglicans might be made in the more important positions in the Church and a number of the former introduced into the Universities as heads of colleges and as tutors.^{1.}

1. 'The Scheme', Letters and Papers, 233-5. This paper is undated but the references to the treaty of Dover, to Lord Berkeley of Stratton and to Parliament suggest that it was drawn up between June and October 1670.

It is difficult to say in how far Charles adopted these detailed proposals of Clifford. Certainly the money was allotted in the manner suggested, steps were taken to repair Dover, Windsor and Exeter and the number of troops in the King's pay was substantially increased. And while it is unlikely that Charles himself seriously considered a declaration of his own Catholicism the names of the governors of the Royal castles gives ^a colour of truth to his assurances to Madame. Portsmouth was commanded by York himself, Windsor had for its Constable ^{1.} Prince Rupert, Plymouth was held by John Grenville, Earl of Bath, a close friend of Arlington and Clifford, a Protestant but one of whose fidelity James was so well assured that he was permitted to be present when Father Huddleston received the dying Charles into the Roman Catholic Church, John, Lord Bellasyse, a Roman Catholic who had fought for Charles ^{1.} had the keeping of Hull and another Roman Catholic, Richard, Lord Arundel, was Governor of York. Sir Robert Holmes as Governor of the Isle of Wight, the old cavalier, Sir Philip Musgrave at Carlisle, Colonel Edward Villiers at Tynemouth, Sir Geoffrey Shakerley at Chester, Sir William Courtenay at Exeter, Colonel John Strode at Dover and Sir John Robinson in the Tower, all these men ^{2.} were if Protestants firmly loyal to the Crown. North of the Border the King's position was consolidated by the overbearing Lauderdale. Two acts were passed early in 1670 the one giving Charles absolute

1. Not by the Earl of Bedford. Cf. Feiling, *British Foreign Policy*, 270.

2. Add 28,569, f.28: F.E.B. 176/8.V.70: Letters and Papers, 233: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 1669-72, 1673-5: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667, 1667-8, 1668-9, 1670, 1671, 1671-2, 1672, 1673: Clarke, 1, 443.

control ' over all persons and in all causes ecclesiasticall ', the other setting up a militia of twanty thousand foot and two thousand horse to march wheresoever the King's ' Person, Power, Authority or Greatness ' was concerned. The significance of these measures was in part understood south of the Border where ' many talked that he deserved an Halter, rather than a Garter, and were meditating how, he not being an English Peer, they might impeach him in Parliament '. In June 1669, working in combination with the moderate Leighton group in Scotland, Lauderdale had issued a first Indulgence restoring the evicted Presbyterian ministers conditional^{ly} on their good behaviour. The tenour of his own policy was more fully explained by the complementary ' clanking act against Conventicles ' passed in July 1670. It was essential to the successful extension of toleration to Roman Catholics that the Presbyterians should not be allowed to become paramount in Scotland and that the King's peace should be maintained. In September 1672 a second declaration was issued to a rather suspicious Scotland.^{1.}

But while steps were being taken to assure the King's position at home Charles was falling rapidly away from the eagerness he had hitherto shown for a declaration of his own conversion. Towards the end of September 1670 Louis had sent a memorial to England which was in substance a proposal that the Archbishop of Laon should open up the negotiations with Rome which must necessarily precede Charles'

1. Add 23,134, ff.56-7; 23,135, f.170: Lauderdale Papers, 11, 151-4, 164,174,176,200: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671-2, 8-10,44-6: P.C.Reg.Scot., 1669-72, 38-40,47,123,277: Margoliouth,11, 145,299-300,321: Burnet, 1, 507 et passim: Mackenzie, Memoirs, 188-190.

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declaration. Charles hedged for a time, professed a preference for an English priest as his envoy, questioned the safety of negotiating with a decrepit Pope and spun out time by a dilatory drawing up of the instructions for the Principal of the College at Douai, who ^{2.} was ultimately selected to perform the task. These instructions were drafted by Clifford working in conjunction with Arlington and were approved by Charles and York in February 1671. In view of the power of other sects and the hatred of Roman Catholicism in England ' a wonderfull prudence, fatherly indulgence and charity ' was hoped for from the Pope, in particular security for the continued possession by the present owners of old Church lands as in Cardinal Pole's time, communion in both kinds, common prayer in English, conditional reordination of bishops and an indulgence to married Anglican priests permitting them to retain their wives while officiating for the Roman Catholic Church. Whatever optimism Clifford may have entertained such conditions were unlikely to meet with the acceptance of the Pope and with the agreement of Louis to pay over the two million livres without a public announcement of Charles' change of faith the interest ^{3.} of the King and Arlington in the matter died away.

By this time Clifford was swinging over to Rome. In the spring of

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1. Letters and Papers, 222a-e: Mignet, 111, 230-2: Bas.Trs., 125/163.
 2. James de la Cloche has been suggested but see a translation of the will of the 'pretended James Stuart' dated 24.VIII.69 in S.P.85/16/106. Cf. Barbour, Arlington, 178, note 1.
 3. Letters and Papers, 223-232: Corresp.Ang., 100, ff.19b,30,72b. These instructions resemble very closely the alleged proposals of Charles to the See of Rome in 1663. Ranke, 111, 398-9.

1669, if not earlier, he was in touch with an English Benedictine monk, Hugh Paulinus Serenus Cressy, a one time chaplain of Falkland and the author of ' Sancta Sophia or Holy Wisdom '. Perhaps the revealed sympathies of the King and York may have stimulated Clifford to further searching into religious truths for some little time before the June of this year he commissioned Cressy to procure for him a number of works by the early Fathers, in all some thirty five volumes¹ for which he paid over forty pounds. For almost two years we hear nothing further of any connexion between the two men, the English monk had perhaps found refuge with John Caryll in the little village of East Grinstead, down in Sussex, but it is not improbable that their relations continued unbroken. In April 1671, under the pseudonym of Clarke, Cressy is again found in correspondence with Clifford. The warm tone of this letter reveals a state of close intimacy between the two men while another letter of a few months later suggests that² Cressy was in the habit of coming up to London to visit Clifford. And a number of papers in the monk's hand give us an insight into both the character of the man and the arguments which may have induced Clifford to change his faith. Cressy was a priest of Rome but he was also a good Englishman. He was opposed to religious persecution save for reasons of State and saw in the liberty of conscience allowed in Holland a model for England to follow. The necessity of imposing beliefs at the point of the sword argued a want of faith in men of the power of truth to prevail and moreover from the practical point of

1. Letters and Papers, 162.

2. Cressy to Clifford, 11.IV.71 & 4.VI.[71].. Clifford, Miscell., 5.

view heretics were so scattered in the nations ' like the tares so many of them that they cannot be plucked up without harming the good corn '. There would be no difficulty over the retention of the old Church lands and to ease the entrance of Protestants into the Church the Pope would be ready to accord the service in English, communion in both kinds, the validity of ordinations and the marriage of priests. Care would be taken to prevent any oppression by the ecclesiastical courts. He further drew up a form of oath of allegiance to be taken by Roman Catholic subjects and proposed the erection of a Court of Commission over which Father Patrick MacGinn, the Queen's Almoner, should preside and through which alone papal bulls should be published^{1.} in England when the King's consent had been obtained.

These arguments advanced by Cressy evidently made an impression upon Clifford. They are to some extent embodied in the instructions to the envoy to Rome and there is a further paper in Clifford's own hand concerning the oath of supremacy tendered to members of parliament in the reign of James I.^{2.} But throughout 1671 his attitude remained somewhat doubtful. In the July of that year he had a chapel built at^{Uxbridge;}

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1. Clifford, Miscell., 5. There are in all seven papers in Cressy's hand in addition to one mentioned on page 160, n.1. The seven are:
 1. ' Concerning the present disturbances in England about Religion: And the most probable means of composing them.' (11.IV.71.)
 2. ' The Summ of a Discourse presented to the Pope touching what is necessary to be done in order to restore the Catholick Religion in England after the death of Queen Elizabeth.' (11.IV.71.)
 3. ' Oath of Allegiance.' (11.IV.71.)
 4. ' A Profession of true Allegiance to his Majesty willingly offered by Roman Catholicks his Majesties most dutifull Subjects.' (4.VI.71.)
 5. Paper endorsed by Clifford, 'Propositions'.
 6. Historical note on the 'King's Supremacy'.
 7. Paper on the reunion of Catholic and Protestant Churches.
 2. Clifford, Miscell., 5.

it was dedicated by Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, but to St Cyprian, one time Bishop of Carthage and the powerful advocate of Apostolic unity, and rumour subsequently asserted that it ' was for fashion only and for his servants, his Lordship nor Lady never frequenting it '^{1.} Evelyn, dining at Clifford's lodgings along with Arlington, Carlingford, Arundel of Wardour, Father Patrick and several French noblemen, on the 17th of May, had doubts that his friend was no longer a good Anglican and ' suspected him a little warping to Rome '^{2.} A month or two before, however, the proposal of bringing a Roman Catholic, in the absence of any other, priest to hear the confession of his dying son at Florence was rejected as likely to cause more grief to his father than the news of the death itself.^{3.} When precisely he passed the frontiers of doubt we shall probably never know but already in the spring of this year it is evident that if he still preserved the forms of the Anglican religion he had travelled far from their doctrinal moorings. Along with York, as the year passed away, he became increasingly enthusiastic for the King's declaration and not later than March 1672 it would appear that Colbert was aware of Clifford's change of religion for, shortly before the declaration of war against Holland, he announces his conviction that this minister will press the King to an early opening of

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1. Clifford MSS: two undated letters from Clifford to Sparrow and articles of dedication signed and sealed on the 17th of July 1671: Williamson, Letters, No. 4.
In Clifford, Miscell., 5, there is a paper by Cressy which has for its main thesis that the essence of the Roman Catholic Church consists in its unity.
 2. Evelyn, 17.V.71. See also Evelyn, Corresp., 381 for a reference to an argument on doctrinal matters which Evelyn had evidently had with Father Patrick at Clifford's house.
 3. Postea, p.220.

hostilities ' tant par la passion qu'il a pour le service et la gloire du dit Roy que par la motif que Vostre Majesté scait et qui le presse^{1.} plus qu'aucune autre '.

And apart from any religious differences during the spring of 1671 the Cabal had not hung together. Buckingham and Ashley had shown a disposition to fall in with the anti-French sympathies of the Commons and their meddling with the money bills in Parliament had caused a loss to the Exchequer which aroused the anger of the King and was not^{2.} allowed to pass unnoticed by Clifford and Arlington. No doubt in order to strengthen their party in the foreign committee these last two men, supported by the Royal brothers, determined to bring Rupert and Ormonde into the secret of the projected war against Holland, a measure strongly opposed by Ashley and Buckingham but not by Lauderdale^{3.} who was by this time inclining to Arlington. Amidst these shifting factions Clifford stuck close to Arlington and it is evident that he was gaining much in credit. The presents which Louis sent over to England to be given to the commissioners who had signed the treaty of Dover were not handed over till early in 1671. That to Arlington was valued at two thousand pounds, those to the rest of the commissioners at about one thousand pounds each. Not finding Clifford at home on his first visit Colbert did not hasten to deliver his present, ' car s'il m'est permis d'en donner librement mes sentiments il ne m'a pas paru assez bien pour estre présenté de la part du Roy a un homme

1. Colbert to Louis, 4/14.111.72, Bas.Trs., 127/ 232.

2. Harris, Life of Sandwich, 11, 226.

3. Bas.Trs., 126/ 165 & 172: Corresp.Ang., 100, ff.214b,215.

qui est a present icy dans une tres grande consideration et tres bien dans l'esprit du Roy son maistre qui lui fait l'honneur de manger souvent a sa table '. Eventually a more suitable present was sent over and delivered to Clifford on his return to London in the autumn of the year; a portrait of Louis set in diamonds it was valued by Burnet at the somewhat high figure of three thousand pounds.^{1.}

This reference to Charles dining at Clifford's lodgings reminds us that the provision of entertainment was an important function of the minister of state and one with which Clifford was particularly concerned as Treasurer of the Household. And, at the orders of the King, in May 1671 Clifford took the opportunity given by the visit of the Duc de Guise and a large number of French noblemen to provide a dinner at Hampton Court which was pronounced by contemporaries to be one of the most noble and most magnificent of its kind that had ever been known. The guests spent the whole day at Hampton Court and were feasted in the Great Hall. ' Two tables in the middle served at one and the same time, in infinite plenty and choys meats: a long side table was by all the while, cover'd with choynes of beefe and shoulders of mutton in blood etc and other substantiall meates at which none satt, but was only for shew, after the old English fashion: the guests were but 19 at the 2 tables. All wines and creames, etc were in ice and the whole performed they say, with wonderfull order and

1. Corresp.Ang., 100, ff.6,243: Bas.Trs., 126/210: Burnet, 1, 554: Dr Oliver's article in the Flying Post, 27.VIII.1857, Clifford, Scrap Book.

quiett '. The arrangement of this dinner was part of Clifford's duties as Treasurer of the Household; he himself showed his good will to the French by another lavish entertainment shortly before their departure in the last week of June.^{1.}

Clifford was also a member of the house party at Euston Hall in the autumn of this year at which Louise de Queroalle established her ascendancy over the rather susceptible Charles. No record of his individual participation in this intrigue survives but it is interesting to note that he took Evelyn along with him ' in his coach with six brave horses '. This was probably the coach bought for him in Paris some two years before by Ralph Montagu; upholstered in crimson velvet and in every respect identical with that bought for Arlington at the same time except that it was a little narrower, a circumstance probably conditioned by the slight width of the Devonshire lanes. In it a fortnight later, along with Sir Bernard Gascon and Lord Hawley, Evelyn returned to London, stopping for the night at Bishop Stortford, where Clifford stood the company ' a noble supper '^{2.} Evelyn was on terms of very close intimacy with Clifford, whom he greatly admired; some two months later his high estimation of his friend received a severe jolt by a measure which he heartily condemned.

Clifford's advocacy of a war with Holland was sharpened by his inclinations towards Rome. But before a war could be effectively

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1. Bulstrode Papers, 184-5, 187: H.M.C. Le Fleming, 77.
 2. Evelyn, 9-21.X.71: S.P.For.France, 126/207: H.M.C.Rep., V, 378. There is a bill of £50-1-6 for the purchase of a Flanders mare and gelding for Clifford's coach in the Clifford MSS. Coaching expenses were a very considerable item in Clifford's budget living, as he did, so far from London.

prosecuted it was necessary that funds should be found to finance the undertaking. A means was discovered in the 'stop' of the Exchequer.

The relations between the commissioners of the Treasury had not always been cordial. At the outset Ashley despised the rest as a set of ignorant men who knew nothing about financial affairs but in actual fact the dominant man on the commission was at first the severe but just Sir William Coventry. Differences of opinion frequently divided them belonging, as they did, to different factions so that shortly before his fall Coventry told Pepys that he was thoroughly weary of Clifford, 'the rudeness of his tongue and passions when angry'. But by 1670 death had removed Albemarle, the royal disfavour had brought down Coventry and Duncombe had been thrust into comparative obscurity. The struggle for predominance lay between Clifford and
1. Ashley. On these two men the King relied for the nomination of the commissioners of the Customs, Ashley was particularly useful in arranging governmental loans in the City but on the other hand Clifford had the handling of the French monies to the exclusion of his two
2. colleagues.

In these circumstances rumour began to make free with reports of a change in the management of the Treasury. In the autumn of 1668, the spring of 1669 and the summer of 1670, Arlington had been a

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1. Carte 220, f.282: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1668-9, 240: Pepys, 31.V. & 23.VIII. 67, 18.1168, 2 & 6.111.69: Pepys, Letters and Second Diary, 31.
 2. Add 28,040, ff.12-16b, 20b; 29,577, f.98: Clifford, Miscell., 4: Hatton, Corresp., 100: H.M.C.Lonsdale, 1, 95.
Also Letter Patent absolving heirs and executors of Clifford from accounting for £84,700 of French money disposed of him. £76,000 of this went to the navy, £3,700 for the expenses of Sunderland's voyage to Spain. Clifford MSS

favourite for the place and at the outset of 1670 the refusal of Charles to appoint Ralph Montagu to the vacant commissionership seemed to point to some alteration in the method of governance. A more serious bid for the Treasurership was made by Ashley in the autumn of 1671, the vacant office of Chancellor of the Exchequer being allotted to Clifford who was indeed throughout constantly credited with the succession to this office or to Arlington's Secretaryship. Ashley's candidature caused Louvois in Paris much alarm. Both Buckingham and Ashley had rather cooled in their ardour for the French alliance and their recent attitude in Parliament had made their support of the 'grande designe' an extremely doubtful contingency. It is probable, however that Charles never seriously considered such a disposal of offices and that so far from Ashley refusing the white staff in view of the chaotic condition of the Royal finances that his attempts to secure the office were firmly rebuffed.^{1.}

More important as a determinant in the candidature for the Lord High Treasurership was the measure taken to secure a momentary solvency in the national finances. In the autumn of 1667 the position of the Crown had been almost desperate and the continuation of the war for a few weeks longer might have brought about a national bankruptcy.^{2.}

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1. Add 29,571, f.145b; 29,577, f.91-2; 36,906, f.221: Bas.Trs., 121/126: Pepys, 28.1X.68: H.M.C.Rep., 1V, 363; VI, 369: H.M.C. Kenyon, 51,59; Buccleuch, 1, 502; Lyttelton-Annesley, 267.
Ashley's latest biographer (Brown, 198-9) mistakenly attributes Ashley's candidature to the autumn of 1672 and consequently pieces together his journey into the country at that time and his refusal to take office - an unwarranted assumption. Little reliance need be placed on Shaftesbury's subsequent relation. (H.M.C. Ormonde, N.S. V. 36-7.).
 2. Carte 35, f.778; 220, f.282: Add 36,916, f.23: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 56: Anderson, 11, 133.

As it was the peace of Breda was signed and with the increased revenue resulting from a general growth in national prosperity and a more efficient supervision of the Treasury it was just possible to keep the government running while the country was at peace. In 1671 with a war against Holland decided upon some drastic steps were necessary if England was to take part in the struggle at all.

By the end of that year the Crown by reason of anticipations and loans was already two and a half million pounds in debt while for the current financial year a deficit of a quarter of a million had been¹ declared. The bankers conscious of the inability of the King to meet his obligations were no longer content with ten or even twelve per cent but were demanding a higher and higher rate of interest. From a strictly financial point of view, therefore, the decision to join with France in an attack upon Holland cannot be justified. The additional funds necessary for such a course of action could not be met out of the ordinary revenue, it was unlikely that Parliament would grant more than a meagre supply and the French subsidies were totally inadequate. Given that the intention was to recoup England in the long run, a hazardous gamble, it nevertheless left the problem of immediate supply unsolved. It is significant that the decision for a 'stop' of the Exchequer followed immediately upon a resolution to set out the fleet in the following spring.²

1. Add 10,119, f.20. Cf. Rawl. A.112, f.70.

2. Add 29,553, f.334: P.C.Reg., 63/ 142 & 144.

The suspension of certain payments out of the Exchequer though frequently misunderstood by contemporaries and by historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has now in large measure been set in its true light. Briefly the trouble was that a large part of the government debt consisted of fiduciary orders in the hands of the goldsmith bankers and in this way the revenue had been anticipated for at least a year to come. If these orders were duly met there could be no war with Holland. The decision was therefore taken to suspend for a year all payments upon these orders. There can be no question that it was an extremely arbitrary proceeding but on extraordinary occasions expediency is justification and the transaction did not greatly harm the unpopular banker.¹ Actually the most serious objection to the 'stop' was not the ruining of Evelyn's orphans but the severe dislocation to credit and consequently to trade. But even then the acute depression throughout the period of the third Dutch war was the result of other factors not wholly dependant upon governmental skill.²

The question of the authorship of the 'stop' does, as has been elsewhere suggested, diminish in importance when we no longer adhere to the concept of robbery on a large scale or infer like Rapin the establishment of a perpetual fund to make the Crown independent of Parliament. But some credit is due to the perception that recognised the necessity and the mind that had the courage to advise a measure of

1. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1669-72, xlii-lxlii: Richards, Early History of Banking, 25 and in Econ.Hist. 11, 45 et seq., : Browning, History, XLV, 333-7. One of the best short accounts by a contemporary is that contained in Henshaw's letter to Paston, see H.M.C. Rep, VI, 369.
2. Scott, 1, 288.

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this importance. So far as it was due to the advice of any one man Clifford and Ashley were the two ministers singled out by contemporaries for the responsibility and on the whole the evidence points to the former as the adviser of the King if not the man responsible for its original conception. Amongst those who lay the blame on Ashley the authority of Roger North, Burnet and the author of the life of James II. is in this matter more than suspect, while the wild accusations of Ossory and the obscure reflections of the writer of ' Plain Dealing ' is but scant evidence to set against the statements of Clifford's friend, Evelyn, the usually well informed if not well disposed Temple and Ashley's own declaration on the matter to Locke. ^{2.} In the circumstances it was the only possible basis of immediate supply and a measure with which the bold nature of Clifford would well accord.

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1. In their joint letter of the 28th of October 1669 the Commissioners had hinted at such a suspension: ' If any meanes could be found by which these branches might be freed from Anticipations, they wilbe neere sufficient to performe what is enjoyned by your Majesties order of the 22nd July ---.' Add 10,119, f.28. Note also Arlington's answer to the Commons in Grey, II, 279.
 2. Harleian 6274, f.51: Ashley Papers, VI/41: Evelyn, 12.111.72: Christie, II, Appendix III: Clarke, I, 488: Burnet, I, 550: Temple, I, 250-1: Ailesbury, Memoirs, 20: North, Examen, 37: Somers Tracts, VIII, 252-3: Baker, 658: Oldmixon, 564: Rapin, 310.

A story current in the eighteenth century relates that Clifford learned of this expedient by plying Ashley with liquor until he was sufficiently loquacious and then hastening to the King successfully claimed the Lord High Treasurership. The story is too absurd in itself to require denial but it might be noted that the suspension of payments was not in itself a novelty. Two interesting papers in the Clifford MSS (Excoise) suggest that the matter had been contemplated for some time. The one is an extract from the patent rolls of Edward III and refers to his seizure of wool; it is endorsed ' Stop of the Exchequer '. The other is a series of notes jotted by Clifford on the back of a paper drawn up in 1667 when a 'stop' seemed not improbable:

' Suppositious money in Tynn or the like
Queen Elizabeth wars in Ireland payed in King James his time
the King of Spaine the like provision made for forraigne trade 7
yeares to be repayed by act of Parliament
~~the danger of the Act to raise ready money~~

The stop of the Exchequer providing a solution to the problem of supply the decision was taken to declare war on Holland in the spring. Clifford was urgent that the opening of hostilities should take the form of a descent upon those places in Holland which were to fall to England's share in the eventual partition, a policy in which he was supported by Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale. Further, he sought along with Arlington to force the utmost advantages from the French alliance, advance payments of the subsidies and the arrangement of a treaty of commerce favourable to England.^{1.} Louis and his ambassador were much too wisely to allow themselves to be thus imposed upon by the English but the very making of the proposals indicates that Clifford had no sentimental attachment to the alliance with France but looked to the advantages which might thereby accrue to England. On the 14th of March orders were issued to the Duke of York for the seizure of all Dutch ships and shortly afterwards a declaration of war was set out.^{2.}

Together with the declaration of war went the declaration of Indulgence. York and Clifford had been insistent that the King should declare his Catholicism, so much so that the urgings of the Duke had become a source of considerable annoyance to the insouciant Charles. Clifford himself was by this time ardent in his zeal for the advancement of Roman Catholicism in England. ' My Lord Clifford ', relates the author of ' A Letter from a Person of Quality ', ' did in express terms tell me, one day, in private Discourse, That the King,

1. Bas.Trs., 127/ 186 & 189: Corresp. Consul., 1/ 15.11. & 28.11.72.
 2. F.E.B. 177/ 5.11.72. Cf. ' Lord Clifford's Violence in beginning it ----.' Temple, Works, 1, 375.

if he would be firm to himself, might settle what Religion he pleased, and carry the Government to what height he would: for if men were assured in the Liberty of their conscience, and undisturbed in their Properties, able and upright Judges made in Westminster Hall to judge the causes of Meum and Teum; and if on the other hand the Fort of Tilbury was finished to bridle the City, the Fort of Plymouth to secure the West, and Armes for 20,000 in each of these; and in Hull for the Northern parts, with some addition, which he easily and indiscernably made to the Forces now on foot, there were none that would have other opportunity or Power to resist. But he added withal, He was so sincere in the Maintenance of Property and Liberty of Conscience, that if he had his will, Though he should introduce a Bishop of Durham (which was the Instance he then made, that See being then vacant) of another Religion, yet he would not disturb any of the Church beside, but suffer them to die away, and not by his Change (how hasty soever he was in it) overthrow either of those Principles, and therefore desired he might be thought an honest man, as to his part of the Declaration, for he meant it really.^{1.} If Clifford did indeed express these ideas, and they are startlingly similar to the points urged by Cressy in his various papers and by himself in the 'Scheme', he was not to have an opportunity of putting his ideas to the test of reality. Charles and Arlington realised the extreme improbability of a successful declaration of Catholicism from the throne at this juncture. The Catholics were numerous in only one of his kingdoms, in England and Scotland Temple

1. Corresp.Ang., 101, f.81: Bas.Trs., 127/249b: State Tracts, 42.

reckoned them to be less than one and one half per cent of the population, respectively.^{1.} Against this solid caution the enthusiasm and impetuosity of York and Clifford beat in vain. Charles was prepared to risk toleration for the Roman Catholics but no more.

The indulgence to be granted to Nonconformists and Catholics was the subject of a series of debates in the committee for foreign affairs between March sixth and fourteenth. Significantly Arlington preserved an almost complete silence and the discussion was carried on for the most part by the King, Ashley and Clifford. These two ministers were entrusted with the determination as to how the law stood and a number of papers testify to their energetic searches into history. And in the committee a difference of opinion arose between Charles and Clifford which reveals their different attitude to the question in hand. The latter, looking forward no doubt to a successful conclusion of the Dutch war and a consequent strengthening of the Royal power, proposed that a proclamation should be issued suspending all religious privileges but that the settlement should be left to a later date. Charles was determined, however, that an immediate regulation should be made and order preserved: ' No private meetings, all in publicke places, the preachers to have the King's authority for it '. But the open hostility of the English to Roman Catholicism made it expedient that the Catholics should be accorded the right of private worship and on the ninth Clifford suggested that

1. Temple, Works, I, 383.

a distinction should be drawn between 'Phantics' and Roman Catholics: 'Phantics to have Churches, their Ministers allowed by the King and no private meetings. Papists only privately in their Houses and Chappells, no churches.' This was in substance the policy eventually adopted, the declaration was drawn up, approved, passed by the Council^{1.} and published.

The distinction in favour of Roman Catholicism was at once recognised by Anglesey who noted in his diary that 'the Papists are put thereby^{2.} into a better and less jealous state than the dissenting Protestants.' The licensed nonconformists were not given a full liberty to preach anywhere but only in licensed places and of course the granting of the licenses was entirely at the discretion of the government.^{3.} There was most certainly a discrimination both in Ireland and in Scotland against Presbyterians but in truth their denial sprang rather from a fear of their constitutional theories than their religious principles. In England a fair amount of impartiality was shown, all dissenters alike, not detained on private causes, were released from prison and scores of dissenting ministers received their licenses. Clifford, by the favour he extended to Presbyterian preachers in Somerset and Devon, showed his sincerity for a general toleration,^{4.} and the liberally minded Henry More confessed that he 'had nothing but good to prognosti-^{cale}

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1. F.E.B. 177/ 6,9,11,14.111.72: Ashley Papers, V1b, 428-30: Clifford, Miscell., 4, historical paper on the King's ecclesiastical power in Clifford's hand but endorsed by him 'Lord Arundell's'.
 2. H.M.C. Lyttleton-Annesley, 271.
 3. F.E.B. 177/ 22.111.72.
 4. F.E.B. 177/ 23.111.72: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671-2, 289,306,332,342,348.

of it, if all parties will use this indulgence of his Majesty soberly
and discreetly.^{1.}'

1. Conway Letters, 356.

CHAPTER X.

THE THIRD DUTCH WAR.

Nearly two years had passed since the signing of the treaty of Dover. During that time the 'Grande Designe' had in part been worked out. The Triple Alliance had become a thing of the past, England had made it her choice to stand with France and war had been proclaimed against Holland. But while this rearrangement in foreign politics was sufficiently decisive the religious implications of the treaty had only very partially been realised. Toleration had been granted to the Roman Catholics but it was a far cry from that to the announcement of Charles' own conversion. Despite the unfavourable reception accorded to the declaration of Indulgence, however, Clifford and York hoped that in more propitious circumstances the cause of their religion might be consolidated and advanced; the immediate necessity was an addition to the King's prestige and power and it was hoped that this might be secured in the war against Holland.

In March the Dutch ambassador singled out York, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale as the men of the moment.^{1.}

1. Add 17,677 PPP, f.456.

York being conveniently excluded the names of these men can be so arranged as to form the word then used to denote a private meeting or secret concert of men and the term Cabal has subsequently come to denote the ministry which it is alleged dominated English affairs at this time. Their unity was in fact seldom a reality. All of them had, it is true, been signatories to the December treaty but the document to which they set their hands was the traité simulé and the Catholic clauses were concealed throughout from Ashley and Lauderdale. In June 1672, at the behest of the King, York revealed the full purport of the original treaty to Buckingham but in despite, or perhaps because, of that communication he is shortly afterwards found to be strongly inclining to Spain. Again all of them were in favour of toleration but Clifford alone approached question from a religious stand point, the other four made it a matter not of conscience but of state policy and personal interest. The Cabal comprehended the names of the most powerful ministers in England at the time but the single denomination must not conceal the jarring factions within.

In the meantime the prominence of these men was enhanced by a distribution of honours. Ashley became Earl of Shaftesbury, Arlington Earl of Arlington and Lauderdale Duke of Lauderdale. Clifford, ' qui le mérite bon ^{bien} ', now received the honour which Charles may have promised to bestow on him, being rewarded with a baronetcy. To distinguish

1. Colbert to Lionne, 21/31.IV. & 30.VI./10.VII.72, Corresp.Ang., 103, ff. 63,94.

himself from the Cliffords of the elder branch of his family he added to his title the name of his mother's family and of the village beside which his estates lay. On the 22nd of April his patent passed creating him Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.^{1.}

Unlike the last war with the Dutch Clifford did not take an active part in the prosecution of hostilities though one amusing incident shows that he was as eager as ever to be in at the death. Shortly before the fleet sailed Buckingham, Arlington and Clifford had gone aboard the Prince to hold a final conference with the Duke. Buckingham suddenly decided that he would remain with the fleet and Clifford, 'qui a desja donné en beaucoup d'autres occasions des marques de sa valeur', resolved that he too would join with the Admiral as a volunteer. Arlington, correctly enough, insisted that the King's orders were for their immediate return but it was not until evening that, backed by York's positive orders to remove themselves, he was able to persuade them to return to London where their services as the King's chief ministers were more urgently required. There they had to content themselves with the more mundane operation of extinguishing a fire which broke out near the Tower on the day of the battle of Solebay.^{2.}

Throughout the spring and summer of 1672, nevertheless, Clifford was kept constantly busy. As a Commissioner of the Treasury he was directly

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1. Corresp.Ang., 101, f.65: The original of Clifford's patent is preserved at Ugbrooke Park, copies are to be found in, Clifford, Miscell., 6: Ashmolean 838, f.135: Egerton 2543, f.221.
 2. Bas.Trs., 127/ 250b: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1672, 81.

interested in the shortage of naval stores which hampered the fleet at the outset of the war. Along with Shaftesbury and Osborne he visited Deptford, Woolwich and Chatham to inspect their arsenals and to report on the conditions he found there. On the committee for foreign affairs he argued often and heatedly with the Commissioners of the Navy as to their shortcomings, hauling the victualling contractors over the coals and holding up Gauden, whom he had formerly decried, as an example to Littleton and Child and once at least being neatly parried in his onslaughts by the retort of Pepys that since the 'stop' of the Exchequer it was well nigh impossible to get credit upon the^{1.} money orders issued by the Treasury.

The action at which Clifford and Buckingham had been so anxious to be present was fought on the 28th of May in Solebay; the result was wholly favourable to the Dutch. The English fleet was badly damaged, Sandwich was drowned and recriminations broke out with their faint-hearted allies the French. But all hope of an invasion of Holland was not abandoned and when the matter was raised in the foreign committee Clifford was ready with a out and dried scheme for a descent upon the Dutch coast. The fleet was to take up its station of Brill and Walcheren and at a favourable opportunity five thousand five hundred English and French soldiers supported by another five thousand from Scotland were to be set on shore. The suggestion was adopted but the masterly tactics of De Ruyter prevented the English from

1. F.E.B. 177/ 9,30 & 31.V.72: Add 28,040, ff.22b,23b: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671-2, 393: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1669-72, 1089.

obtaining a decisive action and the plan had eventually to be abandoned^{1.}
for the lack of an opportunity to put it into action.

In the meantime negotiations for peace had been set on foot. On land the French had so far carried all before them, Louis prompted by Louvois had refused the very favourable conditions offered by De Groot and it seemed that Holland was faced by annihilation. In these circumstances an effort was made to drive a wedge of discord between England and her ally by the despatch of two deputies to London to hear upon what terms Charles was prepared to conclude a peace. Suspicious of the good faith of France in the prosecution of the war the Cabal was not indisposed to hear what Halewijn and Dijkveld had to offer. It was vitally important, however, that no umbrage should be given to France and Clifford's advice was acted upon that they should be kept in strict seclusion at Hampton Court, notice taken of all persons who spoke with them and a spy sent on board the vessel which had brought them from Holland. Buckingham, nevertheless, was able to get in touch with them through the agency of William Howard and their secretary, Kingscote. The articles which he proposed as a basis of treatment were in large part those later, officially, offered to the Dutch but the revelation of England's terms was as Clifford severely stated to Howard, when he had been lodged in the Tower, an action calculated to cause differences between the allies and one for which no plea of justification could be made.^{2.} The Dutch deputies had in fact no propos-

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1. F.E.B. 177/ 16 & 22.VI.72: Add 23,135, f.192: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1672, xxix.

2. F.E.B. 177/ 16.V.72: Carte 37, ff.702,716,718: Corresp.Ang., 104, ff.8,12,55: Barbour, 190,n.42: Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 347.

to make and the only positive side of their negotiations was an attempt to arouse the Spanish ambassador, Del Fresno, to bring his country into open war with France and England.

Whilst this ineffectual negotiation was in progress in England, Arlington and Buckingham had been sent off to Holland to join with Lord Halifax as plenipotentiaries to treat of a peace between England, France and Holland. The instructions they carried were drafted by Clifford and they set a high price on England's withdrawal ~~from the~~ from the war. Three or four cautionary towns in Zealand were to be handed over, for ever, the salute to the British flag conceded, a yearly sum for fishing rights in British seas and an indemnity of at least six hundred thousand pounds paid, a satisfactory arrangement of trade relations in the Indies accorded and the hereditary Statholderate^{1.} of Holland conferred on the Prince of Orange. With these demands Arlington and Buckingham departed for the continent and during their^{2.} absence Clifford was appointed acting Secretary of State.

As the sole Secretary of State - Trevor had died some months before - Clifford must have been very busy during those four or five hot summer weeks for he combined this office with his duties at the Treasury and the latter were especially heavy in time of war. But in foreign affairs it is practically impossible to detect any distinctive touch. The most important diplomatic centre was at the time the French camp where

1. Colenbrander, 11, 141-3: draft in Clifford's hand, S.P. 109/4/62-3.
 2. Clifford, Miscell., 6. Original warrant dated 21.VI.72.

Arlington and Buckingham were in charge and the correspondence Clifford maintained with these men is confined to the provision of current news and some further communication of the King's intentions with regard to Holland. It is perhaps significant, however, that during Arlington's absence the terms to be granted to the Dutch were raised by the addition of a claim to half the spice trade in the Indies and that Clifford recommends the inclusion for satisfaction of damages inflicted upon English merchants early in the reign^{1.} notwithstanding the oblivion agreed upon at Breda. And Colbert, who had gone to Clifford for assurance that Buckingham's intrigues with Spain would not shake England in her present alliance, was convinced that Clifford was eager to continue the war until such times as Holland would accord their joint demands: ' Milord Cliffort soit le plus zelé pour la catholicité néanmoins il ne feint pas de dire qu'il faut continuer la guerre jusques a l'entier anéantissement des Etats généraux a moins qu'ils n'accordent a l'Angleterre Brill, ^{SS}Flemingue, Cassant '. It was evident nevertheless that what weighed with Clifford was the solid interest of England for he again mooted the proposal he had put forward at the commencement of the war, the immediate attack of the places assigned to England. He did not seem to realise, Colbert^{2.} complained, that France was bearing the expenses of the war.

Little of his correspondence with other English representatives

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1. Colenbrander, 11, 144-170: Ashley Papers, 1V./225: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1672, 264, 284, 289, 303, 319, 324: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1669-72, 1086.
 2. Bas.Trs., 127/263.

abroad survives. A few letters to the Duke of Richmond, then at Copenhagen, apparently accompanied by a project of alliance and a short note to Godolphin, in Spain, which is no more than a promise that he will be better supplied with money in the future and a complaint that Spanish troops were giving assistance to the Dutch in the Netherlands.^{1.} More important is the help he gave in promoting the negotiation for the marriage of the widowed Duke of York. The lady to whom advances were being made was the Archduchess Claudia Felicitas of Innsbruck. It was perhaps on account of her religion, she was a Roman Catholic, rather than her Austrian proclivities that York was so eager to push on with the negotiations. Clifford's friend, Sir Bernard Gascon, had been despatched away to Vienna in February to press the Duke's suit and he was supported at Madrid by Sunderland, who had orders to enlist the help of Spain. But though Clifford, at the Duke's request, did what he could to speed up the negotiations the increasing alienation of England and Spain blighted any hopes of success from the start and eventually the whole matter fell through.^{3.}

The half dozen letters which York wrote to Clifford this summer point to a state of close intimacy between the two men. The Duke's request for a cipher is complied with and also, we may suppose, his wish that Clifford would not stand on ceremony in writing to him. Together they were working to make the King's declaration of Catholicity

1. Add 25,117, ff.3,5,8.

2. Bebington, 11, 460.

3. Letters and Papers, 238-40: Miscell.Aulica, 70-2: Feiling, British Foreign Policy, 351,354.

possible. ' I am sure ', wrote York, ' that you will push on those [affaires] of greatest concerne as vigorously as you have alway done '. More immediately they were concerned in the removal of Orrery from his Presidency of Munster. Despite Charles' belief in the Catholic inclinations of Orrery the Earl had done a great deal to restrict the religious liberty accorded to his Irish Catholic subjects. At the instance of Clifford Arlington sent him a stiff rebuke on the 22nd of June. Orrey did not trouble to conceal his dissatisfaction, the King's anger was aroused and urged on by York Clifford secured his recall^{1.} some three weeks later. On the same day Clifford drew up the private instructions for the Earl of Essex who had been selected to succeed Berkeley, the latter's ill advised conduct in the quarrels relating to the corporation of Dublin having made his return expedient.^{2.} These instructions were intended to supplement and explain the Royal Indulgence of the previous February.^{3.} Catholics were to be introduced into the army and their priests connived at on the taking of an oath of allegiance, they were to be placed on the commissions of the peace and their residence in corporate towns was to be guarded from ' insol-^{4.}ence and trouble '. Finally Essex was ordered to make enquiries in Ireland and to determine ' the properest wayes to give Satisfaction to all Our Subjects in that Our Kingdome, in Point of Liberty of Conscience, without distinction of parties.'^{4.} Essex made an honest

1. Add 28,085, ff.3,17-18: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1672, 264,269: Letters and Papers, 238.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671-2, xxxv.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671-2, lxx-xx.

4. Letters and Papers, 236-7: Essex Papers, 1, 18-19,23-4.

endeavour to put the King's policy into practice. He consulted with prominent Irish Roman Catholics as to the best method of dispensing with the oath of supremacy and with his assistance ten or twelve Roman Catholics were elected to the Common Council of Dublin.^{1.} But three main circumstances ~~mitigated~~^{mitigating} against a satisfactory settlement in Ireland. Quarrels between Colonel Richard Talbot, a friend of Father Patriok and of Arundell of Wardour, and Plunkett, the titular Archbishop of Armagh, prevented a united Catholic policy,^{2.} the ruling classes in Ireland did not submit tamely to the Royal policy^{3.} and the trade depression in England ~~made~~^{making} it impossible to grant any relaxation of the harsh laws against Ireland, in view of her falling revenue it was found necessary to order a reduction in the number of troops in that country - troops upon whose assistance the King had counted in event of a rebellion in England.^{4.} The refusal of Clifford to grant any relief to Ireland was later, and unwarrantably, made the subject of an unfavourable criticism by Sir William Temple. Clifford was^{5.} for some time favourably disposed to Essex and their subsequent estrangement seems to have been in part due to the latter's close connexions with Arlington.

Clifford's combined duties as Secretary of State and Commissioner of the Treasury told badly on his health. Naturally of a strong

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1672, 75, 432, 502-6; Essex Papers, 1, 76-7, 92-3, 95-6.
 2. Essex Papers, 1, 90-1, 60.
 3. Essex Papers, 1, 46, 47-8; F.E.B. 177/ 12.1.73.
 4. Essex Papers, 1, 35-6; Stowe 200, ff.84-5; 202, f.97b; Bodl.Add., e.33, ff.82-3, 113b.
 5. Clifford to Essex, 21.1X.72, Stowe 200, f.260; 14.1.73, Stowe 201, f.52.

constitution he does not seem to have suffered any serious illness since his Oxford days save a slight injury as the result of a fall from horseback. But while the negotiations for the treaty of Dover were in progress we hear of him being confined to bed, ' a cause de sa maladie ', and unable to attend the conferences. The nature of the French ambassador's comment would lead us to suppose that this trouble was one of long standing but what exactly the trouble was we cannot be sure. Montagu, in a letter to Arlington, suggested that a voyage to France might work a cure as the case was similar to that of Father Patrick whose stay in Paris had worked wonders. Father Patrick suffered from that rather elusive seventeenth century disease ' a consumption ' but as Clifford did not fall in with Montagu's recommendations and was soon on his feet again we are left in the dark as to the nature of his ailment.^{1.} In the winter he was not improbably attacked for the first time by gall stones, at least the symptoms are those common in the early stages of that disease. Writing to Henry Coventry in the beginning of the year he condoles with him on account of his attacks of gout. ' I am now able to guesse at it ', he continues, ' by a great defluxion of rhume that I have had on my right shoulder almost all the winter and am yet scarce well enough to write in my own hand '^{2.} The advent of the spring brought some relief but as the month of July wore on the pain returned with redoubled force, the King's physician,

1. S.P.For.France 126, f.85; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671-2, 43; Mignet, 111, 138; H.M.C.Buccleuch, 1, 465.

2. Clifford to Coventry, 1.11.71/2, Coventry 4, f.10.

Sir Alexander Fraser, could do nothing to relieve the pain and he wrote to Arlington hoping that the Secretary would return quickly in order that he might seek to recuperate at Bath. ' I am in such paine with the old distemper that I had in the winter, and is now in my legge as well as my shoulder, I am almost as very a crippe as my Lord Keeper '.

1. Arlington's return from the unsuccessful negotiation with the Dutch enabled him to travel down to Bath towards the end of the month. With him went Father Patrick who bore him constant company during his entire stay. During the first week the waters brought him no respite from the agonies he was suffering and he was forced to confine himself to their internal use only. ' I am ever in pain ', he wrote to Williamson on the 29th of July and five days later he replied to another letter with a laconic note: ' I am in so much pain I can make noe reflections upon it. I intend to leave this place in a fortnight. '.

2. Before that time had elapsed a great improvement in his health took place, the rest, no doubt, being as efficacious as the highly esteemed but abnoxious waters and on the 17th of August he left for London sufficiently recovered to resume his place in the government of his country.

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1. S.P.Dom.Chas.11., 212/246: Add 25,122, f.5; 23,135, f.183.

2. S.P.Dom.Chas.11., 213/112,195: Stowe 200, f.162.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1., 213/112,195: S.
1672, 469,479,497.

CHAPTER II.

THE LORD HIGH TREASURER.

When Clifford returned to London towards the end of August the immediate question of importance was the date of the next session of Parliament. The negotiations with Holland had broken down before the stern resolve of the Prince of Orange to preserve his country intact; if advantageous terms were to be secured by England the war must go on and in that event additional supplies were urgently required. Arlington's proposal that Louis should furnish England with a loan of one million pounds meeting with a firm refusal the assembly of Parliament appeared to be the only solution to the difficulty but one not wholly acceptable to any of the members of the Cabal. The perplexity of the situation stands revealed in Clifford's short letter of Lauderdale; 'I beg of your Grace you will not stay a day longer then needs you must from us'¹. The matter was debated in the foreign committee on the 15th and 16th of September. Rupert and Ormonde were at first strongly in favour of an immediate session for otherwise supplies would not be sufficiently forward by the spring and Coventry

1. Tanner 43, f.36: Lauderdale Papers, 1, 228-9: Barbour, Arlington, 200-203.

and Bridgeman agreed with them, only urging the inconvenience of treating for peace while Parliament was sitting. This latter objection moved Charles, Arlington and Lauderdale to advise a postponement while Clifford sought to remove the financial objection by pointing out that no real difference would be made by a vote on this or the other side of Christmas and by proposing the expedient of keeping the fleet at sea all winter so that the seamen's tickets would not have to be met at once. His arguments carried weight, no further opposition was made to the prorogation of Parliament on those grounds and it was finally decided that the Houses should not meet until February. Arlington's suggestion that the King should prorogue rather than the Houses adjourn themselves, Clifford supported by an^{1.} emphatic ' By all means '.

Before Parliament met important changes took place in the political groupings within the Cabal. Bridgeman's infirmities had for long interfered in the efficient performance of his duties and he had for long been excluded from the innermost councils; his hesitancy in granting injunctions to restrain proceedings against the bankers and his refusal to set the Great Seal to the declaration of Indulgence brought matters to a head. On the seventeenth of November he was^{2.} superseded by Shaftesbury.

The removal of Shaftesbury from the Treasury Commission aroused

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1. F.E.B. 177/ 15 & 16. LX. 72. When the Houses assembled on the 30th of October Clifford took his place for the first time in the Lords. His sponsors were Arundel of Wardour and Lord Newport, who had succeeded Clifford as Comptroller. L.J. XI., 519.
 2. Brown, 200. Also, Add 21,948, f.427: Temple, Works, 11, 245.

eager debate in regard to the alterations likely to be effected in that department. Early in the year rumour had already suggested Clifford as a probable Lord Treasurer,^{1.} but it is not improbable that Arlington's secret longings for the place impeded any conclusion in the matter.^{2.} When the question arose again in November opinion was divided, some asserting that Clifford would not stand in Arlington's way if the latter desired the office, other^s, and among them Colbert, believing that Arlington would rather have Clifford Lord Treasurer than himself. But when York broached the question to the Secretary and desired the latter to join with him in recommending Clifford to the King his attitude was quite clear out. It is evident that he could not stomach^h the promotion of his protégé to the place on which he himself had set his heart. He returned a cold reply to the Duke's addresses and endeavoured to secure the vacant commissionership for his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Carr. This time his opposition was of no avail. Clifford was well fitted for the place both by his financial experience and by his reputation for honesty. With the support of the Duke, Buckingham, Lauderdale and perhaps Shaftesbury the King's consent was obtained and at half past nine in the morning of the 28th of November he received the white staff from Charles which made him Lord High Treasurer of England.^{3.}

The acceptance of this office sundered at a blow the long friendship between Arlington and Clifford. Arlington was exceedingly

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1. Coventry 104, ff.55,59,64: Hatton Corresp., 1, 76,79.
 2. Temple, Works, 1, 324.
 3. Corresp.Ang., 101, f.81; 104, f.183: Ashmolean 436, f.58: Add 21,948, f.427: Clarke, 1, 481-2: Burnet, 11, 9: Lauder, Sir John, Journal, 221-2. See also the curious, alleged letter of Buckingham in Dunois, Mémoires, 1, 348.

discomfited by the transaction and he poured out his tale of woes to Colbert, declaiming against the base ingratitude and secret intrigues of the man he had raised from nothing. An attempt made by York to reconcile them met with only an apparent compliance, Clifford bound himself together with Lauderdale and Shaftesbury while Arlington^{1.} leaned once more to his old friend Ormonde.

Thus against the wishes of his most intimate friend Clifford became Lord Treasurer. On the same day he went, accompanied by the great officers and personages of the Court, to Westminster Hall, where, in the Court of Chancery, Shaftesbury administered the oaths of office and delivered a short congratulatory address. It was, said the Lord Chancellor, ' a place that requires such a man as our great master's wisdom hath found for it; from whose natural temper we may expect courage, quickness, and resolution; from whose education, wisdom, and experience, and from whose extraction, that noble house of the Cliffords a heroic mind, a large soul, and an unshaken fidelity to the Crown '. A week later he took his oath in the Court of Exchequer and settled down to the task of providing an almost bankrupt Crown with funds for the foreign war. ' Never ', says a contemporary, ' would the philosopher's stone be more welcomed than in this juncture '^{2.}

Clifford's six months term of office was passed in a period of great stress in the affairs of the kingdom but his conduct has not

1. Corresp. Ang., 104, f.196: Clarke, 1, 482-3: Macpherson, 67: H.M.C. Rep., 7, 464: Christie, 11, 98.

2. Ashmolean 436, f.58: London Gazette, 734, 736: Christie, 11, Appendix, lviii-lix.

In addition to a salary of £8000 a year the Treasury carried with it other gains. For example, it was customary for the Customs Commissioners, the tellers and auditor of the Exchequer, / over.

met with the approval of the learned editor of the Calendars of Treasury Books. ' Such of the Treasury records --- as cover the short period of his treasurership bear witness to the merely personal ability of this worthless, unscrupulous gamester, but of any broader administrative ability there is not a trace.'^{1.} A review of the somewhat scanty evidence on which we may form an opinion does not justify this strong language. The epithet ' gamester ' might be applied to Clifford in relation to his share in the financial clauses of the treaty of Dover, it cannot be used in reference to the part he played in bringing about a suspension of payments in the Exchequer for Dr Shaw was himself the first to recognise the inevitability of such a measure. It must therefore be considered whether, subsequent to his appointment Clifford exhibited any of those reckless talents with which he is credited.

When, on the 4th of December, Clifford took over the supreme direction of the finances of England the aspect they bore was far from promising. A war was being waged with Holland unaided by Parliament, England was suffering from a trade depression, the debt to the bankers was unpaid and the Crown was lamentably short of ready money. It was in part to meet these exceptional circumstances that Clifford was elevated to the position of Lord Treasurer and his zeal

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1. cont. from page 189. --- the King's Remembrancer and other minor officials to make a New Year's Gift. In 1672 the Commissioners of the Treasury received £1240 and the following year Clifford was given £1270. Clifford, Miscell., 6 & Accounts 1666-1700.
 1. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, xv.
 2. Clifford's Minute Book when Lord Treasurer is unfortunately missing; his ' Day Book ' is but a poor substitute. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1676-79, 1399.

in the discharge of his duties did not pass unnoticed. William Swann, writing on the same day, comments on Clifford's activity: he ' is very vigorous in his [place] having already appointed days for farming severall Branches of the Revenue and will have all in an excellent order against the sitting of Parliament on February next, that they may more clearly judge and readily grant a supply proportionable to his Majesties occasions.'^{1.}

One of Clifford's first acts was to bring pressure to bear upon the late Treasurers of the Navy to render up their accounts and if the new contract which he drew up with the Victuallers was in no way different from the earlier one steps were taken at least to ensure that one of the common grievances of the sailors, the watering down^{2.} of their beer, should be redressed and prevented for the future.

Clear cut rules were laid down for the future management of the sale of the Fee Farm rents, a strict enforcement of the Navigation laws was ordered to prevent illegal trading between the Plantations and countries other than England and to prevent Customs frauds in England itself the Commissioners were required to return their Port and Bond^{3.} books once every quarter instead of once a year. More interesting from the individual point of view are his orders to the Commissioners for Wine Licenses. The introduction of these licenses had led to a reduction in the consumption of wine with a consequent loss to the Customs. To combat this Clifford proposed lower and easier rates for

1. Swann to Richmond, 4.XI.72, Add 21,948.

2. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 1, 12,14,19,148; 1676-9, 1403.

3. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 15-16,35,38,52,81-2,126.

for the licenses, that all encouragement should be given to the setting up of more taverns and that care should be taken to prevent a local monopoly by any one ale house keeper.^{1.} Of more importance from the national point of view was the agreement concluded for the new farm of the Excise and Additional Excise. The rent was fixed at £530,000 a year and the steady yield from this important branch of the revenue became one of the great factors in the successful struggle towards solvency undertaken by Clifford's more fortunate successor, the Earl of Danby.^{2.} The short shrift accorded to Clifford's old friend and one time colleague, Sir William Doyley, now ~~an~~ teller in the Exchequer, when it was discovered that he was making a practise of buying up orders at forty per cent of their value is significant of Clifford's attitude towards anything pertaining to financial dishonesty.^{3.}

Temple, whose personal animosity towards Clifford is undoubted, wrote a letter to Essex in Ireland which has been said to vouch for Clifford's ' utter recklessness ' with the King's money:

' A little before he left the Treasury, upon a letter it seems your lordship had written to desire your inspection into that of Ireland before he left the Staff, and an expression in it that without some methods the King would be forced to run out there fell into a fit of raillery before the company that was there, saying among other things, my Lord of Essex would be taken for a gentleman that is resolved to live within his compass; the good man must needs have his bread and butter meet; but he's out of the story: we run out here and he must run out there in spite of his teeth: --- For aught I hear he practised as he preached, for one of his best friends told me he might be arraigned for the bounties he used in the disposal of the King's money about six weeks before he left the staff; and all has gone at that rate that I hear by a state of the revenue lately brought in, the King will owe at the end of this month 500,000 l more than he will have to realise, and all since the stop in the Exchequer.' ^{4.}

1. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 142-3.

2. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 155-6: Clifford, Accounts 1666-1700. Paper endorsed ' Excise ' and dated 22.V.73. In this calculation / over

It is not improbable that Clifford made some such comment upon the financial situation of Ireland though his expressions would not lose in sharpness in being recounted by Temple. Clifford had explicitly insisted in his letters to Essex that, in the present state of England's finances, Ireland could expect no assistance from London whatever her difficulties were. A more cogent argument is contained in the accusation that during his last six weeks at the Treasury Clifford made use of his position to lavish the King's money upon his friends. A close examination of his warrants and letters of direction does not evince much support for this damning statement. It was only natural that an increased volume of business should be transacted on the eve of his resignation and the greater part of the orders relate to ordinary routine expenditure. More open to question are a number of grants and pensions, the former totalling £26,707 and the latter representing an annual charge of £8,050. By far the largest item in the former count is a sum of £10,588 which was in the nature of a settlement upon Charles' illegitimate son and Arlington's son-in-law, the Earl of Euston, other £4000 granted to Mary Courtenay and to Lady Elizabeth Gage was long overdue on old Privy Seals, the £6000 paid to Lauderdale must be set against his surrender of a pension of £1000 a year as a gentleman of the bedchamber and the remainder granted to Castlemaine must be looked upon as a matter essentially in the responsibility of

2. contin. page 193. --- Clifford had proposed a rent of £550,370; the former rent was £475,700.

3. F.E.B. 177/ 19.1.73: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 47,107.

4. Essex Papers, 1, 120. Quoted in Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, xvi.

1.
the King. Of the annuities £2000 went to Arlington, £1000 to the widow of the Earl of Falmouth, £850 to the widow of James Hamilton and £600 to Colonel Francis Windham, in fact more than half to persons who were either inimical to Clifford or were very especially the friends of Charles. Lords Bath, Hawley and Oxford and Sir Robert Holmes, who divided the rest were friends of Clifford but in consideration of their services at Court and in the latter case at sea there was nothing very exceptional about the grants. On the whole, therefore, no stigma need attach to Clifford. The grantees were for the most part not especially his friends and at anyrate it was not customary to show a rigid impartiality in the disposal of the King's bounty. Danby himself had to pass much more extensive grants to Louise de Queroualle and other
2.
Court favourites.

In all during his tenure of the white staff Clifford passed or issued warrants to the value of £1,060,720, the equivalent of an expenditure of £2,100,000 a year. The proportion of this sum allotted to the various departments of state does not reveal any important

1. Clifford was however on friendly terms with Castlemaine as two undated letters from the latter in Clifford, Miscell., 6, show. One of these which should probably be dated the 16th of June 1673 is rather typical of the type of letter which Clifford would be receiving at this time:

' this night being at Whithall I sawe Sir Robert Howard there and asket him if all my busnes was dispacht he told me that the forest of Deane was not so I spoke with the king and he sayes that to morowe if your lordship will offer him the warrant he will sygne it I doe bege of your lordship that you will be pleased to put an end to all my consarns that are befower you to morowe or eles I shall dispare of haveing them done when your lordship has quited '

The next day the royal warrant for a grant of the ironworks in Dean Forest was signed. (Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 175.)

2. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 162-183.

departure from traditional methods and if it be kept in mind that this is wartime expenditure it is difficult to see wherein Clifford's extravagance lay. Alone three items, the Navy, Guards and Garrisons and the Ordnance absorbed seventy per cent or in round figures £729,129. Peacetime expenditure on these heads would have been almost half a million less over a period of six months so that a simple subtraction leads us to the conclusion that the expenditure on the other items was completely normal. The total expenditure cannot^{1.} justify us in regarding Clifford as a public spendthrift.

1. Money warrants issued during Clifford's tenure of the Lord Treasurer's ship:-

	£.	s.	d.
Ordnance	80,000		
Household	30,118		
Privy Purse	48,112	11	6
Guards and Garrisons	259,608	19	2
Navy and Victualling	389,520		
Robes	2,500		
Chamber	2,185	12	1
Tangier	55,000		
Ambassadors	23,794	13	2½
Master of the Horse	13,023	11	
Jewel House	528	6	6
Secret Service and Intelligence	12,944		
Creation Money	1,036	13	4
Wardrobe	10,659	14	
Works	3,050		
Miscellaneous	128,897	5	11
Total.	1,060,979	6	8½

(Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 1-184.)

As Lord Treasurer Clifford had to contend with exceptional difficulties which he faced with courage and ability. As far as he himself was concerned this period of his life was one in which he saw the wreck of all the hopes he had so fondly cherished. The two cardinal points of his policy were the advancement of Roman Catholic interests in England and the elimination of the naval and commercial power of Holland. The attempt to combine these two aims was at the best a gamble; in the event it was responsible for the complete failure of both. With the assistance of his ordinary revenue, freed by the stop of the Exchequer, and the subsidies from France Charles had waged war against Holland for a year without success. Now the support of Parliament was necessary if the war was to continue at all.

In the Commons the Country party had lost many of its old adherents. During the last session of Parliament Seymour, Garroway, Littleton, Temple, Howard and Carr had made an end of their opposition to the Court and the favourable attitude of the Commons to the Crown during this sitting was indicative of their influence in that House. 'Such', said Marvel, 'was the Number of constant Courtiers, increased by Apostate Patriots, who are bought off, for that Turn, some at six, others at ten, one at fifteen, thousand Pounds in Money, besides what offices, Lands, and Reversions, to the others, that it is a Mercy they gave not away the whole Land, and Liberty, of England.'^{1.} Sir Robert Howard soon accumulated a variety of places, secretary to the Treasury,

1. Grey, 1, 269-467: Margoliouth, 11, 305, 310.

the reversion of the Auditorship of the Exchequer and a share in the Greenwax and Post fines, Garreway and Temple became Commissioners of the Customs, posts worth two thousand pounds a year, Littleton was appointed joint Treasurer of the Navy and Seymour received at least a grant of money. There was undoubtedly a great deal of corruption of members of Parliament and in this corruption Clifford was credited with being the ' Bribe Master General '. And as a result of his position on the Treasury it is more than probable that he had the chief hand in the dispensing of bribes either in the form of ready money or grants of lucrative offices. Little trace of the former method survives however for the majority of the items in the secret service account for this period are payments to York, Monmouth, the King's mistresses, his diplomatic representatives, widows of courtiers and army and navy officers. It is possible that the Secretaries' allowance for Intelligence comprehended such payments but more probable that the Court resorted in the main to the inducements of office. Such resources were not unlimited; it was therefore essential that some further steps be taken to ensure a favourable attitude to Crown policy in the ensuing session of parliament.

