official registers.²⁷ If further refutation were needed of Hopf's statement that Mykonos was captured from the Venetians in 1715, it may be added that Ferrari,²⁸ the contemporary authority for the surrender of Tenos, never mentions it, nor does it figure in the peace of Passarovitz.

W. MILLER.

Two Letters addressed to Cromwell.

THESE letters are taken from the Birch MSS. in the British Museum, and no doubt originally formed part of the Thurloe collection. Many papers belonging to that collection evidently remained in the hands of Dr. Birch after the publication of the seven volumes of Thurloe's *State Papers* in 1742.

Jeremiah Whitaker, the author of the first letter, was rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* he died on 1 June 1654. The funeral sermon, preached by Simeon Ashe, and published under the title of *Living Lives betwixt Christ and Dying Christians*, gives a detailed account of Whitaker's life, and contains Ashe's personal recollections of his friend's character. The letter is undated, but the Protector's ordinance abolishing the enforcement of the engagement, referred to in line 17, was issued on 19 January 1654. The book which Whitaker presented to Cromwell was probably *Ius Divinum Ministerii Evangelici; or, the Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*, published by the Provincial Assembly of London. Thomason dates it 7 February 1654.

The second letter, or rather paper, must be dated from internal evidence. Colonel Henry Smith became governor of Hull about February 1658, when Colonel John Bright was removed.¹ John Canne, the Fifth Monarchy preacher, left Hull some time during 1657.² The allusion to the revival of the design for making the Protector king seems also a proof that the paper containing it was written in February or March 1658. The authorship of the paper is more difficult to determine. It may very likely have been written by John Shaw, master of the Charterhouse at Hull and minister or lecturer of Trinity Church there. His autobiography, printed in the volume of *Yorkshire Diaries*, published by the Surtees Society in 1875, gives an account of his quarrels with Canne. During the protectorate of Cromwell, Shaw tells us, 'I was sometimes called to preach before him at Whitehall, and sometimes at Hampton Court, which I did with the freedom and plainness of old Latimer.' In this paper of 'Petitions and Proposals' there is

²⁷ Vols. xv. to xviii.

²⁸ *Delle Notizie Storiche della Lega*, p. 41.

¹ Thurloe, vi. 777, 784; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 280.

Dictionary of National Biography, viii. 412.

the same 'freedom and plainness' about the abuses of the time, and the remarks on the oppressions of the excise and the state of feeling about Cromwell's foreign policy deserve attention. The rest of the paper relates to the condition of Hull, and is valuable as a description of the town and garrison at the time when Sir Henry Slingsby made the rash attempt to procure the delivery of the town to the king, which brought him to the scaffold. From the absence of any definite reference to Slingsby's scheme the paper was probably written before the business was generally known.

The punctuation of both letters has been altered.

C. H. FIRTH.

I.

*A Letter from Jeremiah Whitaker to the Protector Oliver Cromwell.*³

Sr,

May it please your Highnes to pardon this boldnes in presentinge this booke composed by some godly men to appease the heate of present controuersies, wherin is proued that the office of the ministry is not the invention of man but the institution of Jesus Christ, that the necessity of this office is perpetuall, that the ministry was so preserved vnder Anti-Christ that it is not antichristian, that this office is peculiar to some and not common to all, and that they who assume this office must be called lawfully thereunto, and also how far ordination in generall is necessary, and how far that which is vsed with vs is justifiable.

I cannot come to tender it, beeinge confined to my chamber under extreme tormentinge paines of the stone, which forceth me to cry & roare night and day, but blessed for euer be the Lord who hath begotten vs to a lively hope through Jesus Christ that the thoughts of eternity doe sweeten the bitter things of time, that when we are weary of this life we may justly reioyce in the hope of a better.

In this dying condition give me leaue to tender many thanks to your Highnes for taking away the Engagement whereby you have greatly refreshed the consciences of many. The good Lord recompense this great act of mercy, and enlarge your heart to prevent the like snares for the future, which the worst of men scorne, and under which the best mourne. And the same God who hath raised you above other men still raise you to be higher than yourselfe, far aboue all these dominions and thrones and powers, that you may account all these things low and little drops, and dust, dunge, and drosse [that they may] even prove nothings in comparison of things eternall. Alas what poor things are Pompey and Cæsar, Nimrod and Nebuchadnezar, to the soule whose thoughts are fixed upon everlastingnes.

