

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY,

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A.,
AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

**A SHORT GUIDE TO SOME
MANUSCRIPTS IN
THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY
COLLEGE, DUBLIN**

BY THE REV.

ROBERT H. MURRAY, LITT.D.

HELEN BLAKE SCHOLAR, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN
AUTHOR OF "REVOLUTIONARY IRELAND AND ITS SETTLEMENT (1688-1714),
"ERASMUS AND LUTHER: THEIR ATTITUDE TO TOLERATION,"
EDITOR OF "THE JOURNAL OF JOHN STEVENS"

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PREFACE

THERE is a description of the MSS, in the Supplement to the Second Report of the Irish Record Commissioners, by Dr. J. Barrett; and in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourth Report, pp. 588-99, and the Eighth Report, pp. 572-85, by Sir J. T. Gilbert. The most important of the unpublished catalogues of the MSS, are those of J. Lyon, c. 1745, and of H. J. Monck Mason, c. 1814. These Dr. T. K. Abbott used in the catalogue he issued in 1890, which is the most extensive one available for the reader at a distance. There are, however, many omissions in it. For example, there is a collection of 450 deeds of land granted during the twelfth century, chiefly in Norfolk, though some deeds refer to London and Dublin, but it is uncatalogued. This is the more surprising, for Dr. Monck Mason bestows no less than 118 pages on this collection. Dr. Monck Mason calendars the Clarke Correspondence, which covers the critical years 1690-92, devoting 108 pages to his excellent account; yet Dr. Abbott does not mention this

piece of work, giving, moreover, the wrong date for the end of this correspondence. It is the duty of the Board of the College to publish an adequate catalogue of the MSS.

I desire to tender my thanks to Mr. J. Gilbert Smyly, Litt.D., Mr. A. C. De Burgh, Mr. Brambell, and Mr. M. Esposito, for the assistance they have been good enough to give me.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

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A SHORT GUIDE TO SOME MSS. IN- THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

IN January, 1593, Trinity College was opened for the admission of students. In 1601 the library began with a subscription from the officers and soldiers of Queen Elizabeth's army, who desired to commemorate their victory over the Spanish and Irish troops at the Battle of Kinsale. According to Dr. N. Bernard, "then souldiers were for the advancement of learning." We hope that this is a true reading of their motives. Still, we note the fact that the money was taken "out of their arrears of pay." With this contribution Dr. L. Chaloner and James Ussher, afterwards Primate, went to London in 1603 for the purpose of buying books. There they met Sir T. Bodley, and between them, says Bernard, "there was a commerce in supplying each other with rarities." In 1600 there were forty volumes in the library; in 1604 there were 4,900, and this increase was the result of the labours of Chaloner and Ussher. The 1600 list notes the names of seventeen MSS.* In 1685 Brereton, the Parliamentary General,

* Dr. J. K. Ingram gives the list of them in his "Library of Trinity College, Dublin" (1884), p. 16.

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paid a visit to the College, noting that "they glory much in their library, whereof I took a full view, and there were showed unto me many manuscripts; one they highly esteem, which they call Friar Bacon's work."*

Ussher was a born collector. He had, according to his biographer Parr, a kind of laudable covetousness for books, and never thought a good book, either manuscript or print, too dear. He intended to bequeath his collection to his College, but he suffered such severe losses during the rebellion of 1641 and at the hands of the Puritans that he was obliged to leave it to his daughter, Lady Tyrrell. Parr tells us that the King of Denmark and Mazarin made offers for it. By an Order in Council Cromwell refused to permit the sale abroad, and ultimately it was purchased by the Parliamentary army in Ireland for £2,200. This second gift of the army raised the rank of the library to the first class. Ussher had gathered 10,000 volumes, prints and MSS., and these at last arrived in the place their owner had destined for them. Bishop Berkeley notes in 1722 that the library "is at present cold and ruinous, and the books so out of order, that there is little attendance given." Still, the MSS. room was not altogether neglected. Bishop Henry Jones presented the "Book of Durrow." In 1674 Sir Jerome Alexander, a Justice of the Common Pleas, gave some valuable MSS., and Bishop Stearne also added to them. Stearne's collection

* Roger Bacon's "Opus Maius," which is still in the collection.

included that of Dr. John Madden, President of the College of Physicians, and a catalogue of it was printed in Dr. Bernard's "Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ." Among the notable purchases of Madden rank the thirty-three folio volumes of the Depositions of the Sufferers by the Rebellion of 1641. These had been in the custody of Matthew Barry, clerk of the Council, and after the easy fashion of the seventeenth century he regarded these documents as his private property. Madden bought them, and they then fell into the hands of Stearne. From the latter also came many letters and documents bearing on the history of Ireland, 1647-79. In 1682 Dr. Huntingdon presented some Oriental MSS.

Sir John Sebright acquired the Irish books which belonged to Edward Lhuyd, and at the suggestion of Edmund Burke* he gave them to the College in 1786. They included such books as "Brehon Law Commentaries," the "Book of Leinster," and other books which form the glory of this great Celtic collection, containing *inter alia* the "Cattle Foray of Cualgne," the "Dindsenchas," the "Book of Hymns" (edited by Provost Bernard and Dr. Atkinson), and the "Annals of Ulster."† This is not the only evidence of the catholicity of the taste of Burke. He gave the "Bûstân" of Sa'di, adding this note: "Bostaan, The Garden, a moral

See his letter to Vallancey, August 15, 1783.

† Mr. E. J. Gwynn is recataloguing the Irish MSS. There are notes on them in Mr. R. I. Best's valuable "Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature."

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poem of Sadi, highly esteemed in every part of Asia: humbly and respectfully presented to the College of the Holy Trinity near Dublin, as a testimony of my Duty and Gratitude to that learn'd body, in which I had the happiness to receive my education. Beaconsfield, December 5, 1794, by me Edm^d. Burke."

The Elizabethan and Cromwellian wars benefited the library: so, too, did the Napoleonic. When the French invaded Holland in 1794, M. Greffr Fagel, Pensionary of Holland, removed his library of more than 20,000 volumes for sale to England: it included MSS. and a fine collection of old maps. In 1802 the Board of Erasmus Smith bought it for £10,000, and presented it to the College. Perhaps the most important item in the Fagel Library is the set of MSS. volumes dealing with the history of France during the reign of Louis XV.

In 1854, through the enterprise of the Rev. W. Reeves, afterwards Bishop of Down, and the generosity of the Primate, Lord John George Beresford, the College acquired that notable possession, the "Book of Armagh." Interesting as this is to Irishmen, the next bequest is of wider attraction. In 1854 Dr. C. W. Wall, the Vice-Provost, bought, through the Rev. Dr. R. C. Gibbings, sixty-six volumes of the original Records of the Inquisition at Rome. Napoleon entertained the plan of gathering the contents of the archives of all the conquered countries in Paris, and from 1809 it was set in operation. About 400 tons of documents

were taken from Rome to Paris. At the Restoration the bulk of these documents returned to their old home. The volumes, containing the proceedings of the Holy Office, were torn "into the tiniest pieces," immersed in the water in the presence of Monsignor Marino Marini, and then sold to the papermakers. As the papermakers received 4,300 francs, it is evident that the quantity of documents thus destroyed was enormous. How these sixty-six volumes escaped is not known. They may have remained in Paris when the rest were restored to the Italian ecclesiastical authorities, coming into the possession of the Duke of Manchester, from whom Dr. Wall bought them. No student of the growth of toleration can afford to neglect these records. In 1857 Charles Count de Meuron gave a number of volumes which deal with the history of the Swiss Reformation in general and with that of Geneva in particular. In them are letters of Calvin, the process against Servetus, and the like.

BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

There have been many other donors, but this must suffice for a history of the collection, and we now glance at the contents. Among the Biblical MSS. there are two Greek texts of engrossing interest. One is the palimpsest, known as Z, in which an uncial text of portions of St. Matthew's Gospel has been partially covered with more recent writings containing extracts from ecclesiastical

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authors. The original text dates from the fourth century, and the extracts from the thirteenth. In the volume containing Z there are palimpsest fragments of Isaiah, probably of an earlier date than the sixth century. The other Greek text is the Codex Montfortianus, and is not earlier than the fifteenth century, and possesses little critical value, containing 1 John v. 7. On its authority Erasmus admitted this verse into his third edition, and thence into the received text. Among the important Latin versions of the New Testament stands the Codex Usserianus, a manuscript of the Gospels written about the sixth century. Time and either fire or water have injured it so much that there is not a single perfect page; it is defective at the beginning and the end. The text belongs to the Hiberno-British recension: the text of the *pericope de adultera* agrees with the Vulgate.