On the 24th of November the choice of the Speaker was debated in the foreign committee and Serjeant Job Charleton, on the suggestion

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1. Letters and Papers, 243-5: Add 34,362, ff.35,38: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1669-72; 1672-5: Temple, Works, 1, 458: A Seasonable Argument: A Relation of the Most Material Matters handled in Parliament, 128-130.

This last pamphlet, apart from mock items, is substantially accurate in the account it gives of pensions and grants and must have been written by somebody with an inside knowledge of the Exchequer. In passing it may be noticed that the total is to some extent swelled by capitalising all annuities.

of Clifford and Coventry, ^{was reluctant} as a man likely to show himself amenable to
 1. the Royal interests. A further precaution, adopted on the advice of
 Shaftesbury and warmly supported by Clifford, was the issuing of writs
 for vacant seats in the Commons before the Houses assembled - a
 2. practice which had long fallen into disuse. At the same time steps
 were taken to put a favourable aspect on foreign relations. Though
 all hope of reaching a satisfactory peace with Holland had been abandoned,
 the final terms suggested by Clifford not allowing for a breach
 with France or a surrender of England's claims to cautionary towns,
 Sir Gabriel Sylvius was despatched to the Hague to express a willingness
 for peace and a readiness to agree to a cessation of hostilities. His
 mission was not undertaken in good faith, in Clifford's words it was
 3. 'meant onely to propitiate the Parliament'. And in view of the loss
 of trade feared by the merchants in event of a breach with Spain the
 Court firmly resisted the attempts of France to bring them into
 hostilities with that country. To Colbert Clifford was insistent
 that the state of the King's finances prohibited any such step for he
 could neither provide for the extra expenditure ^{nor} afford the
 consequent loss to his customs. The fact that an open war with Spain
 was not calculated to assist the Commons to a suitable frame of mind
 must have been an equally potent argument. 'They may breake in
 Flanders', Clifford remarked, 'But let them why cannot the King have
 4. a Neutrality with Spain notwithstanding that Breach in Flanders'.

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1. F.E.B. 177/ 24.XI.72: Add 25,118, f.48. Charleton was evidently friendly with Clifford to whom he made a present of cider. Cal.S.P. Dom., 1672, 26.
 2. F.E.B. 177/ 30.1.73.
 3. F.E.B. 177/ 11.XI.72.
 4. F.E.B. 177/ 4 & 24.XI.72, 11.11.73: Corresp.Ang., 104, ff.228-30: Bas.Trs., 128/ 15b.

Finally to direct the progress of business Clifford, Arlington and Shaftesbury were ordered to hold a meeting of such members of Parliament as they thought likely to fall in with the Court measures.^{1.} The meeting was arranged for the 6th of February but in all probability Clifford was not present for during the first week of the session he was confined to his house with a severe attack of the stone.^{2.} He was soon on his feet again but the task before him was one sufficient to tax to the utmost even his ever abundant energies.

Parliament assembled on the 4th of February and on the following day Charles made his speech from the throne. Asking for supplies to meet wartime expenditure and to discharge his debts he further endeavoured to remove the common belief that the declaration of Indulgence had given more liberty to Catholics than to other dissenters. ' Having said this ', he continued, ' I shall take it very, very ill, to receive contradiction in what I have done: And I will deal plainly with you, I am resolved to stick to my Declaration.'^{3.} Nothing could be more definite but Parliament showed no disposition to fall in with the Royal wishes. Already in 1671 Colonel Blood, turned informer, had reported to Williamson that ' the City look on the correspondence with France as Popish, to the destruction of the Protestant religion '^{4.} and the merchants had shown a tendency to regard France and not Holland as public enemy number one.^{5.} As it was commercial differences

1. F.E.B. 177/ 3.11.73.

2. F.E.B. 177/ 3-11.11.73: Stowe 201, f.139b: L.J. X11.

3. C.J. 1X, 246.

4. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671, 496.

5. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671, 563.

with the Dutch were sufficiently sharp to carry the Commons along in an acquiescence to the war but the King's religious policy and its constitutional implications they unhesitatingly condemned.

No sooner was the Speaker in the chair than the issuing of writs without the warrant of the House was brought in question and despite the attempts of Coventry, Finch and Littleton to have precedents examined Meres, Powle and Strangways carried their fellow members with them in a resolution to void all such elections. Much to Shaftesbury's chagrin they had their way for Charles was unwilling to jeopardise^{1.} the anticipated grant from Parliament. On the following day, with startling alacrity, the Commons voted a supply of a million and a quarter pounds to be raised over a period of eighteen months. But there the question of supply was allowed to rest until satisfaction should be given on religious matters. The next four weeks was almost entirely devoted to debates, addresses and bills designed to protect the Anglican Church.

The fear of dissenting Protestantism which had been so much in evidence in the Restoration settlement was now giving way to a fear of Roman Catholicism and of arbitrary power. Cressy in his memoranda to Clifford had noted the difficulty of convincing people that Catholicism was not identical with persecution but such a belief was ineradicably stamped on the minds of Englishmen by 'Bloody' Mary and the Spanish Inquisition. 'Can Popish Armes prevail', the pamphleteer asked, 'and not establish Popish superstition? Can this Popish Superstition have

1. Grey, 11, 2-8; Brown, Shaftesbury, 205.

power and not both prosper and persecute?'^{1.} The commons returned a decided answer. Vaughan, Lee, Meres, Powle and Strangways were insistent that the King's prerogative did not extend to the suspending of penal statutes and alone amongst the Court party Seymour and Waller joined issue on this constitutional question. It was without much difficulty resolved that an address be made to the King that penal statutes could be suspended by act of Parliament alone. To render this less abnoxious to Charles Littleton, Seymour and Temple proposed that it should be accompanied by a promise to enact the declaration of Indulgence into law. The proposal was rejected and when the Commons proceeded to draw up a bill for the relief of dissenters the efforts of Duncombe, Waller, Littleton, Finch, Carr and Harbord were unable to prevent the scope of the bill being narrowed down to Protestant dissenters only. 'In plain English', said Garroway, who on this occasion placed his religion before his place, 'would not have Romanists in the Bill'.^{2.}

The attitude of the Commons caused anxious debates in the foreign committee. There it was decided on the 12th of February that if the address from the Lower House be not 'sweet and gentle' the tactic of driving the Commons to seek the concurrence of the Lords be adopted, for, as York said, the agreement of the Upper House was improbable and whatever their attitude it would at least gain time.^{3.} The address was neither sweet or gentle and the proposal that it should be submitted for the approval of the Lords was rejected by a narrow majority.^{4.} A

1. The English Ballance, 5.

2. Grey, 11, 12-12.

3. P.E.B. 177/ 12.11.73.

4. Grey, 11, 29, 36-7.

definite decision as to governmental policy in the Lords then became an urgent necessity but amongst the King's ministers there was a considerable difference of opinion. Charles himself, Rupert, Arlington Lauderdale and Coventry were all anxious that nothing should be done to prejudice the vote for supplies for ' on the height Holland is in now wee are to expect as another Chatham attaque '. Buckingham, on the other hand, saw that the choice lay between supply and the maintenance of the Declaration and advised Charles to decide accordingly and Shaftesbury admitting the necessity counselled the King that he should ' rather loose money then loose Rights '. Clifford certainly contemplated no surrender on the religious issues at stake. He was in favour of stirring up the indignation of the Lords against this exclusive proceeding of the Commons and he believed that it could be so managed that the King's ministers would not appear to have had any hand in it. At the same time he was aware that the support of the Lords was indeed problematical. ' Possibly ', he said, ' the Lords may assert their Priviledge in the point of Addresses against the Commons And yet may not bite on the other matter of the Declaration And in that case indeed the Commons would be too hard for the Lords but Presidents are frequent that addresses are made without the Lords Proposes unlesse wee are assur'd the Lords would judicially confirm the Declaration etc better never to have meddled with it '¹. In the meantime it was decided simply to ignore the address of the Commons. Such a policy could not, however, meet with any positive results and

1. F.E.B. 177/ 14.11.73.

when the rising temper of the Commons made it evident that the King could not persist in this silence a reply was drawn up in which a distinction was argued between the King's prerogative in civil and in ecclesiastical matters and a categorical assertion made of an undisputed right to the latter.^{1.} The Commons returning an equally firm denial to this claim a further deadlock ensued with tempers rising rapidly on both sides.^{2.}

Three courses now lay open to the King; he might seek the assistance of the Lords, dissolve Parliament or surrender to the wishes of the Commons. Resort was first made to the Lords but on the 4th of March they returned a politely worded address which tacitly asserted the illegality of the Declaration.^{3.} The choice was now narrowed down to the two latter options. For a time Charles wavered in his decision. On the one hand Clifford, York, Shaftesbury, Buckingham and Lauderdale counselled dissolution, on the other Arlington, Ormonde and Colbert advised that supplies for the war be obtained even at the sacrifice of his Declaration. On the evening of the 6th Charles had almost concluded in favour of a dissolution^{4.} and it was perhaps with this knowledge that Clifford introduced into a committee of the Lords a number of resolutions for the legalising of the King's dispensing power. If the Lords could be brought to a favourable vote on the subject and a wedge driven between the two

^{2.} Grey, 11, 62.

^{13.} L.J. XI, 543, 547.

^{24.} Dalrymple, 11, 89, 93; H.M.C. Ormonde N.S. VI., 43.

^{3.} L.J. XI, 543, 547.

^{4.} Dalrymple, 11, 89, 93; H.M.C. Ormonde N.S. VI., 43.

1.

Houses the King might with more ease send them about their business. But while the matter was still under discussion Charles again changed his mind and on the 8th Parliament learned that the seals of the Declaration had been vacated. ' This gave so sudden a joy ', wrote Henry Coventry, ' that the streets shined with bonfires as if there had been a second Restauration '.

2.

The cancellation of the Declaration was a severe blow to Clifford's hopes for the future of Roman Catholicism in England and the vacillating behaviour of the King must have been a source of great annoyance to his bold and resolute Lord Treasurer. Clifford was inclining more and more to his co-religionist York and his exasperation with the King was perhaps vented in an interview with Arundel of Wardour which Sir William Bucknall, a farmer of the Customs, claimed to have overheard. ' By God, My Lord ', exclaimed the Treasurer vehemently, ' there is no hopes; the king is obstinate, he will stop the gapp.' A further colour of truth is added to this otherwise somewhat unreliable anecdote by Lord O'Brien who wrote, that coming out of his inner chamber to where Bucknall was waiting Clifford, suspecting he had been overheard fell on the portly brewer with imprecations and finally, dragging him to the stairs, kicked him down without any further ceremony.

3.

But while Charles was reluctantly coming to a decision to withdraw

1. Add 29,571, f.194; Coventry 83, f.3; Brown, 209.

2. Add 25,117, f.92.

3. Williamson, Letters, 11, No.189; Grey, 11, 397.

Garbled versions of this same story appear in Oldmixon, 565 and Barnes, Memoirs, 223.

declaration the Commons had been busy adding yet further safeguards for the preservation of the Protestant religion. On the 28th of February, the youthful 'Rupert of debates', William Sacheverell, had brought forward a motion that all Catholic officers should be removed from military commands. The proposal was favourably received in the House for rumour had asserted that there was a design of ruling England by force of arms. 'Drums beat about the Streets; many Irish Popish officers: and in the coffee-houses they say "some of us are to be hanged when Parliament rises."' An address for the banishment of Catholic priests and the dismissal of officers refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican church was presented to the King, to be followed by the bill commonly known as the Test Act which was given its third reading^{1.} on the 12th of March.

Forced along by events Clifford had to concur with the Royal capitulation and he was present at the Council when the bill against popish recusants received^{2.} their approval. But he was by nature incapable of bending long to the storm of circumstances. Coming to the Lords when the Test Act was under debate he made an impromptu speech denouncing the bill they had before them. A blind acceptance of the Commons legislation would, he urged, not only impair the authority of the Peers but do harm to the Anglican religion. Who were the Commons, he asked, that they should decide on questions of faith.

1. Grey, 11, 74-91, 97-100.

2. P.C.Reg., 63, 401.

The bill was the ' Monstrum horrendum ingens ' of Vergil. The speech was well recieved in the House and Clifford carried along with him a large number of the Bishops and of course the Roman Catholic peers.^{1.} But when it came to the ears of the Commons their animosities flamed up anew. A week earlier there had been a strong movement for an address for the removal of Arundel of Wardour, Colonel Talbot and Father Patrick from the King's person. Now they flew at higher game. On the 22nd of March Lord Cavendish moved that the King's money ' may not be disposed of, nor managed by a person so much suspected of Popery ' and he was powerfully supported by Sacheverell, who knew ' not how safe the King's person may be, when so considerable a sum of money shall be in such a hand ' ^{x.} and by one of the Malets who informed the [§] House that the Treasurer had said in the Lords ' that your Bill of Popery ought to be spurned out of that House as a dirty Bill '. Clifford was, however, not without friends in the House where he himself had sat so long. Sir John Birkenhead, Samuel Sandys and Sir Lancelot Lake deprecated such a motion upon common fame only, Doyley referred to Clifford's bravery in the last Dutch war, Sir John Barnaby assured

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1. Corresp.Ang., 106, ff.168b,179b-180: Bas.Trs., 128/ Colbert to Louis, 22.111./1.1V. & 24.111/3.1V.73: Grey, 11, 110,152-4. Burnet had a mistaken notion that Clifford's speech was in reference to the Declaration (Burnet, 11, 9-10) and asserts that Clifford first secured the approval of the King. Rapin and Oldmixon had the extraordinary idea that it was a speech in favour of the establishment of a perpetual fund. To them we owe the supposed exchanges between the royal brothers, York being credited with saying 'what a rogue of a Chancellor you have ' and Charles with the retort, ' what a fool of a Treasurer you have '. (Rapin, 339: Oldmixon, 573.)

x. The £1,250,000 voted by Parliament.

§. Either Michael or John.

the House that the Treasurer was a frequent attender at Chapel and Sir Edmund Windham testified to taking the sacrament along with Clifford.

' This Business ', said Grey, ' passed no farther than privately blaming and reflecting on persons who engaged to second the motion.' Despite Arlington's gloomy prognostications that the attack would be renewed and extended to Lauderdale and Cavendish's threats that he would not let the matter rest there no further charges were brought
1.
against Clifford this session.

A few days later the French ambassador reported that Arlington, who loved his ease, was rapidly cooling in his enthusiasm for the ' grande designe '. The Secretary was evidently badly scared by the temper of the Commons, he complained to Colbert of the ' extravagant ' conduct of the Lord Treasurer but nevertheless hastened to add that he would do his utmost to save him from attack. Any assistance from that quarter was likely to be of doubtful quality for the two men were now political ly poles apart. Colbert, himself, was afraid that Clifford's extreme zeal would cause complications in Parliament for while the King was reassuring the members by a severe proclamation against the Catholics Clifford was making no attempt to conceal where his sympathies lay.

' Rien n'est si surprenant que d'entendre son grand Trésorier qui a la partie dans tous ses secrets prendre la part desdits Catholiques avec une éloquence et une hardiesse inimitable --- et il est mesme si fort enlisté de la gloire du martire qu'il a reproché au Pere Patrice sa tiedeur pour la religion et luy a dit que Dieu vouloit se servir de dix

1. Corresp. Ang., 106, ff.168b,179b-180: Stowe 201, ff.283,285b: Grey, 11, 152-4.

ou douze personnes constantes pour desilla les yeux de toute la nation, et qu'il souhaitoit de perdre la vie pour une si bon suieet ^{1.} Burnet, who is always colourful where the Lord Treasurer is concerned, credits him with no less enthusiasm for ' he was heated with the design of bringing in popery, even to ent^husiasm. It was believed, if the design had succeeded he had agreed with his wife to take orders, and to aspire to a cardinal's hat.' ^{2.}

Parliament was adjourned on the 29th of March and on the same day the Royal consent was given to the Test Act. For a time, to all appearances, Clifford continued his normal activities, dⁱnnⁱng Colbert for advance payments of the subsidy, transacting the routine business of the Treasury and the Prize Commission and advising Charles to conclude no treaty with the Dutch without satisfaction for the time ^{3.} honoured claims in Poleroon and Surinam. It is interesting to note that with the new aids from Parliament Clifford proposed to set aside the Hearth Tax for the payment of the bankers' loans to the government and set about drawing up a list of those debts. Unfortunately we have no further information as to his intentions in this matter but it at least suggests that the later settlement made by Danby was ^{4.} already under consideration.

Shortly before Parliament separated an attempt had been made to bring about a reconciliation between Clifford and his old friend the

1. Bas.Trs., 128/ Colbert to Louis, 24.111./3.1V.73.

2. Burnet, 11, 5.

3. F.E.B. 177/ 2.1V. & 4.V.73: Corresp.Ang., 107, ff.37b,43; 109, ff. 120,203-4.

4. F.E.B. 177/ 6.1V.73.

Secretary. At the instance of Colbert, York employed the good services of Talbot to bring the two men together, ' affin que la trop grande ardeur du premier puisse estre tempérée par le flegm¹ et la modération du second, et qu'aussy l'atiedissement de celui cy soit réchauffée par la chaleur de l'autre '. Nothing came of the matter. Clifford refused to accord the satisfactions demanded by Arlington and the latter, who was shortening sail, ' ne voulait pas epouser le zèle dudit grand Tresorier.¹ For a time, nevertheless contemporaries were doubtful of a permanent breach between the two men and Essex enjoined great caution upon his brother in urging Arlington to bring about the removal of Clifford's intimate friend and the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, Sir Henry Ford, ' who is perfectly my Lord Treasurer's spie upon me '². The friendship was never, as far as we know, renewed and though Evelyn condemned Clifford's intrigues for the Treasurership as the only ingratitude his friend had ever show it would appear that Clifford had no qualms of conscience. The relationship of the two friends had not been simply a series of favours from the older to the younger man and Clifford himself pointed out that he had upheld Arlington's interest when it was waning before the rising fortunes of Orrery. What may have weighed with Clifford in pushing his own claims to the place of Lord Treasurer was the luke warmness of Arlington in the ' grande desig³ne '.

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1. Bas.Trs., 128/ Colbert to Louis, 24.111./ 2.1V. & 7/17.1V.73. St Evremond's statement that Arlington supported the Test in order to drive Clifford from office is, as has been urged elsewhere, wildly improbable.
 2. Essex Papers, 1, 85-6. Airy mistakenly identifies ' my Lord Treasurer with Osborne.
 3. Evelyn, 18.V111.73: Williamson, Letters, 11, No.4.

While Arlington was thus cautiously embracing more moderate counsels Shaftesbury, perhaps suspecting the full significance of the alliance with France but more probably from motives of selfish ambition, had shifted his sails, fallen into the popular stream and before a month had elapsed since the rising of Parliament was warping to a Dutch alliance. From December onwards he had been working in close conjunction with Clifford and had perhaps conceived an admiration for those qualities in which he himself was so completely lacking - an honesty of purpose divorced from motives of self advancement. At anyrate he made tentative approaches to Clifford, hoping to draw him into joining in an attempt to break the alliance with France and promising a proviso in Parliament to allow the Lord Treasurer to continue in his office without taking the oaths and sacrament enjoined¹ by the new act. We are left in ignorance of Clifford's answer to these proposals but we can well imagine his refusal to act so base a part.

In the meantime opinion in London was sharply divided on the probability of the Lord Treasurer relieving the Anglican sacrament. Some took notice that he had always observed 'popish holy dayes', that his chapel was purely ornamental and frequented by his ~~servants~~ servants only, others that he continued his daily prayers according to the form prescribed by the Church of England and would take the sacrament on Whitsunday in St Martin's. Whitsunday arrived but it served only to

1. Corresp.Ang., 107, f.18b: Temple, Works, 1, 395.

increase the wild rumours at Court. On that day Clifford, accompanied by Father Patrick, was returning to Whitehall from Somerset House in a private coach. On the way, however, the coach overturned and the two men were flung out in full view of the Strand, the Lord Treasurer's hat and periwig rolling into the mud. Though Father Patrick was a well known figure at Court his being with Clifford on that day led^{1.} weight to the rumours of the latter's conversion.

In the absence of reliable information it is impossible to fix a date for Clifford's decision to resign his staff rather than submit to the requirements of the Test Act. It is however reasonable to conjecture that his choice was already made when the bill passed into law for it is apparent that he never hesitated in putting his religion before considerations of office and power. Shaftesbury's proposal to secure exemption for the Lord Treasurer from the oaths was made not later than the early days of May and it would seem to indicate that it was already well known amongst the King's chief ministers that Clifford^{1.} would not take the Anglican sacrament. And Evelyn's suggestion that Clifford resigned not from religious motives but on account of an understanding with York is in itself contradictory for the bonds which bound the two men together were their common religious interests. This half apologetic statement springs rather from an unwillingness to associate the friend he so greatly admired with a religion he both feared and despised.^{2.}

1. Williamson, Letters, 1, Nos. 1,3,4,12.

2. Evelyn, 19.VI.73. Marvel, who was not as a rule disposed to speak well of the Lord Treasurer, admired his straight forward resignation Grosart, 1V, 262.

Shaftesbury's advances rejected and relations with Arlington so strained that it was confidentially reported to Williamson that^{1.} Clifford was seeking to encompass the Secretary's impeachment, it is not surprising to find the Lord Treasurer working to ensure that his successor should not belong to either of those two factions. Arlington in particular had not relinquished his hopes of himself attaining to that office and it was with a strong sense of grievance that he reported to Colbert in the second week of May that Clifford was co-operating with York, Buckingham and Lauderdale to ensure the promotion of Buckingham's friend, Osborne. The account of the transaction given to us by York and Burnet goes to support this statement, not later than the 18th of May rumour was already crediting Osborne with the succession and before laying down his office we find the Lord Treasurer busying himself in an attempt to reconcile the Yorkshire gentleman with his old enemy the Earl of Anglesey.^{2.} In the meantime, while opinion divided between Osborne and the devolution of the office upon a commission, Clifford 'laboured excessively' to bring the Treasury into a state of good order, satisfying all manner of persons^{3.} but earning the reputation of 'an exact honest man and uncorrupted'.

On the morning of Wednesday the 19th of June, at ten o'clock, the Lord Treasurer waited upon Charles in his bedchamber. There, in the

1. Williamson, Letters, 1, No.28: Bas.Trs., 128/ Colbert to Louis, 12/22.VI.73.

2. Burnet, 11, 9: Williamson, Letters, 1, No 1: Clarke, 1, 484: Evelyn, 23.VI.73: H.M.C. Lyttleton-Annesley, 275.

It was said that there was an understanding that Clifford should receive one half of Osborne's salary. Reresby, 88: Williamson, Letters, 1, No.24: H.M.C. Hastings, 11, 163.

3. Williamson, Letters, 1, 1 et passim.

presence of Osborn and several other lords, ' with great chearfulness and constancy of countenance ' and a gracious acknowledgement of the King's many favours he surrendered the white staff, which was at once presented to Osborne. Thence he departed home to Wallingford House which had so lately been thronged with suitors at all hours and was now ' sylent as in a convent '.

1. ' Such a friend ', Evelyn mournfully recorded, ' shall I never find '.

2.

1. Williamson, Letters, 1, Nos. 26-8: Ashmolean 436, f.58.

Colbert speaks of Clifford's dismissal (Colenbrander, 11, 279) but it is abundantly evident that Clifford resigned of his own accord and indeed to the surprise of many of his friends. Coventry, in a letter to Elizabeth of Bohemia, emphasises this. ' The unusuall Self denyall of our late Lord Treasurer in so Voluntarily resigning his Staff hath I believe made more then us here wonder.' (Add 25,112, f.110.)

2. Evelyn, 18.V1.73.

CHAPTER XII.

RETIREMENT AND DEATH.

When it was known that Clifford would shortly resign his staff conjecture made free with his plans for the future. ' Some say his Lordship will be there [Devon] soe private as to mind nothing but bookes and a retired life; and yett some have made him in their discourses Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, others Lord Generall of the army, and others a volunteer to go with the Duke of York.^{1.} When the time came and both York and Clifford laid down their offices and absented themselves from the Council their retiral caused some surprise and not a little alarm.^{2.} Perhaps contemporaries feared a ' reculer pour mieux sauter ' for it did not seem probable that the two men would^{3.} allow Arlington, Ormonde and Shaftesbury, who were coming into favour,

1. Williamson, Letters, 1, No. 17.

2. Jenkins, 239, f.140; Williamson, Letters, 1, No. 28.

3. Add 29,544, ff.179,192; 29,571, f.22b; Coventry 78, f.15.

There was some talk of Sir W.Coventry once more taking his place amongst the King's ministers but his own letter to Pepys would seem to indicate that he did not contemplate such a step. Pepys, Letters and Second Diary, 43.

to dominate the King's counsels. York, indeed, by reason of his position as heir apparent to the throne, soon resumed an active share in directing the affairs of the nation but from henceforth there is no trace of his interference in public business and whether he contemplated a return to power in more auspicious circumstances we shall never know.

In comparison with the other members of the Cabal Clifford cannot be said to have made his advancement in the direction of the King's affairs a stepping stone to his own personal aggrandisement. His share of the Royal bounty was not large and when we consider that he was himself relatively speaking a poor man his restraint in office must the more commend itself. In June 1669 he had secured a sixty years lease of eight hundred acres of the famous Creslow pastures at a nominal rent of five pounds a year, a grant which was subsequently extended to the heirs of his body. Along with this went the old Elizabethan manor formerly the residence of the Keeper of the Pastures and which remains today with its silken lady ghost a charming

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retrospect on the years gone past. Two years later he secured for his younger son, Simon, a reversion of the office of teller in the Exchequer.
2.
In the summer of 1672 another reversion came his way, this time of the manor, rectory and appurtenances of Cannington in Somerset together with an outright grant of the hundred of Cannington, the manor of Rodway Fitzpaine in the same county and the Chapel of

1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1668-9, 306: ' A Particuler of Creslow pastures ', Clifford, Miscell., 6: Clifford, Scamp Book.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667, 172; 1671, 272.

The reversion was first granted to Thomas Clifford, (junior) and on his death transferred to his younger brother.

Piddle Walston in Dorsetshire. The hundred of Cannington would appear to have been emparked for shortly afterwards Lord Pawlet made him a present of forty brace of does to stock Cannington Park.^{1.} While Lord Treasurer he did not make any very considerable addition to these gifts. In February he was granted the right, along with several others, to hold an annual fair in Chudleigh from Monday to Wednesday next after Easter^{2.} and at the same time a bill was passed through Parliament^{3.} conveying to him the patronage of Chudleigh Rectory. A fortnight after his retiral the King made over to him a rent of one hundred and forty five pounds arising out of chantry lands formerly granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Dean and Chapter of St Peter's Cathedral, Exeter, and bestowed on his son and heir, Hugh, the reversion of the office of clerk of the pipe.^{4.} A half a century later the rents of the lands accumulated by the Lord Treasurer fell short of two thousand pounds.^{5.}

And an examination of Clifford's expenditure during his years of office reveals that, unlike so many other seventeenth century statesmen, he did not live beyond his means or pile up a long list of

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1. Add 21,948, f.427; 28,074, f.36; 30,377, ff.6-9: Ashley Papers, V, 529-30.
 2. Ashley Papers, V, 607: London Gazette, 766.
 3. L.J. XII, 546, 549, 552, 556, 584; C.J. IX, 267, 268, 269, 271.
 4. Ashley Papers, V, 664: Williamson, Letters, I, No.64: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1672-5, 364.
 5. Thomas Bagshaw to Hugh, Second Lord Clifford, 14.VI.1709, Clifford, Miscell., 8.

debts. Subsequent to his appointment as Comptroller he employed his brother-in-law Richard Prowse as a sort of banker and accountant paying him a salary of sixty pounds a year for his services. With one break of eighteen months Prowse's accounts are extant until the summer of 1673 and it is interesting to trace the rising fortunes of the Lord Treasurer in these dispassionate lists of figures. During the two years following on his Court appointment his annual expenditure was in round figures £3600 a year. He was living within his income at this time for his salary and perquisites as a Commissioner of the Treasury brought him in not far short of £2000 a year while his allowances and fees as Comptroller and later as Treasurer of the Household averaged about £1800. At the end of this period he had a small credit balance of four hundred pounds. No accounts survive for the next year and a half but it is obvious from the insignificant bad balance in the next account, dated July 1670, that he was still able to make ends meet. The death of Albemarle and the dismissal of Coventry added considerably to his salary as a Commissioner of the Treasury and when we come to reckon up his expenditure until the October of 1672 we find it in the nature of £7500 a year, a sum which was not greatly exceeded during his tenure of the Lord Treasurership. Shortly before his retiral into Devon his outstanding debts with Prowse amounted to £7873 and the way in which they were met does not suggest any lavish bounty from the King. His official allowance, then overdue, amounted to some two thirds of this sum; if Charles made any provision for his debts the sum did not far exceed two thousand

^{1.} pounds. Looking back over these six years we can only conclude that

1. Clifford, Accounts 1657-66; 1666-1700; Clifford, Miscell., 5.

Clifford carried the careful habits necessarily acquired during his impecunious life as a gentleman of Devon into his more affluent existence as a minister of state. He retired having accumulated neither extensive estates or a fortune in ready money. After his death his family was in such straitened circumstances that Charles had to grant a pension of three hundred pounds a year to educate and support the^{1.} heir to the title.

The absence amongst the Clifford papers of any correspondence of an intimate nature must remain a source of much regret for what little information we can glean here and there about his wife and children points to the warmth of his family affections. One member alone amongst his numerous children stands out as a vital personality. Born in 1652, when his father was still an obscure Devonshire squire, Tom, as he was known to the family, was for eleven years the only surviving son. In 1667 Clifford made a first provision for his heir when he secured for him the reversion of a tellership in the Exchequer and in the following year the youth was sent off to Oxford becoming a fellow commoner in the strongly Protestant Queen's College. Tom was not precocious for his tutors commented on his 'rustic shyness' and lamented that 'the sparkle of intelligence being now laid to sleep, it will require Herculean force to awake it' but others found him 'a very civil well disposed youth' and so assiduous at his studies and constantly at prayers as to be quoted as an example to the less sober minded undergraduates of Queen's. Two years at Oxford was followed by a period of foreign travel in Italy. There Tom had the company of his

1. Bagshaw to Clifford, 14.VI.1709, Clifford, Miscell., 8: William Fryer's Declaration, 30.VI.1678, Clifford.

father's three friends Sir Bernard Gascon, the Roman Catholic envoy to Savoy, Thomas Belasyse, Lord Fauconberg and Sir John Finch the resident in Tuscany then under orders of recall to England. Tom seems to have recieved a warm welcome at the Ducal courts of Florence and Genoa but abruptly in March two successive bouts of fever brought to a tragic close a life which had scarce begun. When the young man learned of his approaching end he recieved the news very calmly and in the absence of an Anglican priest made his confession to Finch.^{1.} But his last thoughts went to his far off Devonshire home where he desired that his body should find its last resting place and before the last ceremonies were over he hoped that the father he loved so well would look once more upon the face of his son. In the spring of the year the Centurion cleared from Leghorn amidst the roar of guns and the silent grief of the assembled English colony; in a cabin hung with black lay all that was mortal of Tom Clifford. By July the last obsequies had been concluded and Tom had found his place in the family vault at Ugbrooke. Clifford's grief for the loss of his son was evidently keen. Conscious of this for a time Gascon found himself unable to write directly to his friend and Evelyn found his visit of condolence a trying ordeal. 'I doe assure you ', he wrote to Williamson, ' Mr Treasurer's was an unspeakable loss; I have often

1. Only a Roman Catholic priest was available to hear Tom's confession and Gascon suggested that he should be called. His advice was rejected by Finch. Perhaps Gascon had some inkling of Clifford's religious inclinations - he had left England some six months before while Finch had been absent for nearly three years - but if he had had a definite opinion he would in all probability have been more insistent in his proposal.

said it. I do not know that ever was beheld so much sweetness and
manliness mingled together as in that fine youth ---'.^{1.}

Only intermittently do we learn anything of the other members of
Clifford's family or of his life down at Ugbrooke.^{2.} He had by the
time of his retiral a large number of children for subsequent to the
Restoration three sons, Hugh, Simon and Charles and five daughters,
Amy, Anne, Rhoda, Isabel and Catherine were born in rapid succession.
With the exception of Isabel, who died in infancy, all were alive when
the Lord Treasurer made his will in October 1673. Hugh was a boy of
only some seven years when his brother Tom died and is seldom alluded
to except in such laconic entries as ' For Bow and Arowes for Mr Hugh
1/6.' Charles, the youngest of the family, being born in June 1671,
had the King for his godfather and recieved from that monarch a
magnificent cup of beaten silver and gold while his sister Catherine,
who preceded him by eighteen months, was equally fortunate for Queen
Catherine stood godmother at her baptism and presented the baby with
a valuable pair of diamond earrings. In the meantime his two eldest

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1. Add 21,948, f.62: S.P.For. Tuscany 12: Gascon to Clifford, 2.VI.71,
& letter of condolence from Cosmo de Medici to same, 11.VII.71,
Clifford, Miscell., 5: S.P.D.Chas. 11., 249/167: Cal.S.P.Dom.,
1668-9, 48-9, 115, 151; 1670, 275, 299, 306, 321, 539, 567; 1671, 198, 263,
274, 320, 354, 376: H.M.C.Rep., 7, 514: H.M.C. Portland 111, 334;
Various 111, 133, 137; Le Fleming, 79, 82; Finch 11., 501, cf. Rep., 7,
op.cit.: London Gazette 595; Evelyn, Diary, 6.IV.71. See also Appendix IV.
 2. There is little evidence of Clifford's connection with local affairs
in Devon. We might note, however, that in April 1666 and in June
1671 the city of Exeter gave their thanks to him in the tangible
form of two pieces of plate worth together between thirty and
thirty five pounds. Cliffordania, 23.

daughters, Elizabeth and Mary had reached a marriageable age.

Elizabeth found a husband in a family which had frequently intermarried with the Cliffords and Chudleighs, the Carews of Haccombe. In April 1673 she was married to Henry Carew in Wallingford House chapel. And the day before the Lord Treasurer resigned his staff her younger sister Mary, not yet fifteen, was wedded to Sir Samuel Leech, ' a person of good estate, which they say he choose not for his fortune, ^{1.} so much as piety and fitting his humour '.

In the interim death had removed many of his older relations. Richard Martin had died before the Restoration and three or four years later his grandmother Clifford died at a ripe old age. His only brother, George, had not survived to see the end of the war in which he had so feared for the safety of his brother and Clifford had shown his sense of the loss by securing a pension of two hundred pounds a year for his widow. Another kinsman, Mr Hals, was killed in a Paris street brawl and his brother-in-law, Baldwin Acland, died in the August of 1672. But a younger generation was springing up and it is interesting to notice Clifford's interest in his cousin Thomas Chudleigh who had been left somewhat poorly provided for on the death of his father. While the Lord Treasurer was still alive Chudleigh received a number of appointments as secretary to various embassies and in January 1673 Clifford wrote a short personal note to him apologising for his tardy answers to Chudleigh's letters but hoping

1. Add 18,448, f.27: Clifford, Bills: Williamson, Letters, 1, No. 26: Alleg. Marriage Licenses, 214.

that he would be excused on account of ' how ill a faculty I have that way '. ' I doe as much longe for your returne ', he continued, ' as any boddy yet as a publick spirited man, and a lover of my Countrey, I cannot but bee glad that our Embassadors at Nimuegen^{1.} have your assistance '.

Fleeting glimpses of the members of the Lord Treasurer's household are tantalising in their brevity but the names of Christopher the butler, Thomas the cook, James and William the grooms, Richard the postillion and numerous other servants serve to remind us that Clifford kept open house in London during his period of office under the Crown. Charles and York frequently sat down to dinner with Clifford^{2.} and Cosmo de Medici testifies to the 'magnificence' of his hospitality.^{3.} In the spring of 1668 the delighted Pepys was a dinner guest at Clifford's lodgings, ' where my Lord Arlington and a great deal of good and great Company; where I was very civilly used by them, and had a most excellent dinner: and good discourse of Spain, Mr Godolphin being there! Later in the year, on the invitation of Robin Holmes, the Clerk of the Acts ' did go and eat some oysters: which while we were at, in comes^{4.} my Lord Keeper and much company; and so I thought it best to withdraw.' Evelyn, too, was often a guest at Clifford's table and he has left us a record of the names of those he met there; prominent noblemen like

1. Clifford to [Chudleigh], 22.1.[73], Add 15,857, f.182, cf. index to Additions Catalogue which infers Evelyn as the recipient: Baldwin Acland and George Clifford to Clifford, 7.VII.65, Clifford, Miscell., 2: Perwick, Despatches, 196: Polwhele, 125: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1667-8, 323; 1672-5, 147.

2. Add 21,948, f.427: ut supra page 162.

3. Travels of Cosmo III., 293, 373. Cosmo presented Clifford with several tapestries on his departure two of which, depicting the Rape of the Sabine women and the discovery of Romulus and Remus, still hang in the hall at Ugbrooke Park.

4. Pepys. 15.111. & 5.XI.68.

Arlington, Carlington, Mulgrave and Halifax, House of Commons men like Titus, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Holmes and Sir Henry Jones, adventurers like Grammont and Blood and Roman Catholics like Arundel of Wardour, Sir Thomas Strickland and Father Patrick. And here Evelyn met with the brilliant, unstable Rochester, ' a very profane wit ^{1.} ' Rochester's presence is interesting for it would appear that Clifford particularly welcomed the society of literary men. Lord Lisle, writing to Temple in September 1667, notes that ' Old Lady Devonshire keeps up her Feasts still; and that hath been of late Mr Waller's chief Theatre: The Assembly of Wits at Mr Comptroller's will scarce let him in. ' ^{2.} Sir Robert Howard, politician, poet and playwright, was one of Clifford's intimate friends but more significant is the patronage which the latter extended to John Dryden who was created, perhaps at Clifford's instance, Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal with a pension of two hundred pounds a year. ^{3.} To him in the summer of 1673 Dryden dedicated his 'Amboyna' in acknowledgment of the many favours he had recieved over a period of several years. The voluntary retiral of the Lord Treasurer, the poet wrote, was an example rare in history, for ' few men have frown'd first upon Fortune and then precipitated themselves from the top of her Wheele '. In the words of the historian, ' Multi diutius Imperium tennerunt; Nemo fortius reliquit '. But though fortune might desert the wise and the brave true virtue would never forsake itself. Dryden was perhaps a visitor to Ugbrooke during the lifetime of the Lord Treasurer, certainly he frequently

1. Evelyn, 2.IV.69, 24.XI.70, 10 & 17.V.71, 1 & 22.IX.71, 6.X.72.

2. Temple, 11, 135.

3. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1669-72, 481. (13.VII.70.)

resided there as the guest of Hugh, second Lord Clifford, for the name 'Dryden's seat' has been appropriated to a formation of the green hillocks in the park and the dedication of his 'Pastorales' to this same man shows a warmth of admiration for the Lord Treasurer which the passage of years had not suffered to grow cold. 'He was the patron of my manhood when I flourished in the opinion of the world though with small advantage to my fortunes till he awakened the remembrance of my royal master. He was that Pollio, or that Varrus, who introduced me to Augustus; and though he soon dismissed himself from state affairs, yet, in the short time of his administration, he shone so powerfully upon me, that like the heat of a Russian summer, he ripened the fruits of poetry in a cold climate and gave me wherewithal to subsist, at least, in the long winter which succeeded.'^{1.}

What pleasure Clifford derived from the perusal of Dryden's 'Amboyna' we know not but it is evident that the few months of life remaining to him were fraught with disappointment and pain. Before leaving London he had procured a pardon from the King, 'which they say is sans pareill, it being for thought, and deed in any kind whatsoever with more particulars then ever were said before'. The pardon was certainly a singularly complete document but it must have been little solace to the retiring statesman in the shipwreck of his personal fortunes and the foundering of his schemes of national policy.^{2.}

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1. 'Amboyna', 1673: Dryden's works, ed. Scott, XI.11, 337. Their common detestation of the Dutch was probably a strong factor in drawing the two men together; as early as 1662 the poet had written a sharp piece of invective entitled 'Satire on the Dutch'. We might also note that Sir Robert Howard was Dryden's brother-in-law.
 2. Williamson, Letters, 1, No.56: Letters and Papers, 246-7. / Over.

Moreover he was far from well, suffering from a renewed attack of gall stones, and on the advice of Sir Alexander Fraser he left London to seek relief in the noxious waters of Tunbridge Wells. A letter from the physician makes the nature of his troubles abundantly clear.

' So soone as Your Lordshipe hath rested on Night at the Waters of Tunbridge you are to take this potione at 5, 6 or 7 o'clock --- The next morning at 5 or 6, drink at the fountaine 5 glasses of 10 onces the glasse and this to be drunk, in the spaice of an howre. The next day drink 7 glasses of 10 onces the third day 10 glasses, which I suppose may be a quantitie sufficient to be drunk mor, unles the water's passe is dangerous. I could wishe these waters purged mor by stoole, and to remede that defecte, I adwyse your Lordship to tak at 4 or 5 of the morning a dose of these piles, and at 6, 7 or 8, drink your 10 glasses of the water; and by so doeing you may have 3 or 4 stoolles a day.' Such a treatment does not seem attractive to modern eyes but the diet to which Fraser confined the Lord Treasurer appears not unpalatable including mutton, veal, chicken, rabbit, partridge, bourdeaux and claret and in addition ' a moderate supper may be eat '.

For the moment the treatment at Tunbridge would appear to have relieved Clifford's physical sufferings for when Evelyn visited him on the 25th of July he was convinced that he was there to ' divert his mind more than his body --- for though he carried with him music and people to divert him, and, when I came to see him, lodged me in his

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1. contin. p.225. The original of the pardon is still preserved at Ugbrooke Park. The pardons subsequently granted to Lauderdale (3.X.73) and Buckingham (19.XI.73) were made out in the same terms.
 2. Fraser to Clifford, 30.VI.73, Clifford, Miscell., 6.

own apartment, and would not let me go from him, I found he was struggling in his mind; and, being of a rough and ambitious nature, he could not long brook the necessity he had brought on himself, of submission to this conjuncture. Besides, he saw the Dutch war, which was made much by his advice, as well as the shutting up of the Exchequer, very unprosperous. These things his high spirit could not support.^{1.} Evelyn stayed two or three days with Clifford and in the circumstances his first hand evidence must carry some weight. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the so called Diary partakes of the nature of memoirs for it was not always written up from day to day and the passages which relate to Clifford at this time were retrospectively constructed so as to lead up to the deplorable climax of his suicide. It is more than probable that Clifford was deeply chagrined at the failure of the Dutch war and the country's reaction against Catholicism but part, at anyrate, of his melancholy must have been induced by the agonising pressure of gall stones on the bladder.

After a stay of some weeks Clifford returned to London to make final preparations for his departure into the country. Two years before he had written to Morice, then leading the life of a country gentleman, that 'I esteem it my great misfortune that I am allowed to stay so little in the country --- I envy the quiet you enjoy'.^{2.} Now, broken down in health, he could no longer look forward with so much enthusiasm to his retiral to Devon. A week before he took coach for Ugbroke

1. Evelyn, 25.Vll.73.

2. Clifford to Morice, September 1671, Add 8880, f.198.

Evelyn called at Wallingford House where he found him busily engaged in packing up his pictures, which were mostly ' of hunting wild beasts, and vast pieces of bull baiting, bear baiting, etc. ' ' Taking leave of my Lord Clifford,' Evelyn wrote long after the event, ' he wrung me by the hand, and looking earnestly on me, bid me God-b'ye, adding, " Mr Evelyn, I shall never see thee more." " No! " said I, " my Lord; what's the meaning of this? I hope I shall see you often, and as great a person again." " No, Mr Evelyn, do not expect it, I will never see this place, this City, or Court again," or words to this sound. In this manner, not without almost mutual tears, I parted from^{1.} him.' At the secretary's office, where he had gone to take leave of Henry Coventry, Clifford did not show the same depths of despondency. Coventry had not yet returned from the country so he left a message with one of the clerks, jocularly adding that they might tell the Secretary that ' he would doe well to come up sometimes.'^{2.} And so he quitted London on the 25th of August and journeyed down to his Devonshire home from which he had been long absent. His contacts with the outside world were not entirely broken for he remained in correspondence with Williamson, Essex, Osborne and Stephen Fox at least. But his letter of the 26th of September to the new Lord Treasurer is brief almost to the point of rudeness for it is probable that he was already seriously ill with his old trouble. Thereafter a silence falls broken

1. Evelyn, 19.VIII.73.

2. James Cook to Coventry, 25.VIII.73, Coventry 4, f.113.

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only by reports of his advancing illness.

Conscious of his approaching end Clifford had his will drawn up,
signed and sealed on the 7th of October.^{2.} The preamble to this
vitally personal document is an illuminating commentary on his last
few days. 'I, Thomas, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh,' it runs, 'being
of perfect memory and of sound mind (thanks be to God) though weak
in body, do now make my last will and testament, bequeathing my soul
into the hands of my Creator who made it; and my body to the earth,
to be buried in the vault of my chapel at Ugbrooke, in the upper
middle of the said vault next to the body of my dear son Thomas. And
I hope the body of my dear wife will be laid next to me on the other
side. I desire that my body may be buried in a leaden coffin, with
oaken boards on the outside thereof, and that I may be buried in as
few hours as my said coffin may be provided; and that without farther
cost or ceremony, peremptorily forbidding all scutchyons or other
mourning to be hung up for me in any place whatsoever. And if the
same possibly may be, I desire that I may be buried in the silent
time of the night.' Clifford had always been opposed to ceremony and
if the directions for a nocturnal burial might seem to point to a
mind diseased on the other hand the terms of the will show a remarkable
clarity in their meticulous provision for the disposal of his property.
Amy, Anne, Rhoda and Catherine were to recieve two thousand five

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1. Clifford to Osborne, 26.1X.73, Add 28,053, f.73: Bernard Grenville, 6.1X.73; Williamson, 30.1X.73 and Fox to Clifford, 4.X.73, Clifford, Miscell., 7: Coventry 17, f.34b.
 2. The will is dated 7th Oct. 1673 and has been printed by Oliver in the Flying Post, 30.VII.1857, Clifford, Scrap Book.

hundred pounds apiece on attaining sixteen years of age, Simon and Charles, who had other expectations, one thousand pounds when they became eighteen. Hugh, his heir, was to have in addition to the entailed lands the manor of Rodway Fitzpaine in Somerset. More particularly a careful provision was made for the support of his wife. To her he willed during life his plate and jewels, valued at four thousand pounds, his pictures and household goods, the Bremble lands, three hundred pounds a year out of the Creslow Pastures and one hundred and forty five pounds from the chantry rents granted to him a few months before. As this last was legally the property of his heir in the event of obstruction she was to have one hundred and fifty pounds a year added to what she was already to receive out of the profits from the Creslow Pastures. Further certain lands in Chudleigh and the surrounding district, which had been made over to Sir Thomas Carew of Barley and Thomas Hart of Edeford to be held in trust for his wife, were to be continued to the same use. Two thousand pounds were to be laid out by her on the unfinished buildings at Ugbrooke. Finally she was to be the sole guardian of the children and executrix of the will though she was to have the assistance of Carew and John Fowel of Wasteburn when necessary. No stronger testimony could have

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1. Seven thousand pounds, to be raised over a period of sixteen years, and at least three hundred and sixty pounds a year were charged upon the Creslow Pastures by the terms of the will. It is probable that Clifford overestimated the value of these lands for even allowing the lowest annual charge and taking their value in 1719 as a basis of calculation they still fail to meet the provisions he made by several hundred pounds.
 2. Draft indenture between Clifford, on the one hand, and Carew and Hart, on the other, 20.1V.73, Clifford, Miscell., 6.

been made to the affection and esteem he cherished for his wife.

By this time the news of his critical state had reached London where Prowse, who was occupied in winding up the late Lord Treasurer's financial affairs, affirmed that the doctors had given up all hope of his recovery. For a brief space hopes were renewed by the passage of one of the gall stones followed by a discharge of blood and water but in his weak state the chances of a rally were small. It is probable that the hemorrhage continued and on the nineteenth of October Thomas,^{1.} Lord Clifford of Chudleigh passed from this world.

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1. Coventry 85, f.26: Ashmolean 436, f.58; 243, f.131: Williamson, Letters, 11, 122-5, 127-8, 130: Prince, 219.
See Appendix V. for the ' suicide theory '.

EPILOGUE.

As a ministerial entity the Cabal had a short and somewhat dubious existence. Death finally removed Clifford in the autumn of 1673, while rumours of his impending impeachment were being freely circulated, and the next few months witnessed the dispersal of the remaining ministers who had concurred in the declaration of Indulgence and the war with Holland. Shaftesbury's gravitation into opposition was completed by November and he was soon hard at work in an attempt to break the French alliance and to exclude York from the succession on account of his religion. Despite his attempts to throw the blame for recent measures on Clifford and Arlington and address was carried in the Commons for the removal of Buckingham; his dismissal from office followed speedily upon the revelations he made in his defence and, though for a time he marched in step with his one-time protégé Osborne, now Earl of Danby, by the turn of the year he too was in opposition along with the ex-Chancellor Arlington successfully survived the enquiries instituted in the Lower House, retained the good opinion of the King but rapidly lost much of his former political power. Irreconcilably opposed to Danby, who was becoming the dominating figure in the government, he was too much of a courtier to seek reinstatement in opposition and in the following June he was brought, somewhat unwillingly, to resign his secretaryship. Lauderdale, who had made no bones about calling Shaftesbury a traitor to his face the previous July, alone retained his position. Despite addresses for his removal, supported by Charles and Danby, he continued

to direct affairs in Scotland for a further six years.

The break up of the Cabal, the withdrawal of the declaration of Indulgence, the passage of the Test Act and the signature of the treaty of Westminster early in 1674 meant the failure of the 'Grande Designe'. A period of reactionary Protestantism followed in which the keen wind of persecution was only intermittently tempered by the leniency of the King. Though Catholic hopes rose high again when James came to the throne his hasty and ill considered policy merely served to strengthen a blind hatred of Popery which two and a half centuries have not yet wholly eradicated. Chance so had it that Clifford's drive for the advancement of Catholicism was made under the less resolute of the Royal brothers and it was the misfortune of James that he was served in the final crisis of his reign by the time serving Sunderland and not by the bold and loyal Lord Treasurer Clifford. But though the cause of Catholicism was not advanced by the 'Grande Designe' the anti-Dutch alliance with France had important negative results. Bearing the heat of the struggle with France during the next twenty years, Holland overstrained her resources and entered upon a long naval decline which became every day more obvious as the century drew to a close. It was as a junior partner at sea that the Dutch joined with England in a struggle with France which left the English with the commercial and colonial supremacy of the World.

APPENDICES.

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[1.] THE COMMISSION OF SICK AND WOUNDED AND PRISONERS.

1664 - 1667.

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The first organised attempt to look after the victims of our naval contests had been made under the Commonwealth. Following the action of September 1652 the Council ordered provision to be made for them in the London hospitals and a resolution of the Admiralty Committee on December 15th allotted a proportion of places in all existing hospitals, directed the construction of a special hospital at Deal and ordered that each ship should carry a certain minimum of medical comforts. But the accommodation thus secured was inadequate and sometimes distinctly unsatisfactory, money was scarce and in the hospitals even the necessities of life itself were frequently wanting.

Consequently in the summer of the following year the Council decided that a select committee should be set up and in September appointed Samuel Ward, Joseph Lark, Thomas Turner and Samuel Cooper as the ' Commissioners of sick and wounded at Little Britain ' with a salary of £150 a year. Their province was a general supervision of the distribution of the invalided men, the provision of suitable quarters, surgeons, nurses, medical appliances and the granting of gratuities and pensions not exceeding £10 and £6-13-4 respectively. The upkeep of the ordinary

1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1652-3, 29.

2. Ibid, 208, 224.

3. E.H.R. XI, 38.

4. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1652-3, 528; 1654, 469. Normally one tenth of the sale of prizes was allotted but this proved to be insufficient.

5. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1652-3, 283.

prisoners was not to exceed 4d a day, that of commissioned officers and of our own invalids 1/- a day. They were to be assisted by subordinate officers who were to divide £1090 in salaries.^{1.}

The path of the commissioners was not an easy one. Great difficulty was experienced in keeping the hospitals within their allowances,^{2.} the valuation of their services by the physicians, surgeons and particularly the apothecaries had to be beaten down,^{3.} while the finding of trustees and investments for the grants to captains' widows was a constant source of trouble.^{4.} The multifarious character of the work involved can be understood by a glance at the tattered accounts of the Savoy and Ely hospitals.^{5.} On the whole, however, the institution of the Commission marked a great advance and though increasing financial difficulties towards the end of the decade brought an inevitable decline it had done good work before it disappeared shortly after the Restoration.^{6.}

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1653-4, 78,85,174,175. For the transfer of the granting of pensions to seamen's widows see Cal.S.P.Dom., 1653-4, 537.
 2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1653-4, 422; 1654, 9.
 3. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1654, 139,405; S.P.Dom., 28, 141.
 4. As Oppenheim has pointed out there is a discrepancy between the grants of £10 to the ordinary seaman's widow and £1000 to that of the captain. The majority of captains' widows did not, however, receive this high figure and it is not true that £400 was the lowest grant made; Captain Crispe's widow received £160. (Cal.S.P.Dom., 1653-4, 525.) And if we remember that the captain of a first rate received £252 a year as against £11-8-0 paid to an A.B. (Cat.Pepys MSS 1, 150; Harleian 1247, f.40) the state compensation did bear some approximate relation to the earning capacity of the deceased.
 5. S.P. 28, 141. These accounts contain some interesting information. We learn for example that the discharged seaman could be completely rigged out for 15/- to 19/- a head, that a flock bed with bolsters cost 22/-, a pair of blankets 8/- and that the head washerwomen at the Savoy and the Ely earned from £10 to £12 a month. The apothecaries bills were of course exceptionally heavy ranging from £40 to £160 or £170 a month; in comparison the surgeons and physicians were poorly remunerated.
 6. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1656-7, 412; 1657-8, 363; 1659-60, 516; 1660-1, 107.

The powers granted to the 1664 commission were very similar to those of the earlier date the main difference being that their salaries were doubled.^{1.} Their preparations had to be hurriedly made for already an unofficial war was being waged with Holland and prisoners were being brought in from the prizes. Meeting three times a week at Painter's Hall they made an attempt to introduce some degree of order into a rather chaotic organisation. Letters were despatched to the chief magistrates of the maritime towns requiring their assistance in providing suitable quarters for the reception of the sick and wounded and under their direction one half of the rooms in St Bartholomew's, St Thomas' and the Savoy were prepared for use, and orders were issued to ensure that adequate certificates were furnished to the sick and wounded, and to prevent the retention of those invalids upon the ships' payrolls.^{3.} A warrant for £5000 was drawn on the Treasurer of the Navy, Sir George Cartaret, by the Receiver of the commission, Captain George Cock, to meet initial expenditure.^{4.} This preliminary work completed the commissioners separated to their various districts, Evelyn alone remaining in London.^{5.}

Throughout the war the hampering circumstance was to be the lack of ready money and despite the allocation of £20,000 and the promise, at the solicitation of Clifford, of a further £20,000, towards the end of

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1. Add 36,782, f.24b: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 113,376: Evelyn, 27.X.64: Penn, Memorials, 11, 302: Clifford Holland 11. contains Clifford's copy of the 'Instructions.'
 2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 113,114: Moore, 11, 321.
 3. Add 18,986, f.377; 37,820, f.168b: Egerton 925, f.10b: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 97.
 4. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 112,182; 1660-70, 696: Pepys, Shorthand Letters 173.
 5. Evelyn, 11.111.65. Evelyn took Kent and Sussex, Doyley, Suffolk and Essex, Raynes, Hampshire and Dorset, Clifford, Devon and Cornwall.

the summer of 1665 the commissioners were already in sore financial
 1. straits. The appropriation of local taxes and prize money, permission to
 2. take up money at 10% and the loan of the Dutch prisoners to merchantmen,
 3. 4. colliers, fishermen and farmers were but temporary measures not calculated
 to effect any permanent improvement. And the coming of the Plague was
 an additional anxiety for it increased the already heavy mortality and
 5. straitened the means of accomodation. From all quarters we hear of
 seamen perishing for want of food, clothing and shelter and the warm
 hearted Evelyn ' having 5000 sick and wounded and prisoners dying for
 want of bread and shelter ' was, with difficulty, restrained from
 6. resigning. The townspeople, rightly doubtful of the King's ability to
 7. pay, were unwilling to give credit and indeed to receive the sick at all.
 At sea conditions were no better; hospital ships like the Royal Katherine
 and the St John were all too few and even at that they were but crudly
 equipped, small and overcrowded; too often the absence of a chirurgion

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1. Add 18,986, f.319: Evelyn, Corresp., 111, 317-8, 321, 325: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 434, 437, 524, 571: Cal.Trs.Bks., 1660-7, 673.
 2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 469, 531, 557, 574.
 3. Cal.Trs.Bks., 1660-7, 722.
 4. Admiralty 2, 1733, 17, 20-23. V165: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 469, 472, 476: The Newes, 15.V1.65.
 5. Reymes to Clifford, 28.V111.65, Clifford Holland 5: Add 5752, f.91; 18,986, f.390: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 505: Moore, 11, 325. Evelyn estimated that of the 7030 men put on shore in Kent, 403 died of ordinary diseases, 84 of the Plague. (Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 230.)
 6. Add 18,986, f.377: S.P.D.Chas.11, 181/135: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 569, 571, 576, 577; 1665-6, 14: Pepys, Letters and Second Diary, 27.
 7. S.P.Dom, Chas.11, 190/35, 211/88: Add 35,117, f.62; 36,782, f.62.

1.
on board the warships led to needless deaths. The accusations of inefficiency and dishonesty that were freely bandied about were not
2.
wholly groundless.

In this confused state of misery the Dutch prisoners suffered severely. At the outset of the war their daily diet had been a pound of bread with water, their bedding of straw for which they had themselves

3.
es to pay. Sir William Coventry, Sir George Downing and others would have us believe that they were well treated and at the instance of Downing a voluntary manifesto was procured from the Dutch prisoners in Colchester, Ipswich and Woodbridge which gave the rates at 1/- a day for an officer and 5d a day for an A.B., a list of victuals

supplied - with their prices- and a general announcement that they were
4.
well treated. The spontaneity of this declaration was more than

suspect. Van Gogh, the Dutch envoy, was of a very different opinion and we know that in Ireland at least the Dutch and the French prisoners were on a very different footing, the latter being allocated 4d a day for their maintenance, the former only 1d a day - when it was forth-

5.
coming. It was perhaps as a result of the bad treatment they received

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1. Add 18,896, f.377: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1664-5, 528; 1665-6, 70: Letters and Papers, 152-3. A ship's surgeon received in 1658 50/- a month, his mate 30/- a month. Harleian 1247, f.46.
 2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 3,10,35,68,92,338. Evelyn, the moving spirit of the commission, was undoubtedly honest and his methods of accounting were warmly approved by Pepys. (Pepys, Further Corresp., 60.) Doyley, however, was convicted of peculation when acting in a similar capacity during the Third Dutch War and may have been guilty of dishonest practises in this. (Add 11,684, ff.76b-77.)
 3. Add 27,820, f.129.
 4. Add 22,920, f.150: S.P.For.Holl., 177, ff.1, 3,197: The Intelligencer, 17 & 27.11.65, 7.VIII.65: Colenbrander, 1, 227. One account, in rebutting the charge of cruelty, says that the only complaint of the Dutch prisoners is that the bread is too white, the beer too strong.
 5. Add 10,117, f.170; 17,677 2, ff.362-263b,345; 17,677 A.A, f.36: Carte 34, f.691: S.P.For.Holl., 177, ff. 26,126,170,197-8: Colenbrander, 1, 297.

that so many conspiracies were made by the Dutch prisoners to escape or
 1.
 to retaliate in kind. But if conditions were bad in England they were
 at least balanced by the treatment meted out to the English prisoners in
 Holland. Downing cites one case where thirty men were confined to a
 room with less than a hundred square feet of floor space and were
 provided with 'but a little miserable buttermilk mingled with water and
 grutt which is a sad kinde of Meate of broken Corne and lamentable small
 2.
 beere', and there were many instances of a similar nature.