May it please your Highnes to consider seriously how religion is not only weakened by divisions, but almost wasted by the daily growth of Atheisme and prophanes. The reignes of Gouverment a long time let loose, and now lost, in the church totally, in familyes extremely, so that maisters know not how to order their servants, nor parents their children. All grow willinge to command but vnwillinge to be commanded,

³ British Museum, Add. MS. 4159, f. 113.

sabbaths generally prophaned, ordinances despised, the youth playinge while the ministry is preachinge, the consciences of men growinge wanton, abusinge liberty to all licentiousnes; and there is none left in most places to put offenders to shame for any of these abominations. The good Lord persuaide your heart powerfully to appoint such justices whose principles and practises lead them to restrain vice, who do account the sabbath their delight, that so inferior officers may bee by them encouraged to repress prophanes.

I beseech you also in the bowels of Jesus Christ to remember the many poore sincere ones in the land, who in vprightnes of heart lent the greatest parte of their estate vpon publike faith. The Romanes were forced in like straites to borrow of the people, but it is recorded for their glory that their wars were no sooner ended, but those publike debts were discharged. Let not Paganish Rome rise vp in the day of iudgment to condemn vnfaithfull England.

The neglect of this will involve the land in National guilt. I am perswaded, if the Lord helpe you to defray those debts, that you shall win the harts of very many and stop the mouths of your greatest adversaries.

And now that I have taken vpon me to speake, let not your Highnes be angry with your poore seruant, if he implore your pittie and pardon and protection for the safe returne of Mr Cawton,⁴ a sincere seruant of Christ, who beeinge involved in the busines for which Mr Love suffered death hath ever since suffered a voluntary banishment in great extremity and hardship. May not the blod of Mr Love suffice for that offense? Haue not others done in other kindes as much and yet found favour? I beseech your Honour sweeten the beginninge of your Gouvernment with Acts of Grace, and oh that such a day of release might come that your Highnes might see it both for your Honour and safety to proclaime liberty to the captiues and the openinge of the prison to them who haue long bene bound. The God of glory helpe you to lay such foundations of common equity and righteousness that you may leave the Nation in a better condition when you dy, then you found it; that you may giue vp your account with joy, which is the harty prayer of

Your Highnes humble servant

JER. WHITAKER.

II.

*Petitions and Proposals.*⁵

Those few Petitions and Proposals a little Glanceing att the Honour and glory of the Almighty, the Tranquility and Perpetuall Honour of your Highnes, and the good of all God's People, are Humbly Presented to be read att Best leasure, earnestly begging Pardon for the presumption of such an vnworthy servant, which shall ever pray for your Highnes long and Prosperous Government and Eternal Happiness &c.

It haueing pleased the Lord God of Hosts (for the good of his People) by his Providentiall dispensations to lye the chiefe Government, Civill, Ecclesiasticall, and Military, vpon your Highnes shoulders, soe I begg for

⁴ Thomas Cawton. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, ix. 381.

⁵ British Museum, Add. MS. 4159, f. 105.

his sake which is onely able to give strength and beare vp your Highnes spiritt, through all difficultyes and mountaines of opposition :

That each may keepe their proper Station. That the servant rule not over his maister.

That a strict discipline be kept over the Armye. That Bacchus may keepe his Revills noe longer where Mars should keepe his Schools. —The Lord knowes how sinn abounds by drinking, whoreing, and swearing—

That all officers both by land and sea and souldiers that have estates or trades be lyable to pay sess as others doe.