There are several copies, executed in Ireland, of the Gospels in Latin according to the Vulgate version. Among the finest is the "Book of Kells," so called from Kells, co. Meath, in which monastery it had been preserved and probably written. The text possesses little critical value: the illustrations are a joy for all time to come. The extreme variety of artistic adornment and the skill displayed justify the opinion of Professor Westwood that it is "the most beautiful book in the world." The initials of the Gospels are as perfect-looking as when they were executed over 1,100 years ago.

"If you look closely," writes Giraldus Cambrensis, "and penetrate to the secrets of the art, you will discover such delicate and subtle lines, so closely wrought, so twisted and interwoven, and adorned with such colours still so fresh, that you will acknowledge that all this is the work rather of angelic than of human skill. The more frequently and carefully I examine it, I am always amazed with new beauties, and always discover things more and more admirable."*

The "Book of Kells"† used to be known as the "Gospel" or "Book of Columcille," in honour of this saint. The fury of the Northmen compelled the monks of Iona to desert their old home and to find a new one at Kells. The "Book of Kells" remained at Kells till 1541, when the last abbot, Richard Plunket, gave up the abbey and its property. In 1568 the MS. was in the hands of Gerald Plunket, a harbour-master of Dublin. That omnivorous collector, Ussher, acquired it, and from his library it finally entered the walls of Trinity College. It survived the raids of the Northmen to fall a victim to an ignorant bookbinder who, a hundred years ago, trimmed the edges of the leaves, thereby destroying some of the wonderful illuminations. In its trimmed condition the MS. consists of 339 leaves of thick glazed vellum. As a rule there are seventeen to nineteen lines in a

* "Typographia Hiberniæ," ii., c. 88.

† Cf. T. K. Abbott, "Evangeliorum versio Antehieronymiana ex Cod. Usseriano" (London, 1884).

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page. It is written in red, yellow, black, and purple inks. There were at least two artists. It contains the four Gospels, a fragment of the interpretation of Hebrew names, the Eusebian canons, summaries or argumenta of the Gospels, and some charters, bestowing grants of land from Muirtach O'Laghlan and others on the Abbey of Kells, the Church of Kells, and the Bishop of Meath: these charters date from 1024 to the twelfth century. There is no colophon. Still, there are clues to the time at which it was written. The text conforms to the Hieronymian, thus indicating an age later than that of the "Book of Durrow." Dr. Abbott and Dr. Zimmermann assign it to the eighth century, while Mr. R. A. S. Macalister inclines to put its date in the middle of the following century.

The "Book of Durrow" * is so called from Durrow in King's County, where, according to Bede, St. Columba had founded a *nobile monasterium*. Durrow, like Kells, was a Columban institution. It contains the four Gospels in the Vulgate version, an explanation of Hebrew names, the Eusebian canons, the Epistle of St. Jerome to Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, and the "Breves Causae," or summaries of the Gospels. At the end of these summaries there is a colophon which declares: "I pray thy blessed, O holy presbyter, Patrick, that whosoever shall take this book into his hand

* Cf. T. K. Abbott, "Evangeliorum versio Antehieronymiana ex Cod. Usseriano" (London, 1884).

may remember the writer, Columba, who have (for myself) written this Gospel in the space of twelve days, by the grace of our Lord." The text is exquisitely written, and could not have been finished in anything like twelve days. What, then, does the colophon mean? It simply means, as Dr. Abbott has pointed out,* that the colophon was copied out by the scribe from the archetype he was using. The "Book of Durrow" used to possess a cover, now lost, on which was an inscription stating that it had been made by Flann, son of Malachy, King of Ireland. Flann made this shrine between the years 879 and 916. In his time this MS. was looked on with veneration as a reliquary. The date of this book is from the end of the sixth to the middle of the seventh century: it is the earliest extant Irish MS. In the body of each Gospel there is no attempt at ornament save for the red dots round the initial letters. The letters of the first words of each Gospel are elaborately worked, and prefixed to each Gospel is a page covered with fine interlaced ornament and another page giving the symbol of the Evangelist.

Other Irish copies of the Vulgate version of the four Gospels are the "Book of Dimma" (c. ninth century) and the "Book of Mulling."† The latter contains the four Gospels in Latin, the Eusebian

* "Hermathena," viii., p. 199.

† Dr. H. J. Lawlor gave us a scholarly edition of "The Book of Mulling" (Edinburgh, 1897).

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canons, the prefaces of St. Jerome, and an Office for the Visitation of the Sick. There are vermillion headings to the arguments of the Gospels. There are elaborate initials at the beginnings of the Gospels, and these initials are finely drawn and coloured: they have the rows of red dots. The colophon mentions that Molling, Bishop of Ferns, who died in 696, is the writer. His real name was Daircell, and he was called Molling, or the leaper, on account of his athletic skill. Moreover, he possessed reputation as a scribe. On the other hand, M. Berger dates it late in the ninth century.* How is it possible to reconcile the date given by the colophon with that laid down by M. Berger? Applying the reasoning Dr. Abbott employed in the "Book of Durrow," it is possible to reconcile them, for the colophon contains the name of the scribe of the archetype, not of the scribe of the manuscript. Dr. Lawlor adopts this hypothesis. He concludes, with his usual caution, that the MS. has been transcribed, or at least ultimately derived, from an autograph of St. Molling of Ferns. He supposes that this saint wrote a copy of the Gospels, that a century after his death an anonymous scribe transcribed this book and the colophon, and that this transcript is the "Book of Mulling." The colophon comes at the end of St. John's Gospel, affording a proof that this Gospel was regarded then as the fourth.

* Berger, "L'Histoire de la Vulgate" (Paris, 1893), p. 84.

THE "BOOK OF ARMAGH."

With the "Book of Mulling" M. Berger couples the "Book of Armagh" as among the most important of the national MSS. of Ireland. In his noble edition* Dr. J. Gwynn points out that the "Book of Armagh" furnishes the only example of the entire Latin New Testament as read in Celtic churches. It also contains a collection of the earliest extant documents on the life of St. Patrick and the life of St. Martin of Tours. It is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ thick, consisting originally of 222 leaves of vellum. The writing is elegant, distinct, and uniform. The character is on the whole what is known as pointed Irish. With the exception of the first leaf and four leaves of the Gospel of St. Matthew the MS. is complete. The name of the scribe, Ferdomnach, appears in four places. Bishop Graves concludes that Ferdomnach completed the transcription of the first Gospel under the Primacy of Torbach in 807, and Dr. Gwynn endorses this conclusion.

To the student of history the most interesting portion of the MS. is that which deals with the "Life" of St. Patrick, written by Muirchu, the memoirs of his mission, compiled by Tirechan, a book of the rights and usages of the Church of Armagh, and the "Confessio" of St. Patrick. After the fashion of the preface to St. Luke's Gospel, the author refers to the many previous

* Dublin, 1913.

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records describing the preaching of the Gospel in Ireland. He is conscious of the difficulties of the undertaking, of the paucity of the material, and of his own lack of skill. As "his lord Aedh" commands him "to unfold a few of the many actions of St. Patrick," he obeys. Aedh was Bishop of Sletty, and he and Muirchu were present at the Synod of Adamnan, c. 695-97. Book I. of the "Life" dates from the close of the seventh century, and Book II. perhaps from the beginning of the eighth. Book I. deals with the birth and the parentage of the saint, his captivity in Ireland, his escape, his early call to evangelization, his training in Gaul, his return to Ireland, and his work in Down. As St. Paul regarded Rome as the centre to be attacked and won for Christ, so St. Patrick regarded Tara. After the account of the Tara episode the remainder of Book I. is devoid of order, becoming a mere list of incidents: there is an appendix of the miracles St. Patrick wrought. The source of Muirchu's narrative is for the most part the "Confessio," though here and there he employs unnamed source or sources. Dr. Gwynn acutely notes proofs of Muirchu's dependence on the "Confessio." For instance, Muirchu does not tell us the name of the master of the saint or the place of his captivity. Why is this? The "Confessio" omits these details, and so does he. Muirchu, however, was aware that the master's name was Miliuc and that the place was the country of the Picts, of Slemish and Skerry.