In these circumstances it is surprising to find a rapid subsistence^{3d}
 of complaints in the summer of 1666. Evelyn himself adopts a less
 urgent tone and is soon fully occupied with his plans for a new infirm-
 3.
 ary at Chatham. The reason for this improved state of affairs may be in
 part the increased supplies of money that were forthcoming, though, in
 4.
 truth, much of it remained a paper promise as long as the war lasted.
 And, moreover, the exchange of prisoners had by this time got into its
 full swing thus alleviating to some extent the burden upon the commiss-
 5.
 ioners. At the same time the remuneration to surgeons was raised

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1. Add 10,117, ff.166b,167: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, 59,82,92,577; 1667-8, 118,124: The Newes, 23.XI.65.
 2. S.P.Dom.Chas.11, 176/153; Clarendon 108, f.323; S.P.For.Holl, 177, f.17; Colenbrander, 1, 238.
 3. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 206,223,253,272,302; Pepys, Further Corresp.,117; Pepys, Letters and Second Diary, 26-7. In the summer of 1666 the commissioners took up new quarters, the Star Chamber; about the same time Downing was joined in commission with them. Evelyn, 11&12.VII.66.
 4. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 343,354,412; 1666-7, 83.
 5. Add 37,820, ff.162b,172b; Cal.Trs.Bks., 1660-7, 693; 1667-8, 474-5; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, 524; 1666-7 & 1667, index under 'Prisoners'. The redemption rate of the ordinary French seaman was finally fixed at 24/- a head: De Witt, who had more need of men, offered 40/- a head and one month's pay for the officers. (S.P.Dom.Chas.11, 196/48 & 68; 199/113; 200/20.).

An analysis of the Account of Captain George Cock, Receiver for the Sick, Wounded and Prisoners. (11th November 1664 to 25th March 1668.) 1.

Charge.

	£.	s.	d.
Out of the Exchequer.	15,000	0	0
From Sir G. Carteret. (Treasurer of the Navy.)	100,000	0	0
From Prize Money.	2,000	0	0
From French Agents.	82	8	0
<u>Total.</u>	<u>117,082</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>

Discharge.

District 1. Sir Thomas Clifford. (Plymouth, Dartmouth, Falmouth and Exeter.)

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Sick and Wounded.	2898	6	4			
Prisoners.	3191	8	5			
Personal expenses.	1160	15	4			
				7,250	10	1

District 2. Sir William Doyley. (Yarmouth, Southwold, Woodbridge, Ipswich and Harwich.)

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Sick and Wounded.	25,567	13	7			
Prisoners.	6,102	18	10			
Extraordinaries.	1,201	0	9			
				32,871	13	2

District 3. Sir John Evelyn. (Deal, Milton, Feversham, Chatham, Rochester Gravesend and Erith.)

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Sick and Wounded.	30,216	19	2			

	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Prisoners.	4,758	0 2		
Extraordinaries.	189	4 0		
Personal Expenses.	250	15 1		
			35,414	18 5

District 4. Colonel Bullen Reymes. (Portsmouth, Bristol, Newcastle, Hull, Scarborough and Bridlington)

	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Sick and Wounded.	18,990	19 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Prisoners.	820	10 2		
			19,811	10 0 $\frac{1}{2}$

District 5. Peter Brookes. (Leith.)

	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Sick, Wounded and Prisoners.	973	12 10		
			973	12 10

District 6. William Crispe. (Kinsale.)

	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Sick, Wounded and Prisoners.	2441	16 10		
			2441	16 10

	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Central expenses.	9341	3 1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Grants to Widows	12	0 0		
Fees to the Exchequer and Signet Offices.	187	3 10		

£. s. d. £. s. d.

Allowances to the Accountant.	6997	12	1	2.				
					16,537	19	0	1/2
Total.					115,302	10	5	2.

Total expended. £.115,302-10-5.

Unexpended. £. 1,779-17-7. 3.

£.117,082- 8-0.

1. Declared Accounts, Audit Office. Bundle 1820, Rolls 483-6.
2. Owing to an incorrect addition the figure given under ' Allowances is 5/- too much and shows again in the total. In this abstract the corrected figures are given.
3. For the reason stated in note 2 this figure is 5/- too low in the original.

[11.] List of ships detached to prosecute the attack upon Bergen. (1.)

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Position.	Name of Ship.	Rate.	Crew.	Guns.	Slain.	Wounded.	Capt.
Star(board)	Revenge	3	280	58	4	7	
Ag(ainst)	Happy Return	4	190	50	14	48	
Ag.	2.Breda	4	180	46	29	55	John Seale
Lee(ward) at Kors Fiord.x.	Mary Rose	4	190	48			
Ag.	Foresight	4	170	46	15	54	Packington Brooke. 3.
Lee.	Bonaventure	4	160	40			Arthur 4. Langhorne.
Ag.	Sapphire	4	160	38	15	41	? Eliot.
Star.	Guinea	4	150	36	0	7	
Lee.	John & Thomas	4	200	44			Tobias Suckler.
Lar(board)	Golden Lion	4	200	42	0	6	
Lar.	Society	4	160	36	2	0	Henry Dames.
Lee.	2.Hambro Merchant	4	170	36			James Cadman.
Ag.	2. Prudent Mary	4	?	?	7	13	? Howard.
Lee. x.	Exchange	4	170	36			Samuel Wentworth.
Ag.	Bendish	4	180	42	14	38	
Lee. x.	Constant Cather	4	180	40			
Star.	2. Coast Frigate. <u>ine</u>	4	150	34	2		2 William Lawson.
Ag.	Pembroke	5	145	28	0	6	
Star.	2. Guernsey	5	145	28	2	9	Richard Utbird.
Ag.	Norwich	5	<u>135</u>	<u>24</u>	7	24	
			2315	818			

Position. Names of Ship. Rate. Guns. Crew. Slain. Wounded. Capt.

Royal Katherine	}	Ketches.
Edward and Eve		
Sir Jeremy Smith's		
Sir Wm. Berkeley's		

2. Briar)
Hound) Fireships.

1	0	John Pierce.
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Martin Galley.

<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>112</u>	<u>309</u>

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1. Sandwich, Journal, 295-7, 271-4, 174-8: Clifford, Holland 5:
Letters and Papers, 43.
 2. Captain slain.
 3. To succeed Arthur Langhorne if killed.
 4. " " Sir T. Teddeman " " .
 - x. Joined the fleet after the action at Bergen.

[111.] RETRENCHMENT SCHEMES OF 1667 AND 22nd JULY 1668.

Item.	Easter 1666 - Easter 1667 ^{1.}		1667 Estimate ^{2.}		1668 Estimate ^{3.}	
	£. s. d.		£. s. d.		£. s. d.	
Queen Consort.	20,000		40,000		23,000	
Queen Mother.	33,000		60,000		40,000	
Household.	100,000		100,000		90,000	4.
Buildings.	13,005		10,000		8,000	5.
Guards & Garrisons.	294,112-10-3 ¹ / ₂		200,000		182,000	6.
Chamber.	26,834-11-8		25,000		20,000	7.
Privy Purse.	20,851- 7-9		30,000		12,000	
Wardrobe.	22,900		20,000		16,000	
Ambassadors etc.	42,508-11-0		20,000		20,000	
Foreign Ambassador's Entertainment.			10,000		10,000	
Robes.	5,000		5,000		5,000	
Total.	578,412-00-8 ¹ / ₂		520,000.		426,000	
Tangier.	x 70,000		50,000		55,500	
Pensions.	x 115,299		115,299		33,324-4-2	8.
Tower.	x 1,194		796		768	
Intelligence.	x 6,000		4,000		3,000	
Gentlemen Pensioners	x 6,000		4,000	9.	3,000	9.
Ordinance.	x 42,469		40,000		30,000	
Court of Ludlow, Masters of Chancery & Requests.	x 1,916-13-4		1,916-13-4		2,500	
Harriers.	x 500		500		700	
Creation Money	x 788		788		1,500	
Dormant Privy Seal	x 300		300		500	

Item. Expenditure Easter 1667 Estimate. 1668 Estimate.
1666 to Easter 1667.

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Tents & Pavilions.	x 500	500	500
Total.	245,686 -13-4.	220,099-13-4.	132,492- 4-2.
12 Judges.	x 12,000	12,000	12,000
Angel Gold.	x 1,200	1,200	1,200
Masters of Horse.	x 2,500	2,500	2,500
Lord Privy Seal's Diet	x 1,400	1,400	1,400
Liberates of Exchequer	x 1,500	1,500	1,500
Interest on money borrowed.	x150,000	150,000	150,000
Delfactions.	x100,000	100,000	100,000
Total.	268,000.	268,000.	268,000.
New Year's Gift.	x 2,000	2,000	
Falconry.		1,559-17-6	1,000
Chancellor of the Garter.	x 1,200	1,200	
Armoury.	x 1,093 -4-7	892-18-4	9.
Game Keepers.		107-15-0	187-15-0
Jamaica & Bombay	x 5,000	5,000	
Government Letters etc.	x 3,000	3,000	
Yeoman of the Guard (Tower).	x 815-13-4	425-16-8	
Jewel House.	4,250		2,000
Total.	17,358-17-11.	14,186- 7-6.	3,107-15-0

Item.	Expenditure Easter 1666 to Easter 1667.	1667 Estimate.	1668 Estimate.
	£.	£.	£.
Navy.		200,000	200,000
Countess of Chesterfield's Composition for powder.		3,000	
		203,000	200,000
Grand Totals. (10)	1,110,057-11-11 ¹ / ₂ .	1,225,286-0-10.	1,030,199-19-2.

1. Cal. Trs. Bks., 1660-7, xxix.
2. Cal. Trs. Bks., 1681-5, 1646-50.
3. Cal. Trs. Bks., 1681-5, 1651-2., P.C. Reg., 60,398.
4. Expenditure Sept. 1668-9, £104,196- 3-6¹/₂. (Cal. Trs. Bks., 1667-8, xxx)
5. " " 1669-70, £110,846-12-11¹/₂. (Cal. Trs. Bks., 1669-72, xxi)
5. " " 1668-9, £ 11,635- 5-11¹/₂. (Cal. Trs. Bks., 1667-8, xxxii -iii)
6. " " 1669-70, £ 12,336-12-03¹/₄. (Cal. Trs. Bks., 1669-72, xiii)
6. " " 1668-9. £175,425- 8-0. (Cal. Trs. Bks., 1667-8, xxv-vi)
7. " " 1669-70, £192,520-18-5¹/₄. (Cal. Trs. Bks., 1669-72, xix)
7. " " 1667-9, £ 43,922-1-73¹/₄. (Cal. Trs. Bks., 1667-8, xxix)
7. " " 1669-70, £ 20,328. (Cal. Trs. Bks., 1669-72, xxi)
8. This is not the figure given in the Calendar of Treasury Books. There the mistake is due to an incorrect figure for the Dormant Privy Seal, the 'Pension's' figure being obtained by subtracting all the other items from the total revenue available it is short of what it should be by £200. See P.C. Reg., 60,398.
9. By gradual reduction of numbers.
10. This is of course a fictitious total, the items being drawn from various sources and excluding such a one as the Navy. If, however, we keep in mind that the cost of the Navy in peace time exceeded the £200,000 allowed under the retrenchments it will give us some idea of the proposed reduction in total expenditure.
- x. Expenditure for the year preceding the 1667 'retrenchment' according to the figures given in that list.

[IV.] EXPENSES OF AN OXFORD UNDERGRADUATE IN THE REIGN OF
 CHARLES 11.
 -----.

The carefully preserved accounts of Clifford's eldest son Thomas during his stay at Oxford are illuminating in the exact details they provide of fees, chamber rents, battles, servants wages and other similar items. Such expenditure, of course, varied very greatly with the social standing of the undergraduate. The disbursements of Tom Clifford, a gentleman commoner of Queen's college and the son of an important minister of state, if not on a par with the scions of wealthier families, would probably be somewhat above the average and certainly considerably in excess of what his father would be able to incur when he himself was a fellow commoner of Exeter College.

Timothy Halton, to whom Tom was especially entrusted, sent Clifford seven quarterly accounts extending from Michaelmas 1668 to Midsummer 1. 1670. In all these amount to £226 or an average of £32 a term. The first term with an expenditure of £48 was exceptional for it included his matriculation fee, caution money, and other payments connected with his entrance and establishment in his chambers. Tom was rather backward when he first came up and it is interesting to note that in his first term he had to engage the services of a writing master though subsequently he would appear to have shown some improvement as the item does not recur. Coaching expenses to and from London

1. The first term's account, detailed below, is in Clifford, Miscell., 4, the others are in Clifford, Accounts 1666-1700.

represented a heavy item and in the summer of 1669 we find him keeping a horse at the College, thereby incurring an additional expenditure of between four and five pounds a term.

An interesting comparison is afforded by the expenses of another Englishman at this time, William Atkinson¹. Atkinson was perhaps a Nonconformist for instead of going either to Oxford or to Cambridge he became an undergraduate at Glasgow a few months before Tom Clifford went up to Oxford. From the notebook which he kept we learn that his first year at Glasgow cost him in all £15-5-0 as compared with the £140 to £150 a year disbursed by Clifford. There was undoubtedly a considerable difference in their social ranking. Clifford's washing bill came to ten or twelve shillings a term while that of Atkinson for a whole year came to the modest total of three shillings and while Atkinson's shoes cost two and sixpence a pair Clifford spent sixpence more on a pair for his boy. On one item alone did the undergraduate in the inclement North exceed his contemporary at Oxford. Fuel and light cost Atkinson nineteen shillings more than Clifford. The facetious might suggest that the burning of midnight oil was more usual at Glasgow than at Oxford. But what the Glasgow undergraduate squandered in tempering the icy blast he saved on professorial fees, the Scottish Regent receiving a mere pittance of fifty shillings while two B.A.s of Oxford divided thirty pounds a year between them.

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1. Personal Jottings of a Student at Glasgow University, 1668-70, London University Library, MSS Room 4, Gall.X.
An article dealing with Atkinson was published in the Glasgow Herald, 6th January 1934, by Dr. G.O.Sayles.

' An account of Mr Clifford's expences for the quarter ending att
St Thomas Day - 68. '

	£.	s.	d.
Coach hire and expences in his journey to Oxford	3	14	8
+Fees of admission for himself and his boy	2	5	
+Bedding for his boy	2	10	
+Carriage of his goods from London	1	8	1
Wood for fire		18	
+A Lock and Key to his Study		6	
+Caution Money	6	13	4
+Matriculation Fees	1	5	
Danceing Master att his entrance	1	2	6
St. for the month ending Dec. 24		12	6
Fenceing Master	1		
+Writeing Master		10	
xBedmaker		6	
Taylor		10	
Battles	5	17	7
Battles for his boy	1	16	10
Bookseller	2	5	11
xChamber		15	
§Mercer	5	7	5
Barber		10	
Landresse		10	
xServitor		5	
xTuition for myself and Sir Smith	7	10	
In all	47	19	2
So there remains due to me	2	19	2
Receivd att his Entrance	45		

Timo Halton

+ Items not recurring.

x Constant items not varying in amount.

§ This was probably paid for Tom's gown.

Of interest are the following items of total expenditure not occuring
in the above:

Candles £1-11-01. (7 quarters.)
Keeping his horse. £15-13-09. (4 quarters.)
Shoomaker. £3-03-06. (7 quarters.)
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[V.]

THE SUICIDE THEORY.

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For some time it has been considered that Clifford died by his own
 1.
 hand. Such an opinion rests almost entirely upon Evelyn's statement of
 the case:

' It was reported with these particulars, that, causing his servant to leave him unusually one morning, locking himself in, he strangled himself with his cravat upon the bedtester; his servant, not liking the manner of dismissing him, and looking through the key-hole, (as I remember), and seeing his master hanging, brake in before he was quite dead, and taking him down, vomited a great deal of blood, he was heard to utter these words, " Well; let men say what they will, there is a God, a just God above; " after which he spake no more. ' 2.

This story was based upon the testimony of one of Clifford's old servants who came later into the service of Sir Robert Claydon, Lord Mayor of London and was presumably told some time after the events it describes could have taken place. The diarist, himself, was not fully convinced of its truth though it is noteworthy that the passages he wrote relating to the last few months of Clifford's life are so
 3.
 constructed as to lead up smoothly to this final tragic end. If Evelyn broached the question of Clifford's death to ' Mr Prideaux, one of his trustees ', he went to the wrong person for Prideaux did not enjoy this
 4.
 capacity. And intrinsically there are other objections to the account
 5.
 he gave. Oliver, commenting on this passage, remarks that it is very

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1. Though it has some weight as corroborative evidence little credit need be attached to Marvel's retrospective statement that Clifford hanged himself. A certain license in this direction was always taken by the seventeenth century, anonymous, poets. Margoliouth, 1, 204.
 2. Evelyn, 18.Vlll.73.
 3. Evelyn, 19.Vl.73, 25.Vll.73, 18.Vlll.73.
 4. Clifford's Will, printed by Oliver, Clifford, Scrap Book.
 5. Oliver, 28.

unusual for a person to speak when cut down after hanging; what is still more rare is the utterance of a rational statement and it is an amazing coincidence that the words he is alleged to have spoken dovetail so beautifully into the scheme of Evelyn's 'tragedy'. Oliver's further statement that this constriction of the neck does not accord with the vomiting of blood is, however, not quite accurate. A varicose condition of the veins might possibly be present in the stomach^h, or elsewhere, and a rupture result from the increased pressure. Such a condition is nevertheless seldom present in a man of forty three.

In support of this story Evelyn brings forward further evidence which he claims to have received from Shaftesbury and Sir Edward Walker. The substance of this is that Clifford believed he would be advanced to the highest position in England and then die 'a bloody death'. Shaftesbury was, of course, speaking about a man who had joined the ranks of his political enemies and there is one slip in Evelyn's account of Walker's visit to Clifford with his pedigree 'even when he was first made a Lord' for in actual fact the pedigree was not completed until April 1673. Further the two horoscopes of Clifford which still exist make no such reference as Shaftesbury and Walker suggested; to prognosticate that his client would 'die a bloody death' would be a bold prophecy for any astrologer to make and one not calculated to increase the number of his patrons. And apart from these discrepancies the evidence of the 'horoscope' is largely irrelevant to the 'suicide'. Assuming a *felo de se* it does no more than add a touch of colour and suggestive a motive or a slight predisposition.

So much for Evelyn's narration of the facts as he knew them. It is now quite certain that Clifford was critically ill with gall stones in September, was given up by the doctors, made his will on the seventh and died on the nineteenth of October. Contemporaries including Prince, a Devonshire man residing nearby, Christopher Musgrave, a close friend, and Henry Coventry, who was well placed to receive information, combine in attributing his death to gall stones or to the hemorrhage which went with it.¹ Subsequently, moreover, when Clifford's name was raised in the Commons, political enemies in no way suggest that his death was at all peculiar and amongst the colourful ' Clifford ' anecdotes current at the time we find no such reflection.

It is evident therefore that Evelyn's passage, which was written long after the events it purports to describe could have taken place, is inaccurate, not wholly relevant and that it takes no account of the very serious condition of Clifford's health at the time as a result of natural causes. This is not to accuse Evelyn of fabrication for it is obvious that Clifford was a man he esteemed too highly to malign. Our conclusion must be that the diarist was acquainted with a rumour of Clifford's ' suicide ' which he half beleived but that all other evidence points unmistakably to a natural death. One thing is certain; if any circumstance brought Clifford to make an attempt upon his own life it would not be the chagrin following upon his retiral but the exeruciating agony of a disease which had marked him down for death already.

1. Coventry 85, f.26: Ashmolean 243, f.131; 436, f.58: Prince, 219: Williamson, Letters, 11, Nos. 127,128: Essex Papers, 1, 133.

A list of the extant letters of Thomas Clifford, First Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.

<u>Recipient.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Reference.</u>
Sir Joseph Williamson.	9.X.63.	Cal. S.P.Dom., 1663-4, p.252.
" " "	17.X.63.	" " " " p.306.
" " "	26.XII.63.	" " " " p.391.
" " "	6.1.64.	" " " " p.443.
" " "	20.1.64.	" " " " p.448.
" " "	6.VI.64.	" " " " p.606.
Sir William Coventry.	25.XI.64.	Add. 32,094, f.100.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	28.IV.65.	Cal. S.P. Dom., 1664-5, p.334.
Sir John Evelyn.	11.V.65.	Add. 28,103, f. 53.
Lord Arlington.	3.VIII.65.	Coventry. 95, f.99: Rawl.A.256, f.4: Clifford. Holland 4. (copies)
Earl of Sandwich.	3.VIII.65.	Carte. 75, f.525.
Lord Arlington.	12.VIII.65.	Rawl. A.256, f.10: Clifford. Holland 6. (2 copies in last)
Earl of Sandwich.	[12].VIII.65.	Rawl. A.256, f.17b. Printed in Sandwich Journal, p.264.
Sir William Coventry.	26.VIII.65.	Coventry. 95, f.140.
" " "	29.VIII.65.	" " " 258.
Earl of Sandwich.	1.IX.65.	Carte. 75, f.339.
Sir Henry Coventry.	8.IX.65.	Coventry. 64, f.222: copy in Clarendon. 83, f.228.
" " "	14.IX.65.	Coventry. 64, f.228.
" " "	21.IX.65.	Coventry. 64, f.232.
" " "	30.IX.65.	" " f.235: copy in Clarendon.83, f.238.
" " "	2.X.65.	" " f.237.

<u>Recipient.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Reference.</u>
Sir William Temple.	7.X.65.	Temple, Works, 111, p.254.
Sir Gilbert Talbot.	5.X.65.	Coventry. 25, f.125: original draft in Clifford, Holland 7.
Sir Henry Coventry.	9.X.65.	Coventry 64, f.242.
" " "	19.X.65.	" " f.253.
" " "	26.X.65.	" " f.251.
Lord Arlington.	8.X1.65.	Clifford, Holland 8. (minutes)
" "	15.X1.65.	" " " (draft)
Earl of Sandwich.	29.X1.65.	Carte 223, f.297.
Sir Henry Coventry.	13.X11.65.	Coventry 64, ff.279-280.
" " "	20.X11.65.	" " ff.285.
" " "	22.X11.65.	" " f.288.
Lord Arlington.	2.IV.66.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, p.334.
" "	1.VI.66.	" " p.424.
" "	5.VI.66.	" " p.430.
" "	5.VII.66.	" " p.501.
" "	7.VII.66.	" " p.506.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	7.VII.66.	" " p.506.
Lord Arlington.	9.VII.66.	" " p.512.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	9.VII.66.	" " p.515.
Lord Arlington.	11.VII.66.	" " p.524.
" "	12.VII.66.	" " p.528.
" "	13.VII.66.	" " p.528.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	14.VII.66.	" " p.536.
Lord Arlington.	14.VII.66.	" " p.536.
" "	15.VII.66.	" " p.536.
" "	16.VII.66.	" " p.543.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	16.VII.66.	" " p.543.

<u>Recipient.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Reference.</u>
Lord Arlington.	18.VII.66.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, p.549.
" "	20.VII.66.	" " pp.558-9. Also printed in Colenbrander, 1, 428-31.
" "	21.VII.66.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, p. 559. Also printed in Colenbrander, 1, 431.
" "	22.VII.66.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, p.567.
" "	23.VII.66.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1665-6, p.567.
" "	27.VII.66.	" " p.579. Also printed in Colenbrander, 1, 428-31.
Sir William Penn.	27.VII.66.	Add 32,094, f.100.
Lord Arlington.	8.VIII.66.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, p.21.
" "	13.VIII.66.	" " p.37.
" "	15.VIII.66.	" " p.43.
" "	18.VIII.66.	" " p.45.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	26.VIII.66.	" " p.68.
Lord Arlington.	29.VIII.66.	" " p.76.
Lord Arlington.	30.VIII.66.	" " p.78.
Sir William Coventry.	2.IX.66.	Coventry 95, f.262.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	9.IX.66.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1666-7, p.109.
Lord Arlington.	6.X.66.	" " pp. 185-6.
Earl of Ormonde	10.VIII.67.	Carte 35, f.628.
" "	10.IX.67.	Carte 215, f.382.
Earl of Sandwich.	16.IV.68.	Sandwich, 2, p.81.
Lord Arlington.	25.V.68.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1667-8, p.407.
" "	7.IX.68.	" " p.573.
" "	13.V.69.	" 1668-9, p.325.
Duke of Richmond.	16.IX.69.	Add 21,947, f.262.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	20.VI.70.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1670, p.284.
" " "	27.VI.70.	" " p.299.

<u>Recipient.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Reference.</u>
Sir Joseph Williamson.	(21.X.)70.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1670, p.490.
Sir William Morice.	24.XI.70.	Add 8880, f.196.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	6.VI.71.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671, p.300.
" " "	1.VII.71.	" " " " " , p.354.
Sir William Godolphin.	11.VII.71.	Bebington, 460.
Sir William Morice.	28.IX.71.	Add 8880, f.198.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	30.IX.71.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671, p.508.
" " "	3.X.71.	" " " " " , p.512.
Sir Henry Coventry.	1.II.72.	Coventry 4, f.10.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	22.VI.72.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1671-2, 264.
" " "	28.VI.72.	" " " " " p.284.
Sir Bernard Gascon.	28.VI.72.	Miscellanea Aulica, pp.70-1.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	2.VII.72.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1672, p.303-
Duke of Lauderdale-	5.VII.72.	Add 23,135, f.182. Printed in Lauderdale Papers, 11, 226.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	8.VII.72.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1672, p.319.
" " "	9.VII.72.	" " " " " , p.324.
" " "	12.VII.72.	" " " " " , p.334.
Earl of Arlington.	16.VII.72.	" " " " " , p.347.
William Howard.	17.VII.72.	Carte 37, f.702. (copy)
Sir Bernard Gascon.	17.VII.72.	Miscellanea Aulica, pp.71-2.
Duke of Lauderdale.	18.VII.72.	Add 23,135, f.183.
Nathaniel Bradley-	19.VII.72.	Cal.S.P.Dom., 1672, p.347.
Sir Joseph Williamson.	29.VII.72.	" " " " " , p.414.
" " "	3.VIII.72.	" " " " " , p.438.
" " "	10.VIII.72.	" " " " " , p.469.
" " "	12.VIII.72.	" " " " " , p.479.
" " "	17.VIII.72.	" " " " " , p.497.
Earl of Rochester.	7.IX.72.	Add 4162, f.271.

<u>Recipient.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Reference.</u>
Earl of Lauderdale.	7.IX.72.	Add. 23,135, f.203: printed in Lauderdale Papers, 11, pp.228-9.
Earl of Essex.	21.IX.72.	Stowe. 200, f.260
" " "	7. 1.73.	" 201, f.24.
" " "	14. 1.73.	" " f.52.
" " "	25.11.73.	" " f.202. [of. C.T.B. 1672-5, pp.72-3.]
" " "	8.1V.73.	" " f.409.
Sir Thomas Osborne.	13.1V.73.	Add. 28,053, f.59.
Sir Joseph Williamson	29.1V.73.	Cal. S.P. Dom. 1673, p.87.
Earl of Danby.	26.IX.73.	Add. 28,053, f.73.

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GUIDE TO MANUSCRIPT REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATED TITLES.

1. Manuscript.

1. All Souls College.

Jenkins = Jenkins MSS.

2. Archives des Affaires Etrangères.

Corresp. Ang. = Correspondance Politique Angleterre.

" Holl. = " " Hollande.

" Suède = " " Suède.

" Dann. = " " Dannemarke.

Mem. et. Doc. Ang. = Mémoires et Documents Angleterre.

3. Archives Nationales.

Corresp. Consul. = Correspondance Consulaire.

4.

Bibliothèque Nationale.

Fond. Français. = Fonds Francaises. [No. 10,665.]

Rec. des Gazettes = Recueil des Gazettes, Nouvelles, etc. [Printed]

5. Bodleian.

Ashmolean = Ashmolean MSS.

Bodl. Add. = Bodleian Additional MSS.

Carte = Carte MSS.

Clarendon = Clarendon MSS.

5. Bodleian (cont,)

Rawl. = Rawlinson MSS.

Tanner = Tanner MSS.

Top. Devon = Topographical, Devon MSS.

6. British Museum.

Add = Additional MSS.

Egerton = Egerton MSS.

Harleian = Harleian MSS.

Sloane = Sloane MSS.

Stowe = Stowe MSS.

7. Exeter City Library, Muniment Room.

Copy of a fine of Property, 1654. [MSS Catalogue.]

8. Hinchbrooke. Papers in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich.

Sandwich = Sandwich MSS.

9. Longleat. Papers in the possession of the Marquess of Bath.

Coventry = Coventry MSS.

10. Public Record Office.

Admiralty = Admiralty Papers.

Ashley = Ashley Papers.

Bas.Trs. = Baschet Transcripts.

F.E.B. = Foreign Entry Book. [State Papers Foreign.]

10. Public Record Office. (contin.)

P.C.Reg. = Privy Council Register.
 S.P.Chan. = State Papers Chancery.
 S.P.Dom. = State Papers Domestic.
 S.P.For. = State Papers Foreign.

11. Ugbrooke Park. Papers in the possession of the Hon. C.O.H. Clifford.

Clifford = Unclassified Papers.
 Clifford Accounts = Accounts of the Lord Treasurer.
 Clifford Dover = Papers relating to the Treaty of Dover.
 Clifford Excise = Papers relating to Excise.
 Clifford Holland = Papers relating to the wars with Holland.
 Clifford Miscell. = Miscellaneous Papers.
 Clifford Scrap Book = Scrap Book of newspaper cuttings relative to the Cliffords of Chudleigh.

12. University of Glasgow. Hunterian Library.

Original Letters to
 (Clarendon = Original Letters written to the Earl of Clarendon.
 (don.

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2. Printed.

A. Primary.

A collection of Proceedings in the House of Commons about impeaching
(the Earl of Clarendon. 1700.

A Relation of the Most Material Matters Handled in Parliament relating
to Religion and Property and the Liberty of the Subject. 1673.

A Seasonable Argument, attributed to Andrew Marvel. 1677.

Alleg. Marriage Licenses = Allegations for Marriage Licenses, 1669-
1679, ed. G.J.Routledge. 1896. Harleian
(Society.

Alum. Oxon. = Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714, ed. J.
Foster, 1891.

Acts and Ords. Interreg. = Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum,
ed. C.H. Firth and R.S.Rait.

Ailesbury, Memoirs = Memoirs of Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury
ed. H.H.Gibbs, 1890, Roxburghe Club.

Aitzema = L.van Aitzema, Saken van Staaten, Oorlogh,
in ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlande,
1669-1672.

Athen. Oxon. = Athenae Oxonienses, A.Wood, ed. P.Bliss,
1813-1820.

Baker, Chronicle = Sir Richard Baker, A Chronicle of the
Kings of England, 1730.

- Barnes, Memoirs = Memoirs of the Life of Mr Ambrose Barnes, ed. W.A.D.Longstaffe, 1816, Surtees Society.
- Bebington = The --- Earl of Arlington's Letters to Sir William Temple and to the several Ambassadors to Spain, ed. T.Bebington, 1701.
- Boyle, Letters = A Collection of the state letters of --- Roger Boyle, the first Earl of Orrery, 1742.
- Brandt = G.Brandt, La vie de Michel de Ruiter, 1698. (transl.)
- Bulstrode = The Bulstrode Papers, formed by A. Morrison, 1897.
- Burnet = Gilbert Burnet, History of My Own Times, ed. O.Airy, 1897-1900.
- Burnet, Life of Rochester = Gilbert Burnet, Some Passages of the Life and Death of John, Earl of Rochester, 1875.
- C.J. = Journals of the House of Commons.
- Cal.Clar.S.P. = Calendar Clarendon State Papers, IV. ed. J. Routledge, 1932.
- Cal.Comm.Advan.Money = Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money.
- Cal.Comm.Compounding = Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, etc.
- Cal.S.P.Dom. = Calendar of State Papers Domestic.
- Cal.S.P.Irish = Calendar of State Papers Irish.
- Cal.S.P.Ven. = Calendar of State Papers Venetian.
- Cal.Trs.Bks. = Calendar of Treasury Books.
- Cat.Pepys.MSS. = A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval MSS in the Pepysian Library, ed. J.R.Tanner, 1903, Navy Records Society.
- Chamberlayne = E.Chamberlayne, Anglia Notitia, 1669.
- Clar.Contin. = The Continuation of the Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 1761.

- Clar.S.P. = Clarendon State Papers, ed. R.Sorope and T. Monkhouse, 1767 -1786.
- Clarke = J.S.Clarke, The Life of James II., 1816.
- Cobbett = W.Cobbett, Parliamentary History of England, 1806-1820.
- Coleman branden* = *Bescheiden uit vriedende archieven omhien de groote Nederlandische reizen*, ed. H.T.Colemanbranden, 1919.
- Conway Letters = Conway Letters, ed. M.H.Nicolson, 1930.
- Cosin, Corresp. = The Correspondence of John Cosin, Bishop of London, ed. G.Ormsby, 1869-72, Surtees Society
- Cosnac, Mémoires = Mémoires de Daniel de Cosnac, 1852.
- D'Estrades, Lettres = D'Estrades, Letters, Mémoires et Négotiations de Monsieur le Comte, 1743.
- Dep. Keeper P.R.O. /Rep. = Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office.
- Dunois, Mémoires = Madame Dunois, Mémoires de La Cour d'Angleterre, 1697.
- Essex Papers = Essex Papers, ed. O.Airy, 1890. Camden Society.
- Evelyn)
Evelyn, Corresp. = Sir John Evelyn, Diary)
= Sir John Evelyn, Correspondence) ed. H.B. Wheatley, 1879.
- Fanshawe, Memoirs = Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, ed. C.R.Fanshawe, 1829.
- Flagellum Parliamentarum, attributed to A.Marvel.
- Foxcroft, Supplement = H.C.Foxcroft, A Supplement to Burnet's History of My Own Times, 1902.
- Grey = Anchitell Grey, Debates of the House of Commons, 1769.
- Grosart = The Complete Works of Andrew Marvel, ed. A.B.Grosart, 1875.
- Grumble = T.Grumble, The Life of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle, 1671.
- Hatton Corresp. = Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, ed. E.M.Thompson, 1872, Camden Society.

- Historians Guide = The Historians Guide, 1676.
- H.M.C.Rep. = Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.
- Lansdowne Tracts = Lansdowne Tracts, University College, London, Library.
- Lauder, Sir John, Journal = Journal of a Foreign Tour --- by Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, ed. D.Crawford, 1900, Scottish Historical Society.
- Lauderdale Papers = The Lauderdale Papers, ed.O.Airy, 1884-5, Camden Society.
- L.J. = Journals of the House of Lords.
- Mackenzie, Memoirs = Sir George Mackenzie, Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland from the Restoration of Charles II., 1818.
- MacPherson = Original Papers Containing the Secret History of Great Britain ---, 1775.
- Margoliouth = The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvel, ed. H.M.Margoliouth, 1927.
- Mémoires de Gourville = Mémoires de Gourville, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, 111^e. Ser. V.
- Mémoires, Pomponne = Mémoires du Marquis de Pomponne, ed. J. Madival, 1868.
- Mid. Temple Recs. = Middle Temple Records, ed. C.T.Martin, 1904-5.
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LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO

THOMAS CLIFFORD,

FIRST LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH.

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Clifford MSS. Miscellaneous 5.

Draft in Clifford's hand of a speech against the Merchant Adventurers.

The etimology of the word Monopoly it referrrs not to one individuall person only but to any towne or citty or is cit'd where many men are incorporated and have hookd to themselves the sole exercise and emolument of such or such a trade whereby they only enrich themselves and-admit-nee-others-to-enter. [sic]

Since nature the handmaide of god Almighty has furnish this land with such plenty of wooll and maid it our cheife comodity and hath given every free borne inhabitant interest as matter for his industry to worke upon let not us suffer a thin handfull of men a small contemptible number in comparison of the whole to appropriate to themselves the disposing and venting of the two thirds of this generall grand commodity as by diligent computation the country between the marches of calis and river Elve theire pretended precincts doe take off. 1.

Noe monarchy or state hath the like example we boast ourselves for a free people 2. and justly but what a hubub would there be in France if the vent of wines were passed over to some peculier men to furnish England withall or the fruits of Spaine or silks of Italy beeing their prime commoditys engrossed by a few hands. 3.

Here may be said for the East India company because the purses of

1. In the margin: that my Lord Treasurer stop the letters.
2. " " " : that may be calld against the law of nations when noe nation practises it.
3. In the margin: It has bin that opinion by Vote stand to it we could not have thought that during your sitting they would have bin so presumptuous what encouragement will the merchants give to the gentry if even during our sitting such a burden to trade should be promoted by Merchants it may make us resty and be indifferent whether land be at 20 yeares value or five Unlesse for a man goeing to the counter.

private men cannot extend to set forth ships for making of such longe adventurous costly voyages but this trade is at our doores may be performd by ships of any size. 1.

They have another end to make us buy the commodity deer that they bring in to us.

They call themselves merchant adventurers though they trade but unto two townes only and those hard by.

This incorporation has bin like an ulcer upon the body politick of this Kingdome a longe tyme which hath bin often rubbd and laned yet it closd againe and gatherd more corruption then formerly and now requires a greater cure then Ever.

There is noething so advantagious and commendable in trade as community and freedome the topicke holds in this Bonum quo communis eo melius. 2.

Other nations have calld wooll Englands golden fleece. The judges sit on woollsacks to put them in mind of preserving and advancing the trade and manufacture of woolls.

To bar any free borne subject from the exercise of our inventions and industry or to hinder us from convert(ing) our universall native commodity to our advantage at home or abroad is to deprive us of part of our birth right and of that which god and nature ordayned for our subsistance; and not only so but it is to set a marke of strangenes or rather of a kind of slavery upon us 3. in our owne country the merchant

1. In the margin: they may be calld adventurous merchants in parliament lye to get such a proclamation.
2. In the margin: A restriction is to enrich private men the interest of the nation is to multiply traders.
3. In the margin: a triple cord is not easily broken the laws of nature nations and of the land for free trade but besydes this the ruine of our country if we were not strengthend by the laws etc yet.

adventurers must be the only free borne. 1.

I can compare them to noething better then Incabusses 2. who suck the very vitall spirits and drive into one veine that masse of blood which should cherish the whole body. 3.

This corporation is directly against the laws of the land as appears by magna charta petition of right statutes of Monopolyes and severall others but particularly marke the statute of the 12th of Henry 7th in the preamble Whereas the merchants adventurers dwelling and beeing free within the citty of London by confederacy amonge themselves and of their uncharitable and inordinate covetuousnes for their singular profit and lucar contrary to every Englishman's liberty etc have contrar to all law reason charity right and conscience amongst themselves to the prejudice of all Englishmen made an ordinance and constitution that noe English man shall buy or sell without fining etc. 4.

The fine was first demanded by colour of fraternity of Thomas Becket and was but an old noble by colour of such feined holines.

by which means the commoditys of this realme are not sold ne offerd as it was in tyme past but for lack of utterance of the same in divers parts 5. where such cloth be made they be conveyed to London where they be sold for under the price that they be worth and that thus cost to the makers of the same.

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1. In the margin: it is to the disrepute of the policy of this nation the patent beeing accounted nothing lesse then a monopoly. the Duch have noe company for exporting and they owe above 52000
I thinke only the East Indv for importations.
 2. Incubus - a malignant demon visiting its victim in sleep especially in order to seek carnal intercourse with women; the female prototype was the succubus.
 3. In the margin: In former times they have payed for it sometymes to Ministers sometymes to the crowne it selfe and this must be calld service to the crowne. (buy our liberty.)
 4. In the margin: see the opinion our auncestors had of them.
 5. " " " : an other inconvenience to lessen the price of our owne manufactures.

and over that the commodities and Merchandises of those parts which the said fellowship brings into this land is so sold to your saied complainants at so deare heigh and exceeding price that the buyer of the same cannot live thereupon, by reason whereof all the cittys townes and boroughs of this realme in effect be fallen into great poverty decreasd and minished.

They are not content to exercise sway over the bodys and estates alone but over the conscience too they impose oaths in one of which is this expression you shall doe noething to the hurt or prejudice of the commonwealth of the said feloship so that they stile themselves a commonwealth though they can not be termed regnus in regnu[?] yet they may dominiu^m in dominio.

They have another oath calld the purging oath whereby one is bound to confesse whether one have offended in such and such particulers and accuse himselfe which is against law and abhorring to nature. like the oath ex officio on which you have given your judgment.

They ley fines ad libitum which they convert to theire owne benefit whereas the Kinge de jure partakes all fines. but they passd an order at a Court holden March 4 160~~3~~ by which they were pleaded as theire owne words are to allow the Kinge a moyety viz: In hope of more favour in other suits they meane to move hereafter they are pleasd that the Kings Majesty may have and receive one moyety of the fines and penaltys upon intruders.

At a court holden december 23 1622 they orderd the account should be wavd because it concernd great personages to whom they had presented gratuities. 1.

In an order november 16 1623 That new yeares gifts be presented

1. In the margin: Theire support has bin by gratuities not account so noe incouragement to come in.

to such etc for beeing theire patrons. If I have right coppys.

we are for a Regulation.

Theire antiquity from Edward 3 to Henry 7 prescption cannot privilege an error what was proper to be allowed in one tyme may not at an another in the Infancy of trade etc. It was thought convenient for the the company of ataplers to transport wooll but not now

Ob: but for one of these march townes the Duch will ley 1^s6^d a yeare on our cloths. I am informd it is endeavour solely because those two townes ingrosse the trade from the rest.

now I hope you may take measure of this Monstrum Horrendum Informe etc and will conclude.

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Clifford MSS. Miscellaneous Papers 1.

These are to certify That Thomas Clifford, Esq., was sworne one of the Gentlemen of His Majesties Privy Chamber in Extraordinary to enjoy all Rights and Priviledges therto belonging. Given under my Hand this one and twentieth day of December 1660 In the 12th yeare of the reigne of Our Soveraigne Lord the King.

Manchester

Rawlinson MSS. A. 130, f.10. (22.1V.64.) 1.

A message from the house of Commons desired a conference with the Lords concerning forreign trade.

Resolved to be presently reporters to be Lord Treasurers, Lord Chamberlin, Bishop of Winton, Lord Ashley and House adjourned during pleasure.

At the Conference Mr Clifford from the House of Commons told them that the house of Commons had taken into serious deliberation the businesse of forreigne trad(e) and the late decay and obstructions therin and that upon examination found the Dutch to be the cheife authors thereof.

That the East India Company (not to look soe far back in the business of Amboyna or other wrongs before the year 1656) had since that time been endamaged by the losse of their ships and goods taken from them by the Dutch to the Value of £ 148,000 and had lost in their factories by them since the Kings restauration £ 87,000.

That Polleroon had been kept from the English by the Dutch for near
1. Cf. L. J. XI, p. 599.

That they have used severall arts to destroy the English trade,
 1. by declaring war with those Cuntries where the English trade and
 under that pretence stop the English from goeing thither.

By pretending to have contracted for all the comodities of other
 places they under that colour forbid our English to goe thither and
 shoot at them.

That they have in a hostile maner seized many English Ships.

And have proclaimed themselves lords of the South Sea to the
 dishonor of the King and the whole nation.

That by these means the East India Company are neare destroyed
 the trade beeing soe decayed that they can scarce cleare 3 per cent.

That the Roval Company the turkey trade and many others much
 depend thereon.

Next the Turkey Company

from whome the Dutch have taken 2 ships to the Value of [£ 110,500]
 under pretence of letters of marque from the King of Spain, who had
 before that time recalled all such letters and the goods were carryed
 into Amsterdam and there sold.

The Royall Company.

The Dutch endeavour to drive them from the Coast of Africa.

That they perswade the negroes to destroy the English have seized
 their goods and boats.

Have taken the fort of Cabo Corse.

Shot at the Kings flag.

Have sent to the English to withdraw from that coast threatning if
 they doe not to drive them away by force and to declare the English to
 be the beginners of a Warr.

They boast abroad of their potency, that they have bested the portugall and Swede off the sea and doubt not but to doe soe to the English.

from the portugall company they have taken the Brasil frigot worth [£ 16,000].

The traders into Africa losses amount to £ 330,000.

They have sunk severall english ships killed and poysoned our men in cold blood stript and sent many into the Barbarous Countries.

Though prooffe thereof hath been made in the Admiralty of Holland yet noe reparation hath been though demanded by the Kings agents.

The summe of the whole losses amounts to 4 millions besides the detyning of Polleroon. 1.

1. The total of the assessed damages was £ 714,500. This does not include the loss of Polleroon which was estimated at over £ 4,000,000. See L.J.Xl.p.600.

Add. MSS. 32,094, f. 24.

Clifford to Sir William Coventry. 25.XI.64. 9 p.m.

I promised you in my Letter last night that you should with this receive the Kings Speech and narrative, the speech is already in print and I understand was sent you last night and the narrative is expected in print tommorrow and it is of that lenght that I forbore to give order for the transcribing it since tis but little different from what you have already seen and it is but a day odds till you have the printed one.

After the speaker was in the chaire this morning there was a great competition who should be first heard either my Lord Richardson or Sir Henry Wood but the novelty of Sir Henry Woods standing up carryed it against my Lord and he made as methodicall and as ~~ra~~^{ra}tionall a discourse as the matter could beare in preferring a petition concerning an election which you will find in the enclosed paper with the resolution thereupon as he desired.

In the next place my Lord Richardsons bill tooke place and the contents of it are to confirme his letters patent for the confirmation for the corporation of Little Yarmouth which was by noe body opposed only your fellow burgesse Sir William Doyly desired the towne of Great Yarmouth might have timely notice of it to make their objections if there were any which was graunted when it should be under a comitment and in the meane tyme ordered to be read againe Munday next but besydes the consideration of Great Yarmouth in this matter it is worth advising whether it be fit to have any corporations confirmed by Act of Parliament. I am sure it weakens the prerogative in that case that can otherwayes recall it upon any misdemeanours by them but this bill concerns Sir Robert Pastern (Paston) who hath by this dayes worke so much merited by mooving first that the supply to the Kinge be

two millions and halfe that my mouth is stopt against it.

Sir Edward Walpole in the next place tenderd a bill for taking from the Kinge all derelict lands and usierd (ushered?) it in with a speech to shew how reasonable it was for supply to be accompanied with redresse of grievances and the bill was well receivd and orderd to be read the second tyme Munday next.

Then came the two messages from the Lords which I mentioned the last night to you to the first we agreed nemine contradicente but to that of giving thanks to the citty Mr Prynn first began to dissent and his motion seemd so acceptable to the house that Mr Vaughan seconded him with great earnestnes and if they had bin succesful in this they would have bin farther encouraged to have opposd other matters of greater consequence relating to the same matter which made us very carefull to get the houses concurrence to theire Lordships in it which was done without much strugling and accordingly we appoynted twelve to accompany the six Lords.

By this the houre of ten was over and without the least oposition the busines of the day was entred upon and Sir John Holland first began of the necessity of a supply but mentioned ^enothing of the summe. Sir Robert Pastern spoake next and after a great speech against the Duch which was in sence and expression beyond expectation he very handsomely and as he saied like a country gentleman insinuated the summe ot two millions and halfe as necessary for the carrying on of the war in behalfe of the country whose interest it was and not as a supply to the Kinge. The summe gave at first a great consternation and silence in the house and five or six of the next speakers only declard to the necessity of carrying on the war but would not adventure to name the summe till the house by debate were nettled into so great an animosity against the Dutch (for there was not one person but freely declared for

the war whatever his motion else tended unto) that it seemd a cleare case that that great summe was fit to be raisd but theire desire was that they might not be excluded by ascertaining the summe from the manner of raising it for they urgēd that the way by subsidies was throwne by if the summe were made certain and therefore they insisted that the house might be resolvd into a comitee of the whole house first to appoint the manner of raising it before the summe were agreed upon and that was backd by men of that interest in the house amonge whom were Sir Edward Wallpole and Sir John Goodrick that it was a difficut matter to turne the streame but after great conflicts that difficulty beeing over by getting the vote that there shall be a certain summe named by the house the particular summe what it should be was the only consideration. And the house seemd so much enclind to give the first great summe^{namd} that Mr Vaughan said he spoake in the presence of god he was so much convinct of the necessity of the war that during the continuance of it he would be content to be reducēd to bread and water rather than the reputation and honour of the Kinge or the interest of the nation should suffer and to this tune Sir Richard Temple and Mr Garraway also chanted and therefore they desird only a previous Vote that the naming of the summe should not be a restriction at the Committee as to the manner of raising it which beeing easily yeelēd unto Mr Vaughan himselfe even contrary to his owne professions takes the boldnes to enveigh against the war and in fine concludes that the summe certain should be but five hundred thousand pounds which was in it selfe so ridiculous and in relation to his particular avowment so contrary to honour and honesty and is so apparent to all the house that I beleive his work is done for one while. However there was a very strong debate raisd anew against this great summe and fiveteen hundred thousand^{thousnds} the summe principal pitchd upon with a declaration that if the war needed

more they would oblige themselves to raise more and Sir Henry North, Sir John Holland, Sir Edward Walpole and many more sober men befriended this motion so that with great difficulty we came to the question whether the question for the great summe should now be put or noe and we carryed it in the affirmative by 70 voyces more then the negatives and when the maine question was pit there were not above five or six noes to it. You may now wonder considering my temper that I held you so longe from so good a conclusion so agreeable to my selfe but I doe it to satisfy you of the means by which we got it and I assure you they so much put us to it that I found severall vacancies on our syde that Mr W.^m Coventry^e would have filled by relating the state and charge of the navy. Sir Thomas Littleton spoake the the shrewdest of the other side and Mr Trevor had the day upon ours. I hope that you will let me know who does great daring things when you have a sea fight. I wish it as successfull as we have bin (his Royal Highness hath had many honourable things spoaken of him too day and I assure you his beeing at the fleet and the great care he takes of it hath bin noe small advantage to the attaining this great supply. I pray god preserve his Royall person though the interest of the people be very great in this war yet his safety is of more concernment to them then the good succeſſe of it.

I have sent you my Cosen Cliffords entreaties from Newfoundland. If when he returns you shall find him fit by your examination for any preferment I shall owne your kindnesse to him as to my selfe. I am Sir, etc.,

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Clifford MSS. Holland 3. 1.

Additional Instructions and directions for Sir Thomas Clifford knight one of the Commissioners for the Port of London. In relation to the mannage of his buisnesse attending on the Fleet. (24.111.65.)

Whereas for the prevention of Imbeaslements and Wast of Prize Goods It is thought expedient That some person doe Attend the Fleete to receive and take into his charge such Prizes as shall bee taken and seized att Sea It is this day ordered by us his Majestyes Principall Commissioners of Prizes that Sir Thomas Clifford knight doe personally attend That Service: And for the better Cleareing and makeing out the Trueth of the Condition and Quality of such ships and Goods soe taken to what Country they belong and what are the proper owners either of the Shippes or Goods You shall strictly and carefully Examine upon Oath (which Oath the Court of Admiralty shall impower him to administer) the Masters or Mariners of the said Shippes Concerning such particulers as may Evidence the Property of them And Returne the said Depositions close sealed up to us.

And for the more Convenient Examination of such particulers You are hereby required to take with you Commissions from the Admiralty to such persons as you from tyme to tyme shall bee Judged most fitt to your Assistance herein Impowering them to Administer Oaths as aforesaid, In which Examinations , You and such persons as shall bee by us Employed shall first sett downe the day of the Seisure of such shipp and Goods, And then you are required to observe all the particulers in your former Instructions Given you in Charge As farr forth as the Condition and

1. A copy is to be found in Harleian MSS. 1509,f.86b.

Station you are in will permitt You are to take Care That all such Prize-Shippes and Goods shall bee with all care and speed sent into such Ports as upon all Considerations you shall think more for the service.

You are to observe and Enquire whether any Goods have been brought up from the Hold between Deckes And in such case not to allow the same but to Certify us thereof And Whereas Wee have represented to his Royall Highness That it wilbee most Convenient to order the Commanders That when any ship is seized such officers as goeth aboard shall call to the Master of the Prize for all his Papers And taking an Inventory of them to Subscribe it with two or three hands on either side of which the said Master's and the said officer's hand to bee two. And then folding up the said Inventory with all the other Papers to affix the Seales thereon of either party And in this Condition to deliver them to the Comissioners in the respective Ports where the Prize shall bee brought together with the Prize. Wee not doubting but that his Royall Highness will Give order for the same accordingly. Doe hereby require You to demand all papers (soe Inventoryed and Sealed up) from the respective Officers That shall board such shippes And receiveing them into your Custody You shall forthwith send them to us.

And for such Incident charges as you shall bee at In the mannage of this buisnesse You are to draw up a faire Account signed by yourselfe And present us therewith for Our Allowance which Wee shall take Order shall bee reimbursed unto you.

You are with some seale to bee publicquely knowne by and to the Comissioners of each Port to seale up the Hatches and to send to us

and them an Exact and particular Account of the State of every shipp
by you sent unto any Port that thereby Imbeaslements of Goods and
Tackle Between its departure from you and delivery unto the Consigned
Port may bee prevented.

And lastly You shall from tyme to tyme give us a full and perfect
Account of Your Proceedings and the state of all such Matters as relate
to your Employment and are pursueant to Your Instructions.

[Signed.] Buckingham. St Albans. Arlington.
Albemarle. Anglesey. G. Carteret.
Ormonde. Jo. Berkely.

/ Robert Southwell.

Add. MSS. 28,103,f.53.

Sir T.Clifford to John Evelyn, Swiftsure, 11.V.65.

I receivd together yesterday your letters of the 20th and 27th of
April. I am obligd to you for the large account you give of yonge
Everson his actions are agreeable to the idea I had of him but I rather
thinke it dullnes and want of breeding then sullennes and that he will
notwithstanding carry a gratefull sence of his Majesties bounty and
kindnes to him.

By what I see of our Plymouth affaire I thinke the Surgeon much in
blame. You may please to discharge him and settle peace that way, though
it be my district I leave that matter wholly to you, and as to the Marshall
if you thinke fit you may write to him and heare what he sayes concerning
his negligence and if he doe not give you a satisfactory account pray
make noe scruple of discarding him but let him first have notice that

he may make up his accounts. Sir William Doyly is not yet returned to you but that may find him at Harwich or Ipswich for the whole fleet is now returning thitherward and I assure you here are a great many sick that will be set on shore there. And I believe so many that it will require the constant attendance of one of us upon the place at least I intend to be a shore about it but cannot stay long if Sir William Doyly cannot so well travel I shall be extremely glad to meet you there. We were at anchor last night about 18 leagues West North west from the Texell but now under sail toward the gunfleet. Before Harwich the seamen full of courage and cheerfulness for they are not only satisfied of the good conduct of the fleet but also of our good fortune this expedition, for we have broken the Dutch Merchant fleet that was returning and of 14 there are not above sixteen got safe home: 14 or 15 of them we have taken and the rest run a shore and broken to pieces so that we have had success in this and honour in braving their fleet in their ports.

I present my respects and service to Sir Richard Browne and am in truth and affection, etc.

[Postscript.] We are now this 14th of May Whitsunday in sight of land in Norfolk about Crammer church. the Duke would have some one of us at Harwich and Ipswich while the fleet lies at the Gunfleet.

Harleian MSS. 1509, f. 114.

Albemarle, Anglesey, Arlington and G. Carteret to Sir T. Clifford. 20.V.65.

Haveing received your letter of the 19th past as also a former one, by which wee tooke great notice of your care an(d) exact proceeding\$ in all the particulars of your trust, soo observing by the large account you give Us in your letters of the 8th and 14th Instant of Eighteene prizes ~~taken~~, and with how much diligence you have inspected and secured their Cargoes, Soe as his Majestie is like to have a more ^{entire} account of these then of any other prizes, yett seized or taken Wee aannot but as well returne you Our thanks as give you assurance of Our intire satisfaction with the whole method of your proceedings, and that Wee shall not forgett to represent the same unto ~~his~~ Majestie in that full Character, which your Services doe very Justly deserve from Us. Your opinion concerning the Seamens right to the Goods betweene Decks and the Necessity You represent to allow the same, is at this time soo much the sense of his Majestie considering alsoe how much his Royall Highnes does interpose, that there is not likely in the future to be much dispute in it, onely a constant care must be continued to keepe the seamen within their bounds, for the dayley complaints of their plundering is very Scandalous to all Good disapline. Wee expect the arrivall of the 18 prizes, and desire the continuance of your care, assuring you that ~~Wee~~ are Your very loving friends. etc.

Clifford MSS. Holland 3.

Lord Arlington to Sir T. Clifford, Whitehall, 31.V.65.

Yours of the 27 giving an account of your encounter with Mr Corye was

in my absence opened and read by the King who as Cavalier doth not blame you and I am glad it ended doe happily and soe to your advantage. God send yu as good lucke at sea as yu have had by land and upon all occasions continue your long relations to the Lords Commissioners as well as myselve who am much pleased with all your transactions. God keepe and prosper you and continue to love mee who am entirely yours. (Original - unsigned.)

Rawlinson MSS. A.256,f.1. (copy)

Sir G.Talbot to (the Earl of Sandwich) Commander in chief of the English Fleet, Copenhagen, 24.VII.65.

I have thought fit to direct this letter to the Governour of Bergen in Norway that he may passe into your hands upon your first Arrival before that Port, or any other under his Government: It is to let you know that according to the King Our Masters Orders I have treated with his Majesty of Denmarke to give comand to the said Governour not to looke upon you as an Enemy when you shall offer any Violence to the Hollanders that ride there, but that it may not be suspected by the World, that the said Governour doth in any way favour your Enterprize or hath any Intelligence with you, he is to send you this letter of Advertisement under hand, together with an admonition to you, not to offer any violence to the King his Masters Sanctuaries, to the prejudice of his Sovereignty, which is secured by Solemne Treaty betwixt the crownes. You are not therefore to be surprized if he seem to be highly displeased with your Proceeding, and that he make loud complaint thereof against you, which never the lesse will be but in outward show to amuse the Hollanders and excuse himselfe outwardly to the World. Sir, I pray you carry this businesse with that secrecy which the nature of it requireth; For such is his Majesties

command derived to you by, etc.

S.P. For. Holland, 177,f.165b.

Sir Thomas Teddeman to [C. Van Ahlefeldt], 1.VIII.65. (copy).

'This gentleman eldest son of my Lord Montague is come to your Excellency to give your Excellency all satisfaction possible and to discourse all matters concerning my coming here to this port for the preserving the entire friendship betweene my master of Great Britanie and his Majestie of denmarke to which honorable person your Excellency may please to give full credence.'

Coventry MSS. 95,f.115. (copy). 1.

' Propositions between Sir Thomas Teddeman Knight and his Excellency the Lord Allefeldt Generall Governor of Bergen and the Country adjacent.' August 1st 1665.

1. Sir Thomas Teddeman insists upon 6 ships men of war to remain in the Harbour of Bergen which is agreeable with the last treaty made betweene the two crownes of England and Denmark and he is content that the rest of the Fleete now under his Comand shall remove and ply without the Port.

2. With the number of six men of warr (his Exoellency the Lord Allefeldt first requiring the Dutch to surrender themselves upon their refusall) the English shall attaque them and they shalbe assisted from the towne and Castle of Bergen if there be occasion.

3. This being performed by his Excellency there shall be an equall division between the English and Danes of all the Dutch ships now in the Harbour of Bergen each side interchangeably chuseing that is to say he that chuses first the first tyme shall allow the same privillidge the next tyme to the other and soe till the whole be devided

1. Another copy in Clifford MSS, Holland 4.

4. That in the attaque Sir Thomas Teddeman shall give order and take care that the towne be annoyed or hurt as little as is possible by ayming there Guns low and at the Dutch ships onely.
5. That Hostage be given on each side that the Division of all the prizes be punctually made as above said and that the Hostage shalbe redelivered on both parts imediately, upon the said division.
6. That before we proceed to the division his Exoelleney shall cause a true list of all the Dutch ships now in the Port of Bergen as they entred themselves at the comeing into be delivred to Sir Thomas Teddeman.
7. That the positive declaration of the Lord Allefeldt be made to the Dutch by 7 of the clock tomorrow morning being Wednesday the 2nd of this instant August. And that the Dutch give in there finall Answere wether they will render themselves or not before nine of the clock the same morning or else the English shall freely attaque them with the condition of assistance as aforesaid if there be need.

S.P.For. Holland, 177,ff.165b-166.

[Proposals submitted by Ahlefeldt to Teddeman.] (copy)

Il est Convenu entre Messieurs les deux Generaux de deux Roys que Monsieur le General du Roy de la grand Bretagne promet de se retirer avec la flotte demain du matin hormis 6 fregattes. Monsieur le General du Roy de denemarque promet de bailler les meilleurs pilotes à l'armée Angloise et puis quil est tard ledit General est bien content que la Flotte Angloise puisse demeurer cette nuict dans ce havre mais non pas d'avantage. Monsieur le Chevalier Teddeman promet que sitost que les navires hollandoises se rendent enthierement dans la disposition et pouvoir absolu de Sa Majestie de denemarque de faire retirer incontinent

les autres 6 frigattes moyennant que le General de denemarque fait
 cest accomodement en deux jours cela fait ledit Chevalier promet de ne
 vouloir plus pretendre aucune chose du monde sur la Citadelle et havre
 de Bergues et aussy bien sur les navires qui se trouvent ladedans.