That a special care be taken of all Garrisons. Its opportunity makes both Theefe and Traytor or Rebell, for none contrive a plott or insurrection but they first seeke out their instruments or agents as meanes to effect the same by degrees. And therfor as much as may be to prevent the Lord Lambert, or any other discontented spiritts whatsoever, from attempting any thinke against this Towne for the future, that all the Garrison may be drawne out as well of the blockehouses as the Towne. For the blockehouses are chiefly to be looked too as Commanding all the Towne; those three Companyes haue been 12 yeares, which is too long, in them, and People that are discontented are too well acquainted with the souldiers and their vsuall custome of keepinge their Gards, and their officers, Major Waterhouse, Lieutenant Thompson, Ensigne Fairweather, and Captaine Overton and his officers, minde nothing but Hawkeing and hunting, seldome lookeing to their charges, which might give a faire oppertunity either to Caveleares or others (They and Captaine Northend alsoe are too kinde with the Lord Lambert and Coll: Overton) to attempt a surprisall. I doe not think that they have halfe their Companyes except att musters, they drive a subtile Trade by entertaining friends and such as have runn out of Scotland, give such liberty and soe negligent that I durst venture my life I could surprize either of the blocke. houses or Castle with thirty men, and I conceive that 50 men in each house and Castle, with beds to lodge in Constantly their, vnder honest and trusty officers, would keepe them more securely than ever they were kept yett, for these have most of them wives in the Towne or Country, soe that they are never in the houses or Castles but just when they are on duty. And 250 men in the Towne might keepe the Towne as well as formerly, with every fourth night duety 60: of a night, quitting the maine Gard in the Markett Place which is altogether needles, and keepinge the same at the Magazine for more security, for if ever a surprize should be attempted that would be the first worke in the Towne. Likewise a Troupe of horse, by turnes Constantly Quartred one squadron in Hull, another squadron att Beverley, and another squadron att Headon and Patrington, might be much for the security of the Towne, and a discouragement to the designs and attempts of any Enemy whatsoever. Lett but the Blockehouses and Castles be secure, and there is noe feare of Hull. Soe long as your Highnes commands the seas, the Townes men would gard it themselves; but if the Hollander or any other should command the seas 1000 men would scarce keepe Hull, for the Townesmen would venture all to Inioye their Trade, as they did with Sir John Hotham. If the King had commanded the sea the Lord Fairefax had not bene Governour of Hull.

There was never an officer att that time that tooke part with the Towne but Collonell Overton, he being then a Captaine.

Alderman Raikes did good and faithfull service att that time, but never received any reward for the same. But if your Highnes would be pleased to settle the Trained bands againe in faithfull hands, and dismiss the 8 Troupers it could not but tend much to the ease, strength, and settlement of the Nation, and [to] make Alderman Raikes the Captaine of the Trained bands of this Towne would make the old man young againe. Likewise that the Towne may receive 100th rent p. an. for the mannor from the State, which is the Magazine, and was given the towne by the Long Parliament, but never received any rent for the same ; as alsoe that the Maior and Aldermen may have liberty to put in a horse to grass on the Garrison side all summer, as they did before the warres, but have been hindred since by the officers of the Garrison, which did trouble them more than the thing is worth.

Captaine Brockett is a heaieve sottish man, too much inclined to drinke, would be better in field service then in such a Garrison as this ; his Lieutenant which commands Cliffards tower in Yorke is my neare friend, but too weake to cômmand such a place, he is a good souldier for field service. There is neede of an understanding and faithfull officer to command there. Yorke is a base Place and may give a beginning to much mischief if not by care Prevented ; two Troupes of horse are few enough to quarter there constantly. Captaine Barnard which commands Scarborough Castle is very honest, able, and dilligent, and his lieutenant Ledyard alsoe, yett I was troubled to see their too much care in one thinge, for they haue for the more security digged down a way which led downe the cliff on the sea side on the East, by which when Sir Hugh Chomley kept it the long seige he sent out his spies, and received intelligence, and received fresh victualls and water constantly ; one man could but pass at once, and fve men might have kept the pass against 5000, and 500th will scarce make the like convenient againe if need should bee ; it was a great oversight. Captaine Northend is a pretty vnderstanding man, and a good souldier, but whether to repose trust in or noe I dare not say, for I know he was discontented when formerly reduced, and then the Lord Lambert gott him in againe and Coll. Salmond.

It was a wise course that was taken about the Trained bands in the late Kings dayes, though it proved fatall to him after, for care was taken to putt such Gentlemen over the Trained bands as were judicious, and had good estates, and most Popular and best beloved by the Country. Wee did experience that in Sir John Hotham, for he being in the Parliament, being Collonell of the Trained band of foote for the East Rideing and of this towne, sent downe his son with order to bring them into this towne with all speede, which he did, and at the very same time the Earle of New Castle, which commanded the Trained band for the North Rideing, was soliciting the Towne that he might bring in his regiment for the King ; but the Towne denied him, and recieved Mr Hotham through affection to his Father, because he vsed to traine and exercise the Townesmen sometimes. Collonell Overton, then a Captaine, was the first Company that entred the Towne at the North gates when the Earle of Newcastle was in our Townes Hall with the Major and Aldermen, which

did startle him much, fearing to be taken Prisoner, but he fled with all speede.