There is an indistinctness about the account of the sojourn of St. Patrick in Gaul: there is a distinctness about the account of his mission in Ireland. Is a proof required? It is at hand in the accurate itinerary of the return journey. The saint touches at Inis Patrick, called after him, passes the coasts of Meath and Louth, enters Strangford Lough, lands at the mouth of the Slaney, converts Dichu at Saul, near Downpatrick, proceeds to Dalaraide, reaches the mountain Slemish, returns to Saul, and at the approach of Easter wends his way to Tara. Dr. Gwynn emphasizes two touches, testifying to the local knowledge of Muirchu. These are the mark discernible on the rocky summit of a mountain close to Slemish and the cross that still stood to signalize the spot whence St. Mark viewed the fire in which Miliuc perished by his own act. The supernatural is absent in the first three divisions of the "Life"; it is conspicuously present in the fourth and concluding division. True, even in the early portions there are dreams, visions, and voices. There are, however, none of the miracles with which the end abounds. There is repetition in Book II., though there is some new matter. It is characterized by the same topographical exactness as Book I.

The care with which Muirchu puts his narrative together contrasts with the carelessness of Tirechan. Probably after 664 the latter compiled his itinerary of the journeys of the saint. As he writes for Meath readers, he naturally enlarges on the doings

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of St. Patrick in this country. He affords much topographical information, describing the founding of churches and the like. Unlike Muirchu, he attempts to furnish dates for the events he mentions, reckoning from the Passion and from the regnal years of Laeghaire, the Ard-righ. St. Patrick's wanderings are detailed, and the account terminates somewhat incompletely with a notice of the visit to Cashel. There is a common tradition underlying the "Confessio" and the Memoirs of Tirechan, but the latter, after his narrative of the conflict with heathendom, complements Muirchu's tale. This is plain in the account of the visit to Connaught, when at last he gazed on that Wood of Fochlath he had long before seen in a dream. In no case is Dr. Gwynn's insight greater than that in which he convincingly shows that a common and early tradition underlies the accounts of both Muirchu and Tirechan.

In Tirechan's Book II. there is much on the prerogative of Armagh (the *Paruchia Patricii*), and it is evident that so early as the seventh century the prerogative was known and in some measure admitted. The claims of centres like the *familia Columbæ Cille*, the *familia Airdsratha* (of Ardstraw), and the *familia Clono* (Clonmacnoise) are deliberately belittled.

At the end of Tirechan's Memoirs there is supplementary matter dealing with the three petitions of St. Patrick, his age, the three things in which he was like Moses, his date and mission, his due of

fourfold honour, and a summary. The last is due to Ferdomnach, and there are traces of his hand in the other matter. In fact, he compiled these six documents. These supplementary documents further the manifest purpose of Tirechan, the vindication of the prerogative of Armagh. On the other hand, Muirchu sets forth the facts as he knows them, and he is in no wise anxious to establish a thesis. He characterizes the man, not his mission. Tirechan characterizes the mission, not the man. As one peruses both writings, one comes to the conclusion that in some parts the supremacy of Armagh was accepted while in others it was not. In Leinster the power of Armagh was as shadowy as that of the Ard-righ himself.

The most fascinating document in the whole "Book of Armagh" is the "Confessio." With it there was the "Epistola." Unfortunately Ferdomnach omits the latter, and gives the former in an imperfect form. His copy of the "Confessio" leaves out matter to be found in other documents. What is the reason of this? In part this is due to his inability to read his MS., to the faulty exemplar he used, and to deliberate purpose. He abbreviated the account, and in so doing left out much characteristic material. The "Confessio" is a genuine document filled with the personal note, which furnishes the amplest justification of the injustice of the attacks made upon St. Patrick. He is no Newman writing an "Apologia pro Vita

Sua," yet at the same time the sincerity of the man stands out unmistakably. As St. Paul heard the man from Macedonia in a dream, so St. Patrick heard the men from Fochlath. Unlike his biographers, this is the only place to which he alludes. There is clear evidence of what manner of man he was: there is obscure evidence of the times in which he lived. The historian notes that during the saint's life the celibacy of the secular clergy was not the rule, that the Roman municipal organization was still working in Britain, and that the Roman provincial divisions were still flourishing.

Dr. Gwynn notes the parallel which St. Patrick draws between himself and the Apostle to the Gentiles. To both is common their gentle birth, their pecuniary independence, their supernatural visions and voices, the opposition of the soothsayers, the wide range of their mission, and the visits to places where none had preceded them. This parallelism is not artificial but natural, for it is based on the fact that the experiences of the two apostles were similar. The whole "Confessio" is saturated with Biblical phraseology. It is interesting to note that the Latin text of the New Testament in the "Book of Armagh" is the Vulgate of St. Jerome. As is well known, this Father revised a form of the Old Latin rather than furnished an independent translation from the Greek. In spite of occasional variations, the Vulgate of the "Book of Armagh" belongs to the Celtic family of MSS., and is therefore pervaded by Old Latin. According to Bishop

Wordsworth and Dr. White, the Amiantine text yields the purest Vulgate text of the Gospels, and they find that the text of the Vulgate in the "Book of Armagh" is substantially identical with it. Where they diverge, the "Book of Armagh" follows some form of the Old Latin. In the text of St. Matthew's Gospel, for example, there are variants from the normal text due to addition, omission, and substitution.

The last noteworthy document in the "Book of Armagh" is the memoirs of the life and acts of St. Martin of Tours—the "Vita," the "Dialogi," and the "Epistolæ." The popularity of the festival of this saint (November 11), commonly called Martinmas, affords a reason why these outlines of his life should be associated with those of St. Patrick. St. Martin's dividing of his cloak with a beggar is one of the most widely known incidents in his life. The account here describes the miraculous gifts with which he abounded, and his biographer accounts for his success in preaching by these gifts. The author of the "Life" of St. Martin is Sulpicius Severus.

The satchel of the "Book of Armagh" is made of a single piece of leather, embossed with figures of animals and interlaced work. In olden times, in Irish monastic libraries, books were preserved in such satchels, which were suspended by straps from hooks in the wall. Thus an old legend relates that "on the night of Longaradh's death all the book satchels in Ireland fell down."

SUNDRY MANUSCRIPTS.

Another fine Latin MS. of Irish origin is the "Psalter of Ricemarch," which Dr. Lawlor has edited. It formerly belonged to the Bishop of St. David's, who died in 1099, and in it this prelate has written some Latin verses. It was the property of Bishop Bedell, who lent it to Ussher, thereby preserving it, for Bedell's library perished in the troubles consequent on the 1641 rising.

In 1843 Dr. Todd purchased a single leaf of the Codex Palatinus, a fifth-century MS. of the Old Latin version of the Gospels written in silver letters on purple vellum. A portion of it lies in the Imperial Library, Vienna, which acquired it between 1800 and 1829. Such a dispersion of a MS. is not unprecedented. For example, there are two leaves of the Codex Purpureus (N) of the Gospels in Vienna, four in the British Museum, six in the Vatican, and thirty-three at Patmos.

Among the other MSS. of unusual attraction are two MSS. of Piers Plowman; tracts of Wyclif; valuable volumes of Waldensian literature; five MSS. of Rolle's "Pricke of Conscience," and several hymns by him; the "English Prose Psalter"; the earliest English translation of the "De Imitatione"; the "Life of St Alban" in Norman-French, probably in the handwriting of Matthew Paris; the two MSS. from which Howard published the "Chronicle of Worcester"; the original draft of Berkeley's "Principles of Human Knowledge"

and of Spotiswoode's "History of the Church of Scotland."

On Irish history there is material in a volume of Letters of Queen Elizabeth on Public Affairs in Ireland, 1565-70, the Correspondence of Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, with the English Government, 1612-14, the Depositions relative to the Rising of 1641, the Correspondence of George Clarke, 1690-92, the Archbishop King Correspondence, 1681-1729, and volumes bearing on the insurrection of 1798. There are many MSS. relating to the history of the seventeenth century, especially during the first half of it. Indeed, the majority of the MSS. belong to this century.

The Oriental MSS. include a beautiful Koran and the Shâh Nâmeh from the library of Tippoo, some from the Royal Library of Shiraz, and many Persian MSS. There are also some Syriac MSS.

THE WALDENSIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

From the literary point of view Milton's passionate call on God to avenge his "slaughtered saints, whose bones lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold," led to singular results. For Cromwell undertook the task of earthly vengeance. Nor did his zeal stop there. He ordered Morland, his envoy to the Duke of Savoy on their behalf in 1655, to procure material bearing on the unfortunate Vaudois. In 1658 Morland wrote a History of the Evangelical Churches in Piedmont, based on

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documents which he deposited in the Library of Cambridge University. The interest of Ussher was aroused. He stirred up Morland to renewed exertions in order that he might secure any old books or papers which could throw light upon the early history and religious opinions of the Vaudois. Some material Ussher acquired, and it is now in Trinity College, Dublin.