Carte MSS. 75, f. 325.

Sir T. Clifford to the Earl of Sandwich, ' Thursday August 3rd Revenge near Jellefoare hor. 6 morning.

Sunday night we anchord at Buck ap Ra but it was so wild a place that it was a great providence we came from thence without running upon the rocks or breaking one the other in peices, we could not get out of that place till 12 at noone munday though we began by two in the morning; we were faine to make use of two or three hausers for every ship and the place so narrow between the rocks that we tooke every ship upon her swing and so guided her throw the narrow chennell. And about eight at night we came under the castle at Bergen which road was very narrow and in some places but little water: that night we spent in taking our births and traeting with the governour who was fast and loose with us the particulars are to longe to be told your Lordship at present but I am preparing an exact account of all passages for your Excellency, but the issue was the place was too hot for us and after three houres dispute our hausers and cabells by which we were fixt for the most part shot asunder we drove off and are arrivd here to fit our ships and I am now goeing to Bergen to see if I can accomodate misunderstandings betweene the governour and us, and if that can not be done yet we have a little designe still to doe mischeife but it will Keepe us here noe longer then we are fishing (fixing) our mast and yards and splicing our ropes which will be within two dayes: some of our ships are more toren then ever any were . I have not yet an exact account of what men of ours are killd and wounded but your Excellency may guesse at it by our losse of Commanders, five capitaines beeing killd out right viz: Seale, Howard of the Prudent Mary, Cadman, Lawson of

of the Coast friget and Peirce of the fireship. Your kinsman Mr Mountague and Mr Windham were both killd here on board us with one unfortunate shot. The wind blew out against us that we could not make use of our fireships. We shall be with your Excellency so suddenly that I suppose you may defer account of this to Court till we are come off for possibly we may yet repaire our losse but however I doe assure your Excoellency that nothing can stick upon the conduct of the affaire or courage of out men. Your sonne is very well and presents his duty to your Excellency. Young Uther is shot in the arme but not broken, his ship the Guernsey is stuck upon the rocks: we are sending this morning to get her off. I am, etc.

Seven of our ships went to leeward of Cruseford Munday and soe came not in to us which was a providence for we had not roome for them to anchor at Buck ap Ra.

hor.10.

Since I writ all the oomanders have bin here on board at Councell and are Unanimous for the attempting to burne the ships in the port at Bergen this very night and gave all theire opinions against my designe of going to the Castle, and I submit, and doe looke upon this designe as feaseble: they are to doe it in the dead of night and the Pembfoke and Martin Gally are to attend them to bring them off, Upon a more exact survey of the wants and defects of the ships here we find it will be at least three dayes before we can be coming toward your Lordship. I will in the meane tyme send your Excoellency the particulars of all passages with the Generall and Governor at Bergen.

hor 9 at night.

Since I writ this to your Lordship I found I should have tyme enough to

to perfect my dispatches to my lord Arlington before the Katch could be ready to goe to your Lordship and therefore I have compleated two packets to him which I have inclosed sent to your Excellency with a flying seale only that your lordship may read them and when you have done with them fasten the seale and send them foreward if your lordship approve of them and I thinke the sooner that were done the better but first I entreat your excellency to copy out of them for your lordship all that is in them worthy observation. One of the packets is concerning the engagement at Bergen at least the two latter sheets of the diery and the other is an exact narrative of our treating with the generall of the country here, which I have bin the more particular in because it is a busines of weight and I beleive will place the blame upon the Kinge of Denmarkes officers here and therefore the sooner it were sent to the Court I thinke the better and my lord I acknowledge it my duty that both these narratives should be sent to your Excellency also and if I had either tyme and were in a condit-
 ion I would doe it and therefore I beg your Lordships pardon in it and intreat you will order one of your servants to copy them. I have herewith sent to your Excellency the originall letters from the governour of Bergen to your Excellency and to Sir Thomas Teddeman, we did make bold to open your Lordships also because it imported the present expedition. I have writ Mr Coventrye a compliment only and have referrd him to my Lord Arlington. I am, etc.

Rawlinson MSS. A.256.f.4.1.

Sir T, Clifford to Lord Arlington, ' On board the revenge 5 leagues from Bergen at Jellefore. August 3rd 1665.'

In my diary that ends this day I have given your Lordship an account of I. Further copies at Longleat and Ugbrooke Park.

All passages in the fleet since the 17th of July in which your Lordship hath at large the manner and event of our engagement at Bergen, in which your Lordship will finde that there wanted not either courage or conduct in the prosecution of the designe, and the business of this letter is to informe your Lordship of the manner and method of our proceeding with the Lord Alefeldt the generall of this country for the king of denmarke; and in the first place the resolution of my Lord Sandwich and his councell of flagge officers was grounded upon great reason, though there had been greater difficulties then there were in the accesse to the place, considering that according to the account from Denmarcke we might all the ports not onely friends, and well wishers, but assistants, and to make this the more easy my Lord Sandwich sent upon the first opportunity about the middle of last month Mr Werden to Copenhagen, and when there were a certainty there of 10 East India men there in port there could not be anything more adviseable then the sending a part of our fleet thether, and to keepe a faire correspondence with the governour of the place, my Lord sent a friendly letter to him in which he as much exprest relating to that affair as prudence would permitt, which your Lordship will see by a copy of .it herewith sent your Lordship. I have also inclosed a copy of Sir Thomas Teddeman's letter to the governour, which were carried to the castle monday morning the 31st July, when we were weighing anchor at Buck-ap-Ra that we might not surprise them but prepare the towne and castle for our reception, the Governour returned in french, a copy of them I have also sent in English, and though we found kind expressions in them as to the accomodating us with such provisions and necessaryes as we wanted yet we had not one word in them to hope for their assistance in the prosecution of our designe, we sent with these letters a prudent young man a sonne of Sir Charles Harbord

who speaks both french and dutch, who met us with the answers about a laegue from the towne, and gave us testimony of his civill entertainment and their kind expressions and good will to us, and we sailed merrily on with 14 saile 2 fireships and four ketches. Close under the Castle and before either of our ships could anchor (indeed our Admirall and one more were strucke a ground for want of water) the Lord Alfeldt the generall sent a gentleman to us who was of quality receiver of all the king of Danmarcks revenues in those parts who spoke very good english and gave us many expressions of kindnesse for our king and nation but his errant was to tell us we had broken the treaty between the two crownes of England and denmarke by entering their port with above 5 men of warre and that if we did not remove with all the rest besides that number he would shoote at us. We replied that the treaty he instanced did allow at all times 6 men of warre, and in case of necessity more to be allowed, and there could not be a greater necessity then the want of anchoring or plying with our ships at any place within 4 or 5 leagues of their towne, the channell being very narrow with dismall rocks on each side, and the water in any place scarce under 200 fathome deep, but we thought it proper to send some person to him that might give his excellency the Lord Alfeldt satisfaction in this matter, and for that purpose Mr Montague who had well known the court of Denmarke and spoke french well, and so the better able to conferre with the Generall, undertooke it, and without partiality to him now he is dead he managed this whole affair with great discretion and prudence he had an excellent adresse and we the sooner put him upon it because the governour might be cautiously sounded without coming directly to the point in the case of assistance and sharing, or at least permission of us, this was thursday and eight of the clock at night and at this first meeting notwithstanding the friendly

applications of Mr Montague, and his remembring the court at Copenhagen, and in particular many of this Lord Alfeldt's relations and friends, yet when there was but an intimation of the great riches now in this port, he was very tender not onely of his owne but of his masters honour, and concluded that if we endeavoured to anchor within his castle he would shoote at us and as soone as Mr Montague was returned he shot a great bullet just before the head of the Saphire frigate and with his small shot broke one of the leggs of one of the Foresight's boat crew as they were carrying out their anchor, but we were resolved to goe through with our business, and therefore continued to birth ourselves but without returning any shot or doing the least violence, and in a short time our ships were wrought very well, and put themselves in a formidable posture, which so amased the Lord Alfeldt that he sent the gentleman that came first to us, to desire he might conferre againe with Mr Montague; I would now have gone to the castle myselfe with Mr Montague but that there were severall dispatches upon my hand, that were to be given to severall the officers of the fleete, and Sir Thomas Teddeman was likewise unwilling to part with me, besides I had an injunction from my Lord Sandwich not to quit the Revenge, and we well knew Mr Montague's sufficienoy for the matter: at first before the generall made any propositions Mr Montague complained of his shooting at us, and of the hurt of one of our men, which he excused and said he would be civill to strangers at that time of the night, and we should all continue there till the morning for it was by this time past 10 of the clock, and as for the wounding of one of our men it was by an unexperienced militia man without order to shoote into the boate and if we would have him hanged it would be done, and as to the riches within this port he now sung another song, and both as to

his particular fortune as well as his masters interest, he thought it very improper to oppose us, and loose this fair opportunity of improving both and therefore he was free to declare himselfe: that for the dividing the spoile he would command the dutch to leave his port, and in case of refusall we should have the liberty to attack them but it should be onely with 6 saile of our men of war, the rest were to remove at some distance for the better colour and reputation of himselfe and master, for so many of ours are permitted by our last treaty to be within the ports and in case these 6 were not enough to beate and make the dutch yeeld he would then assist us from his castles with some other propositions of accomodation; to which Mr Montague replied that he would conferre with our admirall, and Sir Thomas Teddeman about it, so he enjoyned Mr Montague privacy from any other person because of the honour of his kinge and himselfe, and upon Mr Montague's returne to us we I drew up some propositions as an agreement between the generall and our admirall Sir Thomas Teddeman, and after 12 a clock Mr Montague returned to the Castle with them, for the generall had told him he would sit up and expect such propositions a copy of which I have here also enclosed sent your Lordship, and to which the generall agreed in all points, except to the last which limitts our time of falling upon the dutch, and to that he desired he might attend till Sunday the 6th instant, and we considering how important it was for us to returne with all speed imaginable to my Lord Sandwich, because of the expectation of the dutch fleet, or that there might be a considerable party from the ennemy sent in upon us, or the dane himselfe might come and defeat our expectations, for this Lord Alfeldt had let fall words that he expected 22 saile from the sound of their men of warre, and therefore we concluded upon no termes to admitt of delay in attacking the dutch, and so we still made our selves ready for the assault, and

gave him notice we could not agree to his desire in point of time, and ~~and~~ by breake of day when he saw the posture wee were in, by which he guessed our resolution, he sent a fray to our ship to desire he might speake againe with Mr Montague, which Sir Thomas Teddeman and myselfe opposed as being brought by so meane a messenger, but Mr Montague's resons in it prevailed and when he came to the governour told him he would be content to signe the articles and give hostages according to them, if we would but stop the assault till friday morning the 4 instant, but we Judging that as prejudicall as staying till Sunday, for the least storme of wind must have drove all the rest of our fleet but the 6 included by this agreement as farre as this place, or have been lost against the rocks, soe in the meantime between the signing this agreement, and the attaque he would have permitted but 6 of our fleet within his harbour; at this conference with Mr Montague he confessed ingeniously that the greatest matter that troubled him was the parting with halfe the booty, and that he had command from the king of denmarke his master to secure the whole when he had strenght enough to doe it, and that he he had used all endeavours for the drilling of them into his port for that purpose, and that he dayly expected Danish men of warre to assist him, and his onely scruple was that he should loose his trade in denmarke for consenting that the king of England should have halfe the purchase, your Lordship sees this is another straine then his beeing a man of honour as at his first conference he so much boasted of, and therefore now he makes a new proposition, which is that he will jointly assist us in taking all the prizes, and then they should be carefully sealed up and left in the haven at Bergem till he had receaved an approbation from the kinge of denmarke, that the king of England should have halfe of it, to which we replyed that we were content that halfe of the prizes should

be for the present left with him in Bergen, and the other halfe with us
 in the fleete with the hatches sealed up, and if the king of England our
 master did approve, that his moiety, or a part of it should be also given
 to the king of Denmarke, we would signe it as an article of agreement,
 that the prizes should be preserved without embesement, but he not
 agreeing to this said what a poor thing is it that the king of England
 should breake with the king of Denmarke, whose entire friendship and
 allyance hath so long knitt together for a few rascally prizes, and we
 replied that it was as bad for the king of Denmarke to breake with the
 king of England for such a matter and so all our conferences ended. And
 within little of 5 a clock wednesday morning wee fell upon the dutch, with
 a strict charge and command to each Captain not to fire at the towne, or
 Castle till they fired at us, and for a little time the castles and forts
 forbore, for near the space of a quarter of an houre, and our men shot
 low to the ships only without annoying the towne and I beleive the Castle
 might still have forborne if the dutch that were called in there, and
 the rest of them that had planted themselves in the towne and about the
 rocks had not begunne it, and then it was impossible to hinder men from
 firing at them againe and so the dispute was very hot, for the relation
 of which I referre your Lordship to my other paper, and only observe
 this farther that about an houre after the fight begunne one or two of
 our Captains say that the white flag was hung out upon the Castle, but
 the Revenge being to leeward and perpetually in the smoake we could not
 discerne it, and the Captains doe affirme likewise that all the while the
 white flagge was hung out, which was for the space of a quarter of an
 houre, the gunns from the castle were still fired at us, which we suppose
 to be done by the dutch that were called in to strengthen the castle,
 but being constantly shot at from thence our men would not be hindered

from answering them, and therefore did not cease from shooting at them, or take any heed to give the Admirall Sir Thomas Teddeman notice of the white flag out; these are all the particulars of our treating with the governour or his declaring his inclinations in this matter, which I have been very punctuall in the observation of because it may be of so much concernement between the two crownes; and I assure your Lordship I have been just to a tittle in the relation; and now though our expectations are not fully answered in this matter, yet as to the dutch I believe they will never receive one farthings worth home of all their riches in Bergen, but the dane if he have force enough will preserve it for himselfe and that we might be sure to ruine the common ennemy the dutch, I did this day propose to the common councill of commanders here on board, that I would goe to the castle to the generall, and renew propositions to him for accomodating matters against the common enemy, but evry one of them except Sir Thomas Teddeman were against any further treating with them, but concluded to take the opportunity of this night to attempt them with our two fire ships, and that the Pembroke and the Martin Gally should assist them to bring off their men, so that the wind be faire in upon them which must be westerly there may be some good done upon them in that way, so that I had no more to do but to submit to the generall opinion only we proceeded still with all amity and courtesy to all the vessels of the danes that we met with since the fight and all care is taken that all violence is prevented in the country, and yet the common seamen notwithstanding all orders and commands and threatnings are very unruly, the governour generall hath his country house in these parts, which by the way is not a tenth part so good as the house upon your Lordship's part of St John's Woods) and common crew in revenge cannot be kept from plundering there, nay some of them are so barbarous and

irreligious as to breake open the church doores here neare us, and carry away the priests vestments and the very chalice, but diligent search is made through the whole fleet if by any means we can discover the men that did it, and then we shall doe that right to our nation as to make them publick examples of shame and infamy which may give some satisfaction to the people of this country, if we had given hostages for the performance of the agreemnet with the generall here, we had given on our part my Lord Rochester, Mr Sydney Montague, and Mr Stuart, if they could have gotten persons of the like quality to have given us which I much doubt of; the generall himselfe is of the order of the blew Ribbon and and Elephant but a german borne.

My Lord though this relation be true to a punctilo yet it may not be coherent in the method of relating it, but if your Lordship knew with what distraction and disturbance I write what with perpetuall company where I am and what with wanting of sleepe and accomodation by changing of ships I should be excused by your Lordship : the repulse and losse of my friends also is no small trouble to me, and perchance your Lordship will wonder I remember so much I am my Lord in all conditions. The wind stands now directly south, if it were about westerly perchance there may be another (attempt) made upon Bergen, I have pressed much that, I might goe myselfe, and then I would first treat with my Lord Alfeldt the Generall, and if I could not accomodate with him I would meet the Pembroke etc with the fire ships and would further the designe all I could in the world whatever the hazard were, but not one of the Captains will heare one word of treating with the governour, and indeed they are unwilling to part with a fourth rate ship, which should attend; for we know not what danger we may be in either by the comming of part of the dutch fleet upon us, or of the 22 danish men of war that my Lord Alfeldt brags are coming

out, and it has been impossible for us to have heard one word from the fleet since we came from them. I must confesse I have been passionate for success in this expedition, and though we have it not as we would I beleive we may confidently comelude by all the discourse of the Lord Alfeldt that not one farthing worth of all this riches will returne to Holland, and what the poore king of Denmark will doe to support himselfe without the confederacy of his Majesty I cannot imagine and therefore I hope the opposition we have receaved here from the dane will light heavy upon the Lord Alfeldt; and upon the whole matter I cannot yet see any defect or miscarriage either in designing or executing this matter, and yet after the action is past if there were any flaws they would easily be discerned, the service it is true was looked upon as difficult by the Lord Sandwich and the whole counsell of flag officers, but the probability of the danish assistance counterpoised the dangers and ill accesse to the place, I did never in my life see greater care or industry taken in any affair then his Excellency tooke in informing himselfe of the difficulties of the place; there was scarce a pilot in the fleet that my Lord could hear had ever been at Bergen but that he sent for him and discoursed the matter over with him, and for a whole weeks time the map of this place, and the discourse and questioning upon it was his whole enterainment which could not but produce good councells and resolves and the execution of them hath been performed with as much conduct as could have been expected considering how the dane hath served us. I am, etc.

Clifford MSS. Holland 4.

(Sir T. Teddeman) to Lord Alfeldt, Revenge, 3.VIII.65. (Unsigned and
in Clifford's hand.)

Before we left England we were made to understand that our reception with your Excellency at Bergen and with all other his Majesties of Denmarkes Generalls and Governours in Norway should be of an other nature then I found and our hastening to your Excellencys ^{hand} ~~fierd~~ at Bergen was the sooner effected upon the account of the entire freendship and faire understanding between my master the Kinge of great Britaine and his Majestie of Denmarke, I must confesse it seemes strange to me where the mistake should ley I have therefore desird Sir Thomas Clifford Knight to conferr with your Excellency because he hath bin not unacquainted with the transactions and late propositions between the two Crownes of England and Denmarke, your Excellency may conferr with him with entire confidence, notwithstanding our hard usage and indeed unexpected I still treat all ships and boates belonging to the subjects of his Majestie of Denmarke with all imaginable courtesy and respect and am, etc.

Coventry MSS.f.117.

Sir T. Teddeman to Sir W. Coventry, Revenge, (4)VIII.65.

Set sail on the 30th of July with 22 ships and 2 fireships. Came to Cruse Sound on th^e 31st and there waited for three hours for 7 of his ships which had been blown to leeward but they did not come. Anchored at Buck-ap-Ra. Took a forenoon to get out of this narrow sound but reached Bergen by 6 p.m. of the 1st of August. The wind blowing S.E. he had to warp in. Negotiations with the Governor fruitless. Arranged his

ships in two lines, 8 with their broadsides bearing on the Dutch ships, 7 lying against the castles and forts. 5 a.m. on Wednesday opened fire and after an unsuccessful action of some three hours retired to Guileford Sound.

Clifford MSS. Holland 4. (copy of translation)

J.C.Van Ciccignón to the Gentlemen Captains and Commanders---. 4.VIII.65. 1.

Since we have had intelligence and certaine news brought unto us that some of your vessells have received great hurt and damage in the last fight and aggression of this place and are lying but a short way off from this Cittie, have I upon good findeing of his Excellency the Lord Generall Allefeldt, dispatcht this present Trumpeter belonging unto his said Excellency for to offer you all assistance and freindship and supply of refreshing or any thing else whereof you could be in want at present according to the agreement made between both their Majesties. I crave the Lord to beare me wittness that nothing in the world could be more unpleasing unto me then to use you soe rudely, but I beg your leave to tell you that you have caused your selfe such Mischeife as is happened unto you being the first aggressors And I protest we could doe noe otherwise then was donn since we received two Vollies of your Great Canon before one Gun was fired or the least hostility nor any violence you are freely permitted to harbour in what Port it shall stand with your Conveniency and order shalbe given to that purpose all Bailiffs or any of his Majesties officers military or Civill to doe you all the assistance possible I could doe no lesse being his Majesties authorized Governor of this place then to dispatch this present Messenger unto you there withall presenting me most humble service unto you and likewise to Sir Thomas Teddeman my Lord Mountague all the rest of the worthy Gentle-

Sir Thomas Teddeman my Lord Mountague and all the rest of the worthy Gentlemen desireing you most heartily to assure them all that I am really as much as my Masters service will permitt, etc.

Clifford MSS. Holland 5. 1.

Sir Thomas Teddeman to J. C. Van Cicegnon, 5.VIII.65. (copy)

I received your letter dated the 4th instant this morning and it is kindly taken from you by all the Comanders here of the King of Englands Fleete It was at first our Endeavor and care to prevent as much as possible all violence or hostility upon any the subjects of his Majestie the King of Denmarke and all our men had a strict comand not to fire a Gun either against the Castle or towne til they were first assaulted but to direct all there shott against the Dutch shipps which was also duely observed and since our comeing off from Bergen we have treated all the vessells we have mett with that belong to any the Subiect of the King of Denmarke with all courtesy and freindship notwithstanding our hard usage there though we our selves cannot get from the Country either Pilotte or fresh provisions for our money I am very sorry that there is such an appearance of breach betweene the two Crownes that have bin long not onely in strict confederacy but neare alliance alsoe If Monsieur Tolor would please to take the first oportunity to come hither to us with his Excellency the Lord Generall Allefeldts confidence and with directions and instructions from him I hope all mistakes and misunderstandings wilbe so cleared that the entire freindship and good correspondence betweene the two Great Kings may be still haply continued.-----

1. The original draft of this letter, in Clifford's hand, is also here. On the back of this are jottings of news evidently for use in his letters home.

Clifford MSS. Holland 5.

C. Van Allefeldt to Sir Thomas Teddeman, 5.VIII.65.

Il y a des jours d'occasions si mal heureuses dont les rencontres praedestinées sont inevitables. Aux choses faictes le meilleur remede est d'applier l'emplastre de patience et puis que les fautes les plus courtes sont les Meilleures, reprennons nostre recours à ceste encienne aliance si bien establee non seulement entre nos Roys, mais aussi entre les deux nations prouvenants d'un mesme origine. Je croy fermement que nos deux monarques attribueront aux malheureuses pradestinées si bien vostre brave attaque que ma gaillarde defense, puis qu'il semble, que chacun de nous, avoit quelque raison apparente, a le (faire) Je vous offre donc Monsieur, moy mesme, tout ce qu'est, dans mon pouvoir, estant il y longtemps entierement voué aux services de vostre grand Roy, et de toute vostre Genereuse Nation. Je vous prie Monsieur que le Milord Montagu puisse voir ceans mes tres humbles recommendations, en luy envoyant le gentilhomme quil me demande, du quel les instructions ne sont autres qu'en observant tres estroictement les articles convenues dans le dernier traité il vous dira de ma part que j'attends voos Commandemens et en quoy que je vous puisse servir et souccourir estant d'un si vaillant soldat et grand (capitaine).

Clifford MSS. Holland 5.

Sir Thomas Teddeman to C. Van Allefeldt, 7.VIII.65.

I have received by the hands of Monsieur Tolor your Excellencys obligeing letter of the 5th instant and have returned by him some propositions that may not onely sett all matters right betweene the two Great Kings of England and Denmarke but I hope may also be advantageous for the interest of both Crownes I shalbe very glad if they

onely upon the publick store but that it may also give me an oportunity to be personally knowne to a person of so much honor and worth as I have found your Excellency to be. I am, etc.

Coventry MSS. 95,f. 131.

Headed, ' August 7 1665 Propositions betweene his Excellency the Lord Allefeldt Generall Governor of Bergen and the country adjacent and Sir Thomas Teddeman Knight. '

That Sir Thomas Teddeman shall with the Fleete now under his comand freely come into the port and haven of Bergen and there attaque the Dutch and shall receive the assistance of his Excellency the Lord Allefeldt in the seising and takeing all shippes and vessells that are now in the Harbour there belonging to the United Provinces or any Subjects thereof.

This being performed there shall be an equall division betweene the English and Danes of all the Dutch Ships now in the Harbour there Each side interchangeably chooseing and so till the whole be devidid.

That Hostags be given on each Side that the division of all Prizes be punctually made as abovesaid and that the Hostags shalbe redelivdered in both parts imediately upon the said division.

That before we proceed to the division his Excellency shall cause a true list of all the Dutch ships now in the Port of Bergen as they entred themselves at the comeing into to be delivred to Sir Thomas Teddeman.

That the moyety of the Prizes chosen for the King of Denmarke shalbe imediately in the possession of his Excellency the Lord Allefeldt and the moyety chosen for the King of England imediately in the possession of Sir Thomas Teddeman to be carryed by him either to the English Fleete or to any ports or port in England.

That there shalbe noe delay in the Exequution of this matter but assoone as wind and weather will permitt the English shall sayle to the Port or towne of Bergen and there with attaque the Dutch and shall accordingly as aforesaid have the assistance of the Castle Forts and Cittie of Bergen in the takeing and seizing of all the same Dutch shippes.

Clifford MSS. Holland 5. 1.

C. Van Allfeldt to Sir Thomas Teddeman, 7.VIII.65. (copy - translation)

The conditions that you have proposed to me seeme to be hard so that I cannot allow of them but rather counsell you in a freindly way not to give any further offence to the Porte or havens of the King of Denmarke otherwise you will thwart and crosse the treaty and alliance made betweene our two Masters I will alwayes sett the right on my owne side as well as I can by observing most strictly that which is concluded betweene the two Crowns that I may give noe ground of breach wherefore I desire you once more to content yourselfe with what is past and to beleieve Sir that I am, etc.

Clifford MSS. Holland 5.

Headed, ' Instructions given to Sir Thomas Clifford Knight August 8. 65. touching a letter receivd from Sir Gillbert Talbot. ' and Endorsed, 'Instructions given by Sir Thomas Teddeman to Sir Thomas Clifford.' In Clifford's hand and signed by Teddeman.

Imprimis. You shall treat with his excellency the Lord Allfeldt and truely let him know the condition and wants of the fleet now under my command and insist upon having his assistance as well as connivance.

That if the Duch fire upon us when we take our births the castle shall fire upon them as the aggressors.

1. The French original though considerably damaged is in the same bundle.

That pilots be speedily sent.

That if possible there be procured for us hausers and small anchors.
and 12 penny nailes.

That in case we stay here any tyme how then to provide Victualls for
the fleet.

In case the Duch fleet come during the tyme of our beeing there that
the Castle make joynt opposition against them.

That you returne speedily tomorrow morning the 9th instant.

Tho(mas) Teddeman

That you enquire what the conditions are betweene the two Kings
concerning the division.

Clifford MSS. Holland 5.

Sir Thomas Teddeman to C. Van Allfeldt, 8.VIII.65. Endorsed, ' Sir T
Teddeman August 9. 65. to Lord Allfeldt. to be shewen the Duch if he
please. ' The letter is in Clifford's hand but signed by Teddeman.

I am sorry that the propositions I made to your Excellency are not
allowed and approvd of I thanke your Excellency for your freindshi
ly advise but I am to pursue my instructions and shall in pursuance
thereof attaque the Duch what ever opposition be made against us and I
hope that will not be construed any ground of breach between the two
crownes and it shall be alwayes my endeavour that there may be a right
understanding between them. I am, etc.

Clifford MSS. Holland 5.

Sir Thomas Teddeman to C. Van Allfeldt, 9.VIII.65. (copy)

Upon consideration of the whole subject matter of the conference that

your Excellency had last night with Sir Thomas Clifford and of the Articles of Agreement which were brought to me from your Excellency I had but two things to resolve upon either to come againe to your Port of Bergen with the firste faire winde or else returne to our fleete and findeing the winde contrary to the former and faire to carry us to our fleete that is here upon your Coast I concluded at present for divers reasons upon this latter till a further oportunity in the meane time I shall acquaint my Lord of Sandwich with the said Articles as also of your Excellencies kind expressions for our nation and interest of my Master his Majestie of Great Brittain and I shall ever remaine, etc.

Coventry MSS, 95, ff. 137-8.

' Articles agreed upon between both the parties.' (copy) [8-9.VIII.65]

1. Sir Thomas Teddeman shall come before the Citadell of Bergen unto the very boome.
2. When he is bearing up with his shippes the Generall of the King of Denmark shall cause to be fired at him his Great Shott Sharp charged though without giving any hurt at all to them but onely in appearance for to make the Dutch beleive that there is noe manner of understanding betweene us to there prejudice.
3. Assoone as this donn the Admirall of the English must lower his top-saile or else salute the castle with Guns onely charged with powder and no iron.
4. The Generall of the King of Denmarke must send protestacons reiterated, and the English Admirall must send his excuses to the Generall and this in appearence onely according to the treaty sent to the Admirall from Sir Gilbert Talbot.
5. While this be practised on both sides the Admirall may order his Navy to the best and utmost advantage though without doing any Act of hostility neither towards the Cittadell towne or Dutch Navie for feare of firing the towne.
6. The Admirall may send to summon the Dutch promising them the safety of their lives.
7. When all treaties and protestacons on both sides are broken of, then the Admirall may begin his play.
8. Dureing the fight the Generall shall but onely be neutrall without doing any thing, onely to be upon the Guard of his owne Safety.
9. If the Dutch be opinisted as is supposed the Generall shall cause

two white flags or Ensigns to be planted after they have bin fighting for halfe an hower, to endeavour an agreement to th which the Admirall shall cease fireing and if the Dutch shall not doe the like after they are comanded by the Danes Generall then it shall be in the disposition of the Admirall for the rebeginning of the fight.

10. And since the Generall does feare extreemly that the Goodly towne wilbe sett on fire there must be given expresse orders to the English Fleete that noe body of there fleete doe come ashoare and there ships seamen and souldiers doe not come further than the Boome and this inferre of the treaty made betweene both the Kings.

11. The Generall shall make the same defence to the Dutch and give order to the officers and souldiers not to permitt any Dutch to come on Shoar to prevent all disorders that may ensue.

12. The booty must be equally divided betweene both parties according to the Admiralls own propositions after we have taken away some scruples though of noe consequence in the above mentioned project.

13. But above all when the English Fleete goe to put to sea that the Admirall Sir Thomas Teddeman shalbe obliged so much the better to cover the secret treaty for to leave at least fowre fregats for the terme of six weekes as if they did remaine behinde for the secureing of that moyetie of the Booty and for bringing it safe to England the which are though in the meane time to be absolutely in the King of Denmarks disposition.

14. Assoone as the Dutch have received surety of there lives they shalbe sent away upon some bad ships for Holland with pasports to the end that they shall know nothing of the secret agreement betweene the two Kings.

15. Assoone as things abovesaid are performed entirely both preaties are

to be rendred for to be comitted to the fire as never don.

16. There must be taken a 100000 pound sterling of the ready money for to be rendred into the hands of the Generall Allefeldt and the Admirall Sir Thomas Teddeman who are to devide the money equally and afterwards to dispose of it after there own pleasure in succouring the want of the poore Souldiers that are wounded for a recompence as well for them as there officers.

55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Rawlinson MSS. A.256, f.10

Sir T.Clifford to Lord Arlington, ' On board the Revenge about 20 leagues southwest of Scotland. August 12 1665. ' 1.

North east

Upon the 4th instant I sent two great packets to your Lordship, one a particular diary of all matters with the relation of all particulars in the attaque at Bergen, and the other giving an account of our treating with the Lord Allfeldt the generall governour of the country with copies of all letters and propositions between us, but the ketch that carried these packets not finding the fleet returned to us againe which occasions that you receive them not till now with this remaining account of all passages. Upon the 4th instant at night the governour of the Castle sent a trumpet with a letter that intimated wee should have civill treatment and supply of all things that we wanted which letter was delivered to Captain Eliot commander of the Saphire fregat, that then lay within two leagues of the citty of Bergen, and by reason of her leaks could not come down to us that were at anchor about 5 leagues of the port, but Captain Elliot very prudently sends the letter with the trumpeter to us and Sir Thomas Teddeman sends a very civill latter in answer to the governour, in which he intimated an accomodation of all mistakes that had befallen and might be carryed on to the prejudice of both the Crowmes of England, and Denmarke, and therefore he would be glad if M.Tolor would come downe to the fleet to him to see if matters could be composed (by the way this gentleman was on board of us severall times the first night we came into Bergen he speaks english excellently well and expressed much good will to our whole interest, he was with Hannibal Sehestedt in England and was sent by him from france to the King when he was at

1. In the Clifford MSS. Holland 6 there are two further copies of this letter.

Bath two years since, your Lordship may remember him there, I am the larger in the relation of him because I have settled him as a correspondent in bergen and he is there in great confidence with the generall the Lord Allefeldt,) and upon the intimation of Sir Thomas Teddemans he came to us from the generall, and by his direction Sunday night the 6th instant and desired propositions of accomodations with relation to our Joynt dividing the dutch booty, which Sir Thomas Teddeman sent by him to the generall, and they were in some circumstances more favourable then those that were formerly made for the danish interest, however in substance they were the same; upon munday night the 7th instant M. Tolor returnes to us againe, and indeed with great joy and acclamation, that all our propositions would be consented unto, and farther that the Generall had now receaved directions from the King of Denmarcke to that purpose, but because the dutch tooke notice of our treating he sent a letter as a colour only to amuse them, to advise Sir Thomas Teddeman to make no further attempts to which he desired an answer a part that he might shew it to the dutch commanders, and so still underhand hold on his treaty with us; we receaved also from the Lord Allefeldt Sir Gilbert Talbots letter to our english commander in chief before Bergen, coppies of all which I have here sent your Lordship; The Lord Allefeldt also writ to me that the night following I would give him a meeting that we might conferre concerning the manner of attacking the dutch again and conclude upon propositions for dividing the booty afterwards, and this meeting he desired might be at eleven a clock tuesday night the 8th instant and that the dutch might have no suspition of it he pressed me that I would come disguised, and this went very much against the haire with me, I knew that appearance and address was a great point in affecting

business, and this seemed to me to degrade and under value myselfe, I assure your Lordship it was a bitter pill and I submitted to my Lord Allefeldts judgement in this matter with this onely comfort that it was doing the king my master service, I am sure nothing else could have prevailed with mee unlesse it were attending for a mistresse, but in a saylers habit under colour of getting bread and fresh meat away I make for Bergen, and at the time and place appointed I met the Lord Allefeldt, Monsieur Cicignon the governour of the Castle and M.Tolor, I found french much wanting to me, but in many points I made a shift with my Latine, which the Lord Allefeldt understood very well, and would sometimes reply in it, but M. Tolor did for the most part interpret between us, he shewed me the King of Denmarkes orders which he said were onely to permitt us to attaque the dutch, and which he said was also agreeable to Sir Gilbert Talbots letter to our Commander in chief before Bergen, I replied that permission and connivance had been sufficient at our first comming, but now since we had been disabled and shattred by the forts and Castle it was but reason that we should at least have some small assistance from them, for he had permitted the dutch since to strengthen themselves by booms and other fortifications, and had suffered them to draw out seven of their ships of greatest fire lying with their broadsides against any power that should come against them, and that they had brought to beare neare 30 guns in each ship, which considering the narrownes of the haven and shallownes of the water were as many ships as we could draw up against them and we could not bring to beare so many guns in each ship as they could, besides I told him there ships were treble manned for they had deserted all their other ships to strengthen this line, and on the other side we had received a considerable losse of men and commanders, that

that the dutch were flusht and in heart and that our men needed encouragement, and therefore I desired his Lordship diligently to peruse his instructions from the king his master, whether they would not allow him to help us if need were, whether they did not run rather to assist then hinder, but he replied he must doe no act that might be interpreted a declaration of war with the dutch, I told him that was but a nicety for the division of prizes he insisted upon would soone discover that: he replied he had a helpe for to, and in fine was so farre from yeelding the least assistance that he would not permit us to use our force after the best manner as we could, as your Lordship will see by the enclosed propositions, which he had prepared and did then give me, I must confesse I ~~was~~ much startled to see them for by them the boom is still to continue and we are not to come within it neither are we to land any men or to come by the towne on the back of them, and the notion of hanging out of his white flag might be a great prejudice to us, for that cessation might give liberty to the dutch to recover if we should have driven them from their guns into the hold, he said in that case our officers might enter them , but if the boom should be removed and we come to grasping it might occasion the firing of some of the ships, and so endanger the citty of Bergen which he must endeavour to preserve, so that in truth this connivance should be no more than a Cock-match and he the Umpire between us, nay if we had done our worke upon the dutch we had been at the mercy of the Castle, whether wee should have had any fruit or effect of it for let me also observe to your lordship that he had quite left out the articles of giving and receiving hostages, and he told me that was needless, I did still lay before him the condition of the ships that were with us, that they were disabled etc that the Instructions from his

Majesty to him were supposing we had received no repulse, that the
 case was of great importance all the wealth of Holland there, that it
 would be the greatest disheartening imaginable to their grand fleet now
 coming out, if they should be disappointed in what they came out for viz.
 the guarding of this wealth home, that by this means it was impossible
 the dutch could ever hold up their heads again, and so the king of
 Denmarke would have an opportunity of redeeming themselves from the
 great oppressions of that people, on the other hand without his help I
 lay before him our returning to our fleete, that the issue of the battle
 might be uncertain, or at least the season of the year might be very
 unfitt for us to send our ships of force to Bergen, there being after this
 month more danger of seas and rocks then of the ennemyes cannon, and then
 how probable it might be that a considerable part of the dutch fleet
 might come and fetch them out whether he would or not: I told him the
 use of discourse was to lead us to some end, and business lay in a
 narrow roome, and the whole matter upon his weighing all I had said was
 but assistance, to which he replied with large expressions of good will
 for the English interest, be glad to spend the rest of his life in the
 king of Englands service and by that means endeavour to redeem the losse
 of English blood against Bergen, but withall that he would keep to his
 instructions and would not cary a tittle from them upon any score ; he
 he was descended of a great race his ancestors for 700 years gentlemen
 of the empire, and he would not doe any act that should sully the memory
 of them, that he was allyed to the duke of Holstein, prince palatine etc,
 but he concluded ~~he~~ I should take his articles with mee, and change them
 in any circumstance, and insert what was thought fit, providing it was
 nothing that engaged him to assistance, or did leave the city of Bergen
 in hazard of burning or spoil, which latter condition would certainly

hinder us from taking any advantages upon them by boarding or such like, however I desired I might communicate them with Sir Thomas Teddeman, and thereupon take resolutions what to be done, and so I returned with M. Tolor in company to our ships, and arrived Wednesday the 8th instant by 4 in the morning and upon my laying all open before Sir Thomas Teddeman whose Judgement is as good in consultation, as his courage in execution he soone perceived that by the tricks and quirks of the governour in hindring us of taking all advantages upon the dutch there could be but little good done upon them, the ships under his command being neither gund nor mand answerable for an attempt againe in despite of the castles and forts, and therefore resolved forthwith to weigh anchor, and find out my Lord Sandwich, who had given us notice that he was drawne of to water his fleet upon the 4th instant, either towards Scotland or Flamborough head, and the dutch fleet being expected out, it was very dangerous for us to stay longer there, but the mists and foule weather happening that wednesday the 9th the danger of the rocks kept us till thursday the 10th which morning we put to sea, but before we left the coast Sir Thomas Teddeman writ a very civill letter to the Lord Alefelât, that he had considered his articles and propositions, and finding withall that the wind was contrary for his present returne to Bergan, and faire for his going to my Lord Sandwich he had resolved upon this latter to communicate the said articles to his Lordship that he might amend and improve them for the interest of both crowns. And thus stands this matter of Bergen and nothing was more visible to mee then that the dane expects the issue of the battle after thâs next Joyning of the two great fleets of England and Holland and if we give them a great blow perchance without our helpe so disabled as now they are by us from putting to sea they may seise them themselves and so keep us from having any part of the booty, or if wee

be beaten yet it would be in their power to make conditions well enough for themselves with the dutch; and beside the Lord Alefeldt hath his particular interest all this while during the suspense for many of the prime commodities are dayly landed at the Castle. My Lord this a business of so great concernement that nothing is or can be more in all matters that relate to the dutch warre and therefore it will require the most mature consultation what is to be done, if it were possible the king of Denmarcke should be brought forthwith to declare; My Lord there is now at stake the whole wealth of the United Provinces 57 great ships all richly laden, 10 of them East India men, the rest from the streights, Cales and West Indies, and from Guiny gold and silver in specie in great quantities, the Governor himselfe told me that by the estimate he takes of them as they entred themselves at their coming into harbor they cannot be lesse worth then 60,000,000 pounds sterling: I had forgot to mention one passage I had in discourse with him which was in reply to my saying the dutch might come and fetch them out he said he had force enough to keep them in against both the fleet~~ts~~ of England and Holland, I askt if it should come to that point whether he would keepe them in from the Hollander he replyed to that it were as good to give assistance as to declare that, however he said he had power enough to doe it: And now my Lord I have given you a most impartiall relation of this whole matter as much in favour of this Generall the Lord Allefeldt as the nature of all his actions will beare. I referre your Lordship to the last propositions or articles to take a true view or character of them I suppose blame will be layd on him however I am sure it was unfortunate that the order of connivance was so long a coming, if it had been there before our arrivall all this had been at end but now the whole thing is layd before your Lordship I hope there will be some course found that the hollander at least may

never have one farthing brought home of his wealth and then I am sure they cannot maintain their warre but notwithstanding the great boast of the Lord Alefeldt he hath not force enough to keep the dutch merchant men in port if part of the dutch fleet should come to their assistance for though he have considerable strenght now the dutch merchant men are Joyned with him, yet when they shall be separated from him and turned against him it will much alter the case, for their are now of the dutch men in their ships 2600, and living in Bergen of dutch, Lubeckers, Hamburgers etc, that will all Joyne with the dutch 800 more and the establishment of the Castles and forts are not 800 men the militia of the citty is 2250, a man for every house but these are merchants and burgers and will fight but little the Generall hath also summoned in the militia regiment of the provinces of Bergen which are but 4000 men and some of them live about 120 miles from the city and these your Lordship will easily beleive will not fight much, the whole situation of the castles and forts are placed with the graetest advantage that ever I saw for the annoying of any fleete that shall come as an ennemy, besides the narrowness of the haven, and shallowness of the water except in the very middle and that immediately without the bay there is so great a depth of water that you have no anchoring within many leagues are all advantages to the place, by all which your Lordship will perceave what a difficult attempt we made when both the danes and the dutch were united against us and it cannot but be thought good service if it be considered wee have not lost a ship in the expedition, though some of them have been 3 times upon the rocks in a leagues space we made nothing to leap on and of and cry a good smooth rock, but my Lord I am in great pain till somewhat be done, for the honour and interest of the king and the weather here is either so rough or misty after the beginning of September that

that there is no trusting a fleet upon the coast of Norway without apparent danger of its ruine at least separation which inclines me to believe the Hollander will not come out with his great fleete this yeare to guard them home but direct them to winter in Bergen, if they doe come out with that intent we certainly fight at least at their returne, and may probably enough expect success, and if they should not come out now there should be nothing so proper as treating with the king of Denmarcke and offering him any conditions for his present declaring a warre with the dutch, I perceive by the Lord Alefeldt there would be no great difficulty to get the king of Denmarcke to this, if you could move his apprehension he hath of the king of Sweden but I will trouble your Lordship no longer upon this matter. Thursday the 10th it blew fresh all day but little different from a storme, however we made about 20 leagues westward toward Scotland before night and about 12 of the clock we reaseaved a hot Alarum, which was as terrible as anything else that happened, for we saw at a considerable distance a head of us a great light, which we concluded could be nothing but the Admirall of the dutch fleet, and we were the more inclinable to believe it because we had seen in the day time 6 ships to the westward of us that hastned from us as soone as they made us, and we concluded these the dutch frigets, but by bteake of day wee found it was alight from one of our owne fregats that was very unadvisedly got ahead of us; if it had been the dutch fleet, we gave all our heavy merchant men for lost, and our fregats must either have fled for it or sunke, there was no discourse amongst us but of an honourable death.

Yesterday the 11th was as stormy as the day before and we made but little way this day Saturday the 13th is indifferent faire, we have made about 25 leagues to the southward of Scotland and are now steering to

Flamborough head in hope to heare of my Lord Sandwich there, however to prevent the worst wee have this day dispatcht a ketch to Scotland to bring us news of him and his commands if he were there.

August 13, 65. Wee have had ever since last night a faire N.E. winde Sunday.

and we goe before it directly for Flamborough Head: I had forgot to observe one particular concerning Bergen which is that the Generall permitted the dutch to fit and prepare a fireship to turne it out upon us if the wind should be favorable, notwithstanding his great pretensions for the safety of the towne, when we are to use but our best against the dutch.

If I had any helpe, or opportunity here on board I should have written all that concerned our treating with the generall the Lord Alefeldt in Cypher, I know it concernes the honour of the king, and the generall was so nice in it, that he gave the governor of the castle M. Caignon, and M. Tolor an oath of secrecy before he would admitt them of the debate: Ypur Lordship may also be pleased to have Mr Lestrange directed in the manner of the attaque. As of our fleet being early out to drive them in there, and hindering them from coming home, then of dangers and difficulties of our men of warrs accesse to the place, and though we have lost many brave men and Commanders, yet we drove 120 or 150 small shot ffrom their stations, and silenced all their forts upon one side of the towne and have also made most of their considerable ships unable to take the seas this winter, but I submitt this, and beg your Lordships pardon, It is now full 6 weeks since I heard one tittle from England unlesse what I saw in a dutch Gazett at Bergen and in it I find the plague increased to 1500 a weeke in London and that my lady Chesterfield dyed of it, we are totally ignorant where the Court is, or when, or where the parliament sits

next, and to heare of your Lordships health would be as satisfactory to me as any other thing in the world.

August 14-65-hor All last night and till 9 this morning wee had a 8 at night. fresh N.E. winde and we went away before it toward Flamborough Head about 8^o watch, but suddenly it cā ops about S.W. which forced us to hale in nearer the shoare, and now in the evening we discerne land and judge it to be about Abersden, wee have now a dead calme and in 30 fathoms water, if the N.E. gale had continued but two days more we had reached Flamborough, but now we must waite.

August 15-hor 10 The wind blew first northerly all this day, we came at night-12 leagues in sight of Berwick and our English shoare but the of Tirmouth. weather was misty and rains, we have not one word of news, but hope to meet with some tomorrow at Flamborough Head.

August-16-65-8 leagues My Lord we have yet no news of our fleete with northward of Flamborough my Lord Sandwich, we shall bend our course to Head 12 at noone. Sole-bay, if your Lordship please to hanour me with a letter it will find me there: I hope also their are letters from my family at your Lordships office, they will now be very welcome to me, I have not heard a word since I left our coast 6 weeks since; The number of slaine upon the place were 112 killed 309 wounded totall of both 421, 6 Captains killed, Seale, Haward, Lawson, Utber, Peirce, and Cadmand, I am my Lord entirely and affectionately ever and ever, etc.

Clifford MSS. Holland 6.

Lord Arlington to Sir T.Clifford, Sarum, 20.VIII.65.

However Our successe was at Bergen and how much soever I lament the losse of Mr Mountague I was exceeding glad to receive all your Letters and Papers last night giving a most perfect and exact account of all our transactions ther, the good part you had in them and your coming off alive and with all your Limbs from so hazardous an undertaking. I have always told you you are reserved for some good fortune, in the mean time bee content that his Majesty and all your freinds have an entire satisfaction in your good conduct and behaviour. The scope of wr̄iting this to you is to let you know that his Majesty commands you to make what possible hast you can hither, but take heed of looking into London by the way, at least your own house, for it is possible you may think it fit to see and speake with my Lord Generall, to satisfy his Curiosity as well as in order to some things relating to his Majesties service, and in the beleife you will make no stay after the receipt of this I forbear telling any newes, which woud make this longer then I have time for it. I will therefore add only my Constant professions of being unalterably Sir, etc.

Clifford MSS. Holland 6.

Charles II. to Hammibal Shestedt, Salisbury, 27th August 1665.
(copy)

It is (a) long time (since) I heard from you which I have the more reason to wonder at falling out at a time when things are brought to such a crisis betwixt my brother the King of Denmarke and mee and I would wish what hath happened at Bergen proceeded rather from a misunderstanding then want of good will betwixt us, to which purpose I have dispatched the bearer Sir Thomas Clifford a man of much honor and to the King my Brother to see whether it bee not too late to compose all things betwixt Us and assure myselfe of all assistance therein from you soe to have the matter handled that wee may bee friends for ever, and I have many occasions to make good the promise I have given you of being truly yours, C. R.

Coventry MSS. 95, f. 140.

Sir T. Clifford to Sir W. Coventry, Scarborough, 26. Vlll. 65. 6 p.m.

This day Sir Thomas Teddeman sent you a great packet of all passages and issue at Bergen but doubting that it may be sent from Burlington to Court and soe misse his Royall Highnes I thought it might not be unacceptable to give a short account of it understanding by my Lord Berkeley and and Mr Jermin that his Royall Highnes was in those parts upon the 30th of July. Sir Thomas Teddeman with 22 saile and two fireships was ordered to Bergen to take all advantages upon the Duch: we arrivd the port the 1st of this about six at night through many difficulties and hazards of the rocks, we had some parling with the Generall and Governour that night but we tooke all advantages to birth our selves well and in the morning

by five of the clock we attacked the Dutch with as much care as could be taken that the town had no hurt or damage but that weighed little with the Dutch for he fell upon us from all parts of his forts and castle and in fine after 3 hours dispute many of our anchors and cables being cut by their great shot we were driven away the wind blowing directly out against us by which means also we were not able to make use of our fire ships. We had no place to anchor within 5 leagues of the town of Bergen but thither we went to repair our shattered ships and by the 9th instant we were ready for the sea or another attempt but the Governor still persisting in a coldness to us and the Dutch having made themselves stronger than we could bring any force against them considering the narrowness of the port and the shallowness (shallowness) of the water it was by all resolved to find out my Lord Sandwich who sent Sir Thomas Teddeman a letter the 4th instant that gave notice of his leaving the offing? at Bergen and going with the fleet for want of water either to Scotland or some part of our own coast intimating his principal aim to be at Sole Bay wherefore the wind favouring us we are making thither but shall touch at Burlington five of the ships at least with us must be sent into Harbour to be repaired the rest want much refreshments and bear particularly we have bin 8 to 10 men bear these ten days. We had killed upon the place 112 and wounded 309 other men fall sick every day. --- I am , etc.

Clifford, Holland Vl.

Instructions to Sir Thomas Clifford going to Denmark and Sweden in the quality of Our Extraordinary Envoye to both those Crownes the 29th of August 1665.

You shall make what hast possibly you can to Sole Bay where Our Fleet now lyes under the command of the Earl of Sandwich acquainting him with the scope and intention of Our sending you and you shall consort with him in what manner you may best and speediest way give him an account of the issue and fruit of it that accordingly hee may support it from the fleet if there bee occasion: You shall also aske of him one of the fleetest 5th rate Frigats to transport you with orders to obey such as upon emergencies you shall give to the Commander thereof. The Earle of Sandwich being gone to Sea, you shall then apply yourselfe by letter to the Lord Generall to furnish you with a fitting ship for your transportation.

Embarking yourself in the said ship you shall direct your course streight for Copenhagen, but if the Wind seem not fitting for that Voyage or any accident enterrupt you then you shall land yourselfe any where upon the Coast where you can most conveniently and soe take your way by Land with the most expedition you can to Copenhagen ordering the Frigat to meet you then.

Where being arrivd you shall goe with all privacy possible to Sir Gilbert Talbot and exposing to him the scope and intention of our sending you to that Court and shewing him your Commission and Power,

wherein hee is joyned with you you shall consort with him in what manner you shall demand and Audience of the King & frame your discourse to his Majesty according to the enformation Sir Gilbert Talbot shall give you of the temper & sentiments of that Court towards Us since the action of Bergen & if you shall understand they are sorry for what mischief & damage Our ships received there then you shall direct your discourse to the letting the King see that it is yet in his hands entirely to repaire Us & make good the promise hee advanced to Us upon the confidence of which alone Wee made the attempt & besides the hazard & difficulties Wee exposed our men unto by that action have give the World cause to censure Us for the violation of of such a friend and Allyes Port to a degree that will give our Enimies occasion to say none can bee secure of our friendship when ther is a temptation of profit before Us & soe wound Our honour most sensibly. And you will have occasion to make use of this very argument though perhaps in anither manner if you shall find the King inclinable to patch up an agreement with the Dutch, to which in that case you must also add all those others that may fright & deterre him from all by shewing the consequences of it must bee a finall & irreparable breach with Us & inall probability with Sweed to, leaving himselfe to the mercy or rather revenge of the Hollander for having designed to put in execution those thoughts towards them which they cannot bee long ignorant of; And divesting himselfe of the whole profit, it beeing not likely they will for the future easily pardon his taking the least part of it to himselfe.

And if you shall find that your discourse directed the one way or the other prevaile on the King, then you shall aske him leave

that you may direct and instruct him from the individuall knowledge you have of what passed at Bergen how hee may with the most security to himselfe and benefit towards Us put in execution his good intentions declared formerly to Sir Gilbert Talbot corresponding with our fleet that will bee ready to support him with all its force therein and accordingly dispatch away to the Earle of Sandwich the Friget attending you to give advice thereof with such necessary advertisements, cautions and instructions as the case will require sending there with one of those persons you are directed to carry with you.

And although the first conditions whereon the advance was made to Us were that the booty should bee divided yet if you shall find that a recession for a part or even the whole will secure their breach with the Dutch then though with a seeming difficulty, and according as you shall see the matter play in their hand you shall conclude leaving them the possession of the whole but conditioning for their arming therewith such a number of ships as will turne to their owne account as well as Ours in the joynt prosecution of the Warre or arming and Victualling Our fleet or otherwise furnishing them with a quantity of such Provisions and store as their Countrey abounds in and Our want; in fine it is wholly left to your discretion and good conduct to doe herein the best and utmost you can for the benefit of Our service.

And pursuant to this the King admitting of it you shall together offer to expose the full power Wee have given you and Sir Gilbert Talbot to treat and conclude all things not onely with relation to Trade and Commerce but also the strictest Union and Alliance that can bee devised but because his Majesties last Letter to Us of the 8th of this present August seemes to insist upo our signing the late Treaty of Commerce and the separate private Article also transmitted hither as you see cause

for it you shall avow the having it with you ratified in the most authentick manner and forme and accordingly produce it offering to add yet other conditions and Articles as the case shall require to bee confirmed by Us in the same forme and manner as abovesayd as well with relation to the points before mentioned as that of the Dutch fleet now in Bergen.

Likewise you shall offer to debate and conclude upon the triple Union betweene the Crownes of Denmarke Sweed and Us according to the proiect prepared there already or any other that shall appear to bee more congruous to such a Union as Wee suppose must bee framed upon a supposition of their finall breach with Holland upon which point you must correspond punctually with Mr Coventry Our Extraordinary Envoye in Sweden giving him timely and frequent advises of your progresse in this point and accordingly it being adjusted in Denmarke offer yourselfe and according goe to the Court of Sweden and pursue there the agreement thereunto according to the joynt commission and power delivered you also to treat and conclude in that Court joyntly with Mr Coventry, towards which you will need noe particular instructions from Us the grounds you lay in Denmarke together with the informations you will upon the place receive of Mr Coventry sufficiently guiding you therein.

But if it should so fall out that neither perswacions or threats should bee sufficient to divert the King of Denmarke from agreeing with the Hollanders and restoring their Ships and Goods now lying in Bergen and consequently declining Our friendship in that case reserving the ratifications of the Treaty and secret Article, which you carry with you you shall take your Leave of the King professing an entire dissatisfaction in his proceeding toward Us and take your journey streight to Stockholme where upon conference with Mr Coventry upon the whole matter

you shall jointly make it your principal businesse to inflame that Court with the unbecoming procedure of Denmarke towards Us and if need bee exposing the particulars of it endeavouring to gain them to joyne in Our Revenge and offering them such conditions on our part as may oblige them thereunto by concluding and signing any Articles of agreement with that Crowne as upon the place you shall both together judge fit pursuant to the power given you.

Of all your transactions and negotiations according to these Our Instructions and powers given you, you shall constantly and frequently give Us exact accounts through the hands of Our Principall Secretaries of State, from whom you shall receive Our further instructions both for your direction in your businesse, and stay in either of those Courts, leaving you notwithstanding a latitude of going and coming between the two Courts, and even returning to Us as the emergencies in Our service shall require.

According as you shall agree upon the division of the ships at Bergen you shall send one of those persons you carry with you to secure our portion there joyning to him if neede bee some English Merchant or Factor whom you may find there to bee assistant to him therein.

In the Ratified Treaty with Denmarke and the secret Article it may soe fall out that there may be faults or mistakes which in soe short a time cannot be mended therefore before you shall deliver it in you shall examine with the Originall and correct according to that filling also the blancks for the dates that the ratifications may exactly agree together.

By his Majesties Command
Arlington

C.R.

(over)

1. The discourse there must bee begun with the expostulation wee have been in all this while of brining Denmarke to the point they desird, and the amusements they have entertained us with hath been the cause of the delay.
2. Offering in either case our drawing the House of Austria into the League which in the worst will be most acceptable to Sweden.

These two marginal comments, in Arlington's hand occur in the 'Clifford' text of the instruction and are copied by Henry Coventry in his transcript of a large part of the document, (Coventry MSS. 28, ff.75-6.).

Carte MSS. 75,f.339.

Sir T. Clifford to the Earl of Sandwich, Harwich, 1.1X.65.

Upon the 19th past the day after I parted from your Excellency I landed at Kelnsey in Yorkshire at the mouth of Humber beeing 53 miles from Yorke. I arrivd not earely enough to speake with his Royall Highnes but was with him all Sunday: his Royall Highnes had before met with my packet to my Lord Arlington and I found him intirely satisfyed not only with your Excellencys designing part but also with Sir Thomas Teddemans conduct of the whole affaire at Bergen. Upon Munday morning the 21st I hastned toward Salisbury by the way of Notingham and Oxford and arrivd at Court thursday noone the 24th where I found so much an agreement with your Lordships sending of me that the King had also ordered before I came to send for me. The King and whole Court have also a good impression and esteem of the whole action at Bergen the greatnes of the attempt and bravery of the thinge and the good conduct in bringing off every ship hath quite swallowed up the losse of our men and repulse and at comming away the Kinge bid me assure Sir Thomas Teddeman that he was not one jot lesse in his favor and regard of him for that he was not successfull but now all expectations not only of the Court but of the whole Kingdom are upon our meeting with the Duch fleet and if we are not fortunate in meeting them give me leave to tell your Excellency that there will be a great dissatisfaction and though the not finding your Exce^{at Sole}llency was a great disappointment of the measures I am to take yet I was with all my heart glad of it because our fleet was gon in the way to meet them. I may happily be the bringer of this letter with the enclosd my selfe but ^{at} all adventures I have sent it by Captain Waterworth

and am imbarqued myselfe in the Norwich for Copenhagen where the Kinge hath sent me as Envoy Extraordinary. I had orders to lay all my busines open before your Excellency and to aske you a good sailing frigett and finding the Norwich here in the koling grounds ready to put to sea I gave Sir William Battins order to carry me to Copenhagen with intention nevertheless to find your Excellency if possible and with security to the affaire for I carry full powers under the great seale to conclude with that Kinge and hast hither is the first considerable point.

Amonge the letters inclosd your Excellency will find one from the King in which you will see as I suppose by his Majesties discourse a great earnestnes for the finding out the Duch fleet I will only add that without it in everybodys opinion there is but an ill face upon our affaires for though we have had a victory in the beginning of the yeare yet we have had but a little fruit of it for in the meane tyme De Ruiter swept the Coast of Guiney and the West Indies, their Capers and directors ships have lorded it in the streight and even before Tanger all this summer but one blow to theire fleet will satisfy all I yet hope to be with you however I wish and pray for your succeste and am ever, etc.

Coventry MSS. 64.f.222.

Sir T.Clifford to Sir H.Coventry, Gothenburg, 8.1X.65. 1.

Beeing newly arrivd to this place and Understanding it the post day for Stockholme I could not omit the giving you notice of my beeing safely come thus far in my way to Copenhagen and from thence to Stockholme. I hope my stay will not be longe in Denmarke. I have letters of advice to you both from my Lord Chancellor and from my Lord Arlington which I purpose to bringe with me and withall such powers as will not be unacceptable to you, if I had a Cypher with you I would now enlarge upon that point as weary as I am but I hope to meet with one in Copenhagen in Sir Gilbert Talbots hands and therefore shall defer what I have to say of that matter till then and at present only tell you some newes.