Collonell Allured is very quiete, mindeing nothing but the increase of his Estate, buying land every like, which makes me thinke his discontent was not soe much att your Highnes taking that Tytle of the Government, as by missing some honour or Preferment which he expected or aimed att. I would not judge too rashly, but I feare the same or like occasion caused Collonell Overton's discontent; the heart of man is deceitfull aboue measure, who cann know it? And I am confident that he had never continued soe obstinate if it had not been for the imperious spirritt of his wife. He was Pleased to looke vpon me farr aboue desert; he is a pretty man and able commander, I would treade 500 miles on foote vpon condition that there was now that Reciprocall affection betweene your Highness and Collonell Overton that there was once. I never heard man in my life soe highly and Honourably Characterize your Highnes as he did. And surely hee could not have a Heart to Preiudice that person whom he soe highly Honoured; and this is my ground, for if he had had any designe of opposition in a hostill way he had this whole Garrison at his Beek, and might have brought in 500 men out of Houlderness in a night time, which would have cost much blood to regaine, and by which he might haue bene inabled to have made tearmes good enough for himselfe and adherents, as well as the Lord Kenmore did after Major Water-son and Captaine Overton lett him goe out of Prison att Hull when they gott all his money at Tables and Bowles (as was said). Colonell Overton hath many pretty children, and pittie it is he should want the comfort of them. And if it might please your Highnes to give him his liberty I will engage both my life and little Estate I have to be a true and diligent watchman over him, and faithfully to certifye your Highnes vpon all occasions of his behaviour and actions. I love him well butt the Peace of the nation better, and I am sure he cann act nothing but I shall haue timely notice thereof, I am soe intimate both with himselfe, his sonne, his man, and all those of the fifth monarchye judgement in these parts, with whom he will joine and must act if he make any disturbance in these parts. I humbly conceive that it would be a good way to Punish such as endeavour or disturbe the Peace of the nation, either by death, Banishment, or Fine, presently, better then keepe them soe long in Prison. Mr Hutton had better haue payd 1000^{li} att first then stay 32 moneths in this Towne. Most persons now incline to Peace and Settlement, and that your Highnes might take vpon you the title of King; and if electiue, that he might be declared that shall succeed and be confirmed by the next session of Parliament, or if hereditary, that the Parliament confirme the same; it might conduce much to the settlement of mens minds that expect and delight in trouble and change, for most hopes of discontented spirritts now is, that att the death of your Highness all will be in a Chaos of Confusion, every greate one striveing who shall be Chiefe. The Lord God Almighty teach your Highness and Councell wisdom to Prevent the same and all the designes of the Devill and wicked men &c.

Persons of all sorts desire a warr with the Dutch, and that the warr in Flanders may be vigorously carried on by the English, butt few relish the warr in the West Indies, the climate destroying more men than the

enemy. Much money might be raised willingly for that end, and men enough list themselves volunteers at the spring att beate of drumm, if it be declared for that service. Butt few desire to goe to assist the Sweath, because it is a cold Country, give little pay and hard diett, yett it is looked on as an act of much prudence in your Highness and Councell to give commission to such as Collonell Vavaser,⁶ which have beene of the Kings partye, to gather vp such few persons as make a trade of begging and stealeing ; it may prevent their hanging. The nation is mighty populous notwithstanding all these warrs and sicknesses.

Much money might be raised out of Crown lands &c. sould too cheape, the tythes and impropriations would amount to a good sum of money ; if it should please your highness to borrow but halfe a yeare revenue of Clargie and such as doe inioye them, I perswade my selfe it would be willingly lent, because they were lately in feare to loose them all, and they would take that as a confirmation. Providing of good schoole maisters are much neglected by such as should doe. I am sensible of the good I received by a good schoole maister.

