

**THE OUT-LETTER BOOK OF GOVERNOR
PERCY KIRKE, CONTAINING HIS
DISPATCHES FROM TANGIER, 1681–1683,
TO SECRETARY JENKINS, AND TO THE
LORDS OF THE TREASURY**

Letter 1 [pp. 1–2]From Strawberry Hill 1842P¹11791 Ph²To M.^r Secretary Jenkins³Tanger June 17.th 1681.

Honoured Sir,

Yours of the 9.th of May came hither after Coll. Sackville's departure, and finds this Garrison at present under my command, wherein I shall endeavour to behave my self with that fidelity and vigilance as becomes so great a trust, and that zeal I have ever had for his Ma.^{ties} service which I study to promote here. I cannot but recommend myself and affaires to your protection that they may have the happinesse of being represented favourably to his Maj.^{tie}.

By this time you will have an accompt of S^r. James Leslie's transactions and the success of his Embassy.⁴ I lately received a letter from the Alcaid⁵ Omar⁶ whereⁱⁿ he expresses his Master's⁷ disposition to send with all possible speed an Embassadour to England and desiring to know if there were any ship ready for him. I answered that I questioned not but with the arrival of the first fleet hither, orders would be sent for his transportation: you will please to dispose in this affair what most conduces to his Ma.^{ties} service.

¹ Press P in the Glass Closet in Horace Walpole's Library, Strawberry Hill (Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Library* (Cambridge, 1958), 16).

² This was the Letter Book's catalogue reference number in the Phillipps Collection.

³ Sir Leoline Jenkins (see App. A).

⁴ Sir James Lesley (Routh, *Tangier*, 207–214; Childs, *Kirke*, 38–40). See Introduction; Letter 5; App. A.

⁵ An alcaid, or qaid, was the commander of a castle or fortress, the Moroccan equivalent of an English governor.

⁶ Omar Ben Haddu Hamami, alcaid of Alcazar (see App. A).

⁷ Moulay Ismail ibn Sharif, sultan of Morocco (see App. A).

The yacht⁸ which attends this place hath lately met with an ill reception in Cadiz, being denied Prattick⁹ for <2> having taken on board and brought hither an English family from St. Mary Port¹⁰ (a place infected)¹¹ who, notwithstanding, produced to the Captain for their admittance a Bill of health from Cadiz, which hath since proved counterfeit. I have taken care on this business to have the chief author (that imposed upon the Captain) imprisoned, and to remove the other persons so far from any communication with the inhabitants as I question not will give satisfaction to the Governour of Cadiz and oblige them to revoke the orders he had given for the denial of Prattick. I have taken all the measures to redresse so unexpected an inconvenience as the matter was capable of, and do assure you that we are so far from the least suspicion of an infection that I never knew this place freer from the most ordinary distempers then at present. I am with all truth

Hon:^d S.^r
Your &c.

⁸ HMY *Anne* (unrated, 8 three-pounder cannon) was built at Woolwich during 1661 by Master Shipwright Sir Christopher Pett (1620–1668) for James, duke of York, who named her after his first wife, Anne Hyde (1637–1671). A 52 × 19-footer drawing 7 feet, this single-masted vessel of 100 tons joined the Straits squadron in 1680 and was assigned specifically to Tangier, 1681–1684, under the command of Captain John Neville, RN, 1680–1681, and Captain George Aylmer, RN, 1681–1684. In 1686, she was sold to the London Customs House. A painting of the Royal Yacht *Anne* in action against Kronborg Castle, Elsinore, in 1670, attributed to a follower of Willem van der Velde the Younger (1633–1707), hangs in Doddington Hall, Doddington, Lincolnshire (J.J. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy* (London, 2003), 17; Alan Major, *Royal Yachts* (Stroud, 2011); M. Guest and W.B. Boulton, *The Royal Yacht Squadron* (London, 1902), 6–7). See App. A, AYLMER, George; NEVILLE, John.

⁹ Pratique. There is a note in the margin: 'y^e yacht denied pratick at Cadiz'.

¹⁰ El Puerto de Santa María, situated on the east shore of the Bay of Cadiz.

¹¹ An epidemic of bubonic plague affected the western Mediterranean basin throughout the 1680s.

Letter 2 [pp. 2–4]

To the Lords of the Committee.¹²

Tanger June 30.th 1681.