The Court were all well at Salisbury the 28th past and two dayes before that I had notice that h^{is} Royall Highnes and his Court of which your brother William is magna pars were in the same condition at Yorke.

Our fleete after the repulse at Bergen returned to Sole Bay to water and take in some beare but theire stay there was not above nyne dayes. Upon Wednesday the 30th past he tooke the seas with one hundred and fower or five saile the soverain and some other great ships that were not in the last engagement are with him. He bent his course that day towards the Texell and soe intended to goe Northward to meet the Duch fleet as they returned with theire merchant men from Bergen but upon thursday the last of August there happened so great a storme in those seas that he was forcet homeward againe all that day but notwithstanding the Violence of it preserved our fleet entire together and without any damage unlesse to the Dimond friget that lost her sprit saile and fore

1. In a copy of this letter Clarendon MSS 83.f.228 H. Coventry has noted 'excuse no cipher but no satisfaction at Copenhagen'

topmast so that fryday the first instant he made on his course northward toward the Dogger Banke but the Duch scaped not so well in the storme for most of theire merchant men were separated from them: in my coming hither in the Norwich frigot I met with a fly boate upon Sunday the 3rd at noone that told me that yonge Tromp with but seven saile were wandring up and downe in greate feare and disorder being parted from theire fleet and that night I came through the Hollands fleet that were left together as I suppose about 60 saile of them or 70 and they were in so much apprehension that none of them durst chase us and at that tyme I know our fleet was within 12 or 14 leagues of them and in probability they met with them but of that I have no knowledge only that Mounday evening the 9th I met with the Henrietta one of our frigets that said part of our fleet had taken six great ships which he beleived to be East India merchant men and that they had chasd into severall ports and creekes 20 merchant men more, a few dayes will let you know whether we have the good fortune to meet with theire merchant men. I would enlarge to more particulars but the post will not permit noe not to read this. I am etc.

Coventry MSS. 64.f.228

Sir T.Clifford to Sir H.Coventry, Copenhagen, 14.1X.65.

I writ to you from Gottenburg upon my arrivall there the 8th instant the next day I went forward for this place and came last night. I visited Count Haniball Sestadt this morning but have not yet had a tyme for audience.

I presume my stay here will not be longe. I can yet write you nothing of our affaires and proceedings but shall constantly as there is occation and shall be glad to heare from you as often as your leasure will permit

especially how that Court continues in their inclinations to us or to a triple League. I have heard noe other certainty from our fleet then what I writ in my last only here at Elsenore eight of the Duch men of war and one of their East India merchant men. I am, etc. l.

1. In a copy of this letter (Clarendon 83,f.228) Coventry remarks:-
' Before hee ever acquainted mee that hee is the Kings Minister hee demandeth accompt of mee and my negotiation, without so much as imparting the least word of what hee hath in orders to mee.'

Clifford MSS, Holland VI.

Endorsed, ' Memoriall to the K. of D. Sept. 16. 1665. '

The subscribed Extraordinary Envoyes from the King of Greate Britaine to your Majesty are comanded to represent to you thet dissatisfaction of the King their Master upon your Majesty's delays in the performance of those promises which you have long since made toward the conclusion of a stricter Alliance with England, and of a triple league betwixt England, Dennemark and Suede.

They are likewise comanded to let your Majesty Know, that the King their Master is highly dissatisfyed in the disappointment of the designe of Bergen: And because many things may be argued on both sides to excuse from the guilt of that miscarriage, to avoid recrimination (which can serve for nothing but to exasperate and make the breach wider) they are comanded to let your Majesty know that since by the disgracefull repulse which the English ships have received from the Governor of that place, the wounding of some frigatts and losse of many men's lives, it may seeme to reflect very much on the dishonour of England while your officers triumph there in their victory, the King their Master thinketh, that he hath but two wayes left to vindicate his honour which suffereth very much in the opinion , of the world, and whereof no Prince living is more tender than he: The one, That your Majesty proceed without demurre. to a strict union with England against Holland which alone can bury those injuries in oblivion. The other (in case this be not assented to) to proceed to

unwillingly
 that which necessity putteth him upon, which is to let the world see
 that he has not violated the Lawes of Nations, by attempting to force
 the ports of a friend and Ally (wherewith his Enemyes already upbraide
 him) Since it was with your Majesty's consent and formall contract
 that his fleete advanced to that attempt; which nothing but the
 safety of his owne honour can force him to discover.

They are comended in the next place, to let your Majesty Know,
 that it is not a Neutrality that will now serve that turne; that
 indeed may seeme to cleare your Majesty from having treated such a
 combination but it will throw the whole guilt upon the King their
 Master, which he is resolved shall not lye upon him. It is therefore
 expected that your Majesty proceed to a brisk declaration with
 England against Holland; which, that your Majesty may doe with the
 greater security, they bring to your Majesty signed under the great
 seale of England the Treaty of Commerce & the private Article to be
 delivered to you immediately upon the declaring against Holland;
 and they are ready to engage (being sufficiently empowred to that
 effect) that the King their Master shall at all times, in the
 defense of your Majesty against the Hollanders or any Prince or State
 which shall assault or molest you, hazard the life of the last man
 of his three Kingdomes. And to bring this matter to a more speedy
 issue, they humbly propose to your Majesty that for the satisfaction
 of your just pretences , wherein you have hitherto been deluded, you
 forthwith make seisure of the rich East Indian & other Holland
 merchant ships which are within your ports, And herein, if need be,

his Majesty will assist you with his Shipping (provided he may have his share) & there is a frigate left at Gottenburg purposely to call to your ayd such a number of frigatts as you shall want & *desire* upon that account.

This will both give your Majesty an undoubted ground for a breach, & enable you to maintaine your ships of warre & contribute your share toward the defense of the Baltick. And that your Majesty may not be deterred by the apprehension of offending any of the Allyes of Holland, the said Extraordinary Envoyes are ready to shew your Majesty such a strength of Allyance joyned with England & Suede, that you need not feare the combination of the whole world besides. Nor doth the King their Master send his Expresses to seek this your Majesty's conjunction out of any distrust of his owne power & that of his Allyes as if he were unable without you to suppress his Enemyes; but he seeketh it principally out of kindnesse & tendernesse to your Majesty which maketh him almost violate the rules of civill friendship with you to argue you into a true sense of your owne interest, whose safety he would as willingly provide for as his owne.

But if your Majesty shall be swayed by other counsellis to neglect these friendly offers which he now maketh your Majesty cannot charge the inconvenience that may ensue upon want of a friendly invitation from the King their Master which if your Majesty neglect, he will be forced to embrace such counsellis as will peradventure please your Majesty as little as they doe himselve.

If on the other side your Majesty will presently declare with

England & enter into a Treaty for a conclusion of the triple League, they will offer your Majesty a project to that effect which shall provide for your full security in all cases, as having sufficient powers under the great Seal of England to treat & conclude with your Majesty. And one of them will make a journey to Stockholm to procure the assent & ratification of that Crown. And hereunto they are commanded to desire your Majesty's speedy answer & an appointment of Commissioners to treat the particulars above mentioned.

Copenhagen September 16th 1665.

Talbot.

Clifford.

Clifford MSS. Holland 6.

Articuli Foederis offensivi ac deffensivi inter serenissimos Magnae Britanniae et Daniae Reges ineundi.

1.

Ut sit inter Serenissimos Magnae Britanniae ac Daniae Reges arctissima defensionis et offensionis confoederatis^o, ad persequendum contra foederati Belgi ordines terra marique.

2.

Sit perpetua Oblivio et Amnestia omnium eorum quae Bergi die 2d^o Augusti huius anni 1665, ab una vel altera parte hostiliter facta sunt; nec eo nomine quidquam alter adversus alterum directe vel indirecte post hac praetendere possit, vel molestiam ullam alteri creare aut negotii quidquam facessere; sed e contra omnis opera adhibeatur ut e sub^ditorum animis, si cui forte ita essent affecti, omnia hostilitates aut inimicitiae fomes deleri possit et injuriae antea illatae⁶⁹ penitus aboleantur.

3.

Ut Serenissim^{us} Rex daniae omnes praecedentes cum foederatis Belgis Tractatus de hinc irritos declaret, nec unquam p~~ae~~em cum dictis Belgis ineat nisi prius consulto et consentienti Magnae Britanniae Rege.

4.

Ut ambo Serenissimi Reges sese invicem, suaeque dominia ac jura omnia una cum libertate ~~comercionum~~ totis viribus contra praedictos foederatos Belgas tueantur.

5.

Quod si alterutrius alte memoratorum Regum subditi in communis hostis navibus merentes durante bello inveniantur, ad libitum capientis tanquam perduelles morte plevantur.

6.

Ut inter utriusque Regis subitos ac dictos Belgas interdictum sit omne genus commercium acsique Angliae vel Daniae subiditi huic articulo contravenire audeant tales una cum navibus ac mercimoniis omnibus praedae cedant, ipsi^{de}que Navarchi et naute prodefectoribus habeantur.

7.

Ut utriusque Regis navibus tam bellicis quam onerariis ⁿportus alterius ingredi, egredi, ibique morari integrum sit; ac si ab hostibus captas naves secum ducent, illas post adjudicationem ibi vendere vel secum abducere liceat.

8.

Si naves praesidiariae unius Regis, portus alterius Regis ^{et}appellentes naves aliquas inimicas in potestatem amici Regis iam redactas inveniant illas adoriri non licebit neque partem in dictis navibus praetendere quod si dictae naves inimicae ibi commorantes iam a praedicto Rege captae non fuerint, tunc illas adoriri fas erit (auxilioque erunt arces et praesidia ^dRegis illius) ac dimidium praedae vendicari; atque insuper si quaedam naves bellicae unius Regis alias inimicus ad oras aut portus alterius Regis insequentur, illis fas erit dictas naves adoriri, capere ^oatque aducere totamque praedam sibi vendicare; neque eo nomine hostilitatis aut violentiae crimen subire intelligentur.

9.

Serenissimus Rex Angliae Serenissimo Daniae Regi quadraginta millia librarum sterling dictarum in aere numerato subministrabit ac mutuo dabit; quarum una pars dimidia intra tres post Tractum ^{Wat}conclusum menses numerabitur, altera vero dimidia pars sexto menses ab eodem Tractatu concluso, ac insuper pretium decies mille librarum sterling dictarum in

pulvere purio, plumbo, fomite ignario, panno, carbonibus fossilibus
alliis ac mercibus Anglicis, eidem Serenissimo Regi Daniae tradi
curebit, idque, etiam mutuo tantum.

10.

Mercatoriae naves Anglicae ^eFr^uitum Oresundicum permeantes nulla
vectigalia Serenissimi Regis Daniae Ministris solvere tenebuntur, donec
praedicta summa quinquaginta millium librarum sterling dictarum ex
integro deducta fuerit.

11.

Ut vero accusatur fiat illa deductio, mercatoribus Anglis Helsingorae
degentibus licitum erit vectigalium Catalogum construere ad exemplar
Catalogi quem habuerunt Belgae, secundum quem fiat haec deductio ac
futura vectigalium solutio.

12.

Ut duo vel plures mercatores Angli ad sodalitium Islandicum adscis-
cantur omnibusque ex ^es^uo fruantur privilegiis quibus gaudent eiusdem
sodalit^{ati}is consortes.

13.

Quod si quando foederati Belgae Freto^u Oresundico aut alliis quibus
eunque port^uibus fluviis aut ostiis ad Serenissimum Regem Daniae
pertinentibus, tali cum navium bellicarum numero immineant, ut praefato
Serenissimo Regi vires hostibus debellandis pares haud suppetant;
tenebitur eo casu Serenissimus Majeste Britanniae Rex, mature de eo
certior factus, quanto eius ipsi opem ferre, clâssemque, ni ventus
obstet aut mare, in auxilium dicti Seren^hissimis Regis continuo mittere.
Quem-ad-modum si id ferat occasio, et Serenissimo Regi Daniae constet
id amborum Regum interesse, tenebitur etiam Serenissimus Daniae ad hoc
requisitus, classem suam quam cum Anglicana jungat parare et sine mora

adversus communem hostem instruere.

14.

Quandoquidem vero, praeter necessitudinem quae inter praefatos Serenissimos Reges intercedit, Insuper et opinione virium ^{gnae} ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Regis, et confoederationum ipsius adductus Serenissimus Rex Daniae, hoc Foedus inire non dubitavit; ne forte id praefati Serenissimi Regis damno ^{gnae} ~~vertere~~ possit, stipulatur ~~Majeste~~ ^{gnae} Britanniae Rex, quod si contigerit ullum confoederatorum suorum a confoederatione illa aliquomodo discedere, vel non stare promissio, sed contra fidem Angliae Regi datam aliquod foedus de novo cum hostibus inire, eius modi confoederatum pro hoste ipso facto habebit, et erga eum veluti talem se geret.

15.

Ac praeterea ut tante magis Serenissimi Regis Daniae securitati consulatur, conventum est hoc foedere haud longius praefatum Regem obstrictum fore quam Serenissimus Rex Sueciae a partibus steterit Anglicanis, et a deffensivo foedere eum ^{gnae} ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rege nuper inito non discesserit. Itaque si forte Sueci, contra spem, novas post hac ineant rationes, nec pacta ex debito servant, sed cum foederato Belgio aliquid paciscantur foederi cum Rege Angliae concluso contrarium, tum Serenissimo Regi Daniae fas erit suis uti libuerit prospicere rebus, neque eo casu hoc foedere vel ulla re in eo contenta teneri intelligetur; ut nec viceversa Serenissimus ^{gnae} ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex, postquam ita visum fuerit Regi Daniae, obstrictus tenebitur vel hoc foedere, vel Tractatu Comericii et articulo privato ei annexo, qui non conclusi et concessi fuerunt nisi in huius foederis gratiam; Et consequentur, quamprimum Serenissimus Rex Daniae huic foederi stare ^{S. la} ~~recupavit~~, tum eo ipso momento Tractatus praedictus comericii et articulus privatus ei annexus nullius plane vigoris erunt, et pro non factis habebuntur.

Denique ambo alte memorati Reges se invicem obligant et declarant se omnibus et singulis huius foederis offensivi et deffensivi articulis sincera et boma fide staturos; neque quicquam contra genuinum et communem articulorum praedictorum sensum directe vel indirecte, sub ullo commodi, prāoris foederis, vel promissi praetextu aut alio quovis colore acturos, aut ab aliis fieri passuros. Ac proinde si in foederibus ullis ante hac cum aliis ab alter^o utro Rege initis vel clausulis inibi comprehensis quaedam forte reperiantur huic foederi contraria, ea pro nullis et non factis habebuntur, neque hoc foedus infirmare et impedire ullo modo proberunt.

[Endotised by Clifford, Art: Foed: Angl et Dan: prop of Sir G T et T C Sept 65.]

Coventry MSS. 64.f.232.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, Copenhagen, 21.1X.65.

I have written twice to you, from Gottenburg, and this place; I hope you have received them. We have now entered upon our busines at this Court but have not yet made progresse enough to advertise you of any fruit of it, I am directed by my Instructions constantly to correspond with you and it may be of great use in the farthering of our busines here if you let us know the inclinations of that court to an offensive as well as a defensive war against Holland in case this crowne should be brought to it and also upon what termes they will agree to a triple alliance for the defence of the Baltick I shall not be able to begin my journey toward you till I heare from you.

We have not yet the particulars of the succeſſe of our fleet but we have taken many of their riches merchant men and some of their men of war and the rest are drove out of the seas, there are 20 of their men of war and two East India ships at Fleckery in Norway and two more of their East India ships at Christiana and one more at Gluckstadt upon the river Elve when we have the certainty of their losse I will give you a farther account. I am, etc.

Clarendon MSS. 83.ff.218b-219.

Henry Coventry's remarks on Sir T.Clifford's letter of the 21.1X.65.

Observe the accompt promised in the last, not progresse enough to advertise mee, but yet enough to advertise the Swedish Resident who wrote these Ministers word out of Sir Thomas his mouth. That hee and Sir Henry Coventry had putt severall questions to theyre Commissioners viz. whether the King had treated any thing to the prejudice of the

King of England . 2dly whether it were so farre gone that hee could not retract it, and more of that nature. But to deale truely with your Lordshipp, I had not patience to nourish the discourse and heare the transactions of my Masters Ministers sent with instructions to mee discoursed of by another Kings Ministers and I know nothing of it. They told mee in conclusion the Commissioners excused giving them a present answere in that they must first speake with the King and the King is [now] remoovd to Frederickborough.

In the next place observe what hee demanded of mee. As if I were the father Confessor of this Court, and while hee keepeth in his pockett all the powers instructions and overtures by which they are to bee induced to deliver theyre minds demandeth of mee to tell him, that every man that knoweth anything, may guesse is not to bee knowne but by treaty.

Your Lordship may observe how the promise made mee in his first letter from Gottenburgh is kept. Sir Gilbert hath a cypher with mee and therefore no excuse from that and besides whatsoever I putt heere in cyphers they writt me without it (save a word or two concerning my Removall or Stay or what I was to do, would not have done more prejudice then somethinge heere of intercepted, but in Cypher had beene without danger. It seemes Sir when hee came to Copenhagen hee found either new orders new Councells or a new humour and this is all the Communication I have had with Sir Thomas since his comming over, which by the dates you will perceive nigh a month. Sir Gilbert hath beene a little more open upon the generalls of Sir Thomas his negotiation, but concerning myselfe or what is to become of me not one word.

[Consequently renews his application for his recall.]

Coventry MSS. 80, f. 46

⁸⁷
~~Sir~~ H. Coventry to Sir T. Clifford, Stockholm, 23. IX. 65. (copy made by
 Coventry himself.)

This had not been my first to you, had not I interpreted the clause in yours to me from Gottenburgh (that your stay in Denmark would not be long) so much to my own advantage, that I hoped a sight of you by this time: but finding by your last of the 14th, that you desire me to write to you as often as I had occasion maketh me not to presume any more to calculate the time of your stay. In the meantime they are so sparing of their Directions in their last Dispatch from England; that my Lord Arling-ton referring me to my Lord Chancellour, and he , by My Bulleek, telling me he hath nothing to say to me; they have not so much as mentioned your name to me, nor one word of my own Return: so that I am in the greatest confusion in the world. The English ships are now parting hence, and, if I knew, that you had brought Orders for my speedy returning , I could embarque my Baggage upon them, which else I must leave for a twelve month here. I suppose, you can instruct me; and therefore, I pray, doe: possibly I may receive an answer before the ships goe, though I fear it. It is necessary you should likewise take some Order for your own Accomadation: for Lodging is not to be had here very easily; and Winter Provision as Wood and the like, if not made in time, will be very chargeable. For what you desire to know of the Temper here; It is yet very good: but if you come not sodainly to some Categorical Answer with Denmark, I will not Answer, it will be long so. It is now seven moneths since our Treaty concluded; and the Friendship of this Crown hath been totally useless to us; because we could make no State of Denmark. Had they declared themselves our Enemies, we had long before found Means, I dare say, to have made

them recanted: and if we use nothing, but Entreaties and Patience while Victorious, and they in no visible posture, fitting to Affront us if hardly defend them themselves; how shall we behave our selves towards them if any misfortune should lessen our condition; or some new Association better theirs, They talk much here of a Treaty betwixt Holland and the Duke of Luneburgh, that Queens Brother and that the Bishop of Carraboring shall comand that Army, and the Count of Gealdeck the Lieutenant General Against the Bishop of Munster. There here extremely troubled at the delayes we have endured, and looke upon the vile league they offer merely as an Artice to get time unless they first accord with England: Soe that failing the other must needs do so too. If your Commission will bear it, for God's sake, improve them to the height in point of Expedition. Sir Gilbert can tell you the matter hath been long enough debated: so that, sure, your business now lieth in the single I, or No. If they refuse to declare your Friends, tis not because they love, but fear you: and of that, sure you are to make use, the Posture we are in warranting it.

Monsieur Isebrand pretendeth suddain going hence as not satisfied with the answer they have given him: but Monsieur Terlon declareth hee will detain him, and by his Orders supersede those of his Masters.

The Feldt heer is suddainly going hence. I would be very glad to receive from you a State of the Affair of Bergen: here is none, but such as the Danish Resident giveth of it; and I, having no manner of Information, know not how to behave myself in order to Justifying My Masters Proceedings. It is with great confidence reported here, that our Master
x. In cipher.

had disavowed it, and declared, that hee would give up Sir Thomas Tedde-
man to the King of Denmark, to be treated as he pleased. When I wrote this,
I hope you imagine I doe not believe it; but however, I pray informe me.

Let me again press you to avoid all Delays in the Place where you are
as much as may be. ^{x.} (The) Lord Chancellor of Sweden protested to me
when last with him ^{x.} that not undertake to do it long. I will not longer
trouble you lest I divert you in a buissiness I so much desire you should
quickly dispatch. I am, etc.

P.S. If you would in oipher transmitt me onely the Heads of your Instruct-
ions for this Place I believe it could be for our Majesties service. For I
am here to maintain a Post against France and Holland without any manner
of Ammunition nor power to assure them of anything but what is already
past.

Clarendon MSS. 83, f. 218b.

Sir G. Talbot and Sir T. Clifford to H. Coventry, Copenhagen, 28. 1X. 65. (copy)

Sir Thomas Clifford and I have given in a smart memoriall of our
demands and this morning wee ~~will~~ are going to conference with our Comm-
issioners an account whereof wee will give you by the next. Wee shall if
wee bringe this Crowne to enter resolutely with us proceed in the next
place to offer a project for a triple league these will give in theyre
pretentions upon Holland and wee with that Crowne would do the like. Wee
have seene an imperfect project Denmarke hath made and with that we might
see one from your Court that upon the view of both wee might bee the better
able to frame one acceptable to both wherewith Sir Thomas intendeth to
make a journey to Stockholme and treat it there with your conjunction,
hee is Commissioned impowered and instructed. Wee are both in hast. etc.
x. In Cipher.

Clifford MSS. Holland 6.

Endorsed by Clifford, The project for a triple league proposed by the Danes.

Quandoquidem S:R: M:tas magnae Britanniae se per Ministros suos tam in Danica quam Suecia aula cupidam demonstravit ad arctius aliquod et strictius foedus cum S:R:M:te et Rege Regnoque; Sueciae ineundum, quod existimet talem triplicem inter praedictos Reges Regnaque amicitiae colligationem verum fundamentum esse quo non solum mutuae ipsorum conservationi quam optime prospici sed etiam dictum foedus quam commodissime firmari, et in suo vigore consistere possit; Et S:R:M:tas Daniae tum ex Residentis sui in Suecia commorantes relationibus; tum ex iis quae in literis a S:R:M:te Sueciae ad se datis perscripta extant, et ab eiusdem Residente, cum easdem traderet ore tenus exposita fuerunt, percepit S:R:M:tem Regnumque Sueciae ad illud ipsum maxime inclinare idcirco suam vicissim ad praedictum foedus propensionem contestatura, se eidem sub sequentibus conditionibus accessuram declarat.

1.

Ut praedictum foedus suae R:M:tis juribus Regiae superioritati et praerogativis quocunque nomine illae veniant, neque directe neque indirecte praejudicio esse possit aut debeat.

2.

Ut Idem foedus non nisi ad mare Balthicum et ad S:R:M:tis Regna et Provincias pertinentia freta, sinus et flumina, uti et comerciorum libertatem et securitatem extendi debeat, nec non ad vindicanda et asserenda jura et vectigalia quae praedictarum Coronarum septentrionalium eisque in suis respective Ditionibus districtibus et jurisdictionibus in iisdem competunt. Utque eum in finem uterque Rex et Regnum sese

Ad certium Navium bellicarum numerum in annum et diem ad minimum probe instructarum, et nautis milibusque munitarum, pro unius cuiusque facultate et conditione subministrandum et alendum obligit, et denique ut Serenissimus ^{Magnae} ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex vicissim in auxilium defensionem et conservationem praedictarum Coronarum duplicem navium numerum ad idem temporis spatium eade^mque ratione instructarum suppeditare teneatur.

3.

Ut S:R:M:tas Daniae et Sueciae absque mutuo et communi consensu de nulla gravaminum suorum parte cum foederatis Belgis Provinciis transigant utque Serenissimii Magnae Britanniae Rex se eorum quae ita ab vobis Regibus communi placito composita fuerint, vindicem et fideⁱ sufforem constituat.

4.

Ut Serenissimus Magnae Britanniae Rex promittat et polliceatur se cum foederatis Belgis Provinciis tractaturum, multo minus ullam pacem conclusurum nisi ^{con} ~~con~~ ^{sentientibus} et violentibus ambobus Serenissimis Daniae et Sueciae Regibus, ac nisi compositis prius eorundem cum foederatis Belgis Provinciis justis ipsorum praetensionibus et accepta ab illis debita ad easdem satisfactione. Utque ea quae ita conclusa fuerint Pacis Tractatibus inserantur et cum iisdem ratihabeantur.

5.

Quo S:R:M:tas Daniae reditus suos in potestate habere eosque ut coet-
eri Monarchae ac Status libere et debite morderari possit, ut S:R:M:tas
Magnae Britanniae, nec non Serenissimus Rex Regnumque Sueciae omni opera
et studio allaborent ut omnis vectig^galium defraudatio tam in freto
Orisundico quam in Norvegia imposterum prohibeatur et antevertatur, et
foederatae Belgis Provinciae eo adducantur ut deinceps eadem vectigalia

pendant, quae ante pactorum Bremsebroensium conclusionem solvebant.

6.

Ut hoc foedus non officiat aut quocunque modo infringat Tractatum vigorem et robur quos S:R:M:tas Daniae, Magnae Britanniae et Sueciae hactenus inter se ex una aut altera parte concluserunt et pepigerunt, praeprimis vero illa de quibus inter S:R:M:tem Daniae et Regem Christianissimam liberum sit huic foederi sese adjungere eiusque participem fieri.

7.

Ut altememorati tres Reges ac Regna sibi invicem promittant fidemque dent, et re ipsa praestent, se quidui hoc foedus durabit, nihil quicquam cum alio Principe, Republica vel Statu acturos aut conclusuros, quod huic foederi obesse posset, sed si a quopiam tali quid proponi aut strui compererint, se de eo quamprimum certiores sese invicem facturos.

8.

Cumque verus huius foederis fructus et utilitas in eo consistat, ut altememorati Reges et Regna ad perficiendum et exequendum dignum hoc consideratione negotium, unanimes persistent, eandemque vicem quam sors interea tulerit, subeant, Ideoque si contra spem aliquid ab uno confoederatorum contra hoc foedus perpetretur, ut duo reliqui, quibus invitis et in se iis illud attentatum fuerit, contra illum qui defecerit et foederi contravenerit sese conjungant, et eundem in ordinem cogant.

9.

Quod si post hodiernorum inter Angliam et Hollandiam existentium dissidiorum compositionem et finalem pacificationem, novae quaedam turbae quae ad praesentem confoederationem spectare possent exorirentur, ut altememorati Reges et Regna, obstricti sint omnia ea, quae hoc foedere speciatim continentur, praestare et adimplere.

10.

Hoc Foedus durabit etc.

Clarendon MSS. 83,f.218.

H. Coventry's remarks on the joint letter of Clifford and Talbot of the 28.1X.65.

Bee pleased to observe what accompt is given in the next.

And what canne be the issue of this? heere they two pretend to frame a project and offer it, then Sir Thomas comes to Stockholme treates in Conjunction with mee. Suppose I differ in Judgment with them concerning it. for though I deferre much to both theyre understandings, yet I cannot allow them such an infallibility in politicks that if allowd equal share in the Commission to consider of what tends to our Masters interest, that by an implicit faith I must without examination assent to whatsoever they determine, I say then in case of dissent what is the issue. Our Kings Ministers in one court offer a project in his name, which is disavowed or not agreed to by his Ministers in the other. The King of Denmarke hath a Minister heere impowered and the treaty begunne and I by your order bid to advance it. Offer projects in another court at the same time what canne this bring but confusion, butif hee remayne alone in the employ the former objection is taken of. As doubtlesse hee may like that heere which hee offered there, but if I am joyned I possibly when I see it may bee of another opinion.

Coventry MSS. 64,ff.235-6.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, Copenhagen, 30.1X.65. 1.

I thanke you for your letter of the 23 instant. I assure you it came very seasonably and did much animate Sir Gilbert and my Selfe to quicken a despatch here and we accordingly pressed the ministers to it this

1. The underlining is Coventry's own as in his copy of the letter Clarendon MSS. 83,f.238.

morning from whom we receivd such answers that were soe unsatisfying that intended tomorrow to presse a Categorick answer and if it be not agreeable to take a speedy leave and begin my journey for you upon Wednesday having bin taken up all this morning at Councel Chamber with the commissioners and since in writing to England. I acn not so much enlarge at present or furnish you with materialls enough as I am able for the defence of our master but as for the busines at Bergen be confident it shall appeare as cleare as day that neither our master nor any of his subjects have bin to blame in that attaque but the discovery of this will not be ripe till I come to you. 1. The quare that Sir Gilbert writ in cypher in his last letter to you will tell you my whole business. 2. If this crowne doth not give satisfaction for the greate abuse to the kinge our master for their resistance at Bergen I am to vindicate with you his honour that now seemes to suffer in that point and to desire that ^{x.} crowne to joine in ^{x.} our revenge and when we have pressed that and brought it to any conclusion we may both returne together. The full powers I bringe are joynt and
^{x.} In cipher.

1. Coventry's note:- And this is all I have to answer the reports here of an Action done 10 weekes since. (Clarendon MSS. 83,f.238.)
2. Coventry's note:- Truely My Lord if this bee all I know not why it should require to men, but the inconveniency may bee besides what I represented to you lately. It will give greater jealousy what this affaie is that requireth two Ministers. Whereas if hee come as my successour it is but what every body expects besides my Lord (but perhaps that is not of much moment) it will reflect extreemely upon mee, neither canne I imagine people will guesse any otherwise then that hee commeth either as my Inspector or my Director, which must be attributed to some misdemeanor of mine since my having beene first instructed, pray my Lord ease mee of this payne it lyeth very heavy. And give mee leave to tell you this buisnesse will more neede one to maintaine then two to make. Neither canne I thinke both our comming away together is in any respect the Kings service and I ptey my Lord if I am so happy as to bee revoked lett there bee a little balsome in the Kings letter to take off this scarre. It is no Idle melancholy pleasantry I will assure your Lordship it reflecteth much upon mee.

I can doe nothing there without you. You are now the best judge how long this matter will detain you at Stockholme and accordingly you may thinke fit to send away your things by ship. I longe to be with you and will make what hast I can and shall intreat this favour from you that one of your servants may in the meane tyme take lodgings for me as neer you as is possible if in the same house the better; I have one gentleman a companion with me and fower or five servants.

My comming to you is soe speedy that I will deferr many things. I am, etc.

Coventry MSS. 64,f.237.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, Copenhagen, 2.X.65. 1.

I writ to you upon the receipt of yours of the 23rd last but I doubt that will come noe sooner to you then this, in that I gave you in Cipheer the heads of the principall part of my instructions and business at Court with you, and you may please in the meane tyme to prepare them to it as you see cause for Sir Gilbert and my selfe are still here more dissatisfyed. We desird audience yesterday and the Kinge had graunted it this morning between ten and eleven, we shall now deliver a memoriall of dissatisfaction and within a day or two if matters stand as they now doe I shall take leave and hasten to you I can add little since my last only we are now certain Count Haniball Sestedt goes first for Holland and then for England. I am, etc.

1. Coventry's note:- Heere you have my Lord all that ever I had from him since his comming into these quarters if there bee no more then what hee speaketh of it I had had powers this buisnesse would have beene done I am confident before he could have made his journey from Copenhagen and his Visitts here but what greate efforts on the other side his comming heere may make I am not to answere, but in the meane (tyme) Judge how little I am suffered to know of my owne buisnesse this being all I know concerning my returne and as your Lordshipp may perceive in answere to a letter of my owne that desired it. (Clarendon MSS. 63,f.238b.)

Coventry MSS.25,f.125.1.

Sir T.Clifford to Sir H.Coventry, Copenhagen, 5.X.65.

My last to you was upon munday. That morning wee delivered a memoria-
ll to the Kinge here a copy of which I herewith send to you, that you
will doe well to keepe the relation of Bergen private to yourselfe till
I come for if wee agree here that it is to be buryed in oblivion, if not
it is to inflame Sweden and incite them to loyne with us to revenge of
the dishonour.

Upon tuesday I sent to the Master of the ceremonyes to desire
audience, and it was to take my leave of the King, and I hop'd to be in
my way towards you by this time, but instead of an answer for audience
Hanniball and Secretary Bierman came to us and pretend at least to renue
our treating and will draw up articles for loyning in an offensive warre
against Holland I shall within few dayes see if they intend it and shall
accordingly bee quick with them and hasten to you. In the meane time you
may make what use you think fitt of this for our master's service and I
hope you will be able to hinder that Crowne from receiuing Isabrant's
submission. You may confidently assure them that I shall be speedily
with you with proposalls one way or other: for if wee agree here I shall
come about the triple allyance, if not, yet with proposition to Sweden
for a stricter union with us. Hanniball was ready to be gone for England
but now stays to conclude with us here. Pray Sir let me not fayle of
lodgings neer you; for the certainty of them I will be content to pay
for them before I use them. I am etc.

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1. Clifford's original draft of this letter is in the Clifford MSS,
Holland 7.
 - x. In cipher.

Clifford MSS. Holland 7.

Endorsed by Clifford, ' Articuli Foederis inter R: Ang: et Dan: propo
of Com: Dan: '

Articuli arctioris Foederis inter Serenissimos Daniae et Magnae
Britanniae Reges ineundi.

1. Sit inter Serenissimos Daniae et Magnae Britanniae ^{Reges.} Foedus offensivum
et defensivum ad persequendum contra Belgas terra marique Bellum
subsequentibus conditionibus.
2. Et quidem cum nuper in porti Bergensi in Norvegia praeter expectat-
ionem utriusque Regis ejusmodi casus contigerit, qui antiquam illam
necessitudinem quae eosdem conjungit, facile labefactare, et imminuere
potuisset, unanimiter conventum est, quod omnium eorum, quae in praedicto
portu Bergensi, vel circa eundem ab una vel altera parte hactenus facta
sunt, perpetua amnestia et oblivio futura sit, nec eo nomine alter
confoederatorum Regum adversus alterum posthac quicquam directe vel
indirecte praetendere, vel molestiam alteri creare, aut ullum negotium
facessere possit.
3. Antecedentibus Foederibus et Pactis inter utrumque Regem firmatis
in omnibus sua vis et robur constet, in quantum hac confoederatione non
immutatur, circumscribuntur, vel ejusdem legibus, aut earumaliqui non
adversantur.
4. Quod si alterutrius altememoratorum Regum subditi in communis hostis
navibus bellicis merentes durante bello inveniantur, ii ab eo Rege cujus
naves illos ceperint Confoederato suo cujus existunt subditi illico
extradentur ut pro merito puniantur.
5. Utriusque Regis navibus tam bellicis quam mercatoriis portus alterius
ingredi, indeque regredi, ibi morari integrum sit, ac si ab hostibus

captas naves secum ducent, illas post judicationem ab ejus confoederati officialibus ad quem portus pertinuerit, factam, ibi vendere, vel secum abducere licebit.

6. Si naves praesidiariae alterutrius Regis ad portus alterius, ubi munimentum vel castellum aliquod erit, naves aliquas communibus hostibus proprias insequendo compellant, aut in iisdem inveniant, sive illae jam a subditis illius confoederati, qui portus illius dominus fuerit, captae aut non captae sint, illas nullatenus absque praefecti illius castelli aut munimenti vel portus consensu adoriri licebit, aut partem ullam in illis praetendere. Si vero praefectae naves praesidiariae alterutrius Regis in aperto aliquo portu, nullo fortalitia aut Castello munito, in ejusmodi naves hostiles inciderint, ubi ejus Regis officiales et subditi ad quem portus spectaverit soli eas expugnare et capere haudqueant eo in casu ipsis easdem, praevia tamen debita notificatione ejus loci vel portus praefecto, aut officialibus Regiis faciendâ, aggredi et capere fas erit, hac tamen conditione, ut tota praeda ita capta in loco ipso ex aequo dividatur, et altera pars aut ejusdem valor et pretium ei Regi cujus Imperio locus et portus subest, cedat, ejusdemque officialibus tradatur, atque de coetero incolis ipsis nullum detrimentum inferatur.

7. Ut autem omnes controversiae^{ar} lites quae in praedis ita captis partiendis inter partientes suboriri possent, praevertantur, conventum est quod postquam praedae in duas partes aequales, uti dictum est, divisa fuerit, sorte decidatur, cui parti optio earum competere debeat.

8. Ambo Reges vero expresse convenerunt, quod si unquam res et bona ita intercepta a quopiam repetantur, aut alterutri Regi ea de causa qualiscunque molestia erectur, sibi invicem omnibus viribus auxilio erunt, et ab omnibus detrimentis inde emergentibus sese indemnes praestabunt.

bunt, ac propterea in Tractatibus quae cum Belgis quandoque instituentur, in specie stipulabuntur, nihil eorum quae ipsis supradicto modo ablata fuerint, quocunque, nomine deinceps repetitum iri.

9. Cum vero nihil dubitandum sit quin hoc Serenissimi Regis Daniae cum Serenissimo Magnae Britanniae Rege Foedus et consensus ita ab illis quorum naves et merces hoc pacto abripiantur et distra^hbentur, accipiantur, quasi a Serenissimo Daniae Rege bellum apertum ipsis illatum foret, atque adeo ambigendum non sit quin illi vicissim omnem lapidem moveant, quo ejusdem Regna et domina infestare, et in discrimen adducere possint, promittit Serenissimus ^{Graec}~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex se praeter quindem navium bellicarum numerum antehac jam oblatum quarum una 55 ad 60 tormenta bellica vehat, altera 50: quinque 40 ad 46: aliae quinque 30 ad 36: et tres reliquae 24 ad 30: una cum duobus lembis, quos Catches vocant, quandoquidem hic numerus ad Serenissimi Regis Daniae securitatem haud sufficit, eidem insuper quinque alias naves bellicas 30 ad 40 tormenta vehentes, superadditurum atque ita Serenissimo Regi Daniae in totum statim post hujus Foederis subscriptionem viginti naves bellicas in annum et diem omnibus rebus tam ad bellum quam ad vitum necessariis instructas submissurum, easque toto durante contra Belgas bello illius plenissimae dispositioni suis impensis relicturum neque easdem interea sub quocunque praetextu avocaturum.

10. Utque Serenissimus Rex Daniae eo melius securitati et conservationi suae prospicere et classem suam expedire possit, pollicetur Serenissimus ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex, fidemque dat se eodem tempore, quo Foedus hoc utrinque, fuerit subscriptum Serenissimo Regi Daniae ducenta Thalerorum Imperialium millia, et tribus post mensibus ducenta alia millia Hamburgi, citra ullam refusionem a Serenissimo Rege Daniae ullo unquam tempore faciendam, effective numeraturum, idque singulis annis quamdiu

praesens contra Belgas bellum durabit, eodem ordine et modo unius cujusque anni initio continuatarum, atque praeterea hoc anno ante praedictorum trium mensium expirationem, omnis generis merces Anglicas bellicis usibus aptas, ut plumbum, pulverem nitratum, funiculos igniarios, ad centum thalerorum Imperialium millium valorem, subministraturum, ea tamen leges et conditione, ut mercatores Angli Fretum Oresundicum permeantes, culmer^sibus et navibus proprie suis per duos annos proximos nulla vectigalia in praedicto freto soluturi, sed ab iisdem prorsus immunes futuri sint.

11. Quarum conditionum vigore tenebitur Serenissimus Rex Daniae classem suam instruere, et cum eadem tam portus, freta et maria sua propria, quam Serenissimi Magnae Britanniae Regis ejusque subitorum naves sive illae bellicae sive onerariae fuerint in praedictis fretis et maribus degentes, meantes et remeantes, quantum in se erit tueri. Nulla^tpenus vero praedictus Serenissimus Rex Daniae obstrictuserit praefatum suam classem a suis portibus, fretis et maribus longius contra Belgas emittere, aut eandem cum Serenissimi ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Regis classe vel aliquo ejus navium numero, vel totam vel ex parte, nisi id esse communi ipsi visum fuerit, conjungere. Si vero memorati Belgae contra Serenissimum Daniae Regem cum classe aliqua ad ejusdem portus freta sinus vel maria accederent, tenebitur ^homino Serenissimus ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex quamprimum eadere resciverit, praeter ^rsupra memorata auxilia et subsidia, talem insuper classem in Serenissimi Regis Daniae auxilium mittere, quae hostili par sit, ejusque conatus infringere, et imminens periculum à Serenissimi Rege Daniae ejusque Regnis, Principatibus et Dominiis avertere valeat, prout id ipsum primo membro articuli privati die 3^o Maii hujus^{anni} conclusi, et a Serenissimo Majeste Britanniae Rege nuper rati habiti stipulatum est, cuj propterea verba hic inserere placuit, quae ita se habent.

Notum testatumque sit universis et singulis, quorum id interest, quod postquam inter Serenissimos et Potentissimos Principes ac Dominos, Dominorum Carolum Secundum dei gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Regem, et Dominu Fridericum tertiu^{um} eadem divina gratia Daniae, Norvegiae, Vandalorum Gothorumque, Regem, Ducem Slesvici, Holsatiae, Stormariae et Dithmarsiae, Comitem in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst per infrascriptos respective Commissarios et Abl^{eg}at^{um} extraordinarium vi potestatum ipsis concessarum et utrinque exhibitarum peculiaris Comer-
 ciorum tractatus die 29 Aprilis hujus anni initus et conclusus fuit, cujus causa Serenissimo Regi Daniae facile ab aliis plurimum periculi afferi posset, conventum praeterea mutuo fuerit, quod si quisquam Princeps vel Satus, quicumque ille extiterit nemine excepto, praedictum Tractatum aut legem aliquam in eo contentam impugnare, aut à Serenissimo Rege Daniae, vel eadem, vel alia, vel potiora jura sibi violenter arrogare, vel etiam ejusdem causa, aut sub quocunque alio praetextu, quocunque tempore, occasione aut loco ipsi molestias creare, aut alia quaecunque damna, sive eundem in Regnis et Dominiis suis invadendo, sive in juribus et praerogativis suis turbando, inferre conat^{us} fuerit, altememoratus Serenissimus Majeste Britanniae Rex obstrictus exit quamadmodum ille se hisce obstringit, sanoteque promittit, se quamprimum de ejus modi turbatione vel invasione resciverit, Serenissimo Rege Daniae, non solum talem navium bellicarum numerum, omnibus rebus tam ad bellum^{pericula} quin ad victum necessariis in annum et diem instructarum, suis impensis submis^{surum}surum, aliaque auxilia et subsidia citra ullam refusionem suppeditaturum, quae ejusmodi aggressoris et Serenissimi Regis Daniae jurium invasoris viribus paria sint, ejusque iniqua coepta sistere et reprimere possint, verum etiam eidem bellum apertum illaturum, idque una cum praedictis auxiliis tam diu continuaturum, donec Serenissimo Regi Daniae de violatis

juribus et damnis impor^tatis plenaria satisfactio data, et praeterea sufficiens cautio adhibita fuerit, ne tale quid imposterum ab ejusmodi aggressore in praejudicium Serenissimi Regis Daniae attenteb^{ur} aut committatur.

12. Quemadmodum etiam idem Serenissimus ~~Majesta~~ Britanniae Rex porro spondit et pollicetur se quandocunque de praesenti bello, quod ^{cum} Ordinibus Generalibus Foederati Belgii gerit, sopiendo, paceque cum ~~iisdem~~ reducenda communi consensu agetur, posteriorem partem ejusdem articuli privati similiter in omnibus adimpleturum, neque prius cum iisdem conventurum quam Serenissimo Regi Daniae de gravaminibus et praetensionibus suis omnibus plenerie sit satisfactum, sicuti dictus articulus privatis id pluribus explicat, cujus hac de re sequentia sunt verba.

Imprimis vero pollicetur Serenissimus ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex sibi in Tractatibus cum ~~Ordinibus~~ generalibus foederati Belgii ad hodierna dissidia dirimenda aliquando instituendis, Serenissimi Regis Daniae rationes eousque curiae futuras, ut quandocunque cum praedictis Ordinibus ad ejusmodi Tractatus deventum fuerit, non prius cum illis transacturus sit, quam omnes et singulae controversiae, quae Serenissimo Regi Daniae cum illis intercedunt, funditus compositae fuerint, et praecipae vectigalium ipsius jura ab illis occupata, omnino liberata et in pristinum statum restituta fuerint.

13. Ut vero eo ^a luculentius pateat quid per pristinum illum statum in quem Serenissimus ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex se Serenissimi Regis Daniae vectigalia restitutorum promittit intelligendum sit, conventum est, quod Serenissimus ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex id effectum daturus est, ut foederatarum Belgii Provinciarum Incolae vectigalia eo modo pondere teneantur, sicuti anno 1642 ante pacta Bremsebroensia solvebant, atque adeo Serenissimo Regi Daniae, ut tunc ita et imposterum integrum sit vectigalia

sua prout ipsi videbitur ordinare et moderari.

14. Adeoque Serenissimus ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex id omnibus Regnorum Suorum viribus effectum dabit, ut Serenissimo Regi Daniae Dominia et jura sua omnia sarta, tecta^aque maneant, ~~tam~~ illa quae in presens possidet, quam quae imposterum per viam successionis aut alio quocunque modo ipsi obvenire et competere poterunt.

15. Declarant porro ambo altememorati Reges se quamprimum hoc Foedus utrinque ratihabitum fuerit, eo ipso omnes Tractatus et Foedera antehac à se ^mcul Ordinibus Generalibus foederati Belgii in hunc usque diem contracta pro irritis habituros, nec deinceps durante hoc Foedere, nisi consensu mutuo ullum Tractatum inituros aut conclusuros.

16. Quandoquidem etiam Mercatores Anglicani, qui Hamburgi habitant sibi à Serenissimo Rege Daniae summam quandam pecuniae deberi existimant, et vice versa etiam Mercatores Dani nonnulli ob naves et merces antehac sibi ab Anglis ablatas similiter sibi ^lsatisfaciet, iisque injunget ne imposterum suo Confoederato Regi suis postulatis amplius molesti existant.

17. Ne vero ambo Confoederati Reges bellum praesens contra Belgas in infinitum trahere aut immodi^cas conditiones ab iis exigere velle videantur, declarat Serenissimus Rex Daniae se, quamprimum satisfactionem supra memoratam ad suas praetensiones ab ordinibus generalibus foederati Belgii obtinuerit, et praeterea securitati suae suffic^eient^r in Tractatibus ipsis prospectum fuerit, in mora non futurum quin pax illico cum iisdem coalescat, quemadmodum similiter Serenissimus Majeste Britanniae Rex spondet se accepta ad gravamina sua quorum catalogum ante rathabitionem hujus Foederis subministrabit, justa satisfactione, pacem confestim cum illis conclusurum, atque Serenissimus Rex Regnumque Sueciae ad idem se obliget et praetensiones suas contra praedictos Belgas declaret, effectur-^{um}

1. Line omitted, 'satisfiere petunt, conventum est, quod quilibet Rex suis mercatoribus prout poterit----'

18. Praeprimis vero Stipulatur Serenissimus Rex Daniae, quod haec sua cum Serenissimo ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rege, arctior confoederatio, Tractatibus à se cum Rege Christianissimo nuper initi⁵q, nullatenus officere aut praejudic~~io~~ esse debent, sed potius ut eidem Regi Christianissimo liberum sit praedictae confoederationi sub conditionibus, de quibus conveniri poterit sese adungere.

19. Quod si post finitum hocce contra Ordines Generales foederati Belgii bellum praedicti Ordines Generales Serenissimum Regem Daniae vel hujus Foederis causa, aut alio sub quocunque praetextu infestare aut eidem molestias creare conaventur, tenebitur Serenissimus ~~Majeste~~ Britanniae Rex omnia et singula in praesenti foedere à se promissa et stipulata exacte praestare, et contra praedictos Ordines Generales executioni mandare.

20. Denique ambo altememorati Reges se invicem obligant et declarant se omnibus et singulis hujus Foederis defensivi et offensivi articulo^{7/8}q sincera et bona fide staturos; neque quicquam contra genuinum et communem articulorum et praedictorum sensum directe vel indirecte sub ullo commodi, prioris Foederis vel promissi praetextu, aut alio quor[✓]is colore acturos, vel ab aliis fieri passuros; ac proinde si in Foederibus ullis antehac cum aliis ab alterutro Rege initis, vel clausulis inibi comprehensis, quaedam forte reperiantur huic foederi contraria, ea pro nullis et non factis habebuntur, neque hoc foedus infirmare aut impedire ullo modo poterunt. Hafniae die 6te Octobris anno 1665.

Articulus privatus.

Quamvis in foedere hoc ipso die inter Serenissimos Daniae et Magnae Britanniae Reges inito Serenissimus Rex Daniae, obliget se sub conditionibus in eodem enumeratis ad persequendum contra foederatos Belgas terra

marique bellum, quoniam tamen post ejusdem Foederis conclusionem,
 Serenissimi Regis Daniae securitas magna ex parte in eo versabitur, ut
 Serenissimus Rex Regnumque Sueciae, Serenissimorum Daniae et Magnae
 Britanniae Regum partibus, quemadmodum Serenissimus Majeste Britanniae
 Rex ejus rei Spem certam fecit, contra praedictos foederatos Belgas
 adhaerescat, ideo expresse conventum est, quod Serenissimus Rex Daniae,
 haud prius ad ea, quae presenti hoc foedere promittit, praestanda obligab-
 itur, quam praedictus Serenissimus Rex Regnumque Sueciae Scripto in
 in amplissima et valida forma à Regimin^e Suecico Subscripto et Regni signi-
 illo roborato, se belli socum contra Belgas professus, illudque scriptum
 à dominis Ablegatis Anglicis, aut illorum altero Serenissimo Regi Daniae
 extraditum fuerit, et praeterea idem Serenissimus Rex Regnumque Sueciae
 promiserit, fidemque dederit se in hac societate, quamdiu bellum praesens
 contra sdepius memoratos foederatos Belgas, duraverit, constanter perman-
 surum, nullumque Tractatum Pacis vel Induciarum, aut ullam aliam convent-
 ionem cum iisdem, nisi cum Serenissimorum Regum Daniae et Magnae Britanniae
 consensu, initurum aut conclusurum. Hafniae die 6te Octobris anno 1665.

Coventry MSS. 64,f.242.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, Copenhagen, 9.X.65.

Upon Saturday evening Secretary Beireman brought to us a body of articles for an offensive war against Holland as they stild them but there was little or nothing in them that spoake that language. They are so disingenious and unreasonable that the observations you make upon theire project of a triple league are but toyes to what I can tell you of them but I will deferr that till I come to you and bring a copy with me. We intend to meet once more with the Commissioners and then I will take leave of the Kinge. I hope by the next post to let you know that I am upon my journey toward you. I am, etc.

Coventry MSS. 64,f.253.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, Copenhagen, 19.X.65.

We have dispatched here and I tooke my leave of the Kinge yesterday and begin my journey for you too morrow. I am told at this season of the yeare you must allow at least 12 dayes in the way. I write nothing of our busines because Sir Gilbert told me he did that in his last, only if the crowne of Sweden will be briske in it all will be well. Excuse this hast it is a day of taking leave of my friends here. I am, etc.

Coventry MSS. 64,f.251.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, In-Copen, [Jönköping] 26.X.65.

I arrivd here last night and am againe goeing forward to you this morning. I make what speed I can but find the wayes ill between snow and raine which makes them very deepe. Sir Gilbert accompanied me to Elsenore and upon the 21st he showed me your letter that put me out of hope of lodging neer you: if it could have bin in the same house I would have bin content with very ordinary accomodations and I beleive it would be for the advantage of our publick affaires as well as my own particularly. I hope to be eight dayes with you or ten at farthest. I longe to acquaint you with all particulars for having no cipher with you my relations have bin imperfect. I hope at my arrivall to find letters from England with you. I am, etc.

Coventry MSS. 64,f.255.

Lord Arlington to H.Coventry, 2.XI.65.

Sir Thomas Clifford came from the Action at Bergen to us at Sarum, by all his relations wee conoluded the Dutch fleet would bee detained there till hee could get to Copenhagen and expostulate upon the disappointment contrary to promises given, in the despair of doing anything at Copenhagen he was ordered to goe to Stockholme to informe you thereof and of many circumstances relating to his Majesties service which could not well bee done by Letter, there was noe thought of his longer stay there then you should thinke usefull to you and His Majesties affaires, his

want of the French language and his unreaſſneſſe in the Latin rendered him unfit to bee ſettled there, this being thus rightly cited to you beſides the greivousneſſe of your paſſing another winter in that Countrey wee conclude you have but one faire cauſe of complaint in which you muſt addreſſe yourſelfe to Sir Thomas Clifford that during his ſtay at Copenhagen hee hath given you noe lights in his transactions there to direct yours at Stockholme, which yet I thinke hee will bee able to excuse in ſome meaſure when he hath told you by what circumſtances and deluſions hee was delayed from day to day.----

Clifford MSS. Holland 8.

Lord Arlington to Sir T.Clifford, Oxford, 2.XI.65.

The laſt I had from you was of October the 7th at the closing of which it ſeems you received a new project from the Miniſters of Denmarke and promiſed to give us an account of it in your next which ought to have been with us before this time, but not arriving wee conclude it was but an amuſement like all the reſt and I continuing in the beleif that you are gone to Mr-Coventry Stockholme direct this as my former thither where Mr Coventryes laſt told us hee was in great impatience to hear from you wondering and complaining that during your ſtay at Copenhagen you had not opened yourſelfe with any freedome to him, for want of which hee could not make any advance where hee was, by this time I ſuppoſe you have given him intire ſatisfaction therein and having diſburthened yourſelfe of all things you knew in his Maſtieſties affaires you are preparing to returne to us if you doe not ſee a neceſſity of your ſtay to conclude ſomething jointly there with Mr Coventry that may finally ſecure his Maſtieſty of the frienſhip of that Crowne, I neither muſt nor can ſay that Mr Coventry hath any jealousy of it himſelfe but I think I owe it

to our friendship to tell you that some of his friends here have a great one in his behalfe that you will goe and divide the reputacon with him in that businesse when the burthen of it hath layn soe long and heavy upon him, which I have endeavoured to cure them of, by letting them know how his Majesty was led into the giving you this troublesome journey without any seeking of your owne or any other concurrence but your passive obedience, that when you was there if there were not a necessity of concluding something presently his Majesties intencons were not to stay you long there, and that I answered further I was confident I could not send you a more wellcome news then that of calling you home, for which reasons and for your own satisfacon and mine his Majesty bids mee let you know his pleasure that having given Mr Coventry a thorough Information of all things and that helpe hee shall desire of you toward the finishing any present Treaty there you shall come presently away and give us an account how all things stand, especially wee beeing alarmed that under hand france is secured of that Crowne as it hath been long of Denmarke. For all the news I referre you to Mr Coventryes Letter and end this with the assurance of my being inviolably, Sir etc. 1.

Elifford MSS. Holland 8.

Endorsed, Minutes of my first letters from Stockholme Nov.8.65.

Mr Coventryes objections against our league with Denmarke are that we have given too much to them and these will expect as much at least to enter into the offensive war to which I reply that besides their entering into the offensive war we have a consideration viz to have all English ships exempt from Customes in the Sound during the war and 5 yeares after which will neer repay us if the war continue but one yeare more for

before the Sweeds had the same priviledge of passing the Sound free the English customes came to at least fourteen thousand pounds per annum, he sayes of late it hath not bin six thousand nay much lesse which is true because all Englishmen have put their goods in Sweeds ships and so the ~~customes~~ ~~payed~~ by the English in the Sound may quickly come to noething because the Sweedish shipping would in a time carry all and therefore there was the greater necessity of making it free for the English at anyrate and also during the 5 yeares after the peace there is noe question but the English trade will so much encrease in the Baltick that the customes if regularly gathered would amount to above 20,000 l per annum.

His next objection is that though the treaty be possitive enough against the United Provinces yet it doth not comprehend their associates to which I say that the consequence is necessary that whatever State or Prince assists them they must necessarily be in war with Denmarke for if France for example should declare to assist Holland first e ing England to be the aggresors they must with much more reason say that Denmarke which only joynes with us are much more the aggressors and besides it is not practicable for Denmarke to be in war with Holland and in amity with their associates therefore that notion is certainly but a nicety.

The last objection is that the Danes have done all this with a prospect still to delay and get tyme because they have referrd all to a triple league to which I say that noething is so cleare but that if England and Sweed should agree upon an offensive war against Holland and Denmarke should demand unreasonable conditions in the triple league yet Denmarke would be bound by this treaty to the offensive war against Holland that we have concluded with them. If Sweed declare an offensive

^{duplicated}
~~was~~ against Holland and Denmarke should demand unreasonable conditions in the triple league yet Denmarke would be bound by this treaty to the offensive war that we have concluded with them. If Sweed declare an offensive war with England against Holland and not make a peace with them without England and Denmarke consenting, so that it is best to the Sweed alone to conclude if they thinke fit this offensive war against Holland without reference againe to Denmarke resolutions in the triple league for England hath tyed Denmarke fast not to agree with Holland without us and so Sweed may safely say they will not agree to a peace with Holland unlesse Denmarke and England doe consent. But Mr Coventrye replies againe that there is a point of honour in the case and Sweed will never say they will not conclude a peace with Holland without Denmarke unlesse Denmarke doe make conditions with them not to conclude in the like case without them to which I say if it be the Sweeds interest to come to us in this point they will not much weigh the point of honour with Denmarke but this is certain if the Sweeds be inclinable to it it is out of the Danes power to goe back from this offensive war if they doe not refuse to ratify the treaty we have made with them which some men here are of opinion they will refuse to doe when it comes to that point and the truth is they are so poore so irresolute in their Councells and so false that I cannot say there will be dependence upon them however I am very glad that I doe not yet heare more materiall objections against the treaty we have made with them. Your Lordship hath in English (for our Cypher would not permit it in latin) the heads of all the cheife articles and I will send Major Andros imeadiately after our first conference with the Commissioners there with that originall treaty and how the inclinations here are toward us. I have not yet sent him because all that we

have done depends upon the temper of this court as I have at large writ in a former from Copenhagen.

This Court is much satisfied with the Kinge our Masters kind expressions for Sweed, to Monsieur Lyonburgh but amonge the rest he hath withall writ that the kinge told he woundred at my stay in Denmarke and that I had noe order to propose anythinge there since the Ships at Bergen were sufferd to goe out of that port but by my instructions your Lord ship knowes I have power to proceed with Denmarke unlesse they doe also conclude a treaty with the Duch. These letters of Monsieur lyonburg may faciliate our busines here and I hope your Lordship will be pleased to keepe me in the Kings good opinion and then I value nothing in this world. I have this passage from a private hand and therefore intreat your Lordship will make use of it accordingly.

I am still impatient till know how your Lordship approves of our treaty with Denmarke. If all things goe well between Us Count Haniball Sehested will expect some intimation of the Kinge our Masters Kindnes to him and performance of our promise in disposing of his Daughter. It is said he can assure her forty thousand pounds sterling her person mends since she was in England and her birth and quality may ^{not?} be equall to the advantages of Allyances with our owne nobility her relation to the Kinge may compensate that and perchanced be a meanes of settling your Lordships owne Condition with more advantage then elsewhere but I speake this at randome, till I see what issue there will be of our league with them. I could then much enlarge to your Lordship upon this matter however it might not now be improper that Haniball had a letter from your Lordship though he were at the Hague testifying the Kings Kindnes to him.

I have receivd a Kind letter from Secretary Morice.

Clifford MSS, Holland 8.

Lord Arlington to Sir T. Clifford, 9.XI.65, Oxford.

I have received yours of the 10th past some days after it should have been with us- as I observed to you in my letter of this day senight - and in it a project of Articles which his Majesty entirely approved of, in all particulars but that of giving in a new paper to them which could not produce any good effects on their parts after soe many fraudulent and dilatory amusements notwithstanding which wee conclude you long before this time in Stockholme and that Mr Coventry and yourselfe well understanding one another are fallen roundly to worke with that Court and come to such conclusions as will bee worth your bringing presently hither, you know it is not within my Province to instruct you therein but I am sure Mr Coventry receives full directions from my Lord Chancellor or my Brother Secretary.

Since my last wee have had many good flying reports of the Bishop of Munster's successes which you are in the way of knowing better then wee soe I doe not repeat them, all I have now to recommend to you is that you make what convenient hast you can to us with such conclusions there as may secure us from the jealousies spread abroad of the French endeavours to cut the grasse under Our feet in that Court, all your friends here are very well and long to see you amongst none more then, etc.