Morland and his Vaudois friends emphasized the value of their documents by stating that their dates ranged from the tenth to the thirteenth century. Obviously this enhanced their importance. Dr. J. H. Todd examined the whole question in his "Books of the Vaudois,"* and he came to the conclusion that the books were written from 1520 to 1530: certainly they all dated from the sixteenth century. Had the early date been authentic, they would have anticipated the doctrines of Calvin by six hundred years. Though Denifle has removed much of the originality of Luther's ideas, Morland has not been able to perform this office for Calvin. Nevertheless, the documents possess unrivalled value for the student of the growth of ideas.

ORIGINAL RECORDS OF THE INQUISITION AT ROME.

On these sixty-six volumes there is a certain amount of information in K. Benrath, *Rivista Cristiana*, vol. vii., 1879, vol. viii., 1880; "Ueber die

* London, 1865.

Quellen der Italienischen Reformationsgeschichte" (Bonn, 1876, 31 pp.); *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1879; "Regestum Clementis Papæ V., Romæ," 1885, vol. i., Prolegomena, p. cclxxii.; U. Balzani, *Rendiconti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, vol. iv., fasc. 12; "Di Alcuni Documenti, etc." (published separately at Rome, 25 pp., 1895). The Rev. R. C. Gibbings prints some of the trials—*e.g.*, "Case of a Minorite Friar" (T. Fabiano, 1565), (Dublin, 1858); "Trial and Martyrdom of P. Cernesacchi" (Dublin, 1856).

DEPOSITIONS OF THE SUFFERERS DURING THE REBELLION OF 1641.

These depositions are arranged according to counties—*e.g.*, Kildare in the fifth, Meath in the eighth, Antrim in the thirtieth—in thirty-three volumes. Vol. xxxiii. contains a list of the rebels' names. Mr. W. G. Hodson indexed, though not completely, the depositions in four typewritten books, and summarized them in four more: these are in the College Library. Miss Hickson printed some of the depositions in her "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century."* "There are," according to Hume, "three events in our history which may be regarded as touchstones of party men: an English Whig who asserts the reality of the popish plot, an Irish Catholic who denies the massacre of 1641, and a Scottish Jacobite who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, must be considered

* London, 1884, two vols.

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as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices." In this class, at least in his opinion of the value of these depositions, must be placed the late Sir John T. Gilbert. In the Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission he writes what is a travesty of the truth.* In order to impugn their value he quotes statements depreciating them from the pens of Lord Castlehaven, who wrote in 1685 and is therefore scarcely a contemporary witness; of John Curry, who wrote in 1747; of Fernando Warner, who wrote in 1767; and of Michael Carey, who wrote in 1823. It is evident from his report that Sir John T. Gilbert was unable to understand the documents which he purported to describe. For example, he endorses what Mr. Warner wrote on the crossings-out evident in the depositions. These crossing-out strokes are drawn over the words "duly sworn" at the beginning of many of the depositions, yet they leave the words under them perfectly legible. It was left for Miss Hickson to furnish a conclusive explanation of them.† She argues that it is evident that the light strokes are not meant to obliterate any of the writing. These strokes are of later date than the writing over which they are placed. What, then, is the point of them? They are simply made not in order to cancel or in any wise alter the depositions, but in order to abridge them for the official copyist,

* Pp. 572-76.

† "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century," i., pp. 129-32.

who was employed to make duplicate extracts. It is plain that Sir John T. Gilbert went wholly wrong when he asserted that these crossing-out strokes were for the purpose of cancelling the depositions, and this assertion invalidates the greater part of the report he made on these depositions. Unfortunately his report appears among the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and is therefore taken by many as a correct account of the value of these depositions. To this day many people are unaware of the true solution which Miss Hickson has given. The cancellings, then, are merely the lines drawn to show the official copyist what he might omit when he was compiling the duplicate books for the King and Parliament.

Sir John T. Gilbert's ways of weighing evidence were curious. He also rejects the depositions on the ground that they were made by farmers, traders, labourers, and the like. When, however, he deals with the events of 1628 he is content to produce the evidence of the humble clansmen of Phelim O'Byrne and that of vagrants and street-beggars. The condition of a man in either case is not the point for the historian: it is surely the question whether he is a capable witness of the events he saw—whether, in fact, he tells the truth. Mr. R. Dunlop admits that Miss Hickson has successfully impugned the validity of the argument of Sir John T. Gilbert,* and he also admits that her explanation of the crossings-out is undoubtedly correct. On

* *English Historical Review*, i., p. 741

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the latter matter it is worth stating that no pen-stroke has been drawn across an account of a murder or a massacre. In these cases the only strokes made are those over passages relating to losses of goods and chattels. When at the beginning of a deposition the words "duly sworn and examined" have been struck out, at the end of it and beside the signature of two or more commissioners stand the strong words, "Jurat coram nobis." Of course, the accounts of details of the goods and chattels were tedious. The copyist, in order to save time, added up the value of the inventories, crossed out the details, and set down the total of each inventory. When he added the total of all the inventories he had merely to look at the sum of each. When all the total has been added it is equal to the whole of the inventories. There are many crossings-out in the counties of Cork, Kerry, Waterford, and Limerick, simply because in these counties there had been few murders and many robberies. In the north the reverse holds good. There are, for instance, few crossings-out in the entries of Co. Antrim.

Sometimes the original depositions and copies of them are bound side by side, and sometimes they are in separate volumes. Miss Hickson estimates that there are not more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty copies wanting originals in the whole thirty-three volumes.

On December 23, 1641, commissioners were appointed for taking examinations. They were

Henry Jones, Dean of Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Hitchcock, Randall Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watson, clerks. They or any two of them were authorized • • to examine upon oath all persons that had been robbed, or spoiled, or sequestered from their settled abodes by the rebels, as also all witnesses that could give testimony therein what robberies and spoils had been committed upon them or any others to their knowledge since October 22, 1641. It will be observed that in this commission there is no mention of murders committed. This omission is rectified in the commission of January 18, 1641-42, when there was added the following: "What numbers of persons have been murdered by the rebels, or perished afterwards on the way to Dublin, or other places whither they fled (since the two-and-twentieth) day of October last, and all other circumstances and things touching, or concerning the said particulars and every of them, either before the three-and-twentieth of October, or since." The commissioners were appointed by the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, and the men appointed were probably puritanical: certainly Dean Jones was. They were men well acquainted with the actual circumstances of the country.

It is obvious that the bulk of the victims belonged to the humbler walks of life: they were farmers, yeomen, labourers, artisans, and traders. The Protestant nobility and gentry did not suffer

nearly so grievously because they could retire to their castles or fortified houses. The rank and file of the Protestants, no doubt, were as biased against their enemies as the Belgians are against the Germans. This bias has to be allowed for. As in the case of the Belgians, in a number of cases one witness corroborates facts given by another witness of whom he has no knowledge. The Rev. F. W. Bonynghe has investigated all the depositions carefully, and he finds, for example, that the memoirs of Clanricarde corroborate the depositions where they cover the same period and people. The fact is that these depositions have been unduly depreciated by men who have never examined them. Some, for instance, invoke the authority of the late Mr. Lecky, whereas he told me that he had never read them.

There are over a thousand witnesses, and it is absurd to expect that all of them are trustworthy. Allowance must be made for the fact that not a few of them had stood in danger of losing their lives, and they had had relatives who had actually lost theirs. There are exaggerations of facts and there are wild rumours among them. This is inevitable. Indeed, the marvellous matter would be if there were neither exaggerations nor rumours among them. For these reasons the depositions of George Littlefield and Edward Saltinthall and of William Walsh are to be read with extreme caution. A poor woman bore evidence to the fact that her neighbours had told her that Colonel Manus O'Cahane used to breakfast off the heads of

the Protestants he had murdered. Of course, this is no evidence that the Colonel did so; it is simply evidence of the frame of mind of the woman who believed such a story. It follows that she is too credulous, but unless we are guilty of the fallacy of arguing from the particular to the universal it by no means follows that all other witnesses are equally credulous. Moreover, it is quite possible to sift fact from fiction in the case of the depositions. A witness like Redfern or Lady Staples is clearly guilty of exaggeration in the one case or of untruth in the other. In spite of this, a portion of the evidence in each instance is true. Dr. Maxwell accepts mere hearsay without adequate investigation, but he does record some facts capable of verification. This remark applies, in a lesser degree, to Mrs. Constable's evidence. As some of the deponents could not speak English we have to bear in mind that much depended on the interpreter employed. Extremely few could speak only Irish: some spoke both Irish and English. Among these few are those who testified about the affairs of Dunluce Castle in 1641 and the poor Roman Catholic Irish of Island Magee, Co. Antrim.