My Lords,

I must now humbly acknowledge two of your Lord.^{sps} of the 22.^d of Aprill and 3.^d of June. The first encharging a peculiar care in the management of the expense of the Hospitall¹³ <3> and providing for the due watering of the souldiers' salt provisions; the other shews the extraordinary concern your Lord.^s are pleased to have for the old Garrison, in the sending apparel for five hundred souldiers,¹⁴ which hath been received here, and shall be disposed of exactly according to your Lord.^s directions. On the subject of the Hospitall, having been carefull to consult with the Overseers thereof, about the most regular and easy method that might answer your Lord.^{sps} desires and his Ma.^{ties} service, we find nothing new to propose there-upon, nor are able to make any additionall remarks to what my Predecessor, Coll: Sackville¹⁵ had long since represented to your Lord.^s. which consisted of severall particulars. 1.st that the present establishment was, by much, too little for the maintenance of the sick. 2; that the Hospitall was scarce large enough to accommodate the 8.th part of them; 3; the want of severall utensils as Pots, Pans, Pipkins, Porringers, Spoons &c. 4. that a Surgeon and two mates be allowed each Regiment:¹⁶ 5. that care be taken for the watering

¹²The Tangier Committee, a committee of the Privy Council charged with administering the colony of Tangier.

¹³Tangier's first military hospital occupied one of the many civilian houses left vacant by the departing Portuguese and, despite several schemes to find or construct alternative premises, so it continued until the evacuation in 1684 (Arni, *Hospital Care*, 12–16; Routh, *Tangier*, 300–304).

¹⁴The Tangier Committee was charged with clothing the garrison, whereas, in Scotland, Ireland, and England, responsibility fell upon a regiment's colonel-proprietor. Both agencies, however, followed similar procedures. Patterns were agreed with civilian suppliers and contracts arranged, the necessary funds were then borrowed and advanced, and the outlay recouped over two years via 'off-reckonings' of *c.*2d a day from the soldiers' pay. Naturally, there was every incentive to maximize profit by cutting costs. A compulsory, biennial clothing rota was introduced on 30 May 1690 (A.J. Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline: Officership and Administration in the British Army, 1714–1763* (Manchester, 1985), 147–157; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, 56–61; Childs, *Army of William III*, 167–171). See App. A, GAY, James.

¹⁵Edward Sackville (see App. A).

¹⁶Initially, each of the four infantry regiments included a surgeon while those of John Fitzgerald and Lewis Farrell also employed surgeon's mates. These posts had been reduced

constantly the salt provisions by constituting a Cook, Steward &c. according to the method practised in his Ma.^{ties} Navy.¹⁷ Upon the whole, I must needs urge the absolute necessitie of an established credit at Cadiz for the expense daily accreuing beyond the fund already settled, which affords but a small part of that convenient treatment necessary for the great numbers of the sick.

<4> The other point for the generall watering the souldiers provisions meets with that care I ought to expresse on so important a matter, which not being at present easily practicable by reason of the promiscuous and dispersed quarters of the severall companies, I have this day begun to reduce them to another order, intending to quarter each company by themselves without the intermixture of others, which method will be soon perfected, and render this matter (so particularly recommended by your Lord.^{ps} and so extremely necessary) the more feasible, and of more easy observance, and your Lord.^{ps} may be assured a most exact care shall be taken herein.¹⁸ I am

My Lords,
Your &c.

by 1668. Thereafter, a physician, surgeon, surgeon's mate, and an apothecary were appointed to the garrison staff. Kirke was here seeking extra provision to cope with the increasing numbers of sick (Dalton, *Army Lists*, I. 33–34, 40–41, 269, 302–303; Arni, *Hospital Care*, 21–22).

¹⁷ Neither the hospital nor the garrison regiments had designated cooks. Each man was responsible for dressing his own victuals although unofficial messes were formed to share the duties. Salted pork or beef, the basic Tangier ration, was soaked in fresh water for as long as possible prior to final rinsing and boiling, sophisticated culinary methods long practised in the Royal Navy. Roast salt meat is unpalatable (see Letter 76).

¹⁸ Apart from accommodation for duty units in the Upper Castle and the larger redoubts in the 'Lines', there were no barracks. The soldiers were billeted on private householders or accommodated in the churches and numerous houses left empty by the departed Portuguese. Discipline and unit cohesion consequently suffered. Tangier was a crown colony, so all property belonged to the king. There were 429 buildings in 1678: 231 were let on leases of twenty-one years and 198 were used by the military (Routh, *Tangier*, 56, 259, 370–372).

Letter 3 [pp. 4–7]

To M.^r Secretary Jenkins.

Tanger June 30: 1681.

Honoured Sir,

Besides the acknowledgment of yours of the 23.th [*sic*] of May I have nothing considerable to acquaint you withal. Some days since arrived here Hamet Lucas,¹⁹ the Alcaid's secretary, with order to discourse with me on the subject of severall <5> disputes which daily arise about the observance of the peace but because his Commission extended not to the immediate redress of our complaints, I was contented he should make a report of the same to the Alcaid, not without hopes of a better regulation of matters for the future.