[Postscript.] I pray make my excuses to Mr Coventry that I write not to him by this post having nothing to ad to my last.

Clifford MSS. Holland 8.

Endorsed, Minutes of my letter to my Lord Arlington. Nov. 15.65. O.S.

They will be glad to Know how far we proceed with the house of Austria for to make them quit France and not be secure of the other will be a hard proposition.

If not well with the Muscovites to send but two ships for the disturbing the trade of Arch Angell which will bringe it to Riga and be most acceptable to these.

As to the point of money they have 50,000 pounds yearly from France though in peace which they shall loose if they come into us.

My beeing with Chancelor Berinclaw and Jewella opinion.

Theire maritime and militia affaires the latter in noe case practicable in England but in Ireland it might, their yard saile cloth anchors etc with little charge a ground worke for a great force by sea in the next age. not in this our freindship may not be so valuable then. They try graet impositions on their owne home commodities and doe not value if they ley upon the country's hands so as they encrease their owne shipping 5 tymes as much as strangers. their marriners are supplied by the maritime parts without charge to the Kinge in victuall or any thinge else as the militia.

A ship now in the stocks of 110 guns bigger then the Sovereigne.

Sending to France an Ambassador.

The greatnes of our King by this war his greatnes and splendor not seen at home as here. deliverd to posterity as the stander in the gap for the interest of Kings if he had not undertaken now could.

The Muscovite into Liverland.

When with the Rix-Chancelor conclusion if we doe not agree farther it

shall be Englands fault. Not to ~~take~~ Umbrage at my beeing incognito.
(the busines of Konismarke into France.)

Money for me.

Coventry MSS. 64,f.263.

Lord Arlington to Sir T.Clifford,Oxford, 16.XI.65.

" This will find you I hope well arived at Stockholm and proportion-
ably advanced in your busines-----now as to your conclusion in denmarke
all I can say upon this sudain is that itt hath very much surprised us
and not without a distrust that the mutabilities of that Court may yett
make them ochange theire minde in what they have done especially seeing
the extremity of feare and dispaire brought them to it. " He is impatient
to hear how it is accepted at Stockholm that being what matters most.
" I will not disemble with you that the conditions you have allowed of
with relation to shipping and money appear a little burthensome to us,
but the reasons you give are (on) the other hand so pregant and convincing
that I make no doubt of our agreeing to them." To be careful not to give
Henry Coventry any reason for jealousy.---

Coventry MSS. 64,f.279.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, Gottenburgh, 13.XII.65.

I doe with great thankes acknowledge your kindnes which obligd me
every (way?). Our sted^(Sled) way continued not above 20 Sweedish miles and
we have left our wagons behind us before that tyme so that we were
obligd to betake our selves to horses with which we jogged on so fast
riding as well by night as by day that I arrivd this place munday morning
breake of day, the hast I made was in hopes to find our fleet here but

they went to sea on thursday the 7th instant 18 men of war and 50 merchant men. Reare Admirall Herman was sick all the tyme he was here and went to sea soe, he receivd your and my letter for the sending back a frigot for me but hath not left one word in answer which noething can excuse but his indisposition, and by some of our merchants I understand many scruples were made of sending a friget so late in the year and what hath put me upon accomodating mySelfe upon a Sweedish ship that is bound for Newcastle which though it be hazardous and I subject my Selfe to every caper yet it may be a speedy course. I know how much that concerns the Kings affairs and therefore I adventure it. There is a conclusion made for the damage of the ship of salt brought in by Captain Blackman, the skipper is to take 145 Rix Dollers but he hath not yet receivd the money though it be ready for him when he will signe the discharge.

Just now as the post is goeing I receivd a letter from my Lord Arling-ton a copy of which I have verbatim sent you and also the enclosed to you from my Lord Chancellor which I have not opened but in your next to me to England I would be glad to receive the contents of it from you because it may perchance instruct you in some of the points that I am able to enlarge upon to my Lord Chancellor and I would be glad to know how to guide myselfe. The packet was sent by Mr Pauls double diligence to me heere at Gottenburgh without an order or intimation from me, it had bin more proper to have sent as it was directed to Stockholme, and there you would had had it sooner but I hope it will come earely enough for you to satisfye the Rix Chancellor and Monsieur Biornklaw before they goe into the country to theire Christmas. Sir I am impatient till I arrive the Court of England that you may have in all points full instructions. You will find by my Lord Arlingtons letter to me that Sir Gilbert hath orders to stay in Copanhagen, he was else resolvd to have come hither to Gottenburgh and

have taken his fortune as I doe. I hope to be at sea within 5 or 6 days however be pleased to write to me and I shall take care that your letters be sent to England after me if I should be gon. It is confidently sayed here that the two East India ships at Christiana are not gon out but that their rudders and sailes are taken off from them but they doe not adventure to say whether it be done by the Hollanders themselves or by the order of Gildenhien. I am, etc.

Coventry MSS. 64.f.285.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, Gottenburgh, 20.XII.65.

My last to you was upon this day sennight, in it I sent you enclosed my Lord Chancelors to you and a copy of my Lord Arlington to me concerning our transactions with the Crowne of Denmarke which I doubt not but you have before this time receivd. I have the favor of yours of the 9th and 13th instant as to the Rix Chancelors objection to the 16th Article you will find that the controversies of which the Kinge of Denmarke is to have satisfaction are circumscribd only to the Hollanders and it is expressed *contraversiae cum illi et ^{rectigatium} jura ab illis occupatuta* so that if Holland had noething to doe in the treaty of Brensekoeme yet the mentioning that treaty cannot prejudice any other princes or States concernement with Denmarke but I am apt enough to beleive that they intended not fairely in the first proposition of that article and I my selfe got inserted the words *cum illis et ab illis occupatuta* and my my colleague possitively assurd me that by that treaty the Danes were most oppresd by the Hollanders in the point of his customes, but however as it is thus qualified with *cum illis et ab illis occupatuta* it cannot interfere with the pretentions of Sweeden.

The disappointment that I had by the fleete beeing gon and noe answer

left me from Rear Admirall Herman hath made me very impatient here and put me upon endeavouring to get passage in a Swedish merchant man but the river is so frozen that I am faine to have the ice out before her and so tow her out. My Lord Span the Governor here is very helpfull to me in all matters. I have as many hands as we need from his guards and hath done me great kindnes and respect in other matters, he is this day gon into the country for this Christmas. At best in this Sweeds ship I shall be subject to a Caper and I am therefore earenestly expecting a friget from England notwithstanding Hermans unmanerlines in leaving noe answer, the winds have bin faire there six dayes for the arrivall of one at south west. Sir William Davidson went yesterday through the towne for Norway he was lately at Christiana and told me for certain that Gildenleu had arrested the two East India ships there the sailes and rudders were taken off and the seamen that were upon them dischargd.

I pray god the Queen have a safe recovery but the govérnors letters concerning her wre not so hopefull as yours. Within a day or two the ship I yet intend to goe in will be cleare of the ice and then we shall waite only for a good wind which god send I am impatient till I am in England. In your next letter pray doe your selfe and me that right as to complaine of Reare Admirall Harman.

Coventry MSS. 64, ff. 287b-288.

Sir T.Clifford to H.Coventry, Gottenburgh, 22.XII.65.

I have receivd yours of the 16 instant complaining that you receivd noe letters from England but I hope these I sent you from hence upon Wednesday was sennight and that should be with you tuesday last have given you some satisfaction. I have in my former told you how the Reare Admirall Harman dealt with me in not so much as leaving an answer

for me and what a shift I am put unto for a passage in Mr Sheldon's ship in which I shall be subject to every caper, we have had for severall dayes 50 men at worke to (cut?) her out and she is not yet quite clear but I hope will be toomorrow and then we must waite for a faire wind, but I have a little more patience in it because I am not out of all hope but that a f(riget) may arrive for me before we set (saile) notwithstanding Harman's neglect pray when you write next to Sir William shew your resentment of it also, and the rather for that I find by severall circumstances his carriage to the Governor here was not civill as it ought to have bin. You will find Mr Paul mistaken in his relation concerning Sir Gilbert of which I suppose he hath ere this himselfe acquainted you. ----- I am, etc.

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Clifford MSS. Holland 8.

Endorsed by Clifford, ' My addresse to the King of Sweed Nov. 20. 65. '

I am Comanded by the King of great Britain my master to atend your Majestie and in his name, to assure your Majestie of his Constant great Esteem of you, and value of your frindship, and Alliance and of his firme resolutions of Continuing alway in the same minde. And as the King my master was highly pleasd and satisfied with the treaty Concluded, by his Extraordinary Envoyé Mr Coventrye, as Comprehending all points that were then proper to be insisted upon, for the Interest of both Crownes so now he is of opinion in that Juncture of time, that many things more may yet be agreed upun betweene your Majestie and himselfe that may tend to both your mutuall advantages, upun which grounds the King my master hath bin pleasd to send me to your Majestie in Joint Comision with Mr Coventrye, from whouse prudence experienced inthe former treaty with your Majestie, and my afecion and zeale for so striot a union betweene the two Crownes, which is my best qualification, he doth promise to himselfe a good Issue, and thou the puisance and reputation of your Majesties armes be so formidable that itt inclins all your neighbour Kings and princes, to desire your frindship, yett the King my master is as much taken with the reallity of your Counsell and resolutions, as with itt, And Great Sir my masters power att sea, and situation of Contryes is such that by the blessing of god upun such a union there can be no feare but that then the subjects of Each Crowne wilbe protected in their trade and Commerce notwithstanding any force that shall disturbethem. 1. I shall not attpresent

1. In the margin, ' And great Sir the situation of both your Countreys lye so advantageously to advance each others trade that there is no question but that the subjects of each crowne wilbe mutually pleasurd by itt.

trouble your Majestie with particulars but if your Majesty shall please to apoint Comissioners we shalbe ready to make and receave proposals, for this purpose. I am also Comanded to Congratulate the even and excellent temper both of your Majesties mind and body from which there is in the world so great an Expectation when such a King shalbe upun the head of so warlike and generous a poeple to the terrour of your Enemies and Contentment of your Majesties friends and alies, that all this I have said is the mind and sence of my master this letter will shew your Majestie.

Clarendon MSS. 83, f. 415. 1.

Endorsed, ' Sir Thomas Cliffords Paper of Sweden. '

For the better effecting of your Majesties affaires with Sweed, it is requisite Mr Coventry have powers granted him under the Great Seale of England, enabling him to treat and conclude of Warre Offensive against the States of the United Provinces, or any other that shall adhere to them, or also to conclude of any triple Alliance that may bee made between England, Sweed and Denmarke, and expressed in the said Commission to treat and conclude also concerning such a triple Union with the Resident or Minister of the King of Denmarke there also impowered to the like purpose. And because it may bee difficult to send this Commission under the Great Seale it may bee delivered to Monsieur Lyonburg and a Copy of it sent by the Post to Stockholme under the Signet, the Court of Sweed is very nice and punctuall in the examination of powers, which makes it the more necessary to bee done.

That Mr Coventry bee severally instructed both as to the Triple League as also in respect of Sweed alone if the Triple should faile by desiring them to joine with the Bishop of Munsters Forces or to make war with Holland by land.

And in both those cases to bee bounded how far hee should grant money in case they will joine in a warre by Land, or Ships in case of the Triple League for the defence of the Baltick; And as to money they will expect not onely advance for the first year, but a certain summ also for every year during the continuance of the Warre and a little money will bee more acceptable to them then the raising and transporting to them many men for first our

1. In the Shaftesbury Papers, at the Public Record Office, there is another copy of this document with unimportant differences in the wording and spelling. Bundle XXX. Piece 45.

£ 3

men will never bee content with their fare, and in the next place they can levy and transport men for 31 a head. In the last King of Sweeden's warres my Lord Cranston had that rate for two Regiments of England, soe that 10,000 men is of value to them but 30,000*f. l.*

That Mr Coventry bee still informed how wee stand with other Princes especially with the house of Austria, the Sweeds could bee glad you could assure them of that prop and alliance when you draw them from soe considerable a one as France.

What hee shall say concerning Mosco or whether hee shall admit any Treaty upon it, if there bee noe faire Correspondence between those two Crownes. Sweed could bee very glad to engage England to send two or three frigates to block up Arch Angell, which is said will bee force enough to divert the trade from that place and bring it to Riga and the Baltick.

When I left Stockholme your Majesties affaires with that Court seemed in a good condition if Mr Coventry could secure effectuall Instructions in these particulars, but the Sweeds are a wise judging people and may change their Councells as occasions serve, though it is probable they will bee noe whit diverted from our friendship by this Declaracōn of the French Kings for the interest of those two Crownes doth much interfer and clash, and they grow jealous one of the other. France hath made use of Sweed to curb the Austrian family but France doth now see they are grown too big and begin to have too great an Interest in the Empire for them to make use if as a property and therefore the French doe what they can for the Support of Denmarke and the Duke of Curland and other lesser Princes to poise them and gets possession in the Duke of Meclenburghs Countrey onely to curb them and hath influence upon the Polish Councells with endeavours to divert them that way all which

proceedings of the French is severely enough observed by the Sweeds soe that in probability their friendship will not bee durable though there may bee ~~may bee~~ some danger of their patching up in this juncture of time by their money for they made a late payment of the remaining parte of 50,000 ^l. that they are by contract to pay yearly, and ~~if~~ at present make proffers of greater Summs.

Though the Sweeds have a naturall hatred to the Danes yet they ~~would~~ be very glad to bee joined in a stict^r League with the Danes for to impaire that Kingdome more then they have would raise too great a jealousy in the rest of the Christian Princes of the grōwing greatnesse of Sweed, and by that means might unite soe many interests against them as might disappoint them of their aimes and designes to greater matters and conquests if opportunity serve, and the Sweed is not onely contented with what they have taken from them but hath lately proffered to secure the King of Denmarke the hereditarinesse of that Crowne against all opposicon by which also they doe theire owne businesse by hindering the Duke of Brandenburgh or some other powerfull Prince from being elected to that Crowne.

The Senate consists of 42 persons of which some few are friends to the Hollanders and some others inclined to a neutrality but the greatest number of them remember how ill they were used by them in the last King of Sweeds time and have a great animosity against them.

The Queen hath two Voyces in the Regency. Shee is very affectionate for the concerns of your Majesty but she guids herselfe much in her Votes by the opinion and judgement of the Chancellour.

Count Peter Brahe the first of the Regency is very firme for a nearer friendship with England notwithstanding that hee is importuned to the contary by Count Niles his nephew and heir who is discontent ever since

his passing by Captain Holmes was pressed soe hard upon him.

Count Wrangle their Land Generall is now in Germany, by which means wee are like to have but little benefitt of his good will for England.

Count Stenebuch their Admirall takes all occasions to shew how valuable hee thinks the King of England's friendship is to Sweed.

Count Magnus de La Gardy the Chancellour hath the chiefe direction of all forreigne affaires and is arrived to a great degree of judgement in them. His family hath not been long in Sweed, his Grandfather was native of France hee is much courted and applyed to by Monsieur Terlon, but hee is hoped and beleived to bee more juditious and upright to the steddly interest of Sweed then to bee moved anything by him.

Count Bond the Grand Treasurer hath concerned himselfe in most of the Trade of Sweeden, and therefore will endeavour all hee can for a neutrality, that Sweed may not engage with either party.

These five are the Regents joined with the Queen and there are but few others of the Senate that meddle much in forreigne matters besids Monsieur Biornelo who is a great lover and esteemer of the English and much desires a nearer Union between the two Crownes and is indeed the Drudge of all their difficult matters, with whom Mr Coventry hath a particular friendship.

When I took leave of the Chancellour I desired I might carry a proposicon from Sweed to the King my Master concerning the entering of the two Crownes into an offensive warre but hee seemed to make many scruples, as that the King of Sweed was young and not hastily to bee engaged in a war that was uncertain where and when it would end, that the King of England had sufficiently beaten the Dutch yet his affaires had not at that present a very inviting aspect in relacōn to the French, for their money seemed to prevail in Portugal to hinder that King from a Peace with Spaine, and the

French Councils had influence in the Peace concluded in Poland, and that the Bishop of Munster was retired to his winter quarters, and the French Supplies were arrived well in Holland without the least hindrance from the Spaniard, that the Emperour would owe the Bishop of Munster in his quarrell and yet had not concluded anything to that purpose with England for which hee seemed a little troubled that he saw noe care taken for the uniting of the Protestant Princes in Germany, but the King of France left to governe among them, however concluded that I should assure the King my Master of his great affection and zeal for as near and as strict a Union between the two Crownes of England and Sweed as was possible, and desired a Proposition might come from your Majesty what you would have them to doe; The next day Monsieur Biornclou came to my lodgings and discoursed upon all these heads as methodically and particularly as if hee had heard what the Chancellour sayd to mee, but with much a different sence of them then the Chancellour had converting all to the good condicōn of the King of England's affaires as that besides Our mastering of them by Sea, the Bishop of Munster had done them a world of mischief in a little space, that hee doubted not but the King of England would induce the Portugueezes to hearken to reason, that they had that morning notice of Sir Walter Vane's going to the Duke of Brandenburg for which hee seemed very glad and that the Protestant Interest in Germany was averse enough from the Hollander, and withal that the Peace in Poland was not occasioned by the french Mediacon but the world was apt to ascribe more to them then hee thought they deserved and concluded that besides his inclination to and value of the English hee thought it was the interest of Sweed to desire yet a stricter Union with England.

I have here (with what brevity I could) layne before your Majesty the temper and inclinacōn in which I left the Kingdome of Sweed in relacōn to

your Majesties affaires according to the best of my observacon the short time I was there and if Mr Coventry bee fully directed in all the points above menconed your Majesty may reasonably expect a desired issue for there e can bee nothing soe prevalent to cement and unite Crownes as a common interest, and having concernments that doe not clash, which seems to bee your Majesties conditions with Sweed and the condicoon of France with them directly otherwise.

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Clifford MSS. Holland 9.

Entitled by Arlington, ' A True Deduction of all Transactions betwixt his Majesty of greate Britain and the King of Denmarke with a declaration of warr against the saide King and the motives that obliged his Majesty therunto.'

His Majestyes behavior in all occasions towards His Enemies abroade hath sufficiently manifested to the world that whatever provocations have been Hee hath not thought fitt to resent them otherwise then defending Himselfe against the effects of them. And though the King of Denmarke after soe many indignities and breach of faith to His Majesty hath thought it necessary to lay many unworthy aspertions upon His Majesty and to make the foundation and ground of his entring into a League Offensive and Defensive with the States of the United Provinces to bee the assault made by His Majesties ships in his Port of Bergen, using in the first article of the said Treaty these expresse words, Whereas it is found that the English ships of warr did the Last yeare 1665 commit severall undue facts in the very Currents and Havens themselves of His daid Majesty and assailed His Ports and Castles in a hostile manner therefore noe manner of English ships of warr shall bee permitted to come into His Ports or Currents or Cattegat or the Sound or Belt. Yet His Majesty would have beene glad even for the honor of that King to have declined opening to the world the matter of fact whereupon that aspersion is groundd, had His Majesty not been in danger thereby of being thought a Violator of the Lawes of Nations by sending His Fleet into the Port of an Allie to Committ acts of hostility upon the ships of such as were in amity with that Allie though in open war with His Majesty, Whereas Hee had in truth the freedome of that Port frankly offerd to Him att a tyme His Majesty

thought nothing of it, in order to the doing those acts of hostility whereof Hee is now reproached.

With what affection and concernment His Majesty treated the King of Denmark not onely in relation to the Protestant Interest, but in respect alsoe of the neare alliance of blood and of kindnes to His Person when Hee first returned into England, And when the affaires of Denmark were in disorder enough, appeares by the Treaty His Majesty then made with That Crowne, the first Hee entred into with any Prince, In which reflecting upon the ill usage that King had lately received from the States of the United Provinces, and the apprehension the saied King then had of further oppression from them: His Majesty frankly declared His resolution to assist the King of Denmark with all His power against whomsoever should endeavor to doe Him injury: From that time Hee the said King of Denmark made continuall complaints of the great injustices and insolencies Hee sustained from the said States; and seeming to have terrible apprehensions of the Armes of Sweed, desired, His Majesties interposition with that Crowne that the Alliance between them might bee strictly observed, in which His Majesty immediately engaged Himselfe and received such satisfaction from the Crowne of Swede as enabled Him to assure that of Denmark, that whilst they observed the Treaty lately made by themselves with Swede, they need Apprehend noe hostility from them, upon which the King of Denmark acknowledging His Majesties greate freindship therein and making all professions imaginable of such His purpose, desired His Majesty that Hee would become security to Swede that Denmark would punctually observe and performe that Treaty of peace, which His Majesty alsoe frankly charged Himselfe with.

This was the State of affaires when those of Holland began to make war against England, and to doe all those acts of Hostility soe known to the

world; His Majesty then thought it fitt tyme againe to interpose His good offices in removing the abovesaid jealousies and to improve the good understanding between those two Northerne Crownes, Least in that conjuncture, the vigilance and knowne artifice of the Dutch might work upon them to each others prejudice, and by dividing them increase their owne power over them both, and to that purpose Hee att one time sent two persons of Great trust with Him and near relation to His Immediate service His Envoyés to both Crownes to performe those Offices between them as might confirme their good intelligence towards Each other and and secure their freindship towards Him and as to Denmark, that was upon the matter His onely end, His Majesty perswading Himselfe that the Condition of that Kingdome was soe weak by reason of their late troubles and their domestick jealousies and discontents that Hee could not well or reasonably advise them att that time to make any breach with the Hollander or to doe more towards Him then His Treaty obliged Him to doe, Especially till such a forme confidence should bee established between those Crownes that they might bee a mutuall assistance, defence and security to Each other.

But His Majesties Envoyé had not been many monthes in Denmark when Hee found that King and His Councell lesse apprehensive of the displeasure of Holland then His Majesty supposed, however pursuant to those incitements Count Hanibal Schested had att His Late being in England suggested to His Majesty against Holland that Kinge now againe besought His Majesty anew, that Hee would protect them from the Insolence of that people and redeeme them from severall oppressions they sustained by them, when there should bee any new Treaties of peace between His Majesty and them, soe they expressing an earnest desire to renew the Treaty they had made with His Majesty with such further obligations upon themselves as amounted to

very little lesse then a present League Offensive and Defensive with His Majesty against the said States, in the Month of November 1664 an Expresse was sent by His Majesties Envoyé in that Court with the termes of Propositions consented to by them to the same effect.

But when the same Expresse returned with His Majesties consent and approbation of what they had proposed they made noe haste to adjust those particulars, but seemed to apprehend some speedy invasion from Swede and desired that His Majesty would use His endeavors to prevent that mischeife, and to settle an entire understanding and confidence between those two Crownes, which His Majesty readily againe charged Himselfe with, having received all possible assurance from Sweden soe to doe, upon which ground it was now thought fitt to presse Denmark, laying aside all former delayes, to confirme their freindship with Swede; which being done all future Councells might bee carried on upon mutuall deliberations and consent; His Majesties great and indee d the onely confidence that Hee had in Denmark was in the Honor and Sincerity of the King Himselfe, well knowing what an influence the Hollanders had upon most of His Councell; It was about the Month of June when that King (in a casual discourse with His Majesties Envoye) Lamented the ill condition that Hee was involved in by the treacherous proceeding of the States Generall who had beene the cause of all His calamities, and yet were possessed of a good branch of His revenue upon en Allegation that Hee was still indebted a great summ of money to them, which was an Argument Hee took all Occasions to enlarge upon. His Majeties Envoye told Him Hee might have frequent opertunitys to reaimburse Himselfe of the moneyes they had taken from Him, and that discourse being with some earnestnesse drawne on by that King, Hee at length comeluded that if Hee had strength and power enough, Hee would doe it by seizing, ^{and mortgaging himselfe of} all the ships or vessels

belonging to any the subjects of the said States that att^{that} present either were in any of His Ports or should afterwards repose themselves within His Dominions, and when it was replied by the Envoye that His Majesties ships might assist Him in that enterprise, Hee said that Hee would bee very willing that the booty should then be divided, and further desired Him to make the proposition to His Majesty, who till this overture then made, never had entertained any thought of pressing the King of Denmark to such a resolution.

His Majesties Envoye's Letter giving a full account of the said Agreement His Majesty expressed a very cheerfull consent, and returned His Approbation with all speed, and noe man can either wonder at or blame His Majesty for entertaining such a proposition.

On the 10 th of July His Majesties Envoye imformed that King of His Majesties accepting the proposition^{and} that he would give order to his fleet for the execution of it, which that King received as cheerfully, as and withall told the Envoye that, to make this Agreement the more profitable, Hee had directed His Governors in Norway to invite all Dutch ships into the~~r~~ Ports, and to use all meanes for the detaining in Harbor such as were already there, and that they should speedily understand the reason of it by an Expresse, and receive further directions how they were to proceed in order to His service.

Upon the 20th of the same Month (July) that^{King} receiving Letters from Norway that De Ruyter was upon the coast, Hee immediately sent for His Majesties Envoye, told him the newes and wished him to loose noe time in giving the advertisement thereof to His Majesties fleet, which Hee did forthwith by an Expresse.

Upon the 14th of the same Month the King of Denmark dispatcht His

Expresse with orders to the ViceRoy att Christiana and to the Generall Alfeldt att Bergen ~~xxxxxxxx~~, viz: That they should permit the English to assault any Holland ships though within their Ports and under their Castles, and to carry them away as their prize but that a just account was to bee kept of the whole in regard that the King of Denmark was to have an equall share: Further directing them to acquaint therewith the Commanders in cheife of any English frigattes, as soone as they should arrive upon their Coast.

And in pursuance of this Gildenleu the Viceroy of Norway sent out two Galliotts to find the English fleet and advertise them of the said agreement; But for the saving of that Kings honor to the world they should seemingly pretend to bee highly offended att any assaults when made by the English,

The businesse being thus leyed, and some of the cheife Commanders of His Majesties Fleet made acquainted with it upon the 30th of the said Month July the Earle of Sandwich orderd a Squadron of ships to saile to the Portmof Bergen in pursuance of the said agreement having received certaine intelligence of the Dutch East Indian ships being newly put in there, and presuming that before that tyme all Governors would have received notice of the Agreement since His Majesty had sent His approbation of it and resolution of executing it accordingly upon the 30th of June which was likewise receiued by the King of Denmark the 10th of July.

Upon the 31 fiftene of the said Squadron of ships arrived at Buck ap Ra, and anchored there that night, which is within the Rockes of Norway, but at least eight English Leagues ^{about} from Bergen.

Early in the morning upon the 1st of August Sir Thomas Teddeman commanding the said Squadron sent a Gentleman of Quality in a pinnace to the Governor of the Castle to give Him notice of Our coming, that Hee

might not bee Surprized, carrying alsoe with him for the said Governor two Letters, one from the Earle of Sandwich, the other from Sir Thomas Teddeman, both importing that the designe of their coming was onely to annoy the Dutch, and that strict caution and care should bee taken that none of the ships should offer any violence or doe any injury to any the subjects of the King of Denmark.

Between six and seaven of the clock in the evening of the 1st of August the said Squadron of ships arrived within the Buoy of the Haven, and when they were drawing themselves nearer in to their stations toward the Dutch Ships the Castle shott sharp charged to them as a warning to keep of, and with small shot broke one of the English men's Legs as they were in their boats carrying out their anchors, all which was endured on their part without making any returne of hostility, and yet all this same time the Dutch were permitted without the least interruption to draw their ships of best force into Line and forme themselves for their owne better defence and to oppose the English; Planting their guns upon the shoare, above seventy of which were fixt in the Castle for the greater annoyance of the English. However the English proceeded to forme themselves in the best manner they could for their advantage, in in which they spent the whole night till fower of the clock next morning, being forced to tow their ships with hausers, the wind being directly contrary.

But during all this time, hoping yet for better usage they treated alsoe with the Generall the Lord Alfeldt, and they informed him of the secret agreement between the two Kings, but hee would not owne to have had then any notice of it, insisting upon having the whole Booty for the King of Denmark his Master, and alleaging for it that he had for that

purpose sent out Galiots to the Northward to invite and draw in those Dutch ships thither, under pretence of their safety, and that His Master was about to send 22 men of war to secure them for his owne use, and that it would bee a poore thinge for such great Freinds and Allyes as the two Kings were, to have difference about the moyety of a few prizes, since His Master alsoe had the more need of them, and would probably imploy the riches against the Common enemy, adding, that the Hollanders would bee equally Loosers, whither the King of Denmark had the whole or His Majesty of England had halfe of it.

But at length the Lord Alfeldt seing the resolution of the English desired Propositions in writing in order to an equall division of the Prises, which were accordingly given him, though hee still insisted upon deferring the attacking them some dayes, which att a Councell of War of all the Captaines was understood as in truth it appeared, to bee desired for noe other end but to give the Hollander tyme and therefore concluded upon a present assault, which was accordingly begun by five of the clock that Morning the 2nd of August when all expectation of the Generalls agreement was quite taken of. For that by delaying it any Longer the Hollanders would not onely have strengthened themselves there, but the the English should have been in danger alsoe of the Hollanders fleet of war to have fallen in upon them.

At this Councell of War Sir Thomas Teddeman gave all his Captaines strictly in charge that they should not fire against the Castles or Forts and should alsoe be very carefull to direct all their shott att the Hulls of the Dutch ships to prevent what they could any damage to the towne that Lay behind the ships, both which directions all the seamen doe unanimously avow were performed; According as in the treating with the Generall, all those directions were promised to bee given.

The dispute continued to near eight of the clock, during which (it is true) the Castle hung out a White flag, but to what intent the English could not guesse, for all the seamen whose station was nearest the Castle agree alsoe in this point, that the Castle never left firing from some quarter or other of it, imagining then that Dutch men who might have been taken for the strenghtning of the Castle had still fired against the Generall's order during the time of hanging out the White flagg, as indeed it was, for they had at least 300 of them there. The greatest damage that the English received was from the Castle, which by accidentall shots cutt some hausers that kept the first line together and soe to avoid the falling foul with one another, they were forced from their stations, and when they were out of the reach of the Dutch guns, the Fort upon the outmost point on the starboard side shott at them afresh whose guns the English had silenced during the engagement, and in their going of had many of their men killed by them.

Notwithstanding which the English came that day to an anchor within the rockes of Norway five Leagues distant from Bergen having noe Pilotes that could shew them anchoring hold neerer for soe many ships together. Whilst His Majesties ships were here repairing and stopping leakes, severall Civilities and Complements were interchanged againe between the Governor and Sir Thomas Teddeman, And upon the 7th of August Mr Tolnor a Gentleman who came in the confidence of the Treaty the night before the engagement to His Majesties ships was sent againe from My Lord Alfeldt declaring that His Lordship had now received His orders from the King of Denmark his Master to permitt the English to make attempts upon the Dutch in his Port and withall brought His Majesties Envoyes Letter from the Court of Denmark for the Admirall of the English Fleet that imported the same thing.

The Lord Alfeldt alsoe then sent a Letter all writt in his owne hand to Siir Thomas Clifford to desire that hee would give him a meeting the night following that there might bee some proper way concluded upon for the second attaque, in which Letter are those expressions.

I have now received an order from My Master and if it had pleased God that wee might have had Our Orders before, all that is passed would have been unpractised, I doe long heartily to have the honor to see you, but I beg it of you it be by night and in disguise since it highly concernes the Interest of both Our Kings.

This meeting was readily agreed unto, at which the Lord Alfeldt produced certaine Articles and conditions to bee agreed upon, to this effect that hee would have the booty equally divided, but out of which there should bee taken first one hundred thousand pound sterling in cash, halfe for himselfe and Souldiers and halfe of it for the Squadron of ships. The Dutch that should bee taken prisoners, should bee sent away to Holland in some empty bad ships and none of them to remaine att Bergen, that they might not be wittnesses of the division of the booty. That fower of the English frigattes should remaine in the Port of Bergen att least 6 weekes, pretending to bee there on their owne account for securing the other moyety of the booty that should bee left behind, and for bringing it safe to England, when notwithstanding that moyety should bee the the King of Denmarke's and those said fower English frigattes to bee absolutely in the King of Denmarke's service during the said time of the said six weekes; Which Propositions written with his owne hand General Alfeldt gave to Sir Thomas Clifford.

But they were alsoe clogd with other articles that made a second attempt unpracticable, for they bound up the English from taking all their advantages upon the Dutch, as particularly, They should not come farther

then the Boome, soe that if they should have beaten the Dutch from their Guns into the holds of their ships, they had had noe meanes of taking possession of them. Besides, they were forbid to land any of their men and soe come in upon their ships on the backes of them, And all this demed to them under the Pretence of securing the towne from fire, which might happen in grapling together, when notwithstanding this great Caution against the English, the Dutch had been permitted to fitt a fire-ship to bee sett out upon them, if the Winde should serve their turne.

At this conference between the Lord Alfeldt and Sir Thomas Clifford, His Lordship proposed the sending for two or three fresh English frigattes more to give the buisenesse better color. However rather advised the whole Squadron to returne to the Earle of Sandwich, plainly declaring the power and ability hee had to keep the Dutch ships in the Harbour, though the whole Holland Fleet should endeavour to fetch them off; And intimat- ed that Hee would doe it for some time, saying, Though the English Fleet should bee drawn away upon their owne Coast for refreshment, yet hee had occasion and reason enough to hold the Dutch some time in Parley for the damages the Towne and Castle had received in their protection. His Excellency was alsoe pleased to expresse a great affection for the English Interest, and that hee would bee glad of opportunities to doe something that might meritt from them in some sorte to recompense soe many brave mens lives that fell there.

Sir Thomas Clifford returning to the squadron of the English and there representing to Sir Thomas Teddeman and the Captaines with whom hee advised that by these Restrictions and disadvantageous proposals pretended to be made for the preservation of the towne from fire, His Majesties ships would bee hindred from taking their advantages upon the Dutch by boarding of them or to come on the back of them by land as they

should see cause, and were to bee left to the controll of the forts and Castles whither they should possesse themselves or not of the enemies ships after beaten from their guns, All which hee had likewise before told the Governor;; It was upon good consideration resolved to returne with this Squadron to the whole fleet. But before they went of, Sir Thomas Tyddeman sent a Civill Letter to the Lord Alfeldt intimating intentions of returning. The Generall Alfeldt distracted with his former irresolutions and perhaps too greedy desire of profit, was soe farre from getting time by capitulating upon His Masters account with the Hollanders, (as hee promised hee would in the last conference) , for damages to the towne and Castle occasioned by defending them that upon recompences onely to his owne particular, perhaps authorised by some Change of Councell from Copenhagen, hee permitted them to set saile upon the very first notice given by them a Single Galiot, that their fleet was come out to convoy them home, assisting them with the ablest Pilotes in that harbour, which were denied to His Majesties ships.

This is an exact Relation of what passed att Bergen, and agrees in all points with what was given to the King of Denmark by His owne Officers concerning it.

But the disingenuity of the Danish Proceedings doth not end here, for His Majesty finding a Squadron of His ships soe ill treated by the Danish Castles contrary to the agreement and His expectation frustrated of having a joint and mutuall advantage to both the Crownes follow such an engagement the prospect of which had made him expose to hazards the fortune of the following summer's service by dividing His navall forces att a tyme when the enemy was putting to sea with all their strength it was possible for them to make, Thought fitt to ~~sand~~ to expostulate with the King of Denmark upon this whole matter, and demand reparation. And

this hee thought might bee most properly performed by a Person who had been actually engaged in the whole affaire at Bergen, According to which Hee chose Sir Thomas Clifford then newly returnd from the fleete to goe to Him in the Quality of Extraordinary Envoyr who might truly relate all that had passed, and require satisfaction by the delivery of the Holland ships supposd to bee yet in his possession which being performd might together with the former Envoye residing in that court, treat of and Conclude a Peace Offensive and Defensive, and that effected goe with the like Powers to the Court of Swede to invite that Crowne alsoe into the ~~same~~ League.

At Sir Thomas Cliffords first arrivall at Copenhagen and Audience, That King ashamd of what had passd at Bergen and laying the blame upon his officers, seemd very solicitous to compose all Matters between the two Crownes to his Majesties content being very apprehensive of the Just resentment that His Majesty might have for the delay in sending Orders to His Governors, pursuant to the first agreement; And said, It would bee a very hard case upon Him, if the long and strict freindship of the two Crownes should bee broken, for some miscarriage and malExecution in a thing that was proposed by Him with soe much Zeale and affection to the King of Englands Interest, urging that this was the onely reall thing by which Hee was then able to shew His good Inclinations to His Majesties Concernments, His Equipage of shipping being not in any readines to bee assistant to him in the warre, and the giving up His Ports was all Hee could doe. Though thus excusing himselfe what was passd and offering fairely for the future hee made noe clere answer to what was objected to the delay made between the 10th of July to the 24th all which tyme passed after that Kings receipt of His Majesties approbation, and His sending Orders to His Governor, save, that they could not sooner agree

upon a Methode for the doing it and put it into Cypher; And as to the sudden and easy permission of the Dutch to goe out of the Port of Bergen, It was onely said, they knew it not yet but were alwayes expecting a more exact and full Account of the manner of it; both the King and His Cheife Ministers seemd^{ing} to bee surprized at it; And desiring to make amends and redeeme the former miscarriage as much as was possible. Accordingly Count Hannibal Schested upon the 20th day of september renewes to His Majesties Envoyes in that Kings name the former Proposition of seizing the Dutch ships in any of that Kings Ports, upon the former termes, there being yet seaven of their men of war and one East India man in the Sound, two of their East India men more at Tunsbergh, and many rich laden ships more in other ports in Norway dispersed and driven in by the storme and English fleet, and to bee sure not to miscarry, as formerly or to leave any ground for suspicion of their sincerity, Count Hannibal told the said Envoyes Hee would bring to them the said Originall orders and Letters for their respective Governors, and they themselves should send them away by Expresses, and alsoe should have Galliot in the Sound to send the advice of it to the English Fleet that it might bee the sooner executed; but that very evening the 21^{day} of September that the Envoyes expected the performance of Count Hanibal's Promises, Instead of the said Orders, hee brought them certaine newes of the returne of the English fleet to their Owne Ports, upon the knowledge of which the Dutch ships in the Sound had weighed Anchor and were bound homeward, And that it was probable the rest of their ships lately put into Norway had done the like. All which Intelligenece hee received from Monsieur Ameron the Envoye for the States in that Court, who was then newly arrived with it from Elsenore, x
 who probably brought with him something besides the newes to induce them
 x
 to change againe their resolutions; soe that here was alsoe an End of

those propositions on their part; which had certainly produced an
 Offensive League against the States of the United Provinces. By all^x
 which it may bee seen upon what accidents that King varied His Councells,
 and that he doth not fairly impute to His Majesties Comportment towards^x
 him the change of them.

From that very time His Majesties Envoyes observed a great coldnes^x
 and reservdnes^x 1. in all the Proceedings of the Ministers in that Court, 2.
^x which obliged them pursuant to their first instructions to offer this
 following Expostulating Memorial to the King.

The subscribed Extraordinary Envoyes of England in their memoriall
 of the 16 past, acquainted Your Majesty with the dissatisfaction of the
 King their Master in the delays which Hee hath found in His Treaties
 with Your Majesty and in the late unfreindly usage of His ships att
 Bergen contrary to Your Majesties agreement and indeed Proposall to the
King their Master by which (the) [↑]meanes English sufferd not onely the
 dishonor of a repulse and Losse of ~~many~~ brave men, but it hath given
 Occasion alsoe to the Christian World to censure though in truth very
 unjustly the King their Master as guilty of the Violation of such a
 Freinds and Allyes Port, and to say that none can bee secure of His
 Freindship, when either Interest or other temptation of Profit offers
 itselife, by which His Majesty is most sensibly wounded in honor, for the
 reparation of which they made severall Proposals to Your Majesties
 Commissioners (which they alsoe supposed neither dishonorable nor dis-
advantageous to Your Majesties Interest) but being still delayed and put

x. Clifford's addition.

1. The earlier draft had, ' double and underhand dealing'.
2. " " " continues thus: ' and particularly that upon the
 24th day of September Klingenberg was sent privately to the Hague to
 treat and conclude a Peace Offensive and Defensive with those States,
 Which obliged-----.'

of without having any satisfaction therein, they are Comanded by the King their Master to professe an Entire dissatisfaction of Your Majesties Proceedings with Him, and withall to acquaint Your Majesty that Hee will take all lawfull wayes and courses for the just vindication of Himselfe. And to that Purpose one of them hath Order to take a speedy leave and hasten to the Court of Sweden rightly to informe that King of the motives which led Him to the action att Bergen, and therefore they are forced to presse Your Majesty to a finall Resolution which they humbly desire Your Majesty to vouchsafe them that they may pursue the Masters orders accordingly.

Talbot. Clifford. Copenhagen October the 2d 1665.

This memorial begat in them ouvertures of Treating againe both the
 1.
King and his Commissioners insisting on article of oblivion in the Proiect for all that had passd at Bergen and seeming fond of a speedy conclusion proposd the meeting daily and after mature debate and deliberation did conclude and had the Confidence upon the 18th of October to signe and seale a League Offensive and Defensive against the Dutch to bee prosecuted by sea and land, according to subsequent Articles, having full power thereunto under that Kings Hand and Seale In which Hee promises on the word of a King and a Christian to ratify whatever should bee agreed upon. In this Treaty it was concluded.

1.

The war bee prosecuted against the ~~States~~ Generall by sea and land, according to the Subsequent Articles.

1. Omitted finally in the later draft, ' who were the said Count Hanibal Lord High Treasurer and Prime Minister and Gabell equall in power and credit to any or all of them----'

2.

That the King of Denmark declare all His former Treatyes with the States Generall voyde, Neither shall Either of the Kings make peace with them, without the other bee consulted with and consent thereunto.

3.

That both the Kings defend their Dominions and rights together with the freedome of trade with all their force against the said States

4.

And since there lately befell a matter at the Port of Bergen, besides the expectation of both Kings that might endanger their more strict freindship; It is mutually agreed, That there bee an Oblivion for what past at Bergen upon the one and the other parte.

5.

All former Treatyes to bee good that are not inconsistent with This.

6.

That all sorte of Commerce bee prohibited between the subjects of Both Kings and the said States, and if the Subjects of England or Denmark doe trade with them, their ships and goods to bee prize.

7.

If the subjects of Either King bee taken serving in the States men of war, they shall bee punished according to their demerits by the King whose subjects took them.

8.

The ships of War or Merchant ships of either King shal enter, stay or goe out of the Ports of the other as they shall please, or sell Prizes there after adjudication, or carry them away againe. But neither Merchant men nor ships of war of the States shall soe much as come into any Port of Either the Kings

9.

If the ships of war of either King shall chase into the harbors of the other any of the Enemies ships, the Prise shall bee equally divided, If there bee a fort or Castle in the said Harbo~~ur~~r, but if an open Harbor, the Chaser shall have the whole, and if there bee more then the Castles can master they shall bee equally divided.

10.

To avoyde disputes about the division of Prises, it shall bee divided into two Parts and Lots shall bee cast who shall choose.

11.

If any trouble hereafter arise to either by vertue of these agreements, the other shall assist with all His forces.

12.

If any danger threaten the King of Denmark, the King of England to send a sufficient force of His Fleet to repell the enemy.

13.

The King of England to send 12 ships into the Sound stored, victualled and manned for a yeare; if the war continue longer, to bee done at the Charges of the King of Denmark and restored to the King of England at the end of the warr.

14.

The King of England to pay the King of Denmark yearely one Hundred thousand Pound Sterling during the Continuance of the warr; But under the Condition that the English Merchants shall pay noe Customes in the Sound for ships or goods in going or coming during the whole war, and for the space of five yeares after, it shall bee ended.

15.

The King of Denmark with the said money is to fitt out His fleet, and

defend and protect with them all English ships, merchants or other in all His proper seas and Ports.

16.

Noe Peace to bee made with Holland till the greivances of Denmark bee adjusted; Especially till the Customes in the Sound bee restored to the former rate as it was in the yeare 1642.

17.

That it shall bee free for the Most Christian King and the King of Sweden to enter into this League, upon such termes as may bee agreed upon.

18.

If in any former Treaty with any Prince, there bee Clauses contrary to this League, those Clauses shall bee accounted voyde and null, and these in force, and shall bee ratified within two Monthes after the King and Kingdome of Swede declares against the States Generall.

19.

This Treaty not to bee binding or of force Unlesse the King and Kingdome of Swede shall openly embrace both Kings parts against the States Generall, and declare that during the continuance of the war hee will not conclude a Peace with the said States, unlesse the Kings of England and Denmark consent.

Copenhagen October 18th 1665.

Talbott. Clifford. Hanibal Schestedt. Christopher Gabell.

And to make This League the more usefull to both the Crownes, Provisions is made in it, not onely for the Sweed to enter in, and make^{it} a triple union, But an Article was inserted in it to declare the whole voyde and ineffectuall, unlesse the King and Kingdome of Swede did

openly embrace it and joyne in it. Which, as on the one side it evidences the Honor and Esteeme His Majesty has for such a Union with the Crowne of Swede, soe on the other it evinces the disrespect and indeed affront given to that Crowne by the King of Denmark in concluding an Offensive League with the Hollanders against England without soemuch as expecting what the resolution of Swede would bee in the matter.

For this Treaty was noe sooner finished in Copenhagen, but within a day or two Sir Thomas Clifford impowerd for that purpose, began His journey to Stockholme, where he was alsoe to treat and confer with the Danish Resident, who was said to have full Powers accordingly sent to him, as the Cheife Ministers of Denmark had assures His Majesties Envoye. Within a short tyme after that the said Envoye was arrivd and had receiv^{re} audience at Stockholme, 1. (where he was alsoe to treat,) 2. there came certain Intelligence from England to the said Envoye, that Klunenberg who was privately sent away from Copenhagen the 24^{day of} September when they were in the midst of theire treating with the said Envoyes, was very far advanced att the Hague in His Treaty Offensive against England which proceeding being knowne here in England and appearing soe contrary to all faith and honor, and doe delusory, his Majesty thought fitt to send for Sir Thomas Clifford to returne speedily to him Personally to informe Him of the right state of all matters, whose absence could not discompose any thing consented with Denmark since there remained in the Court of Swede His Majesties former Extraordinary Envoye Mr Coventry fully instructed in all things with full powers to treat and conclude with that Crowne, As also to adjust all matters with the Danish Ministere there, for the

1. The earlier draft thus: After a fortnight's travell hee arrived there, and within a fortnight more hath audience, the Ceremonies of that Court not well admitting it sooner, But within a week or ten dayes of that, there arrivd certaine Intelligence from England---

2. Omitted in later draft.

compleating of the said triple League Offensive and Defensive against the States of the United Provinces.

And now it may not bee amisse to observe that notwithstanding the Promise made to Sir Thomas Clifford in the Danish Court that their Resident in Stockholme should Correspond with him, hee 1. not only declined that but withdrew himselfe also from his usuall familiarities. 2. And though the Newes of Clunenberg's hasty Progresse seemed likewise very strange to His Majesties Envoyes there, Yet it had the easier beleife upon the observation of that Coldnes and reservednesse of Monsieur Jewell the said Danish Resident 3. which could not bee done but upon orders sent to him since it was differing from his former behaviour.

It may bee further observed that after the aforesaid Treaty Offensive and Defensive against Holland was signed and sealed att Copenhagen by His Majesties said Envoyes and the said Commissioners appointed to treat with them, it was resolved by that King that Count Hanibal Schestedt should goe Ambassador Extraordinary first to Holland then to England, giving it out that his Errand to Holland was onely to amuse them and

1. Marginal insertion in earlier draft thus: declined it and refusd the accepting any expedients to reconcile the formes upon which hee colourd his first refusall.
2. Erasure in later draft thus: that he had formerly usd to Mr Coventry his Majesties Envoye in that Court.
3. Erasure in earlier draft thus: Which undoubtedly Hee did by Order: For besides his being lesse free then usually with His Mjesties former Envoye there; hee omitted his formall Ceremoniall visit to His Majesties Envoye that was arrived from the Court of Denmark though upon notice of his arrivall, which was given to the forreigne Ministers in course after his publick audiences were over, the Other Residents then in that Court performed and which neglect was the more observable in regard His Majesties said Envoye to prevent any umbrages that might bee taken by Monsieur Jewell during the stay for a formall Audience had desired and accordingly had received a meeting att a third place, it not being regular before audience to have it otherwise, to confer of the manner and method of the Crowne of Swedes entring into the said triple League, and the said Envoy also was assured when hee left Copenhagen, that Monsieur Jewell should bee advised to take all occasions of frequent meeting about it.

and make Propositions without Concluding any thing, to ~~give~~^{give} time till it appeared whither Sweed should alsoe come into the same League, and till the navall preparations were amde ready for the defense of the Sound against the Attempts that might probably bee early made by the Hollander if they should suspect such a triple Union, the said Count declaring it was His ~~opinion~~^{opinion} Denmark should stick to England though Swede should not come in adding he would use all his endeavours accordingly and this was so far carried on as to cause one of His Majesties vessells to bee written for from England to come to Ostend and soe carry him thither instead of which he went directly from Holland to France 1. since which^{time} their Treaty with Holland have been made publique and the consequences have been without any more notice or other formality usd the seizing of all English ships and Marchandise within that Kings power. And indeed in such a rigorous manner as hath scarce been practised by any other King or State. For Our English Factors in Norway and other places of His dominions have been all Imprisoned, And if any Persons were but suspected to have trade and dealing with His Majesties Subjects, their goods have been first seized, and then they have been put to their Oathes whither the said goods doe not belong to English men.

1. Omitted from the earlier draft : It cannot bee denied but in all these transactions the King of Denmark himselfe constantly expressed great affections for His Majesty and Inclinations of joyning Interests with Him and upon perusall of the Treaty once said, here is Provision made for ships to guard mee and money to equip my owne, what should hinder My absolute joyning with the King of England, since in My desires and wishes I have eve been with him. But though that King were provided for with money particularly men his favorits were not if the same course had been taken that the Hollanders have done viz: to have diverted 10000 Rix Dollars that way, perchance the Treaty had been more durable.

This is a true deduction of all transactions betwixt His Majesty and the King of Denmark whereby it may bee seen how ill that King hath requited his Majesty good will soe partially (as tenderly observed) applyed to him and bee thereby warnd how to deale with him. his Majesty for vindication of his ^{owne} honour and resenting the wrongs done to his subiects having (herewith) thought fit to declare open warre against the saide King as against his greatest Enemy not doubting but God almighty will assist the iustice of his cause and give him oportunities of revenging the wrongs done to himselfe and his subiects and the world see the sincerity and iustice of his Majesties heart therein and how unavoidably hee hath been provokkd thereunto. 1.

1. This last paragraph is in Arlington's hand and replaces a similar paragraph in that of Clifford.

Coventry MSS. 95.f.258.

Sir T. Clifford to Sir W. Coventry, Sole Bay, 29.VIII.66.

That I have not written to you since I cam last to the fleet
I have the old true excuse which is the best that you receive
constant accounts from the head that renders it to you earelier and
exacter and such after and such after remarks as I make to my Lord
Arlington I know you have a sight of. We are now about to saile;
the account of the Little Mary coming in this morning inclines us to
beleive the Duch intend not to pass throw the Chennell we are of
opinion however they durst not stand to fight us if they can by any
means avoyed it.

Your Nephew Savell is well: we often remember you but oftner
his Uncle Henry; we condemm you sometimes for an heretick pray sir
let me have the effect of your kindnes by preserving me in the favor
of his Royall Highnes and be assurd of me on all occations and with
all affection and truth I am, etc.

Coventry MSS. 95,f.262.

Sir T.Clifford to Sir W.Coventry, ' St Helens road near Portsmouth
September 2 1666. 7 p.m. '

I received yours of the 29th past fryday last and before I had read six lines in it this ship stuck on ground upon the Galloper as we were following the Enemy particulars of which I suppose you have from other hands and I mention it only to let you see that I could not sooner returne you an answer having such other matters in hand but this afternoone I have had time to read his Highnes and his Graces letter to the Kinge of the 29 and yours to them of the 29 past and upon the whole matter I find they intendd noe reflection at all upon you but what related only to the fireships and supply of beare and in these particulars also what they cheifely took amisse was as to the former the account which Mr Pepys sent to you and you returned to them that there could be none fitted but with ready money even for the materialls for them which they thought was not with care enough endeavord to be provided since the charge of setting forth fireships is soe little and is also perfected with care in so short a time; and as to the other particular the want of beare in the fleet what they resented from you was that you should with so much assurance affirme there was not that defect they complained of that there was a full supply till a certain day in October and that you should say this to my lord Treasurer which when you know that it came againe to my lord Generall by the hands of my lord Craven you will not beleive that there was any matier intended to you but that his Lordship writ it to shew what care and diligence was usd for the supply of the fleet concluding there would be noe want since you had soe informed my Lord Treasurer. They have had also in discourse as if you should say

there was noe want of seamen in the fleet but for this I cannot learne that they have so good an authority as for the former, and with this relation I have faithfully and punctually told you every particular ~~that I~~ that I can find either in the Prince or Generall to be dissatisfyed with you and in all other matters and upon all occations I doe assure you I heare them speake with greate respect of you. It is true they say Mr Pepys hath a good dispatch with his pen and when the order is once gon out they say there is a negligence in seeing those orders exequuted otherwayes the intended fireships would not be so longe comeing to them the Victuallers would be more diligent both in loading theire vessells and comeing away the next tide after for the contrary of which they have too frequent testimonys and if some person were appointed over this matter particularly in the severall parts where they take in theire beare they would come to the fleet much earelier and it is upon this account alone and relating to Mr Pepis only that they write it is not enough to send out orders as if the business were then done and I cannot understand that in any other expression they intended other reflexion upon you then what I have mentioned. I have represented your whole case to them and in all the relation of it againe to you have faithfully discharged the office of a faithfull freind and servant. I must also do this right to Mr Heyes who sayes though he were the penman of that letter to the kinge yet he had no other hand in it but expresses much honour to you. We saild from Soul Bay fryday morning at noone discernd the Duch fleet who as soone as they had made us and our numbers made all the saile they could from us; in pursuing them the Royall Charles struck on the Galloper but came well off only it hindred us from attacquing them that night which else we had certainly done and in probability to very good effect theire numbers being so far inferior to ours not above 85 great and smale fire-

ships and all that night they stole from us and it was Saturday 10 in the morning before we made them againe they were in Cales rooad, we forced them throw the narrow into Bullen road the weather so tempestuous we could doe noe good upon them but have receivd much damage in our owne ships and last many of our fleet dispersd. I shall not take it upon me to tell you our wants occasiond by the storme or other particulars. I know you have them from other hands but we hope to be out speedily in very few dayes but this I observe to you that the last fight they were preserved by too little wind and this by too much and for this there is noe remedy they burnt one of theire ships before they came to Cales road yesterday morning I suppose maimd in the storme and could not follow them and they did it to prevent it falling into our hands by the goeing off of her powder roome she should be a great ship. Let my humble duty be presented to his Royall Highnes and preserve me in his favor. I am, etc.

State Papers Domestic, Charles 11, Vol. 323, No.122.

May it please your Honours I Judge it will be necessary to furnish each Hospitall ship as Followes (this being the same with very little alteration what was allowed in the late Dutch war).

One Master Chyrurgeon
 three or four able mates
 two or three land men for Cookes and nurses
 two or three douzen of bedds ruggs and pillowes
 about twenty paire of ould sheets
 about two douzen of old sword Scaberds
 about **Twenty** pound of fine Tow
 six or eight bushells of Charcole in Caske
 Tenne or Twelve yards of Bayes for Striphs [Stripe = surgical dressing.]
 about one douzen payles
 as many Canns
 Two douzen of Large wooden platters
 eight or tenne douzen of wooden dishes and spoones
 about Three douzen of wooden bowles
 six or eight douzen of Earthen Bottles
 Twice so many Corkes
 of Whited Browne Thread one pound
 about three douzen of needles of severall sorts
 eight or Tenne Thousand of pinns
 Two or Three pieces of Broade Tape
 Five or Six pieces of Narrow Tape
 Two bedpanns
 Two large chafeing dishes
 one douzen of Lanthorns
 Two brasse or Copper kettles Containeing each 4 or 5 gallons
 Two skillets each containeing two quarts
 one douzen of Tinne sauce panns
 Two Anchors of Brandy
 A quarter Caske of Vinegar
 five or six bushells of oatmeall
 about a hundred weight of French Barley
 Two or three Hundred pound of Rice
 two Bushells of fine Flower
 Three Hundred weight of sugar about sixpence the pound
 As many Currants
 Two Chests of Candles
 halfe a pound of Cinamon
 three pound of Mace
 two pound of Nutmeggs
 four ounces of saffron
 a douzen quire of Thinn ishew paper
 halfe a douzen wide Candlestickes

I desire your Honour to direct some store roome or please suffere in

the chyrurgeon (or whome you shall thinke fitt to direct) May locke
up the fore mentioned particulars.

J. Pearse.

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State Papers 46, Vol.136, No.312.

Necessaries to be putt on board the shipp hospitall the Maryland
Merchant:-

Bedpans No 2: chafing dishes No 2: a kettle 12 bucketts 6 pales
12 saucepans 12 lanthornes wooden dishes 20 douzen wooden bowles 10
douzen a butt of Charcoale Cannes 24 platters 3 douzen wooden spoon-
es 300 vinegar a butt brandee 20 gallons old scabberds of swords No
50 brown thread halfe a pound 12 quier of browne paper 12 sheetes of
fine pastboard tape three or foure pounds cradles and bedds
flanning 6 yards spice fruit Rice oatmeale stone bottles 20 douzen
a skillett linnen Tow pinns 6000 needles 12 castle soape for
suppositories 6000

2 men to boile the kettle 4 man to attend the sick

That the chyrurgeons pay may be augmented

That he may have 4 mates att least

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Clifford MSS. Correspondence and Accounts 1657-1666.

Endorsed, The state of post office as now managed.

Foreigne post office.

There comes in weekly if the wind hinder not

From France two males Mundayes and Wensdays.

From Flanders two males on Mundayes and tuesdayes.

From Holland two males Mundayes and Wensdays.

The office sends out weekly to France two males on

Munday and Thursday nights, and to Flanders and

Holland on Frydayes only.

The office is managed by fower clerks and the tellers

distributed by six letter carryers.

Foreigne Clerks Bostock-Harper-Copping-Copping.

Inland office. It is divided into six roads.

1. Chester Road hath 2 clerkes Huks, Aynscumb.

2. North Road hath 2 clerkes Fowler, Wrey.

3. Plymouth 1 clerk. Lamb.

4. Bristoll 1 clerk.

5. Yarmouth 1 clerk Day.

6. Dover Road managed at the round house in Lone Lane and letters sent hence to Canterbury and Dover every night. 2 clerkes. two more clerks at the *windows* (?) Glover and Aylward. Accountant Buckner Inspector Andrews. One clerke more for the remote parts.

To the other five roads are sent thrice a week, Tuesday, Thursday and

Saturday and males receivd Munday, Wednesday, Friday.

Inland letter carryers are 28 who account the next day for their letters receivd the day before.

the post masters did account quarterly now monthly.

The charges and yearly salerys.

Inland Office

£. s. d.

The cheife clerke of Chester Road-----	00100-00-00.
his assistant-----	50-00-00.
North road and assistant-----	150-00-00.
Plim(outh) Road-----	100-00-00.
Bristoll -----	100-00-00.
Yarme-----	100-00-00.
Dover-----	100-00-00.
The other three clerks each 50 l. -----	150-00-00.
Inland letter carryers beeing 28 at 8 ^s per weeke beeing 25 l. yearly for each -----	100-00-00.
	<u>1550-00-00.</u>

Forreigne

Three Forreigne clerks each 100 l. -----	300-00-00.
The other clerke-----	50-00-00.
Forreigne letter carryers beeing six each 26 l. -----	156-00-00.
Paper, camdles male baggs etc-----	100-00-00.
House rent-----	<u>200-00-00.</u>
	<u>806-00-00.</u>

The Postmasters before the Farme were paid-----10900-10-09.

The postmasters of Ireland are payed by a superintendent employed there and before the farme they had yearly----- 1803-00-00.
(Ireland does more then bare its charges)

(a forraine post not yet settled)

The Packquet boats at Dover-----	200-00-00.
The postmaster of Paris before farme-----	1000-00-00.
The postmaster of Antwerpe etc-----	<u>1000-00-00.</u>

17259-10-09.

The whole may be managd for lesse then 12000 l. yerely.

Eyre Vaughan Holbidge two Alibands Chambers and Ibson are turmd out as persons disaffected to Colonel Bishop and chargd with confederacy with Sir K(enelm) Dig(bv).

Constant Charge of the post office etc.

Inland Office.