All who read medieval chronicles are aware of the fact that the supernatural soon obtrudes. It is difficult to read a document which does not testify to the existence of miracle on behalf of the saint whose biography is sketched. Does it follow that because there is miraculous in the chronicle that the whole chronicle is therefore discredited? No

competent medievalist would give an answer in the affirmative. Now that the investigations of the Society for Psychical Research tend to allow ghosts to come into their own, it is not so easy to find investigators who ~~wholly discredit~~ ghosts. For curious instances of apparitions, Sir A. Lyall's "Asiatic Studies" deserves consultation.*

Now in order to put the case against the depositions at its strongest, we take the Portadown depositions. Mrs. Price, wife of Captain Price, testifies that Manus O'Cahane drove more than one hundred prisoners, including five of her children, from the bridge into the waters of the River Bann. Those able to swim were shot or forced back to drown in the river. Owen Roe O'Neill examined this story in the hearing of Mrs. Price, and he was told that 400 had been drowned. Mrs. Price, with Mrs. Newberry, goes on to declare that "they, hearing of divers apparitions and visions that were ordinarily seen near Portadown bridge since the drowning of her children, and the rest of the Protestants there, and they being confidently told that the said Owen Roe O'Neill and his troops were resolved to be at Portadown bridge to inform themselves concerning those apparitions, she, this deponent [*i.e.*, Mrs. Price], ~~and her child, and those other Protestants~~ her companions, at the same time, came to Portadown bridge aforesaid, about Candlemas last, and then and there met the said Owen Roe O'Neill and his troops at the waterside there,

* "Asiatic Studies," Second Series, Chapter V.

near the said bridge, about twilight in the evening. And then and there, upon a sudden, there appeared unto them a vision, or spirit assuming the shape of a woman, waist high, upright in the water, naked with [illegible] in her hand, her hair dishevelled, very white, and her eyes seeming to twinkle in her head, and her skin as white as snow; which spirit or vision, seeming to stand upright in the water, divulged, and often repeated the word 'Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!' whereat this deponent and the rest being put into a strange amazement and fright walked away a little from the place. And then presently the said Owen Roe O'Neill sent a Romish priest and a friar to speak to it. Whereupon they asked it many questions, both in English and Latin, but it answered them nothing.

"And a few days after the said Owen Roe O'Neill sent his drummer to the English army for a Protestant minister, who coming unto him, and being by him desired to inquire of that vision, or spirit, what it would have, the same minister went one evening to the usual place on the waterside, where at the like time of the evening the same, or a like spirit or vision, appeared in the like posture and shape it formerly had done. And the same minister saying, 'In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what wouldst thou have, or for what standest thou there?' it answered, 'Revenge! Revenge!' very many times reiterating the word 'revenge.' Whereat the same minister went to prayer privately, and afterwards they all

departed, and left the same vision standing and crying out as before. But after that night for six weeks together it never appeared that either this deponent, or any of the rest that came there upon purpose several times, could hear or observe, yet after six weeks again it appeared and cried as before. So as the Irish that formerly were frightened away by it, and were then come back again to dwell in the English houses thereabouts, in hope it would not appear any more, were then again so affrighted that they went quite away and forsook the place: the like or the same spirit or vision since that time appearing and crying out 'Revenge!' every night, until this deponent and her child and late fellow-prisoners came away with their convoy to Dundalk. And further saith, that the first vision or apparition after the Protestants were drowned, were in show a great number of heads in the water, which cried out in a loud voice, 'Revenge! Revenge!' as this deponent hath been credibly told by the rebels themselves, who also told this deponent that these apparitions were English rebels, as was most commonly reported and believed by most of the Irish inhabitants thereabouts, and others. And the Irish rebels, discharging some shot at these heads, flashes of fire then suddenly appeared on the water, as she was also told by them. And that quickly afterwards that same shape or spirit of a woman appeared, and cried all night, beginning about twilight as aforesaid."

It is on account of evidence like this that Sir

John T. Gilbert seeks to discredit the whole of the depositions. Now is this judicial? The cries and the other mournful sounds may very well have been the howlings of wolves and dogs, coming down to feast on the dead bodies. The imagination could work wonders with these sounds. Mr. Bagwell concludes that "the evidence of this lady [*i.e.*, Mrs. Price] shows no marks of a wandering mind, and yet it is evident that she believed in an apparition. It is quite possible that some crazed woman who had lost all that was dear to her may have haunted the spot and cried for vengeance, but in any case a belief in ghosts was still general in those days, and specially in Ireland. The evidence"—these are his emphatic words—"as to the massacre is overwhelming."* Mrs. Sherring swore that while her husband and thirty-two others were being massacred in Tipperary a violent thunderstorm occurred, due in her opinion to God's anger at the horrible doings of the time. Her evidence is confirmed by three other sources, and is in no wise invalidated by her views on the origin of this thunderstorm.

It is pleasant to find that Mrs. Price testifies to the mercy and kindness which Owen Roe O'Neill showed to her and to other prisoners, and she also gives us his denunciations of the cruelties perpetrated by Sir Phelim O'Neill. The Rev. John Ker-diffe, a clergyman of the Church of Ireland, also describes how he and his parishioners were cap-

* "Ireland Under the Stuarts," *i.*, pp. 343-44.

tured by men under Colonel Richard Plunket, with whom was a friar called Malone. "Colonel Richard Plunket," he records, "treated us with great humanity, and in like manner did Friar Malone at Skerry; only this, beside his rebellion, was condemnable in him, that he took our poor men's Bibles which he found in a boat and cut them in pieces, casting them into the fire, with these words, that he would deal in like manner with all Protestants and Puritan Bibles." Nor does the example of Colonel Plunket stand alone. Con Magennis appointed the priest Crelly, or Crowley, to govern Newry, and he showed kindness to the Protestant people. Daniel Bawn, a Roman Catholic, saved lives at Corbridge and elsewhere, a fact that the witnesses are anxious to acknowledge. Oliver Cromwell remembered men like this, and he refused to banish two friars who at Cashel had tried to save the lives of Protestants.

There were not so many people massacred in Leinster as in Ulster and Connaught. There is little use in trying to ascertain the number of men, women, and children who perished. Sir William Petty estimated in 1672 that 37,000 were massacred in the first year. This is excessive, for he does not allow for the fugitives who escaped to England and Scotland. Miss Hickson inclines to think that during the first three or four years about 25,000 perished. Warner put the number so low as 8,000, and Lecky was inclined to adopt this estimate. Between these figures and Temple's guess of 300,000

there are many intermediate figures. Temple wrote in 1646, but he clearly was impressed unduly by the rumours and exaggerations of the time at which he wrote. May, who used Temple's book, puts the number at 200,000. According to Dr. Maxwell, the Irish themselves asserted that their priests counted no less than 154,000 dead bodies during the first five months. In 1645 the Jesuit Cornelius O'Mahony exultantly proclaims the fact that it was agreed on all sides that up to that time 150,000 heretics had been killed. Clarendon makes the sober estimate of 40,000 to 50,000. "The conclusion of the whole matter," in the opinion of Mr. Bagwell, "is that several thousand Protestants were massacred, that the murders were not confined to one province or county, but occurred in almost every part of the island, that the retaliation was very savage, innocent persons often suffering for the guilty, and that great atrocities were committed on both sides."* This judgment savours somewhat of the attitude of Sir Roger de Coverley, but it is the attitude nearest to the truth.

Petty thought that the population of Ireland in 1641 was about 1,400,000. He also reckons that the houses in the country were in 1640 worth £2,500,000, whereas they were in 1652 only worth £500,000. In 1640 the Irish owned twice the property owned by the English, but in 1652 the Irish owned only one-fourth of the island. In 1640 the cattle of Ireland were worth £4,000,000,

* "Ireland Under the Stuarts," i., pp. 334-35.

but in 1652 they were worth only £500,000. He puts the money loss of the rebellion at the large figure of £37,255,000. The proceedings of the High Court of Justice in 1653-54 merit careful examination. Before this Court the depositions were brought, and were sifted with the greatest skill and care.