Our new Governour, Collonell Henry Smith, seemes to be a sollid sober spirritted Gentleman ; I hope he will not be such a hott persecuting spirritted man as Collenell Bright ; his moderation was not knowne to all, I fear he never learned that Goulden Rule to doe to others as he would be done too.

There are many Persons of differing judgements in this place, and I hope many of each that are truly Godly, many are very poore and want good teachers because they are not able to maintaine such, and are forced into houses and corners for want of a convenient meeting place ; them that vsed to heare Mr Cann are the greatest number, all which are accounted Enemies to your Highnes and Government, butt are not soe, for I know them all, and there are not aboue 5 to 6 persons that are soe, and they not of any ability to doe any hurt but with their tongues sometimes to vtter their bitter invectives. And if it might please your Highnes at this new Governours Entrance to take Care to send downe an able, sweete, and moderate spirritted soule searching minister of the independent judgement to preach in the Quire (where Mr Cann vsed), both to the soulderye and others that would come, he would draw in a little time all the dissenters except 10 or twelve, I know their mindes are generally inclined to such a vnion if they might be taught for nothing. It would tend to your Highneses perpetuall honour if Care were taken to settle a sequestred tyth or impropriation of 100th p. ann. lyeing in Yorke or Linckeholne shire vpon the Quire to maintaine a Lecture there for ever.

There is great neede, nay necessity for one, there being but two churches in this populous Towne. Believe it the children vnborne would have cause to Bless God for your Highnes Bounty and pyous Care therein.

A regulation in apparrell is much wished for ; it would be a commendable thing to have an English man knowne in all nations by his constant and decent habitt, and not to goe like Antickes or Apes.

Oh that if it be the will of God that I might see the day of vnion of

⁶ Sir William Vavasour was given leave to collect a thousand prisoners for vagrancy and other offences, and transport them for the service of Sweden, on 14 August 1656 (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1656-7, pp. 71, 86).

all Protestant Princes and States against the antichristian powers of Rome and all her adherents to endeavour by a joynt power to destroy her and make her desolate, and that one Protestant might not kill and murther another as they doe dayly. The Lord in mercy lett them see her cunning plots and stratagems, hyreing one brother to destroy and kill another, and give every Protestant Prince and States contented hearts with their own dominions, and to Injoy a free trade, and contribute each their proportion against Rome &c.

I hope the Lord will make your Highness an eminent instrument to endeavour the same.

These new Excisemen for ale and Beare are soe vnreasonable in their demands of eight shillings per quarter of malt that I never heard the like out crye in all my life, most of the able innkeepers and brewers give over, and the excise men force the poorer sort to give over, in soe much that Barley is falne from 20^s to 15^s per quarter, which made ill for the farmer to pay his rent at Martinmas; if this continue Travellers will be troubled to get accommodations on the roades, neither will there be any Beare to be had for men of warr in this port. I humbly Beseech your Highnes to consider of it, for it reflects much vpon your Honour, and lett them not haue such a vnlimited power as they have, or else doe assume and none dare contradict them. I am perswaded both this Towne and all England would be willing to pay the same rates quarterly that they payd formerly, and give good bond, and bring it in themselves to the justices every quarter sessions without any charge, and for all other commodities the customes officers might take it, and soe laye by the Excise men, and bring in 100,000^{li} per an. more into the public purse &c.

A Memoir of Queen Mary Caroline of Naples.

THE Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples possesses a manuscript entitled on the first page—

De la révolution du royaume de Sicile des événements qui y ont servi de prétexte et de la manière dont la famille royale a été traitée. Le tout appuyé sur un grand nombre de pièces justificatives. Par un témoin oculaire bien instruit des faits et qui en a soigneusement receuilli les détails. Tome 1^{er}. [At the foot of the page—]

Dans ses yeux, dès qu'il peut mal faire,
On voit le sourire malin,
Le sourire de la vipère
Qui vient de lancer son venin.—*Ode de la Chancellerie.*

The manuscript is in somewhat incorrect French; the date may be fixed at 1811–1814; it is written on paper of the period, and in an ordinary clerical or diplomatic hand, save for some interpolations; it is in two small folio volumes, the first containing 235, the second 195 pages of written matter and twenty-seven blank. The binding is modern, and the officials of the library have no