A clerke inspector-----	130 l.	
A second ranke clerks-----	400 l.	
3 under clerks-----	120 l.	
An accountant and servant-----	150 l.	
16 letter carryers at 25 l. per man	400 l.	
House rent-----	200 l.	
Reparations Dutys paper candles----	<u>100 l.</u>	
	1500 l.	1500-00-00.

Forraine Office.

An Inspector-----	150 l.	
two under clerks-----	200 l.	
6 letter carryers at 25 l. per man	150 l.	
charge of packquet boats-----	<u>500 l.</u>	
	1000 l.	1000-00-00.

Postage for Letters. 150 and add under postmasters who amonge them ryde every weeke 11250 miles which for 52 weeks comes to 585000 miles which at 3 per mile amounts to-----7312-10-00.

Extraordinarys Postmasters of Paris Antwerpe solicitation of causes etc. -----1287-10-00.

=11200-00-00

one road in Ireland yeelded 24 per weeke Munster Road on the south of Dublin.

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Clifford MSS. *Papers Relating to Excise.*

Endorsed, The state of defalcations to the farmers of London Excise from November 8 1665 to December 25 1666 beeing one yeare and six weeks. Considered by the Commissioners of the Treasury July 24 1667. (In Clifford's hand.)

1st. They insist^{ed} upon having the farms made as good to them as it was to the former farmers and so that they might answer noe more to the exchequer than those former farmers did, to which it was replied that these advanced more rent to be freed as they saied from the Vexations of those officers and that they alway declared they would be content to give ten thousand pounds more upon that score only and indeed this pretence had so little ground or colour that they soone quitted it and demanded in the next place:-

2ly. Consideration for advance of money at Oxford to which it was replied that in consideration of that advance they were allowed them at Oxford so great a defalcation which was 21,000 l for the tyme only between the 24th of June 65 and the 8th of November following and therefore had noe reason to demand the second time for the same service.

3ly. In the third place they demanded reparation for the losse they sustained by the removall of families by reason of the fire.

4ly. By the death of People by the plague which was the losse of above 100,000 mouths.

5ly. And lastly they have demanded consideration for their owne paines and trouble the sume totall of the whole that they made of it during this said yeare and 6 weekes beeing lesse then the rest they ought to have

payed. For/

The rent due to the Kinge for a yeare and six weekes 157,500
amounts unto,

The farmers made of it during that time according to 143,780
the bookes of his Majesties officers only the sume of,

So that incombe falls short of the Kings rent, 13,720

They demand more for charge in the exequution of the 11,000
office,

Bad debts from brewers, 2,000

" " from Coffey Sellers, 70

" " from Syder Sellers, 45

" " from stronge water sellers, 85

Deducting for a moyety as to 8d per gallon for strong 684
waters,

But as we are credibly informd that the charge of the 24,704
office for that tyme doth not cost them above 8000 l
so that 3000 beeing abated there will remaine to make
the farmers savers without any consideration of their
owne paines and trouble who are 17 of them the summe
of,

They have reservd in their hands of the Kings rent 39,598
during the time of a year and six weekes,

If defalcations be made to them of, 24,704

There will^{be} still due to the Kinge, 14,894

All which is humbly submitted to his Majesties direction for the all-
owing of more or lesse to them.

But it is farther to be observed that they have already payed by way
of loane 10,000 l and of 12000 l which would be very good service to his
Majestie if they would be content to continue till they come for defal-
cations for this halfe yeare ended at Midsummer last and in this great
need of present money that they pay into his Majesties exchequer such
remaining part of the 39,598 as shall not be allowed to them for they
have also ever since Christmas reservd in their hands monthly between
2 and 3 thousand pounds.

Carte MSS. 35.f.628.

Sir T.Clifford to the Duke of Ormonde. 10.VIII.67.

My Lord Arlington hath so constantly acquainted your Grace with the state of all matters here that all I could add would rather have bin a trouble then a satisfaction to you; but at this time I held it my duty to give your Grace this account that his Majestie hath appointed a comittee of his counsell to consider upon what heads and branches his expences may be best retrench't, and that they have sent to the Greencloth for the present establishment of the household and also for that which was made in the sixth yeare of his late Majesties reigne, with the difference of them and what officers are since encreased and what charge is added upon that account; all which we are preparing at the Greencloth for theire View. What regulation they will offer upon it I can not yet judge but I suppose we are not capable of any great alterations for it will appeare that the yearely expence of the household in the 6th of the late Kinge was as great if it did not exceed the present. The Lord Chamberlain the Lord Bridgewater the Lord Anglesea my Lord Arlington and Mr Secretary Morice with the Commissioners of the treasury are nominated for this committee of retrenchments most of them concerned in the household but all inclineable enough to favor it; however the king's constant issues and charge abstracted from the doe so much outballance his standing revenue that I feare it will be requisit to make some change in this. I am sure it will be necessary in all the other branches of his expence. I know your Grace will receive from other hands the orders of counsell concerning Ireland as to its owne revenue and charge I shall only speake to the £ 50,000 expected from hence and beg your Graces beleife that I have not bin wanting in my endeavors that it might have bin to your satisfaction

but the scarcity of money is such that it was impossible to have it from hence in specie; besides the greatness of our debts in generall I am ashamed to say how pressing and clamorous some of them are and how little we have the wherewithall to discharge them, neither have we any prospect of remedy but from the next sessions of Parliament whose assistance is doubted to be very uncertain and the nearest assignments we could make for this £ 50,000 would be at least a yeare and halfe before they were payed so that the remaining prizes in Ireland and the £ 50,000 the King was to have from thence was judged the best found to procure money soonest. This is the true state of our condition which will let your Grace see that nothing more could be done for the satisfaction of your desires at least I hope it will persuade you I have done my Utmost as becomes, my Lord, etc.

Sandwich MSS. 2, p.81. (Letters from Ministers to the Earl of Sandwich.)

Sir T. Clifford to the Earl of Sandwich, Whitehall, 16.1V.68.

I have not given your Lordship any trouble of late and I know you will have this dayes debate of the house of Comons sent to you more particularly than I render it, I refer your Lordship to Mr Godolphins larger relation but will not longer omit the payment of my owne respects and service by assuring you that you have many friends in our house, though this day there hath bin noe oocation to try them two brothers and one or two more reflected upon you as if it were fit you were sent for home but it did not come to a debate and I hope will not. Sir William Pen hath met with hard measure an impeachment is ordered against him for the business of the two East India prizes the farther consideration of the affaire is adjurned till tuesday at which time Sir Thomas Teddeman Sir Roger Cutting [Cuttance] and his son are orderd to attend our house but I presume we shall not doe much more this sessions his majestie having put the 4th of the next month for our rising and I perswad myselfe they would not have dealt so seriously against Sir William Pen if he had not bin nominated to comand our fleete this sumer. My Lord I am infinitely joyed you are returning to us you shall find none here more than myselfe your Lordships Most Affectionate and most humble servant, etc.

Clifford MSS. Miscellaneous 4.

Endorsed, 17 August 69 An account of bookes.

	£.	s.	d.
Received from Sir Thomas Clifford thirty Guiney-pieces.	30	15	00

Expended.

xFor Bibliotheca Patrum in 17 volumes.	20		
For binding them in 15 volumes.	5	5	
xFor St Bada's Works in 4 volumes.	3	5	
For Hispania Illustrata in 4 volumes.	3	10	
xFor St Bernards Works fol.	1	6	
xFor St Justin N. Works. Greek Latin.	1	5	
For St Philip Neries Life 8 ^o .	3	6	
For St Catherin of Siena's Life.	3		
xFor Maddalēna de Parsis' Life and three other little Bookes 8 ^o	4		
For Coach-hire and to Porters.	7		
For Spirituall Exercises.	3	6	
xFor Alfridi Annales Ecclesiastici. Britanniae in 4 volumes fol.	3	10	
For 4 Boxes, Cords, Brown paper emballing, to the porters etc.	1	13	
		6	
	<u>40</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>00</u>
Received	30	15	00
Expended	<u>40</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>00</u>
Remaining due	<u>10</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>00</u>

x. These books are still to be found in the library at Ugbrooke Park.

Clifford MSS. Treaty of Dover 1.

Endorsed, ' Instructions for the lord Arundell goeing into France Sept 1669.' (Clifford's hand).

Arriving in France you shall communicate to Madam the paper we have caused to be framd in answer to that lately sent from France and take care to informe hervery particularly of the reasons which have prevaild with Us to make the choise of treating here rather then in France as obstructions that might otherwayes be given by his brother: not concealing from her the disadvantages the whole affair may be exposed to in the French Embassadors house if he should let any of the papers concerning it come to the sight of any body but himselfe and therefore that he be cautioned not to trust the discyfering anything concerning it to any secretary or any one else but that he make all his dispatches himselfe relating to this matter and that Madam take care to advise that all that shall be sent to him relating to this matter be still done by expresses. And after it is put into French by Abbot Montagu you shall advise farther with Madam in what manner and at what time you shall ~~expose~~ make your applications to the King to whom you shall expose more at large the reasons touchd in the paper why the treaty cannot well be made there since you cannot reside there long enough to finish it without giving a strong jealousy and in the like manner discoursing at large upon the heads of the paper with him or his ministers as they shall give you occation never forgetting to exalt the satisfaction we have in the Kings obliging proceeding and prudent candor toward Us and toward this great affaire in such termes as will easily occur to you.

If you find the King or his ministers not fully satisfyd with what is expressed in the paper concerning the concert of forces which ^{we} are so ^{now} pressd.

to enter into you must endeavor to rectify their minds therein according to the discourses made to you here upon that subject **letting** them particularly know that we will while it off as long as possibly we can without giving a notorious Umbrage to the Hollanders and if it be possible expect their opinions upon this matter.

In the same manner you are directed above to caution Madam you must adventure to caution the King and his Ministers concerning the secrecy of this affaire to be used by the Ambassador in his house and that nothing be communicated to him but by expresses.

You must be sure to dispose all this your business so as to dispatch it within the time you are to stay there to attend the funeral to avoid the Umbrage that may be taken upon your stay longer there.

And with all speed possible let us know by letter their approbation of committing the negotiation to the French Ambassador that we may immediately prepare him to the taking it kindly from Us. Likewise you shall lose no time in advertising us how they approve of our entering into the concert ^{of} and all that Kind to be put in Cypher.

Clifford MSS. Treaty of Dover 1.

Headed, ' The first paper from France.' and endorsed, ' first paper' 1.

As the testimonys of an extraordinary trust are the most certain proofes that one Prince can give to an other prince of the singular esteem he hath and of a perfect disposition to tye them together in a strict freindship the Kinge desires C. A. before and above all other things to testify to the Kinge of great B.(ritain) at his return that his Mahestie holds himselfe incomparably more obligd to him for the great secret which he hath bin pleasd to trust to him by C.A. of his designe to embrace publickly the C.(atholic) R.(eligion) then by any other marke that could be given him of his affection whatsoever it could have bin, assuring him at the same time that the secret shall be inviolably kept here. After so great an opening of the brest of the said kinge and the manner wherewith his Majestie protests to have resented it joyned to the advances and offers which he hath alway made of a strict league even before the last unhappy war and since the making the peace at Bredah, it will be hereafter superfluous that their Majesties should studdy to prove one to the other if it be not by effects the sincere and reciprocall ardent desire which they have to Unite themselves strongly in freindship and interests so that there remaines nothing more between them but to apply themselves readily to reduce this desire into Act by a good treaty after having examind and digested by what most Effectuall wayes they may attain the scope they desire to the end that in so commendable a designe as his Br (*dear*) Majestie hath to satisfy the motions of his conscience and to doe and act so meritorious an action both before god and man he may avoyed the inconveniencys and prejudices which may

1. This is an English translation, in Clifford's hand, of the French original which is also to be found in the Clifford MSS.

be apprehended in its exequution, in regard of politick interests and considering the present state of the Kingdom and that of his neighbours.

To examine better the matter to the bottom it seemes fit to begin by insisting in this memoriall what the said C. A. said to the King from the King his master and that his Majestie (expecting yet som greater communications of his intentions) doth let him know in the meane time by advance confidently and in good freindship without any dysguise all the thoughts and semtiments which he hath had with the said C.A. in which the K(ing) of G(reat) B(ritain) may easily observe that his majestie would and will have much lesse regard to his owne interests and those of his state then to those of the person and of the Royall family of his Br(itish) Majestie.

The overtures of the said C.A. were that their majesties should presently make an offensive and defensive legue toward all and against all. The conditions that he demands are that the King should oblige himselfe to support the resolution that the King his master had taken to embrace the C.R. in assisting him with a considerable summ of money as also with troopes and ships in case he has need of them. At the same time the said C.A. brings two restrictions to the effect of this league the one that he Understands that he be not obligd to doe anything contrary to what he hath promisd by the treaty of the triple allyance the second that to take away all jealousy and Umbrage from the people of England and so to render theire minds more disposd to a Union with France the King should promise that he will not build any more new ships of war supposing that his Majestie cannot have any more need of any when all the ships of war of England shall be at his disposition and even at an easier price.

To discusse each of these points by the same order first of making

the proposition of an offensive defensive league it might be observd that a defensive league may very well be made as it is every day and even the King accepts most willingly the proposition which the King of England now makes which is the same which his Majestie hath often offerd but that the same thing hath never bin practisd offensively toward all and against all because that besides that a treaty of this nature would annull without cause and contrary to the intention of the two Kings all the precedent treaties that their Majesties shall have made with other potentates, it will be in the power of one of them to draw the other when he hath a mind to it against his will into wars directly contrary to his interests as for example if the King should have a mind to attaque the Prince Elector Palatin or his B(ritannic) Majestie the Duke of Savoy their said majesties would find themselves obligd by such a treaty to employ their armes to the destruction of their owne Kindred which would not be just nor according to their first intention, one therefore never treates of a league toward all and against all which is not purely defensive and when one would render it offensive it cannot be but in naming and specifying expressly in the treaty the Prince or potentate which one is resolvd to attaque. In the second place Upon the proposition of a league toward all and against all considering the declaration which the King of Great Britain adds to it that the said league shall not oblige him to doe anything contrary to what he has promisd by the treaty of the triple alliance, his B(ritannic) Majestie will be pleased to reflect ^{that taking this right} to drawes back with one hand what he tenderd with the other for after having said he would make a league with the King toward all or against all he presently excepts the entire Spanish monarchy because by the treaty of triple alliance he obliges himselfe to warrant that is to defend all the

states of the said Monarchy when they shall be attacked, and yet it is with the spaniards that the King will probably have his great quarrells from whence it may be naturally inferrd that this Union with the termes and two restrictions that are proposd is to tye the King indissolubly to the interests of the King of Great Britain but not his Britannic Majestie to the interest of the King. Notwithstanding by the facility that the King will bring to all things to attain the Union so desired on both sides this shall not make the greatest difficulty in the treaty since as the King hath noe intention to attaque the Spaniards Unles som noe (new?) rights befall him which he cannot abandon the pursuit of without dishonor and suffering too great prejudices, his Majestie will easily agree that the King of Great Britain shall not oblige himselfe to anything that is contrary to the treaty of the triple alliance provided this be restraind (as he hath alwayes said and protested) to the simple garranty of the treaty of Aix la Chapella without taking hereafter any engagements to the advantage of the spaniards beyond this of what nature soever it may be.

But the principall knot of the difficulty of all the affaire will consist in Knowing what is the intention of his Britannic Majestie Upon the observation or renuntiation of the particular treaty which he made the 23th of January last year with the Hollanders the same day that that of the triple alliance was concluded viz: if his Britannic Majestie understands also in his league with France toward all and against all to except also the said Hollanders from it and to defend them against the King in case his Majestie should take a resolution to attaque them to execute the said treaty of the 23th of January which obliges him to send to their succor in any case of attaque six thousand men and forty ships well equipped or to furnish them so considerable a

summ of money as by the termes of the treaty and according to the calculation specified therein would not mount to lesse then 7 or eight millions of livers Turnoy by the yeare. There may be said in the mean time that from the communication of the intention of his Britannic Majestie which he shall be pleasd to give Upon this Article that is to say the measures he is to take with the King against the Hollanders depends a good deale the advancement and conclusion of all this great affaire and of the security of its execution for the considerations which which shall be deduced in the progres of this memoriall.

As to the assistances of money troopes and ships to be furnishd by the King to his Britannic Majestie to support as occasion shall serve the declaration of his C(atholicism) it is scarce a busines to agree upon provided that we^{may} be of one mind in the other points that the King to conduct well this desine judges well to be essentiall for the security of his Britannic Majestys person and his Crowne more them for the interests of this King. For the point of causing to cease here the building the ships of war if the King had to answer to the like instance to an other prince whom he should love or consider lesse then his Britannic Majestie he would content himselfe with saying that it cannot be graunted with honor nor demanded with justice observing the rules of good manners only and if his majestie should have more pretention then ha has to beleive the worst he might suspect that a demand of this nature must have bin suggested^{to} by the said King by persons who in their heart doe not wish the Union hoping by this to cast an eternall obstacle into it and to speake truth except that the distance sometimes make the object seeme bigger it might be easily Knowne in England as it is here that the Maratim affaires of France had bin so abandoned in the first war with Spaine during the civill commotions of this Kingdom by the

necessity of other expences more pressing and more indispensable that his Majestie could not say that he had fower good ships when he tooke into his hands the administration of his affaires, that it is true that he has since that established it a little by his care but yet not to the same condition that it was in the time of Cardinall Richleiu at which England did not then take any imaginable Umbrage that the small number of the ships of war that his Majestie may have and about 300 marchant ships of his subjects are so distant from the quantity of his Britannie Majesties and of 3 or 4000 of his subjects that it lookes as if one would forme fantasmes expressly ^{to fight} with them laying aside the reallitys of 16,000 ships which drive in Holland all the commerce in the world and draw all the profit of it that after all the application of the Kinge cannot give him marriners which certainly France has not, since to arme only sixteen ships for Candia his Majestie could not doe it without shutting all the ports of Provance and that with the greatest effort he could not make during the last maratim war he could not bring into the Channell more then thirty ships of war of which the greatest part did not belong to him but that which surprises more in this request as the Kinge has often said to Madam is that at the same time his Britannie Majestie expresses a desire of a stright Union with him he would weaken it and that having need of both his Majesties armes in his designe he would tie one of them instead of inviting him with all expedition to render them both more Vigorous by a greater application with this notwithstanding all that is saied if to manage better the minds of the people of England it should be judgd there absolutely necessary to expose some appearance in the beginnings to take from them these Unjust Umbrages of the power of this crowne at sea provided his Majesties honor may be safe and that we may agree of all other things

that may be explaind in the progres of this memoriall his Majestie will not estrange himselfe from temperaments that may produce this effect in the minds of the people of England. After this protestation his Majestie make noe difficultie to declare that though he desires with the last passion as well for his χ as for his politick interests the execution of his Britannie Majesties designe it shall never be by his advice that he would have it breake forth as long as there doth not happen some change in the present constitution of the affaires of this world that is to say till their Majesties shall have given it an other face somewhat different from what now it is and it seemes here that the King of England to proceed with his accustomed prudence ought to establish the principle which is here expressd for a fundamentall maxim of his resolutions and conduct from which he ought not to depart when he shall make his projects for the execution of his designe in the meane time as the said King ought to have alway present before his eyes two principall Veiwes one of the inside of England the other of his neighbours touching the first his Majestie cannot agree with the discourse that C.A. hath made here which is that his Britannie Majestie granting ⁱⁿ the first Cession of his Parliament an entire liberty of beleife and exercise of each religion to all the different opinions and sects that are professed in England and more expressly to the presbiterians who are greatest in number and desire this with the greatest passion and his Majestie declaring at the same time that he will enjoy his liberty which he graunts to others. it is feared some inconvenience will arrive Upon it which cannot be remedied the Kinge on the contrary beleives that such and so great ones may happen that he should have all his lifetime a mortall displeasure for having had any part in inclining the Kinge to take up a resolution of this nature upon a maxim which appears

χ Original French is 'l'avantage de sa Religion.' It is not translated.

to him absolutely mistaken his Majestie beeing thoroughly persuaded that all the different sects as has appeared by experience in all ranounters would reunite themselves together against the C. (Catholics) to beate downe that party, and forme againe anew the designe to put the three Kingdomes into a Republick and take paines with all their joyned forces to bringe it to passe Unles before the said declaration of the King of great Britain he should have taken greater precautions in England itselke to have there the strongest party and the best supported and that he have not brought to passe a notable change in the present face of the affaires of the world abroad. As to the face of England within his Majestie, is persuaded that it is not enough for the security of his Britannic Majestie as C.A. beleives it and sayes it that in the intervall there will be between this and the holding of his Parliament he establish C. (Catholics) in the principall charges employments and posts because they may be presently driven out by the numerous multitude and by the force of the other sects if he doth not joyne to this precaution that of beeing considerably armd at the time of his declaration and that his people may have seen and comprehended by many preceding and publick acts that their is an entire tye between their Majesties from whence they may draw consequence that France in case of necessity will employ all its forces by sea and land to support his Britannic Majesties designe. Unles a war abroad furnish the Kinge of England the cause or the pretext of thus arming himselfe it seemes to Us he cannot Undertake it without giving such terrible jealousys and apprehensions to all his subjects that their Umbrage alone would be capable even before he had given any Knowlidge of his true designe to drive them to the raysing him great difficulties in his owne goverment as to neighbours England beeing situated as it

is it hath but three that will be likely to observe and take part with any thing that shall passe within the Kingdom viz: France Spaine in the Low Countries and the Hollanders. Spaine in the weaknes it is cannot be of any account in this rancounter so as to have any reflection made upon it but as far as Holland might engage it as by politick interests as for the King he declares himselfe to be entirely disposd to support the designe with all his power provided it doe not break forth but by concert with him and it may be beleivd from hence that his own interests will not suffer him to be wanting one moment to give his advice for it as soone as he shall judge that the blow will be sure and exempt from inconveniences to which it will be exposd if all the necessary measures be not first well taken there remains therefore nothing to be said but upon the Hollanders of whom his Majestie avowes that he cannot yet agree with the discourse C.A. hath made of them which is that if the King had master before the declaration of C(atholicism) hath don nothing which may make the said Hollanders feare or suspect that he hath entred into leagues against them with the King or that he will faile in what he has promised by the triple alliance that they will contain themselves in an entire repose and take no part in what passes in England and even that they dare not take it for the lively apprehension they will alway have that his Britannic Majestie might presently resent of them in Uniting himselfe with France against them. It seemes to Us that the small solidity of this hope will be easily seen if it be considerd that the King of Great Britain thinking fit to conduct himselfe with all the circumspection requird in so great an affaire it will be of an indispensable necessity to him to contain his people in their duty that before his act of declaration as it hath before bin already said or at least in the making it that he should let them Understand that he hath made a

Union

strict with the King by means of which if he please he may dispose of all the forces of the crowne of France against all his enimys be they domestick or strangers and from thence it may be judgd that if the Knowlidge of this Union of their Majesties becom in this manner publick they will abstain as is saied from taking any part in the busines for feare of promoting themselves between the two Kings an Union that they shall see is already formd and without any other remedy with regard to them then that of endeavoring to raise difficultys to his Britannic Majestie in his owne Kingdom. But this will not be the only motive of interest that they will infallibly take in this matter for they will know but too evidently otherwayes that a King of England becom C(atholic) strictly leagud and freindshipped with the King and peicked and offended one and the other with their past conduct by so many different injurys they have receivd will not leave them to enjoy long quietly as they doe now the principall advantages of the trade of the whole world and from that time it must be beleivd the Hollanders would not observe any longer any measure to divert this blow for their ruin casting about their treasure with full hands and even drawing on all their credit if it be necessary to forme and support againe ^(st) his Britannic Majestie a great party of which England will not want instruments and brouillions though there should be a lesse subject furnisht to the presbiterians so numerous ^{the other sects than the ~~Anglican~~ which will be ever plausible to} already and the populas of the change of religion of the Prince. And for all these considerations and many others upon which it will be Very Unecessary to dilate his Majestie cannot doubt to say rather for the security of the King of England then for his owne particular interests that the capitall and most essentiall point according to his Understanding is that his Majestie of Great Britain doe not let his designe be knowne till the two kings have mortified and taken low the Hollanders by wayes

that may be easily consented and yet more easily executed and to have them put into a condition of having need to think rather of their own conservation than to disquiet others and raise up troubles to the said king within his kingdom.

In the projects of this nature where the business is to attack an other state princes do usually principally three things upon which they ought to regulate their resolutions to make the attack or to abstain from it viz: justice interest and the certainty or doubt of good success in their designe, for the first, Justice no disinterested person and not possessed with passion can say but their Majesties have each of them in their particular more just occasions than they have need of to justify fully in the eye of the world the resolutions they shall take to mortify the pride and lay low the power of a nation which has stained itself so often with an extreme ingratitude toward their benefactors and creators of this power and which have had the impudence to erect itself now in a state of sovereign arbiters of all other potentates even of those to whom for their obligations and for the consideration of their dignity and great elevation above them they ought to bear all possible respect the King may say upon this subject with truth that the petitioner of Holland if his Majesty would have consented to it would have delayed the peace at Breda till England had been reduced to consent to all that France and Holland could desire upon the point of the pavilion and the free navigation in the Schennell there being nothing that the said petitioner hath not attempted and offered his Majesty to take the resolution in conjunction with the States General and ever since that peace which is a merit which the King hath been more careful of acquiring with the King of England in a most capital affair and in that he hath not taken pains to value himself upon it since and his Majesty would

never have spoken of it but in such an occasion as this where the knowlege of it might contribute to determin the resolution of the said King having besides held himselfe obligd to requite trust with trust in all manner possible.

For the second which is interest noebody can say but the two Kings have a common and equall one and perhaps a greater consideration for the good of theire people then can be of any other kind to put the Hollanders in a condition not to be able to draw as they doe alway to theire owne profit or the prejudice of other nations almost all the advantage of the traffick of the world and thereupon there might be conditions agreed upon between theire Majesties for the reciprocall advatage of theire subjects whereupon to engage themselves from this Very time not to make any accommodament with the Hollanders till they should be forced to subscribe to them and to submit to the law that should be thought fit to be imposd on them.

As to the third which is the infallibility of succes it is yet more cleare then the precedent ones which the King proposes because it cannot be a busines of more then six monthes and especially if other princes as easily they may can be imbarqued in the designe as if his Britannie Majestie can engage in it Sweedland and the Elector of Brandenbourgh and his Majestie the Bishop of Munster the Elector of Collen and the Duke of Newburgh who all of them in their particular have receivd a thousand ill treatments and suffer to this day great injustices from these ill neighbours but even when all the said princes should excuse themselves from it except only the Bishop of Munster who will certainly be alway well disposd to it the affaire would not be either lesse sure or lesse easy and it may be affirmd that the two Kings with this prince alone might manage this war at theire ease and without any considerable

incomodity.

From all that hath bin saied his Britannic Majestie may comprehend that what the King proposes will not only not bring any delay to the execution of his designe but on the contrary produce him its entire security it will shorten notably the time in which he might make his declaration for that besides the King is not persuaded that this act should stay for the end of the Hollands war but that after it hath furnishd him the pretence of arming himselfe the properest time for his declaration would be in the middle of a prosperous war when he could assure his people that he is ready to procure to them the great advantages of the principall profits of the commerce of the world of which the Hollanders did frustrate them by their power and by the application they use to draw them to their state with an Unsatiabie greedines.

It may then be saied with truth that the conduct herein proposd is so far from delaying the time of the declaration of his Britannic Majestie that on the contrary it will advance it and with more security for the attaque of the Hollanders by the two Kings would produce of a sudden so much confusion and disorder in their provinces that they would noe longer be in a condition of thinking to trouble England. There would besides result from it this good effect that the party of the Kingdom which would be most affectionate to them seeing noe resourse in their affaires would hold it selfe close alwayes to the strongest which would be that of their Majesties whereas making the declaration precede the attaque the Hollanders seeing evidently by the change of Religion in the Kinge of Great Britain the Unavoydable mischeife that would befall them in the consequences of it would from that Very instant take all the measures and resolutions necessary to the forming factions and revolts against him in his owne state in which they would find great easines for

the reasons before touchd.

His Britannic Majestie would comprehend in the second place for what reason it was said in this memoriall that it is necessary to be pleasd before all things to explain himselfe upon the observation or renunciation of the particular treaty he made on the 23th January last yeare with the Hollanders by which in case they should be attackd he obligd him selfe to furnish them forty ships and 6000 men by way of succor or instead of it a summe of money which should mount every yeare to seven or eight millions of libers Turnois according to the calculation which is specified and stipulated in the said treaty.

Upon this esclaircissemants which is in all confidence askd of the King of Great Britain of his intention he may reflect also that his Majestie hath also a treaty of the same nature and perhaps of a strighter tye with the said Hollanders which must last 25 years of which there are but seven expird and from which notwithstanding his Majestie that he may be able to tye himselfe in freindship and interests with his Britannic Majesty makes noe difficulty to resolve to depart from it, and to give him the same example though he have not many degree so much cause as England hath to complain of the conduct of the said Hollanders nor can ever draw the fowereth part of the advantages which the English will by the diminution of the power of the States Generall at sea and in fine although his Majestie hath not the pressing necessity the King of England hath to destroy this power that he may with security undertake and exequite the important point which the interior motions of his conscience makes him think of, for this reason we must alway resort to this that to make this Undertaking secure the King of Great Britain ought to let his people know before they have any imaginable light of of his designe that he has made a strict tye of freindship for other

considerations for their advantage and for his estate different from that of his designe because he may by this meanes make them insensibly enter into the sentiments of a Union with France preferably to that with Holland the greatest part of them who in their souls will be contrary to his project and who finding themselves engagd in that way would not at all abandon him in the act of his declaration not having had opportunity to take other measures with their neighbours abroad. Whereas conducting himselfe otherways it might happen that the Hollanders might make such progres in the minds of the people of England (who should not know the thoughts of their King) and even have taken such measures with the principall noblemen and officers of his owne Court that the freindship of the Kinge would become Unprofitable to him discovering it but in the Act of his declaration.

In the meane time as England hath appeared of late (without driving too deepe into the causes of it) entirely contrary to the interest of France and that she is lookd upon by all her neighbors and all the Princes of Europe as having all the same sentiments and of aversion and distance from this crowne though the great confidence which his Britannic Majestie has usd toward his Majestie has made him evidently see that his present thoughts are Very different from the judgement all the world makes of them, so that it seemes to import extreemely that the maxims having changd the conduct should change also and so begin by a different proceEDURE to draw insensibly into the same interest other potentates as Sweedland and divers other princes of Germany which may otherways take new measures imgements and ties with the Hollanders and render the party of their Majesties lesse strong when the question shall be to support and perhaps with armes his Britannic Majesties

declaration of C(atholicism).

All the discourses of this memoriall touching the conduct which it adviseth to be held appeares so evident and layed upon foundations so solid that one can scarce see any reasonable objection can be made to the contents of it, but as the gospell itselfe hath not bin exempt and a writing cannot answer it selfe the objections that are made to it, we promise ourselves at least in case there be any to give by the reply a compleat satisfaction.

All one can thinke the King of Great Britain might persuade himselfe or might be insinuated to him by those whose counsell he would take (as it is certain he must take in a matter of so much weight and subject to so many consequences) is that the Kinge in the advises he gives has more in his sight to carry things to a revenge of the offences the Hollanders have done him then regard to the designe of the Kinge of England to change R(eligion) and to facilitate and support the good succes of it, this is all the Venome with which this writing may be poisoned with if any body had the intention to doe it, which his Majestie doth not beleive and thereupon will reply noe other thing except his protestation anew as he hath done before and even in the word of a Kinge and Prince of honor that if he were upon the throne of England having the same designe the kinge of Great Britain has and in the same circumstances with regard to his people and all his neighbours his Majestie would never resolve to observe any other conduct but this Very one that he advises the said kinge and although in truth he may deceive himselfe in the judgment he makes that it is the best but in all events his intention is Very right and without any mingling of passion or particular interest.

In the meane time to summe up in a few words all that has bin said

before in more length his Majestie does most truely thanke the King of Great Britain for the extraordinary confidence which he hath bin pleasd to use to him wishes with passion a stright league of amity and freindship with him preferrs it and makes incomparably more account of it then that of any other potentate, will contribute all his power to the good succes of his designe to change C(atholic) when the time shall be taken for it by consent with him, beleives that to act in it with security his Britannie Majestie cannot come to the Act of his declaration but after having considerably armd himselfe upon some other pretence, sees that this pretence is at hand and would be plausible to his people in a new war against Holland who hath given too much provocation to the two Kings is perswaded that prudence cannot advise that the said declaration should be made before the great power of the Hollanders should be beate down or at least in the middle of a happy war when the people of England should see that their King was goeing to procure them the advantage of putting into their hands the principall profit of the commerce of the world which their neighbours draw from them, is ready to depart from the treaty he made in 1662 with the said Hollanders in contemplation of this new Union and to make an other contrary to it with the said King of Great Britain by which their Majesties shall oblige themselves to attaque them together in the time that shall be conserted beeing now agreed upon the point of the conquests which may be made upon them and the conditions to be imposed on them upon the point of navigation of their navigation of their ships, will furnish a considerable summ of money to the said King supposing an agreement upon this attaque to inable him to asme himselfe toward this warr.

Agrees that the said King shall doe nothing contrary to the guarranty

he hath promised on the treaty of Aix la Chappella by that of the triple alliance, will promise (if it be judged necessary to take away all Umbrage from the minds of the people of England) to cease building for for a whole yeare ships of war and in fine would engage himselfe to support with his forces to the number that shall be easily agreed upon the designe the King of Great Britain hath to embrace (the) C(atholic) R(eligion) and in this last point if the said King desires it and will have it so shall be put into private articles, which all have the same force and Vigor with the rest of the treaty.

If upon these conditions or upon others that may not be essentially different from them the King of Great Britain is disposed to conclude a treaty there remains nothing but to send a person whom he shall thinke fit to employ with power to signe it. If he would not be as well content that the King should send the same power to Monsieur Colbert his ambassador with him of whose secrecy his Majestie would answer as for his owne.

for conclusion his Majestie protests to his Britannic Majestie that he hath exposed to him in this memoriall with an entire ingenuity his sentiments upon the things wherewith C.A. was charged as he is Verily persuaded in his conscience but declares at the same time that he well forsees that in some of his discourses he may deceive himselfe particularly when he speaks of the affaires of another Kingdom of which he cannot so well know the interior motions of mind and the forces of severall partys, and factions as the Prince himselfe that commands there so that his Majestie does not tye himselfe so strongly to his owne sentiments but he will render himselfe to reason when his Britannic Majestie either by his reply to this writing or by a new mission or by any other way he shall thinke fit to practice for the greater security of the secret shall let him know this reason by arguments which are stronger and more

convincing then those are which are containd in this writing.

One word more must be added to say, that as the declaration of the King of England of C(atholicism) ought not to be made but by concert with the King as he himselfe hath offerd to his Majestie and that it is besides so just since he must engage himselfe to support it with proportionable forces when there shall be need so his said Majestie doth not pretend in what is said of the attaque of the Hollander to advantage himselfe by reason of the other designe which the King of great Britain has to draw him either as it were against his will or against his interest into a new war against the United provinces Unles he shall well Understand that the said war is more convenient for him then for France since the English will draw incomparably more advantage from the beating downe this power then his Majesties subjects would doe, so at present there must be a like treaty resolvd and agreed on but not to be exequuted without an entire concert with his Britannic Majestie at the time and in the conjuncture which shall appeare most favorable with regard to his other affaires and designes.

x. Omitted in the translation into English is the following passage:-

Pour venir maintenant a la conduite que sa Majestie Britannique deura tenir dans la declaration de sa Catholicité, ayant eu agreable de temogner au Roy par C.A. quelle vouloit la regler sur les bons conseils quil lui donneroit sa Majestie desire dudit Conte quil assure le Roy som maistre quelle luy donnera ces conseils avec une entiere sincerite sans interest, sans preoccupation desprit et tels en fin quelle les prendroit pour elle mesme dans une pareille ocasion si elle estoit sur le throne d Angleterre.

Clifford MSS. Treaty of Dover 1.

Headed, ' Theirs Reply to C. A's first answer.' and endorsed, ' 2nd paper theirs.' - an English translation in Clifford's hand.

The Kinge hath seen with delight the prudent reflections made by
 1.
 C.A. upon the memoire which his Majestie comanded to be put into his hands, but as the reasons which C.A. alleaged to prove the declaration of the King his master ought to precede the warr with Holland did not appeare so satisfactory to his majestie as to oblige him to change the opinion which he declard in the ^{said} ~~first~~ paper his Majestie is resolved to expect the thoughts and last resolution upon that point from the King himselfe as likewayes upon all the things represented in the said paper as he thought most for the service and safety of the King.

Above all things his said majestie before goeing any farther in this negotiation (which he desires with all sincery and passion to conduct as soon as he can to a happy end) is very much concernd that the King of England explaines himselfe clearely in his intentions toward Holland and concerning particularly that treaty which he made with them in January last and that he would be pleasd to confirme that which C.A. has expresd as to that point he made in the answer to that paper, for that foundation beeing one well established there appeares nothing that can after that be an obstacle to an intimate Union between the two Crownes. And because the King of France cannot so well know the interests of England within it selfe as the Kinge of England doth nor know the safety of the meanes of which he pretends to serve himselfe to hinder those troubles that may arise from his declaration his Majestie will easily surrender to the conduct which the King of England shall take in that behalfe so that in them no prejudice arise to the
 1. C.A. = Count Arundel.

interest of France and that instead of a good and a great affaire which might be by that meanes procurd to both states we doe not run the riske of doeing that which may be inconvenient to them both for having changed the order which his Majestie of France hath proposed.

To conclude we shall expect to know the determination of the King after his having bin pleasd to examine the paper which we send him and if the said C.A. or any other whom the King shall please to send with full power and instructions in those points which are touchd in the paper but principally upon the separation of the freindship of England with Holland (except in that which may regard the defence of Spaine that nothing may be done contrary to the engagement by the triple allyance) it will be easy to conclude a good treaty of an intimate Union between the two crownes in less than eight dayes.

Clifford MSS. Treaty of Dover 1.

Headed, ' Their last paper.' and endorsed, ' 3 paper theirs ' and ' 3rd paper.' - an English translation in Clifford's hand.

C.A. having by a second paper demanded a more particular declaration of the King's intentions upon those 3 points of which yet there hath bin given nothing but in generall termes in the precedent papers his Majestie declares that the said C.A. may assure his master their Majesties agreeing in a rupture with Holland though the King should resolve not to execute it till after his declaration in the times in which they should both agree both of the one and the other his Majestie will furnish the King with the summe of 1200,000 livres and oblige himsele to assist him in case there should be need with a body of 4000 men to serve in England. But for what is concerning the cession of building of ships his Majestie cann add nothing to the terme of one which he hath already proposd and will performe, his said Majestie

doth ad that if in case the King of great Britain shall find himselfe concerned by the face of the reasons
 in the first paper and will undertake conjoyntly with France a war
 with Holland before his declaration his Majestie is resolv'd to add to
 those offers already made both in men and money.

Endorsed, ' 1st paper fro us in answer to 3 of theirs.' a draft in
 Clifford's hand.

The King of Great Britaine acknowligeth his trust and confidence
 in his most christian majestie to have bin abundantly requited in the
 answer which he commanded to be given to Count Arundell in a long ded-
 uction of his thoughts and prudent advices set downe in the papers
 which Count Arundell brought with him; which the King of Great Britaine
 having maturely considerd, commands, this paper to be framed, wherein
 he leyes open to his most christian majestie the present state of his
 affaires within and without his kingdomes as to his most intimate and
 best Ally, upon whose fœindship he resolves ever to depend; and more
 particularly for the bringing to pass with his assistance soe great a
 worke, wherein not only the satisfaction of his owne conscience but
 the good of christian Religion is so highly concernd; and his most
 christian majesties glory exalted thereby as well as inward content of
 mind by beeing instrumentall therein; yet as desirable as this end
 may be to both theire majesties the King of Great Britain may be allow-
 ed to know best the difficulties that are likely to attend the attaining
 it, and therefore cannot enough acknowlige to his most christian
 majestie his obliging condescention in offering his measures to be
 overruled herein by those of the King of England but that his most
 christian majestie may see he is not peremptorily nor unreasonably
 imposed upon herein the following discourse shall ley downe the grounds
 from which they are inferrd.

1.

It is certain and will be easily agreed to that the generality of the King of Englands subjects minds for the present is such that they will not only be surprisd but probably oppose themselves strongly against theire Kings declaring himselfe a Roman Catholick; but it is conceivd that the better part of them and that which submits best to the monarchichall goverment may be easily reconciled and follow his Majestie in this declaration if he can obtain of his Holines to meet those which are most prepared to a reunion with the Church of Rome by such condiscentions and indulgences as the Councells and doctrin of the Catholick Church are supposd to allow, in order to which his Majestie of Great Britain intends to send spedily to his Holines in the way and manner that his most christian Majestie shall advise to negotiate there the obtaining the saide condiscentions. An other considerable part of his Majesties subjects may certainly be induced to acquiesse in the aforesaid declaration by assurances given them that they shall freely and unmolested enjoy theire owne opinions in matters of Religion all sects here beeing as much against the present established church of England as against that of the Roman Catholique church.^x and the King of Englande Knowing well that persecution in matters of Religion never succeeded in England to the satisfaction of the persecutors assures himselfe that by this easy way hee shall with more successe bringe backe the nation to a submission to the church of Roome then by any violence or severe imposition upon their consciences.^x

x. The passage marked thus is written on a separate sheet of paper and would appear to belong here. Mr Hartmann who placed it here makes the not improbable suggestion that it is in the hand of Arlington.

2.

And further the King of Great Britain proposeth to himselfe the framing and modelling his affaires at home so as to obviate and prevent any difficulties and dangers that may appeare at his declaration by by securing to himselfe the places of strength in England Scotland and Ireland in the hands of persons at least well affected to his goverment however differing they may be otherwayes from his opinions in Religion: By leying a part a good summe of money: By augmenting the number of his troopes and disposing them into fit places of the Kingdom, and ina word doeing many other things of a lesser spheare that must necessarily conduce to the secure attaining this great End: But all these things being of a nature to give umbrage and suspicioen cannot be much advanced till the end of the next session of Parliament which begins in October next and will not probably be ended before the spring and consequently the declaration cannot properly follow till the sumer after at the soonest.

3.

This is enough to shew his most christian majestie the aspect of the King of Great Britains affaires at home with regaurd to this great one: That toward his neighbours abroad is thus, viz: That he singly depends upon his most christian majesties assistance and freindship in bringing ^{it} to passe: And after this following manner he explaines what the Count Arundell saied concerning a league offensive and defensive between the two crownes reserving only ^{the making good} his promise to stand to the triple allyance as long as it should subsist in defence of the peace made at Aix la Chapella; For the King of Great Britain sincerely opens himselfe

to let his most christian majestie know that if any new rights shall be devolvd to him from the Monarchy of Spaine other then those which have bin regulated by the saied treaty of Aix, he is in a state of joyning with him and asserting them to the utmost of his power and shall be most willing thereunto as it shall be agreed in the intended treaty which his majesty of Great Britain leyes as the foundation of a perpetuall and inviolable freindship between the two Kingdomes. And as for the treaty of defence made with the states Generall January 23th wherein his Majestie obliges himselfe in case they be attaqued in an open war by any of there neighbours to assist them with such a number of men and ships or the equivalent in money his Majestie of Great Britain saies (that in the first place he is at liberty paying the equivalent in money, which is to be but once and not yearely; But in the next place) 1. that such is and ever will be the competition and emulation in trade between this and that nation and theire injustices thereupon that the King of England can never want a sufficient ground for a quarrell whensoever his affaires shall be ready for it: And here he cannot omit the joyning his owne with his most christian majesties just indignation against the insolent behavior of that state, which hath presumed to equall its power with that of Kings and especially those to whom they owe theire beeing, and whom, the very constitution and interest of theire goverment will ever incline them to provoke by new injuryes to the degree of dissolving any treaty that can be made with them as they have done his majestie of Great Britain since the making of the aforesaid treaty both at Suranam in the West Indies his subjects and concerning trade in the East Indys so that the King of England shall not be far to seeke for a justifiable ground of a quarrell with them

when he shall by a concert with his most christian majestie resolve to breake with them and so shall by consequence be easily absolvd both from the soccors and also the paiment of the equivalent summe of money promisd to them in leiu of forces by the aforesaid treaty of Defence made January 23th beyond which and what is here set downe the King of Great Britain assures his most christian majestie he hath not any secret tye or agreement with that state or any considerations or reserves that that can hinder his joyning in a quarrell against them neither hath his majestie any ties upon him with any other Prince or state but those common ones of Allyance and commerce, except a Defensive treaty with Sweed which he thinkes can in noe wayes hinder this strict Union proposd; And hereby his Majestie of Great Britain sufficiently confirms the offer of Count Arundell concerning a league offensive and Defensive his majestie well knowing that all other leagues Offensive and Defensive are altogather impracticable and notionall only.

4.

This is as much as can well be said in generall termes of the King of Great Britains disposition toward the affaires abroad but because the papers Count Arundell brought seem to advise his Majestie to joyne with the most christian King unto a present breach with Holland it is replied from hence that it is not enough that he hath sufficient provocation to doe it and all the justice and advantage in the promotion of it unles he has likewayes the meanes to prosecute it effectually. It ^{be confest} must and cannot be dissembled that the last war left not only his majesties treasure very low but his naval provisions so exhausted that nothing but time can restore them to the condition they were in before it began and there will be abundantly more money (neer a million of

pounds sterling over and above the ordinary expence absolutely necessary to the setting out such a fleet as was ready in the beginning of each summer during the saied war) then what would be sufficient to secure him the great point of his declaration, his most christian majestie knowing how far more expensive such a preparation would be then the raising and marching a land army into the enimys country: It must likewyes be confest, ^{neither can bee dissembled} that the King of Great Britain hath noe other meanes but by the good will of his Parliament to procure such a summe who though persuaded well enough of the interest of the nation in such a war will not be easily and suddenly induced to contribute soe largely to it beeing but now newly delivred from the burden of the taxes of the former war; the most probable means of bringing them to it will be theire seeing France actually engagd against Holland and so far as the Parliaments giving into it too might shew the infallibility of utterly ruining the navall force of Holland; so that if his most ohristian majestie could find it fit and safe by laying Spayne and the Emperour asleepe by some present treaty and by a conjuncture with the neighboring Princes of Brandenbourg Newbourg Lunenbourg and Munster to attaque that state the King of Great Britain may and is willing after some months to fall into the quarrell and make it a sure game provided his most christian majestie doe furnish him with a supply proportionable to such an expence as is aforesaid viz: a million of pounds sterling upon such termes as might be agreed upon by the intended treaty. And if Denmarke could be likewyes engagd by France into the quarrell which will be the easilyer done if Sweed can be prevaild with to be kept neutrall the dissolution of the goverment of Holland would not be difficult, for the losse of the Baltick trade would diable Holland more then any thing can be done to them the greatest part of theire mariners in time of war are

the King of Denmarks subjects and their navall provisions are only brought from those seas.

5.

By all this his most christian majestie may clearely see how easily the King of Great Britain may be engagd in a war against Holland ~~even~~ ~~before~~ even before his declaration, and during that war as the paper advises him when well armd and in strength make his declaration successfully, if he were in condition to support his share of that war: But this figure of affaires semmes too full of obstructions to take place since his majestie is impatient and more especially the delay that the war will bring to the declaration of his heart and conscience and therefore the King of Great Britain thinks it most advisable to betake himselfe to the methode set downe in the first and second paragaves of this paper and after that manner make himselfe ready for his declaration and depend upon his most christian majesties assistance therein not only for the two hundred thousand pounds sterling demanded by the Count Arundell but for a greater number of troopes if the occation require it; And this great affaire of the declaration beeing happily over the King of Great Britain will willinly attaque Holland in conjunction with his most christian majestie according as it shall be agreed on in a concert and project of Articles which cannot be framd till his most christian majestie shall please to declare himselfe upon the sight of this paper which is desired as speedily as with convenience may be.

6.

What is set downe here seems to his Majestie to answer all that was offerd in the papers Count Arundell brought and it is hoped with so

much satisfaction to his most christian majestie that there will not be roome left for the suspecting the King of England to have a reserve or indirect thought therein: there remains only the satisfying his most christian majestie in one overture made to him by Count Arundell which was that his most christian majestie should satisfy the King of England or rather the humor and jealousy of his people by forbearing to proceed on in his navall strengths, the King of Great Britain acknowleges himselfe much obligd to his most christian majestie in his offer to suspend the progres of it for a whole yeare, but reflecting upon the unfitnes of the demand doth from this time release the most christian King from his promise and declares himselfe to be so entirely satisfied with the candor and obliging proceeding of his most christian majestie in this affaire that he will ever esteem himselfe happy and secure in all the advantages and strength which the most christian king shall acquire and will rely upon the freindship of so great and generous a Brother and Ally as his best security.

Endorsed, '*second* paper in answer to that of Sept: 69.' a translation in Clifford's hand of the French original also at Ugbrooke Park.

It would be very hard to expres well with what pleasure and satisfaction the King hath many times read and considered the memoriall sent to Madam, where the King of Great Britain hath not only explaind so obligingly his perfect disposition to a very stright and indissoluble Union, but with so much prudence and freedome his most intimate thoughts upon the present state of all his affaires as well within his Kingdomes as abroad.

As his Majestie of Great Britain hath bin pleasd to give also by his answer all the lights which could be desird of his intentions with

regard to his engagements that he hath already taken or might take in the future in favor of or contrary to the establishment of this stright Union: It is lookd upon with joy that theire Majesties may and will walk in all things upon the same maxims and in the same interests and even that in substance the two Kings are already agreed upon in all points, and that there is nothing now to be done but to consider more or lesse in some circumstances since his most christian majestie consents to support his Britannic Majestie with money and troopes for the execution of the designe of his Catholicity and that the King of Great Britain on the other side will enter into the designe which his Most Christian Majestie hath to beate downe the power of the Hollanders which are the two capitall and essentiall points upon which all the treaty must be built therefore it seemes that thereought not one moments time be lost in making and advancing a speedy conolusion of the said treaty that is to say to determin the place of the negotiation and name the persons plenipotentiarys thereupon his most Christian Majestie doth renue again to the King of Great Britain the same offer which he hath already made to leave entirely to his choice to treat here or at London in this last case he would send immeadiately his full power to his ambassador if not he will expect here with impatience the arrivall of him to whom he will commit an employment of this importance.

It is with great reason saied that theire Majesties are already agreed of all things in substance since

1st. Concerning the time and the meanes of the declaration of the Catholicity his most Christian Majestie remits himselfe entirely to that which his Britannic Majestie shall judge most fit for the good succes and security of the thing.

2ly. That his Most Christian Majestie assures the King of Great Britain

that he hath not any designe to breake the peace which he hath made with the Spaniards nor to contravene in any thing that which he hath promised in the treaty of Aix la Chapella and by consequence the King of Great Britain may without any obstacle or hinderance from hence keepe his word which he hath given by the triple alliance to warrant the saied peace.

3ly. That the King of Great Britain hath bin pleasd to declare himselfe the most obligingly that could be desired in favor of the rights and new titles which might hereafter fall to the most Christian King. Upon the states of the monarchy of Spain declaring that he is most disposed to joyne with him to facilitate the acquisition of them to him according to the conventions that shall be made together in which his Most Christian Majestie acknowledgēs himselfe much obligd to his Britannic Majestie.

4ly. That his Britannic Majestie hath explaind himselfe that the particular treaty of reciprocall defence which he made of the 23th of January with the states Generall shall not hinder him from breaking with them for which they have already given him too many plausible pretexts and too many reall provocations.

5ly. That according to the sentiment of the Most Christian King not only the defensive treaty which his Britannic Majestie hath made with Sweed shall not make any obstacle to any thing that shall be concerted and concluded in the treaty of their Union but his Most Christian Majestie promises himselfe that perhaps his Britannic Majestie employing the great credit he now hath with the crowne of Sweedland may prevaile with it to joyne also their armes and interest to the designe of beating downe the insupportable pride of the Hollanders or at least to remaine a simple spectatrist of this quarrell without taking either part.

Gly. And finally as it is already said his Most Christian Majestie is agreed to support and assist with troopes and money the two designes of his Britannic Majestie viz: the declaration of his Catholicity and of his Breach with the Hollanders in conjunction with France the more and the lesse of this assistance to be discused and concluded between the plenipotentiarys, it must only be observd that as the time of exequuting the said declaration is left with justice to the choice of the King of Great Britain it is also equally just that the time of entring conjoynntly into a war against Holland should be left to the choice of his most christian majesty the King of Great Britain taking ~~as~~ as he ought to doe this confidence in the said Kings affection that he would not embarke him in a scurvey busines in choosing the time ill, and there will be noe difficulty in beleiving this truth if it be reflected upon that after the treaty made and ratifyed all the interests of both their majesties are becom common.

The most christian King thinks that his Britannic Majestie ought not to loose one moment in communicating to so great and so good a pope as he is who sits now in the seat of St Peter the designe he hath of returning to the church and begin his solicitations which he proposes to make his Holines for obtaining from him facilitys and indulgent condecentions which may dispose the minds of his people to goe into the same beleife; the King of Great Britain may easily beleive that his most christian majesty would employ with pleasure his intercessions and all his most efficacious offices with the Pope to support his prayers and demands but besides that he is assured that in an affaire of so great an advantage to Catholick Religion his Holines will of himselfe and for the consideration of the person of his Britannic Majestie doe all that shall be in his power to favor and support his designe his

most christian majestie hath esteemd it otherwayes fit that it should not be discernd at Rome that there is so great an agreement between theire majesties because the pope beeing infirme and crasy if god should call him to himselfe his ministers whose interests change according to the change of the popes might reveale the secret of this concert to the Spaniards or to others from which it may be feard prejudices would arise to the affaire it selfe and in this occation his most christian majestie doth not pretend noe will think but upon the solid part without caring for appearances.

Since the project of the two Kings will almost entirely change the face of all the affaires of Europe it will be according to prudence to foresee by times to take out of the way as far as it shall be in their power the obstacles they may otherwayes meet with and as it is easy to see that the greatest which is likely to befall them will arise from the triple Alliance if it should grow bigger and if (when England shall depart from it in apoint which regards not the guarranty of the treaty of Aye la Chapella) the saied league should remain strong enough to undertake the protection and defence of the Hollanders it is beleivd here that the King of Great Britain will consider as well as his most christian majestie that this snow ball grow noe bigger But to let it be seen that it is the only force of the truth and not an addres to take indirect advantages that obliges the most Christian King to represent this and that he doth it with an entire sincerity his most christian majestie declares touching the summons and invitations which the said triple alliance makes now to divers Princes to come into it that England should not abruptly change its conduct nor command its ministers abroad to cease to invite the said Princes thereunto because the Hollanders would presently draw certain consequences from thence concerning what passes

between theire Majesties and that nothing appeares more important then the leyng a sleep and amusing the Hollanders as long as it shall be possible but that which his most christian majestie would desire thereupon of the King of Great Britain for the common interest of theire Majesties for the designe they have together is that at the same time the King of Great Britain shall invite the said princes in appearance (if he judge it fit to continue doeing so) he defeat the effect of it underhand by many wayes very easy which may occur to him as in refusing to contribute for his share to the subsidies which the greatest part of the said princes will demand or else in setting a foot such spæcious pretences as he shall judge cannot be granted and principally in drawing in length all the severall answers which shall be expected of him.

The King will follow the counsell of the King of Great Britain in governing this designe as much as possibly he can by other negotiations with the Emperor or with Spain and will endeavor in the meane time to draw into the party the Electors of Collen and BrandenBurgh the house of Brunswick Newbourgh and Munster to which the greatest part of them even all would be much disposd if his most christian majestie could could tell them that the King of Great Britain would be of the party, but his Majestie will never advance any Knowlige thereof to them but but by concert with ~~them~~ him and when he shall judge it seasonable after the treaty is made.

His most christian majesty cannot suffer the memoriall to be ended without thanking as he doth most affectionately the King of Great Britain for the obliging civility with which after having obtained the suspension for a whole yeare for the building of his ships he hath thought good of him selfe to desist from this demand and it may be saied that in all the

procedure which the King of Great of Great Britain hath held in this
 busines three circumstances amonge many others have infinitely touchd
 the King first the confidence he had in him, in discovering to him his
 designe upon Catholicism 2d the offer which he hath made to joyne with
 him to facilitate the acquisition of new rights which might fall to him
 by succession of the countrys of Spain. 3ly Desisting from the demand
 of suspending of building of ships for that by every one of these three
 circumstances his most christian Majesty clearely perceives that the
 King of Great Britain will for the future found principally his maximes
 and conveniences of his interests upon the freindship and Union with his
 Majesty without conceiving as many other princes doe with little reason
 any Umbrage or jealousy from the pretended grandeur of his power which
 is the Fantome which haunts so cruelly the mind of the people of the
 United provinces.

Endorsed, ' in Octo. 69. Our paper.' (Clifford's hand.) 1.

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The two Kings having given and taken to and from each other many obliging expressions demonstrating clearely their mutuall and affectionate confidence of each other and concurrence in the same thoughts and resolutions tending to a perfect Union of freindship and counsellis, It will be needlesse henceforward to repeate any thing more of that kind: But instead of it to put their hands effectually to worke in the framing such a treaty as may seale and confirme it beyond any possibility of variation.

And his most christian majesty having very obligingly left it to the King of Great Britains choice either to make the saied treaty in France by sending his plenipotentiary thither or to transact it here he giving his power to his Ambassador to that effect, his Majestie of Great Britain chooses the latter as well for the value he hath for the person that beares that charecter here as because his sending any body thither and detaing him there such a time as this negotiation must necessarily take up might expose the whole matter to such suspicions and jealousys as would disappoint the ends of it with infinit prejudice to the King of Great Britain.

So that whilst those powers are preparing on that side and that care is taken to instruct perfectly the French Ambassador here in his most christian majesties mind in the whole affaire his Majestie of Great Britain will cause a project of a treaty to be framd here according to the scope of the six conclusions or fundamental points set downe in the last paper sent from France with equall regard to all his most christian majesties advantages and expectations from the King of Great

1 Presented to Louis 14, Grandul on the 17/23 October 1669. (From the letter of 14/24.10.69, Tringali, III, 111.)

Britain. As to those he expects from his most christian majestie, viz: 1st an Article for his most christian Majesties assistances toward the King of Great Brittain declaring himselfe a Catholick..2ly For the preservation of the treaty of Aix la Chapella. 3ly For adjusting on what conditions the King of Great Britain shall joyne with his most christian majestie in facilitating the acquisitions of what new rights that may devolve to his most christian King from the monarchy of Spaine. 4ly For concerting the forces against Holland and proportioning the division of the conquests upon avoyding and frustrating the treaty with the states Generall of January 23. 5ly For settling the way and maner how to bring in the Sweed and other Allies to be neutrall if not assistant to the designe. And 6ly For leaving the time of declaring the war against Holland to his most christian majestie with the due cautions therein and provisions that his most christian majestie doe furnish the King of Great Britain with supplies toward the vast navall expence that he must be at in that war. Alwayes understood that each party is left at liberty to propose any farther particulars as they shall occur to be debated by the plenipotentiaries and accordingly receivd or rejected.

The King of Great Britain acknowlges himselfe infinitely obligd to his most christian majestie for his judicious advice in recommending to him to send a person from himselfe to his Holines, and the concealing from his Holines the great concert made with the most christian King for the reasons given in the said advice; And accordingly the King of Great Britain will without delay send the properest person he can find upon the saied errant to his Holines and from time to time give his most christian Majestie account of his progres and succes therein.

The King of Great Britain is also noe lesse affected with the prudent remarkes of the most christian King upon the necessity of amusing Holland

for a time and keeping them from suspicions and jealousys as far as is possible, to which end the King of Great Britain doth not yet see how he shall be able to avoyd the entring into a concert of forces with them for the defence of the treaty^{of} Aix la Chapella he beeing at this present so warmly pressd unto it not only by the spaniard but also by the Hollander and Sweed, but he doth assure the most christian King that he will not stipulate farther then for his owne particular share of forces as is well hinted in the last paper from France, and will never agree to contribute to the subsidies either for the Sweed or any other Ally that shall come into the defence of the said triple league: And his most christian Majestie may farther understand that this concert of forces can never operate nor signify any thing unles he himselfe doe infringe the treaty of Aix la Chapella which is contrary to the foundations here leyen downe and cannot be supposd; And to invalidate the reputation which this concert of forces may gain if the King of Great Britain be unavoydably pressd to enter into it his most christian Majestie may if he pleases demand the like guarrantie and concert of forces for the defence of the same treaty of Aix la Chappella in case the spaniard shoul attempt to infringe it the consequence of which will certainly be the weakening and making of noe force that value and esteem which otherwayes the guarrantie and concert of forces might gain in the world.