It is well worth while to add some more cases of the humanity of the rebels. James Shaw, of Markethill, Co. Armagh, deposed that but for his rescue by Turlough Oge O'Neill and his protection by Sir Phelim O'Neill he and his family would undoubtedly have been murdered by Maolmurry McDonnell and his soldiers. Peter Kirkber, of the city of Dublin, testified that "the rebels did put a rope round the said William Gibbs' neck, intending to hang him also, but by the mediation of some of the rebels he was then saved." Robert Wadding, of Killstoune, Co. Carlow, said that he "was beset by ten or twelve of the rebels, armed with guns, pikes, and skeans drawn, some they held at deponent's throat, some at his breast and back, and took his money from his pocket, likewise his cloak and hat, and were unbuttoning his doublet, insomuch that he verily thinks they would have stript him naked, but that Owen Garkagh O'Birne in the interim came in and rescued this deponent out of their hands, and procured this deponent his hat and cloak again, whereat they grieved, but durst not oppose him, he being powerful amongst them, but they swore they would inform against

him that he was a protector of Protestants." Ralph Walmesly, of Ballynegulshy, near Birr, testified warmly to the kindness showed to him by Captain Turlough Molloy and John McFarrell, of Ballycally in the Queen's County, saying that "he is confident that the said Molloy and McFarrell were much grieved at the ill-treating of the English, which appeared not only by the said Molloy's and McFarrell's loving words, but by the real courtesies they did the English at divers times."

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE CLARKE.

George Clarke was Secretary at War from 1690 to 1692. As a rule the documents, except his own letters, which are copied, are originals. He was the kind of man who was a nuisance to his own generation and a blessing to succeeding generations, for he insisted on getting answers to his letters, and these answers he religiously preserved. Monck Mason has an elaborate catalogue of the whole correspondence, which runs to 108 pages:

Vol. i., pp. 35-45, June 2, 1690 to August 21, 1690.

Vol. ii., pp. 45-55, August 21, 1690 to October 31, 1690.

Vol. iii., pp. 55-62, November 1, 1690 to December 31, 1690.

Vol. iv., pp. 62-69, January 1, 1691 to February 15, 1691.

Vol. v., pp. 69-76, February 15, 1691 to March 24, 1691.

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Vol. vi., pp. 76–85, March 27, 1691 to May 15, 1691.

Vol. vii., pp. 85–92, May 16, 1691 to June 16, 1691.

Vol. viii., pp. 92–100, June 16, 1691 to July 7, 1691.

• Vol. ix., pp. 100–107, July 8, 1691 to July 31, 1691.

Vol. x., pp. 108–117, August 1, 1691 to August 23, 1691.

Vol. xi., pp. 117–25, August 23, 1691 to September 14, 1691.

Vol. xii., pp. 125–34, September 14, 1691 to October 11, 1691.

Vol. xiii., pp. 134–42, October 12, 1691 to December 11, 1692.

These thirteen volumes deal with operations all over Ireland, and from them an intelligible view of the Williamite side of the war can be obtained. Indeed, from this standpoint they are indispensable. One drawback to this correspondence—and one source of interest—is the illegibility of the letters in it. This arises from the circumstance that some of them were obviously written on the actual field of battle. As a rule Ginkell excels in illegibility. He writes in French, and employs contractions and phrases which are not a little difficult to follow. Fortunately in his case one's work is lightened by the copyist, who frequently transcribes a translation of Ginkell's letters, but even he adds the remark: "Copy: the original being with difficulty to be read." One is distinctly grateful to this scribe for the trouble with which he has discharged his task. The first letter in the correspondence is from Ginkell, and its date is June 2, 1690. Then

follows a list of the ships taken up and now employed in the transport of the forces to Ireland (June 3, 1690), with the places where they were hired, the number of horses they can carry, and, the other uses to which they were put. The number of ships was 541, with a tonnage of 54,976 tons. Of this tonnage 18,834 tons were given up to the accommodation of 5,215 horses. William Blathwayt transmits (June 4, 1690) to Clarke an order to sign a warrant for £40,000 to pay Fox and Coningsby for the transport of the troops. He is prepared to furnish by the next post the several lists of clothes and provisions of all kinds, and is asking the officers of the Ordnance "to hasten their lists of stores which shall be immediately transmitted to you according to His Majesty's commands." The same day there is trouble from the masters of the ships, bringing over the sick, lame, and disbanded soldiers, for they demand eightpence a day for each man during the time he is on board. The authorities ask for £2,000 more, "else they shall not have one moment's peace with the said masters." It is clear that troubles from masters or men during wartime are not confined to our own day. Indeed, these details acquire fresh interest, seeing we are desirous to know how our forefathers planned their expeditionary force.

It is easy for us to understand Clarke's sigh of relief when he heard of the arrival at Carrickfergus of 200 sail on June 4, 1690: they brought with them five other ships filled with recruits for Colonel

Heyford's Regiment of Dragoons. The 200 sail were laden with oats. Two days later from Whitehall Blathwayt urges the masters of transports, "upon pain of His Majesty's highest displeasure, to lay hold of the first opportunity of proceeding to their respective ports." On June 8, 1690, Clarke himself writes: "You must excuse the blots, occasioned by the want of a place to write in."

In a petition of June 9, 1690, Gustavus Hamilton reveals to Schomberg "the almost starving condition of this garrison [*i.e.*, of Enniskillen], which neither have money nor the inhabitants victuals to supply them upon credit. I am now forced to grant orders to take up cattle from the country, for their present relief upon bills from their officers, to prevent disorders [which] may happen by the soldiers' necessities, and am afraid neither can they be thus long fulfilled because of the poverty of the country. I am also apprehensive that the fresh meat may create distempers among the men without bread, which this place cannot afford, but as we are supplied from the Laggan [?] with ready money. . . . I am afraid there was a mistake in my last of the number signed for Cavan under command of Sarsfield which *The Intelligencer* affirmed to be 15,000." If there was danger in the position of Enniskillen, there was difficulty in troops coming to relieve it. For near Falmouth, June 12, 1690, and at Maidstone there was mutiny or disorder among them.

On June 10, 1690, Blathwayt writes: "I return

you my thanks by this express for the good news you sent me in yours of the 14th of His Majesty's safe arrival in Ireland and with so little inconvenience, though the passage was somewhat long. It is also a great satisfaction to understand from Highlake, Kirkcubright [?], and Whitehaven that the troops are now all embarked and probably before this in Ireland."

There is a list of general officers, June 18, 1690, headed by the names of the Duke of Schomberg, Count de Solmes, the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Wurtemberg, Lieut.-General Ginkell, and Lieut.-General Douglas, who wrote almost as vile handwriting as Ginkell himself. This list differs in several respects from that given by Story in his "Wars of Ireland."* The next day a prisoner gave welcome information in a list of the regiments serving with James II. This day William III. issues from his Court of Belfast a proclamation, setting forth his object to be "to reduce our Kingdom of Ireland to such a state that all who have themselves become dutiful and loyal subjects may enjoy their liberties and professions under just and equal government."

In the accounts of the embarkation there are many details of more than mere military interest. For example, the political economist can glean much on the wages and prices prevalent not only in Ireland but also in England. Coals, for instance, are six shillings a ton. According to

* Page 29.

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Vicomte d'Avenel, the multiplier required to ascertain the true purchasing power for the period of the Clarke correspondence is 2.33, which gives fourteen shillings as the price per ton. Naturally there are many facts concerning the price of a load of hay and of forage of all kinds. On June 21, 1690, Kirke desires tools and men to repair the roads near Newry. Two days later George Buchanan and Gustavus Hamilton raise 78 horses, 89 countrymen, and 3 conductors to attend Schomberg as messengers. These letters tell us much of the state of agricultural society. Besides, in the grumbling at wages and prices charged, there is mention of the normal wages and prices. Thus a serious mistake is averted, for too often old records only furnish abnormal wages and prices. What was usual was forgotten; what was unusual was remembered. The Clarke letters possess many matters of interest to the writer of other than the drum and trumpet history. This information comes in unexpected places. Gustavus Hamilton is anxious to tell Schomberg the number of the enemy. There are 40,000 foot, 6,000 horse and dragoons, and 6,000 French, and there are 24,000 in garrisons, though not more than half of them are armed. This was wonderfully important to Schomberg, but to us it is at least as valuable to glean that on June 23, 1690, there is no force left in Dublin, "where a quart of ale now gives 12d. Some of all sorts begin to refuse the brass money, and [those] who do it are immediately

put in gaol." On June 23, 1690, a Hillsborough proclamation regulates abuses in pressing carts and horses. It was ordered that no pressing should take place "without leave and order had under our royal sign manual"; any offender against this regulation was forthwith to be dismissed.

In a paper of June 24, 1690, there is a list and distribution of the recruits raised in England for the forces in Ireland: there were 5,360 men attached to the different regiments. The next day Ranelagh makes the remark: "I am confident you will find as little heart in my countrymen as you do beauty in their women." Curiously enough, the Clarke correspondence does not add much to our knowledge of the Battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. The military triumph of William was slight, but the escape of James to France converted it into a victory of the first magnitude. The French rightly refused to give the contest the name of a battle; to them it was a mere skirmish. The immense political importance of the flight of James was, however, obscured by a succession of war scenes in Europe. The Battle of Fleurus proved incomparably more murderous than the Battle of the Boyne. Yet after a few days the importance of this victory was gone. The effects of the Battle of the Boyne are deeply graven on the history of the world. For it decided the fate of one kingdom, and then strengthened the other and greater one. On Irish soil William was fighting not merely for the Kingdom of England, but he was also fighting

for his fatherland as well as for his allies. Above all, he was fighting for the principle of liberty in the life of nations, the principle that the Grand Alliance had called into vigorous existence. On Irish soil James was in reality fighting, not for his own cause, but for that of his master, the King of France. William and James did not, as men have often said, represent the principles of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism; they rather represented the eternal struggle between liberty and tyranny. The Boyne proved to be to the despotic power of Louis XIV. what Austerlitz was to Austria and Jena to Prussia. It would have been well for the French monarch if the results of that skirmish had not been half hidden from his view by the victories of Beachy Head, Fleurus, and Staffarda. The Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope rejoiced to hear the good news from Ireland, for Gallicanism had at last received a severe blow. While State religion had thus been checked, liberty had been allowed to develop more freely than before, and both these priceless blessings are the results of that memorable July day.*

On July 3, 1690, Blathwayt speaks of Beachy Head as "that unhappy action," and on July 5 he writes: "I never thought the Irish would stand, and never doubted of success on that side." On July 6 Marlborough writes: "I hope the King is well again of his wound, for we must have no ill

* See the author's "Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement," pp. 161-62.

results from Ireland." On July 20 Blathwayt continues his strain of rejoicing: "The news of your late victory and triumph cannot be too often repeated, being everywhere the greatest cordial • imaginable to the minds of the people that were before dispirited by the insults of the French. . . . They propose for encouragement to pay each horseman 5s. and each dragoon 2s. 6d. . . . All the French can do at land will signify little after the success His Majesty's arms have met with in Ireland." Thomas Clarges furnishes us with some details of the wound William sustained. On July 10 he writes: "The King had received some injury by a transient shot of a small cannon bullet that tore his coat and waistcoat about the shoulder without doing him other hurt, and that his sense and courage did mightily animate the whole army and dismay the enemy." Though Blathwayt was desirous to provide for the soldiers, it is clear that all his efforts did not meet with the success they deserved. For on July 10, 1690, we find sick soldiers at Naas who were forced to beg from door to door, yet fourpence a day would have sufficed for their modest needs.

In all the correspondence it is not often we read of the far-reaching schemes of Louis XIV. for the detention of William during a period long enough to enable him to realize the French designs on Spain. Nor is this surprising. For it is to the "Archives des Affaires des Étrangères" we have to turn to see the plans laid down in Paris. The

men whose letters George Clarke gathers are deeply interested in schemes for beating the Irish and the French in Ireland. Still, we do come across traces of the European designs of Louis XIV. On July 22, 1690, some letters were intercepted from France. They mention an intention to invade Ireland with an army of 17,000 foot and 3,000 horse and dragoons under D'Humières. The Battle of the Boyne, however, discouraged them. The French King had at this time employment for far more troops than he had at his disposal in order to protect and defend his own country.

In a letter of August 2, 1690, there is an account of the supply of provisions at Drogheda, Clonmel, Waterford, Youghal, and Wexford. These bear not only on the private fortunes of the contractors, but also on those of the farmers living in the neighbourhood of those towns. Three days later we glean a few facts relating to the affairs of Clarke himself. From London Crauford writes to him, telling him that "many after the former rebellion [*i.e.*, of 1641] got great estates, and why may not you have a lucky hit? which will make you in such circumstances that you may ever after enjoy your friends with freedom, without being confined to the troubles of an employment. If Ireland be unfixed, England cannot be very fixed. Unless you can raise your fortune in Ireland, it will not be fit to stay there, for two years' stay there will lose your interest in England. If you see that by your settlement in Ireland you cannot keep this

[employment] here [*i.e.*, in London], then I beg your friendship and the same present which must be made here of 100 guineas to a certain person if ever any good success is to be expected." This is one of the very few cases where the figure of George Clarke obtrudes itself.

There is an account of the famous Ballyneety episode in a letter of August 12, 1690: "We have had worse luck with some of our cannon that were coming from Dublin. A party of horse and dragoon under the command of Colonel Sarsfield crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, and last night fell upon the convoy that was with them, which they [attacked], and split two of the guns and damaged the carriages of three of the others. As soon as our four-and-twenty pounders come from Carrickfergus, which we daily expect, we shall make another battery against the town [*i.e.*, of Limerick]. Sir John Lanier was within three miles of Colonel Sarsfield's party when the messenger came away, and was marching with all diligence to cut off the passage to the hills, whither they were making all [haste] they could." For some days the letters nearly all deal with the siege of Limerick. On August 14 it is joyfully recorded that the French leave Limerick, and betake themselves to Galway: this was a very great help to the speedy ending of the war.

In a letter of September 2, 1690, occurs the clear statement: "I wish the inclemency of the weather does not incommode the progress of the siege of

Limerick." This statement is confirmed by the "Journal" of John Stevens. On August 29 he writes: "The night was extreme cold, dark, and rainy,"* and on September 3 "was appointed a general day of review for the garrison in the King's Island [in Limerick], but the weather proving extreme foul it was put off."† The entry of the 29th shows in what sense he uses the word "foul," for there he writes that "the weather began to grow foul with extreme rain." Dumont de Bostaquet informs us that "la pluie avoit tombée en telle abondance."‡ According to Story, "a storm of rain and other bad weather began to threaten us, which fell out on Friday the 29th [of August] in good earnest."§ Though Corporal Trim was not an exact historian, there is no reason for disbelieving his recollection of the state of the weather, and he asserts, as all his readers will remember, with emphasis, "besides, there was such a quantity of rain fell during the siege, the whole country was like a puddle."

Williamite and Jacobite authorities, then, agree that rain fell. It is with amazement that we turn to the "Mémoires" of the Duke of Berwick, and read: "I can affirm that not a single drop of rain fell for above a month before or for three weeks

* See the author's edition of "The Journal of John Stevens," p. 182.

† *Ibid.*, p. 184.

‡ "Mémoires inédits," p. 286.

§ "Wars of Ireland," p. 39.

after " the siege.* The question that now awaits an answer is, Why did Berwick state the contrary? He was so young that he gained no honour at the siege, and he was jealous of Sarsfield. The perplexing problem then occurs that a person who from the nature of the case must have known the truth does not tell it, even though it favours him. For it extenuates the failure of the Jacobite side. It is, however, not without parallel. When Napoleon occupied Moscow it was burnt. The Governor of Moscow, Count Rostopchin, at the time boasted that he had fired the town. Many years afterwards, when an exile from Russia, he denied that he had ordered the conflagration. Which is to be believed, his early affirmation or his subsequent denial?

There were troubles arising out of the disordered state of the country. The Count de Solmes issues a proclamation on September 5, 1690, ordering the immediate hanging of plunderers: these were the natives. The latter were not the only people to seize opportunities of theft, for Albert Conyng-ham, on September 15, tried to redress complaints of plunder preferred against Lieutenant Clerk, of his Dragoon Regiment: these are the famous Inniskillings. On September 17 a proclamation asks the inhabitants of Cashel to bring in corn at 15s. a barrel. The party wronged shall receive three times the price of the plundered goods from the officer commanding the troop or company to which the

* Page 331 in the " Mémoires " (1839 edition).

soldier belongs, and the guilty person punished according to rules appointed by His Majesty. Disaffected persons who refuse to supply provisions are to be imprisoned and their corn confiscated. This order was to last for a month.

On September 19, 1690, Lieut.-General Douglas sends Ginkell the outline of the plan by which Athlone was so successfully assaulted. "Having received," he writes, "good information concerning the bridge of Banagher, I find it will be a hazardous attempt to break it down at present, the enemy being very strong on the other side, and the bridge defended by a castle, and another work, which commands it on two sides. Our men have no bread, and will shortly be in a wretched condition for undertaking a march to the north. I have just now got intelligence that the enemy is in a manner famished, and they must march abroad this winter to preserve their lives."