And the King of Great Britain doth also perfectly allow of the caution given by his Most Christian Majestie that care should be taken that the triple league doe not grow so big by invitations from his Majestie of Great Britain to severall Princes to come in to it as to be able to defend the Hollander when England shall be detasht from the league in a point that regards not the guarrantie of the treaty of Aix la Chapella,

and therefore doth farther assure his most Christian King that he hath not now left one minister abroad that doth solicit or invite any Prince thereunto, and if by any other practises they shall be brought in, the King of Great Britain will as skillfully as he can elude and divert the effect of it observing those prudent advises given him in the last paper.

Endorsed, ' Octo. 69. theire paper ' a translation in Clifford's hand of the French original also preserved at Ugbrooke Park.

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The King hath read with great pleasure the last memoriall that Count Arundell brought from England where his Majestie sees the obliging impatience which the King of Great Britain expresses for the concluding speedily the treaty of theire strict union and that to gain time even to the least moments in soe important an affaire after having determind Himselfe rather to treat in England then here following the choice wh^{ch} his Majestie had left him for the prudent considerations which his Britannie Majestie alleages for it he went about the making and forming a project of a treaty conformable to the tenor of the six fundamentall points expressd in the last memoriall sent from France adding also with noe lesse goodnes then justice that in the composition of the said project he would have as much regard to all the advantages of his Majestie and to every thing that he might expect from him the King of England as to the conveniences he could expect from the freind- of the King of France who holds himselfe very much obligd by it.

His Majestie by this same way of the returne of the said Count Arundell addresses to M. Colbert his Ambassador the full power of which

he hath need to treat with necessary instructions to informe him of the sentiments and desires of his Majestie upon the same six fundamentall points But his said Majestie judges that it will advance much the matter in a short time if the King of Great Britain be pleas'd to cause to be sent hither with all possible speed the project of the treaty which he shall cause to be made upon which by one dispatch his said Majestie may instruct his Embassador to the bottome of all that he may passe and signe or of the changes his Majestie may be concern'd in interest to offer according to the prudent consideration of his Britannie Majesties last memoriall where it is presuppos'd that either of the parties ought to remain in a liberty of proposing all the other particulars whcih it shoud judge fit to be discussed by the plenipotentiarys who should resolve if they ought to be admitted or rejected.

The King will be very glad and even will have a great curiosity to understand the particularities of the conduct and succes of the negotiations of the person that the King of Great Britain will send to the pope and will give his opinion of it with utmost sincerity according to the knowlige he hath perhaps greater then can be had in England of the maximes of the Court of Roome and of the sentiments inclinations or interests of the principall persons that compose it.

The principall which the King hath established himselfe in his preceeding memorialls that one of the most important circumstances of this affair is to lay asleep the Holanders as long as may be lets his Majestie perfectly know that the King of Great Britain upon the warme instances which are knowne here to be made to him not only by the spaniards but by the Hollanders and the Sweeds cannot hinder himselfe from entring into a concert with them to determin presently how many troopes each of the confederates of the triple allyance shall contribute

in case of necessity to guarrantie the treaty of Aix la Chapella and thereupon his most Christian Majestie rema~~in~~es entirely satisfied with the two assurances for which his Britannic Majestie hath bin pleasd to give him his word in his King of Englands last memoriall one that he will not make any stipulation but f~~or~~ the particular portion of the forces that which he shall furnish and the other that he will never consent to contribute to the support of Sweedland or any other Ally which shall enter into the engagement of the defence of the saⁱd triple allyance which is most important not to give the example to other Princes to engage themselves to defend the Hollanders against theire Majesties.

Upon the assurance that his Britannic Majestie hath given to the King that he will not make any other stipulation then for the particular portion of the forces he shall furnish the most Christian King will not have his mind in repose that his Britannic Majestie will not consent to the instances that Monsieur De Wit makes to him that England and the states may oblige themselves solidly and remain caution f~~or~~ Spain to Sweedland to pay them by advance the 60,000 crownes which have bin promisd them by the month during the employing theire armes and this difficulty and this refusall of which it will be easy to sustain the justice by so many good reasons may make the time yet run on longer with the spaniards disburceing the first 200,000 crownes which they are to pay to Sweedland and by consequence hinder till the spring or perhaps longer Monsieur De Wit from putting the last hand to the forming of the saied triple allyance nor to expect any succors for his masters of the princes which he should engage in it which is the only object wh~~ic~~h his Majestie proposes to himselfe when he desires to see difficulties arise in the last shaping of the saied league.

In the meane time that the King of Great Britain may sensibly perceive that in this his Majestie speakes in the prospect only of breaking the measures of De Wit to hinder other princes from greatning the saied triple league into which probably they will not enter as as long as they shall not see it of one mind within it selfe and to the end that the Hollanders may be found unprovided of all defence when they shall be attaqued and not in an indirect prospect that his most Christian Majestie hath to prevaile himselfe against the spaniards nor to breake with them nor to contravene in any thing what he hath promised by the treaty of Aix la Chapella (which is the only interest the King of England takes in the triple league) his most Christian Majestie to testify with what sincerity he will act herein and to give even to the saied King a very assentiall prooffe and such a one as will be very honourable to him of his confidence and freindship he declares that if the saied King will make publick instances to him by his ambassador of the same thing in which the States Generall have hitherto unsuccessfully solicited him which is to remit the differences of the dependces of the conquest to an arbitrament his Majestie will answer to the saied instances that not only will he consent to it in consideration of the saied King but that he would choose him for the only arbiter of the saied differences and will accord to him the time that shall be judgd necessary to determin it ^{with justice} according to what he shall judge in his conscience upon the producing the reasons of the parties and will give him his word not to pursue his right by armes during the saied time.

There must be only considerd in this expedient whether there will not be given too much umbrage to the Hollanders and to the world of a secret concert between theire Majesties wherefore the King entreates

the King of England to give him his counsell thereupon and to examin whether it were not better that his Majestie by his answer should joyne to the said King other arbitrators which might be the crowne of Sweed-land and the electorall college of which the Hollanders seeing themselves excluded as being suspected would be much mortified and the advatageⁿ would otherwayes resort to the two Kings that none of the Electors nor by consequence following their example any Prince of Germany would thinke any longer of entring into the triple Alliance to greaten it because the necessity of it would absolutely cease by the promise the King should have given not to pursue his right by armes.

All that hath bin saied nor the advantages their Majesties might receive in common shall not hinder but that if the King of Great Britain choose rather to have alone the glory of terminating by his judgement this famous dispute his most christian majestie will not persist in what he hath offerd above to name him the sole arbitrator by the answer which he shall make to the instances of his ambassador such is his confidence in his freindship and his sincere desire of his glory.

As to what his Britannie Majestie sayes also in his last memoriall that to render null the reputation ~~of~~ ^{the} that concert of forces of the confederates may acquire in the world to their alliance or to the spaniards his most christian Majestie may if he judges it proper demand the same the saied guarrantie and conjunction of forces for the preservation of the treaty of Aix la Chapella in case the spaniards should undertake to violate it. His Majestie will say in great secrecy to the King of Great Britain the true reason which makes him judge why he ought not at present nor so soone make this step and that if he abstain from it it is not by any motive of pride or contempt at his guarrantie^{ment} that as he doth not thinke the thought of his Britannie Majestie is a very good

one and even that it will produce all the advantageous effects which the memoriall so judiciously alleages But because as soone as the King should have made ^{1.} wrey step many princes of the Empire and perhaps many other potentates who will be disposd of themselves to enter into the triple league and who are not retaind from it but by the consideration of not disobliging his Majestie would cast themselves infallibly in a crowde following one anothers examples beeing able then to say to his Majestie that he could not with reason take ill theire entry into an alliance of which he had demanded a guarranty against the spaniards which had bin graunted to him in the meane time his Majestie beleives he cannot too often repeat that when he desires to hinder as hath bin saied all strengthening of the triple league it is not in consideration of the spaniards against whom he hath noe intention to raise any quarrell nor to demand any thing of them and on the contrary furnisheth himselfe by this memoriall a certain meanes of accommodation together upon the dispute that might embroile them but purely in regard of the Hollanders that they amy not receive any assistance from Princes who are entred into the triple league by the communication that this new union will give them with those princes for that they cannot distinguish soe perfectly as the King of Great Britain does what regards the maintaining the treaty of Aix la Chapella from what is a particular interest of the saied Hollanders.

The King in the mean time cannot with efficacy enough thanke his Britannie Majestie for the assurances he gives him in the last article of his memoriall that he hath not at present any minister abroad who does invite any Prince to enter into the triple league and that if any Prince shall find himselfe solicited to it by others his Britannie Majestie will endeavour with all possible addres to illude and divert the effect of it. 1. = demarche in French original.

Clifford MSS. Treaty of Dover 2.

Headed, ' A project of a secret treaty between the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King.' [In Clifford's handwriting.] 1.

2. It is agreed covenanted and concluded that there be to all perpetuity a constant amity allyance and good correspondence between his Majestie of great Britain his heires and successors of the one part; and his most Christian Majesty his heires and successors of the other part and between all and singular theire Kingdomes Countryes and teritoryes, theire subjects and vassalls that either now are or hereafter shall be, as well by land as sea; And to shew that this peace is to be inviolable and be put beyond all possibility of beeing infringd here follow Articles of such confidence and mutuall advantage to both the saied Kings as have scarce ever bin yet in any age agreed unto and concluded.

The King of great Britain beeing inwardly convinced of the truth of Catholick Religion and beeing resolvd to declare himselfe a Catholick 3. and reconcile himselfe to the church of R(ome) for the securer executing of the saied resolution to support himselfe with the assistance of his most christian Majestie. It is therefore agreed and concluded that his most christian Majestie shall supply and furnish his Majestie of great Britain with the summe of two hundred thousand pounds sterling preparatory to the saied declaration. A moyety of which summe to be payed within three months of the ratification and exchanging of this treaty and the other moyety within three months after that: And shall further support and assist him with troopes 4. and money as there shall be need in case

1. In the margin erased: Q. whether the K. so stiled in the title.
2. In the margin: Q. whether it shall not suppose the treaty of commerce and so introduced here.
3. In the margin erased: Q. the terme Catholick whether Romish added.
4. " " " " , (Arlington's hand) : Q. specify the number and use the woordes horse foote armes amunition etc.

the subjects of the King of great Britain shall not acquiesse in the saied declaration, but shall rebell, which is otherwayes hoped and beleived: And that this declaration may have the better succes and be effected with more security. It is also agreed that the time for the exequution of it be entirely left to the choice of his Majestie of great Britain.

2.

His most christian Majestie further covenants with his Majestie of great Britain that he will never breake or infringe the peace which he the most christian King hath made with the spaniards; nor that he will contravene in anything what he hath promised in the treaty of Aix la Chapella; and consequently the King of great Britain 1. shall remaine in a perfect freedome of supporting the same according to the conditions the Triple Alliance and other acts depending thereupon ~~all-which-hee will-communicate-with-entire-eeonfidenee-and-freedome-to-the-most-christian-King.~~ [sic] 1.

3.

But if hereafter there shall devolve to the most christian King new rights and titles from the Monarchy of Spain, his Majestie of great Britain doth covenant with the saied most christian King that he will assist him with all his force both by sea and land to facilitate the acquisition of such new rights, his most christian Majestie discharging the expence of the saied forces: And that there may be noe difference in adjusting the rates of the saied ~~Expense~~, It is declared and agreed by both the saied Kings that for all such land forces as his most christian Majestie shall need and require he the most christian King shall be at the charge of raising and transporting of them ~~and-shell~~

1. This interpolation by Arlington replaces: may freely keepe his word which he hath given by the triple allyance to warrant the saied pesce.

~~then-receive-them-into-his-established-pay-of-his-army~~ which shall be regulated and disposed of according to such rules and conditions as shall be hereafter agreed unto in Articles apart and distinct and subsequent as well for their pay and support as for their manner of serving. But because the Navall charge consists of such particulars and accidents as cannot so well be brought to a certain account but must rather be adjusted by an estimate It is agreed that for all navall forces that shall be soe employed in the service of the most christian King the saied most christian King shall allow and pay in leiw of Victualls and wages Ware and Tare all sorts of stores and other charges whatsoever as cleaning fitting rigging etc taking in also the losse of ships during the wer and also the pay of the commanders and officers the summe of three pounds fifteen l. shillings starling for every head monthly from the time the men are listed in pay untill they are discharged eccounting twenty eight dayes to the month: And upon these termes after due notice given there shall be ready for the saied service of his most christian Majestie as ~~many~~ ships as he shall declare to need and of what force he pleases. And since this assistance may happen to be required for the reducing to the obedience of his most christian Majestie those countryes and places now belonging to Spain which border on the Meditterranian and that it will be very Inconvenient if not impossible for the fleets of the saied King of great Britain to continue at sea without some certain ports and harbors of their owne to repaire unto where should be docks and storehouses that they may be on all occations cleand and refitted revictualled and replenishd with the stores, His most christian Majestie doth hereby farther covenant with his Majestie of great Britain that his Majestie of great Britain
 1. Changed to ' sixteen ' by Arlington.

shall have and posses to his owne his heires and successors use for
ever ~~these-respective-ports-and-places-following,-viz: in-the-Maditer-~~
~~ranean-the Island of Minorca; in-the-streights-Gales--in-Syeily~~
~~[blank];-in-the-Kingdome-of-Naples-[blank];-in-Flanders-Ostend-with~~
~~countrey-enough-adjacent-to-each-place-to-pay-contribution-suffieient-for~~
~~the-maintenance-of-such-a-garrison as-will-be-neecessary-to-be-kept-in~~
it.(sic) And also for the better accomodating both his land and sea
forces shall have and enjoy to his heires and successors for ever the
porte and towne of Ostend in the Spanish Netherlands. For the reducing
of both which places and putting them into the hands of the King of
England his most christian Majestie shall apply the same force and
endeavors as he doth for obtaining those places he shall posses himselfe.
~~And-since-at-this-present-time-there-is-not-and-never-was-such-a-declard~~
~~and-avowed-peace-in-America-between-the-crownes-of-England-and-Spain~~
~~but-that-the-subjects-of-each-ether-make-depredations-and-take-places~~
~~from-one-an-ether-as-the-cession-offers-itselfe~~ And(sic) his most christian
Majestie farther agrees that ~~the-King-of-great-Britain-shall-and-may(sic)~~
upon the aforesaid devolution of the Monarchy of Spain unto-Francee
~~take-unto-himselfe-such-places-and-countreys-in-America-as-he-shall-be~~
~~able-to-reduce-to his-obedienee:--And-that-it-shall-be-lawfull-and-free~~
for-any (sic) he will assist his Majestie of great Britain in the
reducing to the obedience of his Majestie of great Britain all the
places and countreys in America now belonging to the spaniard and that
he will use his utmost that the saied inhabitants in America shall sub-
mit themselves unto and under the goverment of the saied King of great
Brita~~in~~n his heires and successors and having so submitted or beeing so
reduced they shall be deemd and taken ever after as his and their
subjects. And it is farther concluded and agreed that neither of the

saied Kings shall make peace with any prince or state that shall have opposd themselves against his most christian Majesties just rights and titles as aforesaid without the consent and approbation of the other.

4.

It is further agreed between the two Kings that war be prosecuted against the states generall of the United Provinces with their whole forces both by sea and land: And that both the saied Kings shall declare all their former treatys with the saied States Generall void and null excepting as is before said that treaty of Union relating to that of Aix la chapella; neither shall either of the saied Kings make peace with them without the other consulted with and consent thereunto.

And all sort of commerce shall be prohibited between the subjects of both Kings and the subjects of the saied states; and if the subjects of England and France doe trade with them the ships and goods of the subjects of England and France so trading shall be lawfull prise to the other: And if the subjects of either King after the declaration of the war be taken serving in the states pay they shall be punished with death by the King whose subjects tooke them.

And because the Senate and State of Hamborough is involvd with the States Generall in one common interest and that experience hath shewen that they will underhand give the Hollander all manner of assistance, It is further concluded and agreed that the war be likewyses at the same time declard and carryed on against the saied states and Senate of Hamborough by both the saied Kings.

And since the navall preparations for the bringing this war to a good issue will light cheifely upon the King of great Britain and will by many degrees exceed the charge of land forces, his most christian

Majestie doth Covenant to pay the King of great Britain yearely six (Q) hundred pounds starling during the continuance of the war by way of subsidy toward the vast expence that his Majestie of great Britain shall be at in preparation for the setting out of his whole fleet, which he proposes and obliges himselfe to doe every yeare the war shall last: A moyety of the saied summe of six hundred thousand pound to be furnishd and advanced three months before the saied war be declard and the other moyety six months after the declaration, and so yearely as long as the saied war shall continue a moyety at the beginning of the yeare and the other moyety at the end six months after. Besides which fleet his Majestie of great Britain will alway have under his owne pay a body of six thousand foot to be transported also at his owne charge: And of the whole Conquest that shall be made upon the States the King of great Britain shall content himselfe only with these places following viz: Flushing (sic) the Isle of Walkeren with the Isle of Cassant. 1. with ~~countrys--enough-adjacent-to-each-place-that-shall-be-able-to-pay-con-~~ ~~tribution-suffieient-for-the-discharge-of-the-garrisons-to-be-kept-in~~ ~~them: (sic).~~ All the other places and countrys after the conquest shall

1. Walcheren and Cadzand were substituted later.
In the margin opposite we have: ' Q. An Article concerning the Prince of Orange.' Such a draft article in Arlington's hand is to be found in The Clifford MSS, Holland 3:-

And because the dissolution of the Goverment of the States Generall which is the principal scope and ende aimed at by this warre will inevitably drawe with it a great and considerable diminution to the Prince of Orange Nephew the King of Great Britain and that in the division of the Country upon the Conquest of it some places and Townes properly belonging to him are disposed of it is farther concerted and agreeede that all possible care shall bee taken to make the said Prince finde his account in the progresse (which shall bee further stipulated in conditions apart and ended of this warre) towards the successe of which war it is conceived the raising and exaltation of him and his party may contribute much and at least bee a foundation of such a division as to render the conquest of the whole much more easy.

be enjoyd and possest by his most christian Majestie unles any townes or places thereof shall be mutually agreed to be put into the hands of the Bishop of Mounster or any other Ally that may happily come into this war against the saied States: And it is further agreed that equall care shall be taken as well for the reducing those places appointed for the share of the King of great Britain as those for the most christian King and there shall be noe preference of leying seige to one place before the other but as they naturally ley in course; and upon the reducing of the places here before agreed to be put into the hands of the English it shall be done immediately on the rendition of them by the enemy. 1.

5.

~~And-that-this-conquest-may-be-made-with-more-ease-and-lesse-of~~
~~christian-bleed-and-treasure,~~ It is further agreed that before this war be declard the Kings shall use all their interests to bring the two Northerne Crownes of Sweden and Denmarke joyntly or apart according as the case shall require into this war against the states Generall or at least that they be neutrall ~~and-speetaters~~ (sic) in it: And in the like manner ~~the-same-care-is-to~~ be-taken-also-by-the-King-of-great Britain-and-the-most-christian-King to draw into the party the Electors of Cullen and Brandenbough the house of Brunswick Newbrough and the Bishop of Munster; ~~Nay-all-course-shall-be-taken-by-both-the-Kings~~ (sic) and their utmost care and endeavors shall be to perswade even the Emperor and Spain to suffer without interruption the conquest upon the States Generall.

6.

These grounds beeing leyd and-the-money-by-way-of-subsidy to be

1. In the margin: Q. What be done with their plantations in the East and West Indys whether there shall be any articles concerning them.

~~advanced-to-the-King-of-great-Britain-for-the-better-support-of-his~~
~~Navall-forces-beeing-payd-unte-him-by-the-most-christian-King~~ (sic)
 and the King of great Britain beeing in peace at home after the declar-
 ing of himselfe a Catholick, he the saied King of great Britain doth
 leave to the choice of his most christian Majestie the time of entring
 conjoyntly into the war against the States Generall; and it is conclud-
 ed and agreed that the most christian King shall accordingly appoint the
 time as he shall judge fit, the King of great Britain having an entire
 confidence that his most christain Majestie in appointing the time will
 have regard to both theire interests which after the treaty will be the
 same and common to both. 1.

7.

If any trouble at any time arise either forrain or domestick to
 either party by Vertue of these agreements the other shall assist with
 all his force till either the forrain power be repelled or the home
 rebellion quieted.

8

If any former treaty made by either the saied Kings with any prince
 or state whatsoever there be clauses contrary to this league, those
 clauses shall be accounted Void and null and these in force.

1. In the margin: Q. what conditions to be made in case the King of Spain dye before the war against Holland be declard or that the King hath declard himselfe a Catholick.

Also in the margin but added later: R if we must presently enter into the war upon the death of the King of Spaine the charge will be defrayed and America his Majesties.

Clifford MSS. Miscellaneous 4.

Duke of Ormond to Sir T. Clifford, Stanton House, 25.VI.70.

I doe not doubt but that my Lord Arlington hath informd you how hee left the King enclind when hee last spoke him touching the Coffers place but perhaps hee could not then tell you that the old man recovers visibly and Huorly to the admiration of his Phistians who had pronounced his doome as to bee executed in a few howres and now hee is lycke to doe well and I can not chuse but say I am glad the opertunity hath discovered the King's good intentions towards you which is beter establisht then to need any interposition of mine for which I am and shall ever bee prepared I am, etc

Clifford MSS. Treaty of Dover 3.

Endorsed, ^{by Clifford} ' Sending to Rome A proposition from France concerning it. A copy in English. ' The French original is also at Ugbrooke Park: they are both in the handwriting of Sir R. Bellings. [7/17.1X.70: see Mignet, 111.230-1.]

The most christian King orders his Ambassador to communicate to the King of Great Britain^t a thought which is come to his minde for the more easy and speedy obtaining from the Court of Rome what his Majesty of Great Britain shall desire in order to the declaration of his Catholicism.

The motif which induces his Most Christian Majesty thereunto (besides the sincere desire which he hath that his Majesty of Great Britain^t should receive all manner of satisfaction) is in as much^{as} lies in his power to take away all difficulty which he foreseeth may happen in the execution of the treaty, to the end that if it be possible none may be able to hinder their Majestys to make warr against the Hollanders at the beginning of the next spring, and so they may gaigne time which must henceforward be accounted very precious considering how much is necessarily requisite toward the setting out the fleetes.

It is knowne the most christian King has named the Duke d' Estrées for the Embassie of Rome, and that he has resolved to send the Bisshop of Laon his brother, one of the prudentest and learnest^{de} Prelates of France, with him to assist the said Duke with his counsellors in the most important occasions, as that of a conclave, or any other that may happen.

The thought which his most christian Majesty hath is grounded on a belief (upon reasons which shall be hereafter mentionned) that the King of Great Britain will finde his account better and more expedition if without declaring positively his resolution to the Pope he treats

this affaire with him by a third person, and that rather a Stranger then an Englishman, whose coming would occasion much discourse in a Court, as full of speculations as of different interests.

The occasion in the most christian kings opinion is merveillous good to put this negotiation (which the King of Great Britain may safely doe) into the hands of the Bisshop of Laon, who would treat of it unknowen even to his Brother, and order things so, that neither spaniard nor any one else at that court should penetrate or guesse within one hundred leagues uppon what subject he should enterteine the Pope and the Cardinal Nephew.

His Majesty of Great Britain will without doute observe that his most christian Majesty had no itch to maddie in this affaire and have it treated by his Ministers, since he may remember that when my Lord Arundel by a memorial desired he would by his good offices promote the negotiation of the person his Majesty of Great Britain should send to Rome his answeare was that he did not thinke it expedient the Pope should ever penetrate that he has any knowledge of this affaire, for the reasons which were inserted in the answeare to the saied memorial, and which his Majesty of Great Britain found do good, that he sent thanks to his Most Christian Majesty for the good counsell which he had given him.

But now since the signing of the Treaty, and the drawing neere of the time of the execution of it, the case is altered and his Most Christian Majesty is convinced that even for the good of the affaire itselfe it is necessary it should be maneged by a third person and an other rather then an Englishman, for these reasons.

First the King of Great Britain sending one of his owne subjects

will be obliged to declare positivly to the Pope the resolution that he has taken to become a Catholique and thereby expose himselfe to two great inconveniencies - the one that he runns an evident and in a manner^{an} undoubted hazard of divulging the secret, and having it communicated to the Spaniards even by the Cardinal Albieri himselfe, cheifly if during this negotiation which will be long and thorny his uncle should chance to dye.

The other inconvenience will be, that the Court of Rome will then treat with great advantage and shew it self hard and inflexible in point of the conditions that they will endeavour to impose on the King of Great Britain instead of receaving any from him when they shall once know positivly that he has taken a resolution to returne to the Church.

Whereas negotiating by a third person, par example by a minister of his Most Christian Majesty who will never speake of the affaire but doubtfully, because if it be thought so fitt he himself shall know no more saying only from the Most Christian King that he seeth very great dispositions in the minde of the king of Great Britain to abjure his heresis and that his Most Christian Majesty believes he might induce him to make this great stepp so advantagious to our Catholic Religion, so be it the Pope would give him power to allow the saied king of Great Britain such and such conditions, which will be the same that the king of Great Britain will secretly insinuate to him Most Christian Majesty he desires, that his example may be followed by the greater Number of his Subjects. there will be no danger of falling into the two inconveniencies already mentionned. for though the Pope should dye his Nephew would never be able to tell the spaniard nor any body els that the king of Great Britain intends to be a Catholique since

nobody would have tould him soe, but only that there are good dispositions, and wee should negotiate with great advantage at Rome uppon the conditions of this declaration because his Most Christian Majesty minister may at all times lett his Holines know uppon discussion of every article that unlesse it may be obtenged the saied king will pousse the affaire no farther.

Moreover his Most Christian Majesty can assure his Majesty of Great Britain that the Bisshop of Laon is master of as much prudence and learning as any Roman and for an affaire of this nature he wille himselfe be able to ouvercome many difficultyes which one not so capable as he, would nott be able to doe.

This being the state of things his Most Christian Majesty is of opinion that his Majesty of Great Britain can have no other repugnance to embrace in this occasion the counsell that he gives him, then that of trusting the Bisshop of Laon with his secret. But if it so please his Majesty of Great Britain he shall know but half of the secret to witt what his Most Christian Majesty proposes he may say to the Pope from him concerning the good dispositions which he finds in the minde of the king of Great Britain. his Most Christian Majesty is neverthelesse persuaded that it weare better and more for the good of the affaire itselfe to trust this Prelat who is very prudent very discreet and who will be very much concerned that nothing be knowne, with the entire secret, nay his Most Christian Majesty is willing to answeare for him. moreover it is evident that knowing all he will act better and with more application to have the meritt and glorie of the good succeesse.

His Most Christian Majestie is persuaded that his Majesty of Great Britain can not doe himselfe a greater prejudice in the progresse of the affaire then even to proceed to a publique declaration without having

beforehand taken all his measures and concerted all things with the Pope: for if his Holinesse should once see the buisenesse consumated he would nott faile to pretend many things which would give his Majesty of Great Britain great trouble and perplexity, as the entire restitution of all ~~ekurekee~~ ecclesiasticall goods, the reestablisement of all churches and other things of this nature.

If his Majestie of Great Britain doe approve of the proposition which his Most Christian Majesty makes, and thinks fitt to trust the Bisshop of Laon with the negotiation, his Most Christian Majesty will resolve to send the Bisshop to Rome before the Duke his Brother, under pretexte of providing coaches, horses, liveries and furnishing a Pallace at Rome, and in this case it will be necessary that the king of Great Britain be pleased to lett the saied Ambassadour know his intentions, that uppon the returne of the Courier which his Most Christian Majesty has sent unto him he may informe his Majesty of the things which the saied king desires from the Court of Rome as well in the act of his declaration as for the time following, which it is supposed he he has already thought of, and may be reduced to a few lines, for his Most Christian Majesty will afterwards make the saied Bisshop of Laon studie the matter and find out all the reasons that may be, to make the Pope condescend to all that shall be resolved and demanded from him.

Clifford, Dover 111.

Endorsed by Clifford, ' Instructions for the Envoye to his H(oliness) '.

It having pleasd Almighty god to touch our heart with the sence of that duty which we owe to him and with an ardent desire to render our selfe capable of his mercy through the merits of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ by beeing reconciled to the holy Catholick and Apostolick church according to the practice and doctrine of the church of Rome We have thought fit to send you thither in our behalfe and in our name to desire his Holinesses fatherly indulgence and protection in the execution of this great worke, which we have Undertaken for the glory of god and the good of the Roman Catholick Church as well as our owne Soul. And because this ought to be cautioned with all the prudent circumspection that such an affair is capable of we enjoyne you to observe these following instructions.

(1.)

You will recieve herewith a letter written in our owne hand to his Holines which you are to accompany with all respectfull and fitting compliments on our part to his person: The like you must doe on the behalfe of our entirely beloved brother who will also give you a letter in his owne hand to his Holines; And you shall represent to his Holines the resolutions of us both to persevere in our purpose of reconciling ourselves to the church of Rome at the perill of all earthly things. You will likewise recieve a letter from Us to the great Duke of Florence, another for the Cardinall Nephewe and another for Fransisco Barbarini, and another to the Bishop of Laon, for the delivery of all which you shall find yourselfe hereafter instructed.

(2.)

As soon as you are possest of your letters and instructions you shall
 1.
 take your journey for Rome by Dowey if your owne affaires or the affaires
 of the Colledge require it, and from thence to Florence where you shall 1.
 deliver the great Duke our letter with all fitting complements to him from
 Us, acquainting him in generall termes with the scope of your errant to
 Rome to which he is not a stranger, nor to the matters you are to negotiate
 2.
 there, your particular enquirys of the Great Duke may be concerning the
 present interests and complexion of the Court of Rome, what ministers are
 3.
 most prevalent in it. And you may acquaint him that we have made as well
 the Crowne of Spain as France acquainted with our resolution and that you
 have letters, both to Cardinall Nithard and the Cardinall^{the} Bishop of Loan
 to be assistant to you, but that you are cheifely directed to apply yourselfe
 to Cardinall Barbarinis the protector for England and by him to addres your-
 selfe to his Holines and to the Cardinall Nephew for whom you have also our
 3.
 letter.

1. ---Paris and there find out the Bishop of Laon who is designed to accom-
 any his brother in his extraordinary Embassy to Rome and prepared by the
 Knowlege of these our secret intentions to receive you with an entire
 confidence which you shall correspond with on our part so far as those or
 any other future Instructions shall not restrain you: deliver to him at
 your first meeting our aforesaid letter to him, and agree with him upon
 those generall steps you are directed to make under his protection in
 this great affair and which are consistent with the future cautions given,
 endearing yourselfe to him by the great Value you have of his personall
 qualities and endowments, and the particular confidence and esteem we
 our selfe have of his freindship. You must take Florence likewise in
 your way and there---
2. ---but you are so to caution all your discourses to him as not to let him
 discern the part we have given to France in this secret, and to arm your
 selfe against those curious and inquisitive questions he shall make to
 that effect.
3. ---in what state of health his Holines is and in a word what probabilitys
 there are of your succeeding in those indulgences we expect upon our
 declaration toward the making easy the returne of our subjects with us in
 this

(3.)

As soon as you shall arrive at the Court of Rome you shall make your first addresses to Cardinall Francisco Barbarinis introducing yourselfe by the letter we have writ to him into an entire confidence concerning the occasion of your coming thither; letting him know that we have long entertained an earnest desire for the good of the Catholick Church and the quiet of our owne conscience to reconcile our selfe to the Church of Rome and that the Duke our brother having the same sentiments and our affairs at home being in a more prosperous condition then they have bin since our reestablishment we are preparing them so as to secure our publick declaration thereof: But in the first place have held our selfe obliged to aske for his Holinesses blessing and fatherly assistance herein to procure which we have thought fit to addres you to him the Cardinall for his advice and counsell in this great affair assuring our selfe most confidently of it not only from the Value of this Undertaking but the profest partiality he hath always shewed to the crowne and nation;^{of England} you shall represent to him of what an advantage it would be herein to obtain of his Holines such indulgence and concessions in Ecclesiastick matters as might dispose those that are properly calld Protestants of the church of England to joyne with Us in our return to an obedience to the Church of Rome. And because there be many persons in our Kingdomes well enclined to be Catholicks who yet will not declare their minds out of an apprehension of loosing lands in their possession belonging to the church, therefore it will be necessary before our declaration that a

3. (cont.) this happy path and our support in the point of money in case we should find too strong an opposition here at home upon our declaration: And if he shall aske by whose hand you make your addresses to the Pope you need not confes any more then Cardinall Barbarinis who is the protector for England, adding farther that you are cautioned not to expose the affair if you find his Holines so weake that there is danger of his life assuring him that when you will have recourse to his Highnes for his protection and assistance as occasion shall serve.

be despatched for the security of the Raytie in their possession of such lands and confirming the Bull

Bull, formerly procured by Cardinall Pole for the like purpose in Queen Marys reign, a copy of which Bull you shall carry with you. And our Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland must now also be included in this Bull that you are to procure. But as touching the points of Communion in both Kinds, some common prayer in English, conditionall reordination of Bishops, marriage of Preists, etc., it may be incomodius not only to enter into a private treaty concerning them but even to mention them to his Holines before the declaration for as a previous treaty would expose the secret to an imminent danger of beeing discovered so the very mention of points contrary to the practice of the Universall ^{not} church whereof any one hath hitherto bin succesfully indulged would be apt to startle his Holines and such others in the Court of Rome as either he, or we our selfe may judge fit to be made confidents in the management of the said secret, and this without any apparent necessity of such mention or probable advantage deriveable from it, whereof instead of a particular mention of such points you shall give a full generall account of the state of the Kingdom, the numerous sects, their power, popularity, riches and United hatred against Catholicks, all which considered it will be impossible ^{for us at least in a short time} to suppress them, rather it may be esteemd a great mercy in god if he will so far bles our good intentions as to dispose the minds of the enimys of gods church in such a manner that they may without rebellion suffer us to declare our selfe a Catholick: These things considered a wonderfull prudence, fatherly indulgence and charity is hoped for from the Pope to faciliate so greate a worke and so glorious a monument of his Pontificate the like example whereof peradventure never any age since Christ did produce; Therefore his Holines may be humbly desired to cast his eyes upon some fitting person, pious prudent and moderate to be sent to England as his Legate immediately after our declaration, who seeing the necessities of the Church may order affaires to

the glory of god and good of souls. When you have done this you shall advise
 1.
 with the Cardinall concerning your addresses to his Holines and to the
 Cardinall, ^{he have} ~~himselfe~~. And in your discourse to all those that you are directed
 to apply unto you shall let them Know that we have acquainted both the
 Crownes of France and Spain with this our intention and that this war against
 the United provinces is cheifely made for the facilitating this great affair
 and therefore you shall desire his Holines to use all his endeavours that the
 Austrian family may withdraw and keepe back all manner of succors from the
 1.
 said States of the United Provinces. And in case of the death or manifest
 disability of the Cardinall Barbarin you shall apply your selfe for your
 introduction countenance and more effectuell dispatch to the Cardinall
 Patron of England pro tempore for whom you shall carry a letter without
 direction and you may superscribe it upon the place.

1. ---which yet you shall not make till hee shall give you in his possitive
 opinion that not only the present state of the popes health but the pers-
 ons and interests ruling in his court may fairely promise you succes in
 your negotiation or at least that the scope of it shall lye concealed
 till the time for ots taking effect representing what irrecoverable
 prejudice would lay upon Us if by any Unhappy accident the secret should
 breake forth before its time. In this whole discourse with the Cardinall
 you must take pains to Conceale from him the Knowlege wee have given the
 most christian King of these our intentions and designses unles it shall
 manifestly appeare unto you that he the Cardinall be of the French faction
 and consequently be likely to approve of your using the assistance of
 the Bishop of Laon; And yet you must so far conceale from him the hopes
 we have of the concurrance and assistance of the most christian King
 in this greate designe in case we be not necessitated to shock his inter-
 ests in these parts which we have reason to presume we shall not since
 he hath faithfully promised to Us even apart from our Allyances in the
 triple league that he will not Violate the peace of Aix la Chapelle nor
 give us any temptation of departing from that league by which we have
 so solemnly obligd our selfe to maintain the said league and peace in all
 its points.

(4.)

These grounds being thus leyed for an addres to his Holines you shall procure your first audience to him by the meanes of the Cardinall to whom you shall be introduced by Cardinall Fransisco Barbarini and then expose to his Holines all that shall occur to you fit to be said by us upon such an occation representing to him ⁱⁿ the conclusion the importance of Keeping this matter under the profoundest secrecy that may be. You shall use the same manner of discourse to his Holines concerning our having acquainted the two Crownes of Spain and France without intention as you are directed in the preceding Articles to the Cardinall Barbarini adding also that the Great Duke hath the Knowlege of this secret it beeing imparted to him by us when he was in England: After the compliments and submissions made to his Holines, on our part, you must likewise make those on behalf of our dearest brother the Duke, letting him know how entirely he concurrs with Us in these resolutions and what a support and an advantage it is to us in this great affair that our confidence is so entire and that we have but one mind therein. In your subsequent audiences you shall expose to his Holines the advantages that will arise to the Catholick Religion and the security it will be to us to be followed in this our designe by a considerable number of our subjects, letting him upon this occation ^{Know} how divided they are in matters of religion and what the common opinions are of the severall sects and also what the weakenes and small number of the Roman Catholicks are in comparison with the rest but

1. ---and asking him by what person you shall addres to him the future; you must observe with his Holines the preceding cautions given you concerning the concealing from him the part we have given this secret to the most christian King, till by a further progres in your negotiation it shall be fit to open it, using the same manner of discourse to his Holines when he shall aske you what our confidence is in the French King with relation to our designe as you are directed in the preceding Article to Cardinall Barbarin but it need be you may frankly avow to him the Knowlege the Great Duke hath of this secret.---

~~what strength~~

withall, they will probably acquire if those which are comonly called the English Protestants and whose tenents are least discrepant with the church of Rome would returne thither with Us, which we ~~persuad~~ⁿ our selfe might be redred easy and practicabⁿle if his Holines could dispence with and condescend to accomadate himselfe to theire weakenesses in the points in which you are here instructed in the immediate foregoing Article which you are to^{labour to} attain with all possible efficacy and applycation but cautioning your selfe in the opening of them to his Holines as you are directed in that saied preceding instruction which is that you are imediately to procure the Bull touching the lands and refer the other points to his legate to be sent hither. 1.

1. By that time you have gon thus far with his Holines you will perceive whether the conditions of his health may justify your descending into more particulars, and whether it will not be fit for you to acquaint the Cardinall Patron with what you say to his Holines in which point you must guide your selfe bywhat Cardinall Barbarin shall advise you and what you shall collect from his Holinesses owne discourses when you shall impart to him the importance of the secret, in the close of which you shall humbly desire his Holines that he will be pleasd for oursatisfaction when he hath read the letters you carry to burne them in your presence for feare they should be misleyed. (Clifford added a note in the margin:- Q what Article for secrecy.)

You will certainly find the Bishop of Laon at Paris expecting to heare from Us by you to whom you shall open yourselfe as you are directed in the second Article of these your instructions, and compute with him/in Rome whether you must let him Know you are goeing Under the color of certain solicitations you are to make there in the behalfe of the college at Doway of which you are superior, promising that if you happen to be there before him you will give him a faithfull account of what progres you have made in your Errant telling him further that you are commanded by Us to make the the Cardinall Francisco Barbariniprivy to it, and also that you are to conceale both from the Cardinall Barbarini and the Pope the part we have given his most christian Majestie in this secret till the affair shall be so ripe as to render it fit to impart to his Holines the Knowlge of the Union and the streight freindship between Us and the King of France; But least the Bishop of Laon should take Umbrage at this and thinke we leave too small a share to him in the negotiation you shall let him understand that we have thought fit and accordingly instructed-----.

/:--about what time you may meet with him ---

(5.)

And since we have thought fit and accordingly instructed you to desire of the Pope nothing more at first then a Bull for the confirmation of church lands to the present possessors you shall farther desire his Holines would appoint with ample Legatin powers a prudent and pious person after we have declared to adjust those points of indulgence which are proper for the bringing in of our protestant subjects to our opinion and to follow us in our declaration. ^{1.} And you shall endeavor that his Holines would pitch upon him? for his Legate to us, hoping from thence to have a better issue then there can be by employing any Italian Prelate who must be more a stranger to us as well as to the constitution and humor of our people. ^{2.}

(6.)

In case of a vacancy in the See of Rome 3.

(7.)

You shall correspond in your Cypher with the Lord Arlington and follow such farther directions as you shall receive from us by his hand.

1. ---which points of indulgences you shall communicate to him and aske his opinion of them withall adding that we shall be very glad that---
2. And of the particular conferences and the succes thereupon which you shall have with this Bishop of Laon you shall render Us an exact account from Paris in the Cypher that shall be here given to you.
3. ---or a manifest danger of the Popes life you shall suspend your negotiations but you shall continue there at Rome till our farther directions.

Clifford MSS. Treaty of Dover 3.

Headed, ' Certain Queries made by the Envoy to R(ome) in order to his instructions. '

1. Whether in case the Popes death should happen whilst the Envoy is upon his iourney, he be to continue it or no? and if he must continue it, how he is to behave himselfe at his arrivall in Rome.
2. If his Holines when informd how the two crowne of France and Spayn with the Duke of Florence have been acquainted with the Kings intention should testifie some resentment for its being conceald so long from him what must be alledged in order to his satisfaction.
3. If he should expect to know what persons amongst the Kings subiects are made partakers of his Majesties design and instruments to carrie it on, the Envoy must give Satisfaction in that point, or pretend ignorance.
4. How the Envoy is to answer others if theyr curiositie should lead them to make the same questions.
5. Whether the Duke d' Estræe Embassador extraordinarie for the crown of France in the court of Rome may be made acquainted with the buysines, especially if the Cardinal his brother should be departed from that Court?
6. How farre the two Cardinals of Laon, and Nitard, are to be acquainted with the secrets being imparted to each other.
7. Whether if the great Duke should offer the assistance of his Minister at Rome it may be accepted.

8. If his Holiness or others who are to be acquainted with his Majesties intention should inquire into the particulars of the matter, manner, or time of the intended Declaration the Envoy may be so instructed as to give Satisfaction in those points.

Clifford MSS. Treaty of Dover 11.

' The Scheme. viz.'

The first consideration is what money your Majestie will allot upon the sale of his Fee farme rents, there can be noe money gotton upon any other branch of his revenue. So that he must trust to this and to the money agreed in the treaty: For the present there cannot be reservd above 100 m (thousand) but that may be done without suspition by registering so much for the extraordinary of the Navy and then you may apply it as you judge best. 1.

The first expence of this money will be making new fortifications and repairing the old or finishing those already begun; New ones, At Graves End Yarmouth in the Isle of Weight, Yarmouth in Norfolk and a Cittadell at Bristoll. To be repaired or finished Pendennis, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Dover, Sherenes, Harwich, Tower of London, Windsor, Clifford's Tower at Yorke, Tynmouth, Berwick, Carlisle, Chester, Chepstow, and the Castle of Exeter: And Magasins, armes and ammunition are to be forthwith sent to most of these places. 2.

Care must be likewise taken to reforme the guards - as much as may be without giving jealousy - principally that a Confiding man be Collonell of his Majesties owne Regiment: and that a good man be made Constable of the tower which will prevent the suspicion that the displacing of the Liutennet would beget.

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1. Clifford's note: Allowed and the King will give directions to the Treasury to register 100 m more then is already Registered for that use.
 2. Ibid: That of the Castle of Exeter be forthwith done and Sir William Courtenay have a Commission for it.

It must be also considered what new regiments of foot will be necessary, but the cheapest way and the most secure from jealousy will be by strengthening the garrisons with more compenys; and augmenting also the numbers in each company both of the guards and garrisons, when they are thus raised they may be formed as there is occasion or as may be thought fit, by putting them in regiments or otherways; the Regiment at Barbados may be brought home and filled up without suspicion and it is proper to send immediately for them.

For the horse the numbers of each troope may also be encreased, and some independant troopes also new raised, but to save a great charge you may modell many troopes into eight or ten pounders who will be as usefull at first to quell insurrections as the well formed troopes. When the number of these troopes is concluded upon, you must pitch upon fit men in each part of the Kingdome to comand them. Where must be also an alteration of the Lord Lietennets and deputy.

When you are thus strengthened you must consider of a declaration relating to church affaires in which you must quiet the minds of the church of England that there shall be noe force or violent alteration upon them. By all meanes You must endeavour to Keepe them your freinds, you will else be upon too narrow a bottome, and you must leave to time and gods grace the full conversion of them: which will be the sooner effected by having an eye to the heads of houses and tutors in the Universitys, and by putting in Catholicks in the place of dignified clergy as they dye away: in the same declaration you must also give assurance of liberty of Conscience and now that liberty shall be modelled and quallified which when they find is also permitted them to

practise there will undoubtedly be a Universall obedience to his Majestie and that with heart and good will: the only danger will be at first before they find the indulgence of the government in this point.

It must also be considered and debated when it will be proper to meet the Parliament and whether you will declare before at the opening of it, or after they are once more dismissed.

Ireland is in a good hand but it must be considered how long before the declaration he must be acquainted with the secret that he may accordingly modell the army there.

Scotland for ought that appeares is in the worst condition of any of the three Kingdomes to beare this change; it must be well considered what to doe about it, for if there should be the least disturbance there the Fanaticks in England will take heart from it and probably disturb the peace who would otherwayes be quiet and submit.

After this declaration and before the Duch war there must be a scheme prepared for forrain allyances and treatys abroad to make those princes at least neutrall if they cannot be engagd in the war and this the treaty directs that these princes shall be applyed Unto for this purpose both joyntly and apart by both Kings.

Add MSS. 21,505, f.29.

Private Instructions for Our Right Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin and Councelor Arthur Earle of Essex appointed by us to bee Our Lieutenant Generall and Governour of Our Kingdome of Ireland. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 12th day of July 1672 In the 24th Yeare of Our Reigne.

1. Whereas in Our more publick Instructions Wee have directed, That all the officers in Our Army should take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and that it is the Custome of the Muster Masters not to muster any but such as shall bring Certificates, that they have received the Communion according to the Church of England; You may as you shall see cause, upon the refusall of any Our said Officers to take the said Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, dispense therewith and with the want of such Certificates, and instead thereof administer onely the Oath, whereof you shall receive herewith an authentic Copy.
2. You shall alsoe cause our Letters for the (p)utting Catholicks into the Commission of the Peace to bee duely observed, as alsoe Our Declaration concerning Catholicks inhabiting in Corporations using your discretion therein to keep them from insolence or trouble.
3. Upon your first arrivall you shall alsoe make diligent enquiry, what are the properest wayes to give Satisfaction to all Our Subjects in that Our Kingdome, in the Point of Liberty of Conscience, without distinction of parties, what Numbers of Severall Perswasions there are and by what proper means each Party may best have its Satisfaction, and upon your serious enquiry of the matter you shall make report unto Us, what you think fittest to bee done, for the severall Perswasions,

that accordingly Wee may give Our directions therein, whether by Declaration or by Act of Parliament.

4. And whereas the Roman Catholick Clergy are very numerous in that Our Kingdome, Wee leave it to you to connive at and allow such of them, as shall take the aforesaid Oath, (whereof a Copy is herewith given you) and when you shall think deserving such Our Royall Indulgence.

C. R.

By His Majesties Command

Clifford

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Clifford MSS. Holland 9.

Duke of York to Lord Clifford, ' boy of the Nore ', 24.VI.(72.)

I hope now we shall ready to saile from hence by Wensday for by tomorrow I beleve we shall have taken in all our provisions and stors of all kinds, and for all it is probable enough the Dutch fleett will not fight us we shall go out prepared as if they would, though few of our ships will be so well mand as when we engaged, there is one thing which I must recomend to you which is, to put his Majesty in mind of sending as sone as may be, somebody into Sweden in the roome of Werden whom I have, by his Majesty's aproption, chosen to be my secretary in Mr Wrens place, for it would be a very great conveniency to me to have ^{for} him with me by that tyme I come from sea, as [^] what concerns my mony affairs I have charged Nol Apsley to speake with you of them, I would be glad that by the first you would send me Cypher because now I am a going out letters may be intercepted, I have not tyme now to say more only that I hope all our affaires will go on well and prosperosly, and I am sure that you will push on those of greatest concerne as vigorously as you have alway done, and I shall always concur with you in it and am very glad to see his Majesty so angry as he is with the Lord Orrery, and pray do your part that the right one may be made out, before it coules againe when you write to me do not do it with cerymony and be assured I shall allway continu the esteeme I have for you.

Ibid, ' the Gunfleett this 27 June 1672.'

I have only tyme to tell you that this morning I receved your letter and at the same tyme the Cypher, with the rest of the letters and papers you sent me, and as to what you mention concerning Sir Bernards negociation methinks the houes of Austria aught now more then ever to desire the

conclusion of it, for many reasons for should they delay ^{it} france might
 and strike in and presse my marring some yonge Woman who they would adopt
 a Daughter of france, this and other considerations which I am sure you
 may have upon this affaire will be worth, if you have not already done
 it, the hinting to Sir Bernard Gascon, I have not tyme to say more but
 that tomorrow I intend to saile from hence for the coast of Holland.

Ibid, ' July 3 4 afternone.'

I am now almost come to my station to wayte for the Est India fleett,
 being now almost in sight of the Texel, Camperdowne bearing now S:E: of
 us, and if the wind continu as it is by night we shall be in our station,
 where whilst we ly methinks somthing might be attempted, but without
 more land men and a good Generall officer nothing considerable is to be
 undertaken I have moved it to his Majesty and pray put him in mind of
 taking it into his consideration, I hope also you will not forgett presing
 on Sir Bernard Gascons negotiation, I hope you have also before this
 dispatched 947 away I have not tyme to say more at present.

Ibid, ' July 8 at an ankor 15 leagus N:W: from the Vly. 1672.'

found

Having ^{found} by the letter you sent me from Sir Barnard that now things are
 like to come to a speedy and good end at Vienna, I have thought it very
 necessary to send this bearer the Earle of Peterborow to wayte on his
 Majesty in order to the dispatch of that affaire, which I do so long to
 have brought to a good and happy end, I ahve charged him to speake at
 large to you of it, and desire you, that in this which concerns me so
 much, you will do your part in forwarding it, as much as you can for now
 in my opinion the tyme is for his Majesty to dispatch away this bearer

into Germany as was resolved before I left London, therefore pray give your helping hand to it as a thing I very much desire, as any letters come to me from Sir Bernard now whilst my Lord Peterborow is there pray open them and lett him see them before you send them to me for may be there may some particulars be in myne which are not in his to my Lord Arlington which come to you.

Ibid, ' July 15 at an ankore 15 leagues N:W: from the Vly.'

Since my last to you by the Earle of Peterborow I have received yours of the 3 and another of the 6 of this month, but the weather has been so bad ever since an blowen so very hard that we have not been able to gett our ankors on board and not changed our station as was resolved, so sone as the wind slackens we shall make the best of our way for the Dogger, there to expect our Victualers and what directions shall be sent in case any new thing be resolved, upon the coming back of the Lords from the french army, as to our attempting some thing upon some of the towns in Holland which I am apt to beleve is liklyer to turne to account then our looking out for the Est India fleett, except we had some more liklyhood of meetting them then we have, or knew where they were lodged for if it be true that Nipho writs that they have sent so many men of war to meet them they may as well thinke of coming through the the Channel and so into Zeland, thinking we shall not expect them that way, and so long as de Ruyter rids with so many ships as he dos in the Schouvel, I am sure it will not be fitt to devide the fleett, but if he were driven into Flusshing and his ships unmand, (as Sir John Chichly beleves they would be should that happen to them,) then may be more might be done all ways, and not so much danger in a division as now, there is no harme in hinting and repeating these things, that they may be discoursed and thought

on, I have spoken to the Lord Henry Howard as you desired, about the Solicitor and he will do it for him, which is all I have to say at present.

Ibid, ' August 5 at the west End of the Doggar under saile, Wind S:S:E: '

before this come to you, you will I hope have received an account from Henry Savil, of the resolution taken, and the grounds of it, of our returning to refitt our selves, to the Boy of the Nore, where I hope a few days time will, with a recrut of some Cables and Ankors, will enable us to go out again to sea, to fight de Ruyter or attempt anything shall be thought fitt to undertake, the wind now being contrary for the Naiz I am standing in for Flamborow- head, to take along with me such victual-ers as are in Bridlington bay, if the gale continue as it dos, we recon we shall make the land tomorrow morning, we have now for this fortnight been with the whole fleett at Short allow~~ance~~^{ance}, and to hasten up the men, am now begⁱⁿⁿing to pay the men their pinch gut mony, so that against we come to the Nore there must be a supply for the contingent mony, which will all go away in this, this is all I have to say at present, having written to his Majesty two day since and now to Lord Arlington.

Ibid, ' August 8 at an ankor neare Flamborow head.'

This is only to recomend a concerne of Sir John Chichleys to you, that in case the Treasurer of the Navy, should either want where with all, or will, to pay him monys which are deu to him, for provisions he bought, for his owne Ship, and the Dragon to enable them to come home, when he was last in the Straights, that you would shew him so much favor as to help him to it, his father will informe you of the whole state of the case, I shall say no more to you now because I see by yours of the

23 of last month, which I received since I ankord here, that you will not be back at London yett some tyme.

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On 11 July 1978 for
the 11th of November 1978 for

the 11th of November 1978

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the 11th of November 1978 for

Clifford MSS. Correspondence and Accounts, 1666-1680

Headed, An Abstract of the Account of Secret Service without Account
From the 20th of September 1671 To this 2nd of May 1673.

In which Time there hath beene given Three privy Seales for said

Services Viz:

£. s. d.

The 23th of September 1671 for

10000-00-00.

The 4th of July 1672 for

10000-00-00.

The 24th of November 1672 for

10000-00-00.

In all Amounting to

30000-00-00.

Whereof Received at the Exchequer at Severall Times
the Sume of

17675-00-00.

Assigned by Tallyes on the Excise

12325-00-00.

Of which Tallyes there hath beene Received 3325 1 And the rest wilbe
soone paid.

Here followeth An Account of all payments made in the foresaid
Time.

1.	Paid what was due to Ballance a former Account delivered the 20th of September 1671.	3100-00-00.
26.VI.72.	8. Paid for his Royall Highnesses Table 5 Months at Sea viz Aprill to August.	5000-00-00.
29.III.72.	2. Paid my Lord Duke of Monmouth to finish the purchase of Moore Parks.	1800-00-00.
27.V.72.	7. Paid to Mr Treasurer.	800-00-00.
4.V.72.	5. Paid to my Lord Lauderdale.	1000-00-00.
12.X.72.	21. Paid for the Dutchesse of Cleaveland in france towards her Building	8501 5001 1350-00-00.
23.VIII.72.	19. Paid Sir Courtney Poole	1000-00-00.
29.X.72.	23. Paid to Monsieur Blanquefort upon his makeing a journey into france.	500-00-00.
	Paid to the Earle of Peterborough	
21.X.72.	22. in order to his Embassy	400 1
27.III.73.	27. paid him More for Horses	460 1 860-00-00.

	£.	s.	d.
22.1X.73. 20. Paid to My Lord Treasurer.	1000	00	00.
25.1.73. 25. Paid to Sir Robert Howard.	1000	00	00.
9.V111.72. 18. Paid to Sir William Lockhart.	500	00	00.
8.V111.72. 11. Paid to Mr John Bradley.	300	00	00.
9.V11.72. 12. Paid to Don Carlos a Spaniard.	200	00	00.
23.V11.72. 15. Paid to Mr Thomas Jones.	350	00	00.
2.V111.72. 17. Paid to Lord Iveagh.	130	00	00.
29.111.72. 3. Paid to Captain Bryen.	100	00	00.
29.111.72. 4. Paid to Captain Darian.	100	00	00.
22.V11.72. 14. Paid to Mr Edward Seymour.	100	00	00.
16.V11.72. 13. Paid to Mr Edmund Ashton.	100	00	00.
29.V1.72. 9. Paid to the Dutchesse of Buckingham.	100	00	00.
1.V11.72. 10. Paid to Captain Chamberlaine.	50	00	00.
23.V.72. 6. Paid to Mrs Slingsby.	40	00	00.
25.V1.72. 25. Paid to Mrs Sarsfield.	400	00	00.
27.V11.72. 16. Paid to Mrs Jack.	5	00	00.
9.X11.72. 24. Paid to Mr Frazer.	100	00	00.
21.1V.73. 28. Paid to Mr Mather.	50	00	00.

Total. 19985 100 00

Constant Annual Payments of Pentions.

Paid Madamoyselle Queroualle to the end of Aprill.	2639	00	00.
Paid Sir Robert Holmes for two yeares ending Lady day 1673.	1000	00	00.
Paid Mrs Sophia Stuart for a yeare and 3 quarters ending Lady day 1673.	450	00	00.
Paid Sir Thomas Sandys for a yeare and a quarter ending Lady day 1673.	625	00	00.
Paid Mr Charles Obryam the same.	625	00	00.
Paid Sir George Hamilton for 14 Months ending Ladyday 1673.	350	00	00.
Paid to Sir Henry Jones for two yeares and a quarter ending Ladyday 1673.	675	00	00.

Paid Captain John Cotter for a yeare and a halfe ending Lady day 1673.	300-00-00.
Paid Mr John Tombes for 2 yeares ending Ladyday 1673.	200-00-00.
Paid Mrs Nun for payment of a pention passing through her hand for a yeare and a halfe ending Ladyday 1673.	150-00-00.
Paid to Mr Francis Hunt for a yeare and 3 quarters ending 1673.	175-00-00.
Paid Dr Gough for 2 yeares and a quarter ending at same time.	225-00-00.
Paid to my Lady Byron for said time.	100-00-00.
Paid Major Markham at 2 ^s per diem to the 2nd of May 1673.	54-00-00.
Paid Sir Edward Scott for two yeares ending Ladyday 1673.	600-00-00.
Paid Sir Robert Harlow for 3 quarters of a yeare ending Ladyday 1673.	300-00-00.
Paid my Lord Frecheville for a yeare and a quarter ending Ladyday 1673.	625-00-00.
Paid to Sir John Pawlet for three quarters of a yeare ending Ladyday 1673.	<u>75-00-00.</u>
Totall	9168-00-00.
Totall of perticuler payments Entred in the Two first pages.	<u>19985-00-00.</u>
Totall disburst	29153-00-00.
Charges and Fees with advance and forbearance of Mony toward this Account probably may Amount to what will Ballance the Same Which is humbly prayed may be here allowed This 2nd of May 1673 Being the Sume of	<u>847-00-00.</u>
Totall	30000-00-00.

Ste: Fox.

State Papers Domestic, Entry Books Vol. 36, pp.259-60.

Our will and pleasure is that you forthwith prepare a Bill fit for our Royall signature to passe our Great Seale of England containing our free and gracious Pardon to Our Right Trusty and Well Beloved Thomas Lord Clifford Baron of Chudlæigh late Our High Treasurer of England of all and all manner of Treasons, Misprisions of Treasons, Insurrections, Rebellions, Murders, Homicides, Manslaughters, Felonyes, Exacions, Speaking of Words, Misprisions, Confederacys, Concealments, Negligences, Omissions, Offences, Crimes, Contempts, Misdemeanours and Trespasses whatsoever and of all singular accessorys thereof by him alone or by any Person or Persons advised committed or done before the thirtieth day of June in the Year of Our Lord 1673 Although the said Lord Clifford of the premisses or any of them be indicted or impeached, or not indicted or impeached, and of all and singular indictments, inquisitions, informations, exigents, judgments, attainders, outlawries, convictions, executions, payns of death, paines corporall, Imprisonments, punishments, penaltys and forfeitures by reason of the Premisses or any of them, and all and all manner of suits, complaints and demands whatsoever which Wee by reason of the Premisses have had or hereafter may have, or Our heirs and successors may have against the said Thomas Lord Clifford. And that the said Pardon may be good and effectuell for all matters and things therein to be contained although the said crimes be not particularly expressed with a Nonobstante of the Statute made in the 13th year of the Reigne of King Richard the Second and with a Nonobstante of the Statutes made in the 10th and 14th Years of King Edward the Third, and also with a clause that Our said Pardon shall be taken in the most ample and benigne manner and sense for the discharge and acquittall of him

the said Thomas Lord Clifford from the said crimes and offences with such other beneficall words, clauses and Nonobstantes as in such cases usually are necessary. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 3rd day of July 1673 in the 25th Year of Our Reigne.

To Our Attorney Generall.

By His Majesties Command.

Henry Coventry.

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