There are some letters to and from Marlborough. On September 19 he gives an account of the forces of the enemy. On September 22, 1690, Ginkell writes to him: "The Duke of Wurtemberg having expressed a desire to be engaged in the affair I could not refuse. . . . I am sure he will make no difficulty in the point of command." The skill the great Duke displayed in managing Charles of Sweden he now displayed with a much smaller man. The affair was the clever attack on Cork. Ginkell, by his careful attention to detail, showed that he was as well aware as the Duke of Wellington

that an army marched on its stomach. On September 24 he orders S. Blount, High Sheriff of Tipperary, to provide coals, candles, and salt for the garrisons at Cashel, Clonmel, Fethard, and Thurles. On October 3 Marlborough tells Clarke that "we have been very much disappointed by the cannon, but . . . I hope to have them, and then I shall lose no time in pressing this place [*i.e.*, Kinsale]." On October 12 there occurs a shocking example of Ginkell's handwriting. Four days later he orders the army to proceed to winter quarters. It is odd to find that Blathwayt thinks the taking of Kinsale so very important when weighed in the balance against the loss of Belgrade. Of course, we have to bear in mind that off this harbour there were many French privateers, and that so long as the town was in the possession of the Jacobites it formed a kind of Zeebrugge to the Williamite ships. According to Blathwayt, "the taking of the New Fort of Kinsale sets you at great ease and gives you elbow-room on that side. It balances very seasonably some misfortunes that have lately happened in Hungary."

The tale of disorder from the soldiers still continues. On December 6 the Commissioners of Revenue ask for assistance on behalf of their officers, "who in many parts of this kingdom have of late been opposed in the execution of their duties, and roughly used by the Danes and other soldiers of the army, whereby the levying of the revenue of customs and excise hath been obstructed."

From a letter of December 9 it appears that the wages of a conductor and his horse were £12 a month; that of a wheelwright 17s. 6d. a week; that of a harrier 16s. a week; that of a collar-maker 14s. a week; and that of a waggoner 7s. a week. The last four were also allowed $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of bread a day. This list is useful because it affords a basis for comparison: for example, we learn that the wages of the conductor were reckoned to be too high.

On December 13 Torrington, James's Brigadier in Limerick, asks officers and men to forsake William's cause, promising them protection and transport to France if they so desire. On January 27, 1691, Tyrconnel issues a proclamation, offering rewards to deserters who feel sensible of the injustice of William's cause and are reduced to great extremity for want of pay and subsistence. A trooper or a dragoon with a horse is to receive two pistoles in gold or silver, and a common soldier only one. They are to be conveyed to France if they like. These extracts convey some idea of the varied contents of the Clarke correspondence.

THE ARCHBISHOP KING CORRESPONDENCE.

As the names of Chichele and Laud are to the University of Oxford, so is that of William King to the University of Dublin. He was also a statesman with a broad outlook upon men and affairs. He stands in the front rank of archbishops, and is

easily the greatest archbishop to preside over the See of Dublin. On all sides of English and of Irish life and thought his letters add much to our knowledge and understanding of the past. Till recently, the Library of Trinity College, though it owned many of his letters, did not own the Lyons collection which has now come into its possession.* In this collection the correspondence runs from 1681. to 1729. It passed into the hands of the Rev. Robert Spence, Rector of Donaghmore, and remained with the Spence family till about 1810. In the Lyons collection there are eleven boxes, which will make about twenty-four volumes, and this affords some idea of its extent. In the Public Library, Armagh, there is a volume containing letters from July, 1715, to October, 1716. The Southwell correspondence in the British Museum also contains important communications to and from the Archbishop. Among the MSS. of Lieut.-Colonel W. R. King, of Tertowie, Kinellar, Co. Aberdeen, there are also autograph MSS. of King.

Before its acquisition of the Lyons collection Trinity College possessed fourteen volumes of the correspondence, and they covered the years from 1696 to 1727. T. Fisher transcribed the correspondence from 1699 to 1715 in three volumes. It is very much to the credit of the Board of the College that they are now employing that accurate writer,

* On King's letters, *cf.* Hist. MSS. Comm., Second Report, pp. 231 ff.; Third Report, p. 416; and Eighth Report, ii., p. 231.

60 A SHORT GUIDE TO SOME MSS. IN

Mr. E. A. Phelps, to transcribe some of the fading ink. There are also King's accounts, 1692-1711, and 1715-23, three volumes; his accounts, 1721-22, with petitions and letters addressed to him as Lord Justice. There is a MS. copy of his "Treatise and Principles of Church Government." Another volume contains letters chiefly from G. Tollett, 1679-96, and also from Archbishop Marsh, John Parnell, Thomas Parnell, Robert Pearson, and others: the dates of these run from 1700 to 1713. Two books contain copies of King's correspondence when he was Bishop of Derry; the dates of these are 1699 and from 1702 to 1703. There is a MS. copy of his "Discourse against Dissenters": it is corrected throughout in his own hand. In it he replies to "Some Impartial Considerations, and Mr. King's Answer," printed in 1687, and to a certain "Prefacer." There is King's "Treatise in Defence of the Church against Protestant Dissenters." There is also a separate sermon on Isa. lix. 6, some sermons in a volume much injured by damp, and some in another volume not nearly so much injured.

In 1867 Dr. Reeves transcribed King's autobiography from a copy preserved in the Public Library, Armagh, with an English summary in another hand: it is in Latin. To this was added a detailed list of the prelate's publications, and an account of the numerous writings to which his works gave rise among Dissenters, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Dr. Abbott published the autobiography

in the *English Historical Review**: it is also printed in Sir C. S. King's "Great Archbishop of Dublin." There is a catalogue of King's library: it is alphabetically arranged.

The correspondents of the Archbishop include: Jacques Abbadie, Dean of Dromore; Lord Abercorn; Robert Adair; Joseph Addison; Lord Anglesey; Francis Annesley, Commissioner for Irish Forfeitures; St. George Ashe, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop successively of Cloyne, Clogher, and Derry; Lord Athenry; Lady Beresford; George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne; Theophilus Bolton, Bishop of Elphin; James Bonnell, Accountant-General of Ireland; his widow, Jane Bonnell; Lord Breadalbane; Peter Browne, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; Sir Richard Bulkeley, F.R.S.; Gilbert Burnet; Ezekiel Burridge; Dr. Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford; Lord Clifford; Henry Compton, Bishop of London; Thomas Coningsby, Lord Justice of Ireland; Sir Richard Fox; Charles Delafaye; Patrick Delany; Simon Digby, Bishop of Limerick and Elphin; Henry Dodwell; Dive Downs, Bishop of Cork; the Countess of Drogheda; Sir Patrick Dun, Physician to the State in Ireland; Lord Dungarvan; William Fitzgerald, Bishop of Clonfert; Nathaniel Foy, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London; Lord Gormans-town; Lady Gormanstown; the Duke of Grafton, the Lord-Lieutenant; General Frederick Hamil-

* Vol. xiii., pp. 309 ff.

ton, M.P. for Coleraige, Privy Councillor, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Foot; Sir Patrick Hamilton; William Hamilton, Archdeacon of Armagh, author of the "Life" of Bonnell; Charles Hickman, Bishop of Derry; Francis Higgins; John Hooper, Bishop of Bangor; Robert Howard, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Bishop of Killala and of Elphin; Lord Howth; Francis Hutcheson, author of "System of Moral Philosophy"; Lady Lanesborough; Sir Arthur Langford; Samuel Leeson, Mayor of Derry; Sir Richard Levinge, Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Lord Limerick; Owen Lloyd; William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester; Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin; Lord Meath; Thomas Mills, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; Robert Molesworth; Samuel Molyneux, secretary to the Prince of Wales; John Moore, Bishop of Norwich; Lord Mount Alexander; Lord Mountjoy; Lord Mountrath; William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle and of Derry; William Palliser, Archbishop of Cashel; Sir Lawrence Parsons; John Robinson, Bishop of London; Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh; William Sheridan, Bishop of Kilmore; Edward Smith, Bishop of Down and Connor; Thomas Smyth, Bishop of Lismore; Lord Southwell; Sir Robert Southwell, Secretary for Ireland, and his son and successor, Edward Southwell; Sir John St. Leger, Baron of Exchequer; John Stearne, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Bishop of Dromore and of Clogher; George Story, Dean of Limerick;

the Earl of Sunderland, Lord-Lieutenant; Viscount Sydney, Lord Justice and Lord-Lieutenant; Richard Tenison, Bishop of Clogher; Benjamin Tooke; Charles Trimnell, Bishop of Norwich; John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam; Bartholomew Vigors, Bishop of Ferns; William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury; Edward Wettenhall, Bishop of Kilmore; Charles Willoughby, M.D.; Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man; and Thomas Wyndham, Chancellor of Ireland. Addison appears in a curious light. Of course, eager attention will be fastened on the letters to and from Jonathan Swift, the formidable Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