I cannot but by this opportunity observe to you that the greatest part of our horses here, being at the first old and harassed, have since their coming hither thrived so ill in this climate, particularly in this time of grass, contracting all the diseases incident to them, that they die every day and we must expect suddenly to be wholly unprovided, insomuch that it is absolutely necessary care be taken for a speedy recruit. And here I cannot but give my humble opinion, that it will most conduce to his Ma.^{ties} service that the supply of horses be bought from Spain, for besides that they they [*sic*] may be procured at cheaper rates, so the climate being more naturall to them as well as diet, they will certainly prove of more vigour and durance [*sic*] then any that can be sent from England.²⁰

We have lately had advice that a French boat belonging to Mons.^r Chasterenaut's²¹ Squadron pursuing one of the Moors [was] ob<6>liged to run on shore, the French boat being so far engaged in the pursuit, that a fresh wind blowing from sea she had likewise the ill fortune to be stranded. The Alcaid, who happened to be in these parts, fell upon them with a party of Moors, and killing (as we hear) 8 of them, took the rest prisoners, of whom we guess one to be of considerable quality, the Moors demanding a vast ransome in money, or 80 Moorish slaves in exchange. Another, likewise an officer of some note, answering a question, the Alcaid made him

¹⁹ Al-Hajj Mohammed Lucas (see App. A).

²⁰ See Letter 7; App. C.

²¹ Vice Admiral François Louis de Rousselet, marquis de Château-Renault (see App. A).

something proudly, had his head struck off by him. While we expected to hear how the French would have resented and revenged this affront, I receive a letter from the Alcaid, wherein he tells me he is likely to conclude a peace with them, intimating that the same had been done long since with us by sea likewise had we desired it.

The Governor of Cadiz, prevailed on by a letter I writ him, and the care I had taken to remove all suspicions, the bringing hither the persons of St. Mary Port (which I mentioned in my last) might give of[f] the dangers of infection, hath agreed to give us Prattick as before. I maintain a frequent correspondence with him, endeavouring to engage his good offices to us by all the marks of friendship consistent with his Ma.^{ties} service, though if the report we have, that the sickness has likewise <7> seized that place, prove true it will oblige me to observe all cautious measures with him for the future, and to suffer no communication with any vessels that shall come from thence. I am,

Hon.rd S.^r
Your &c.

Letter 4 [pp. 7–11]

Tanger July 14.th 1681.

To the Lords of the Committee

My Lords,

Since my last of the 30.th past, I have recieved a letter from the King of the Morocco, who it seems having been fully informed by some slaves that we were willing to exchange them for cattle, pressed me in the most earnest manner to accept of two cows in return for each slave. I hoped to make use of this opportunity to introduce an immediate correspondence between that King and my self, independent on [of] the Alcaid Omar, his chief Minister, which would be of no small consequence to the King my Masters service; I therefore thought it convenient <8> to gratify him in the best manner I was capable, and choosing out six slaves the most unfit for labour as a present for him, I let him know that the slaves belonging to the King my Master being bought with his money and employed in his service, it was not in my power to dispose of them without his Ma.^{ties} special order, that I doubted not, if the Embassadour that should be sent hence for England should

make a proposal of this nature, that the King my Master, out of his great affection and esteem for his Ma.^{tic} of Morocco would give so gracious an ear thereunto, that he would certainly obtain their freedom in the mean time, that I could give his Ma.^{tic} no greater evidence of my devoting my self to his Royall pleasure, then in presuming to present him six slaves which I had found out the most worthy objects of his charity and compassion. I hope that what I have done herein will meet you Lord.^{ps} approbation, as a thing necessary to my Masters service, and which will doubtless produce good effects.

I have formerly urged a necessity of a recruit of horses for this Garrison, which being now diminished to the number of 80 only, and of them the greatest part unfit for service, your Lord.^{ps} will see how requisite it is that order be taken for a speedy supply. The long experience we have had here of <9> the ill thriving of English horses in this Climate, makes me confident to propose my opinion to your Lord.^{ps} that this Garrison cannot be better furnished then from Spain, where besides that they will be found at cheaper rates then in England, they will likewise be of more durance [*sic*] and much more proper for service here, which consisting not in long marches and fatigue, but in short and brisk skirmishes, will be better performed by light Spanish horses then by ours that are dull and heavy. I must at the same time humbly offer to your Lord.^{ps} consideration the extream want of cloathes for Cap.^t McKenny's²² Troop, which is at present so ill provided for in that particular, that I cannot but recommend them very earnestly to your Lord.^{ps} protection.

It hath been of late my great care to consult for the security of the health of this place, we at present lying between dangers on either hand, by reason of the infection as well in this country as in Spain. I have therefor strictly forbid all Prattick with Cadiz, and to prevent the inconveniencies that may arise from the continuance of our intercourse with the Moors, I have disposed that these severall Aldermen of the Corporation shall take their turns <10> in waiting at the Gate towards the countrie where they see to inspect all merchandise that shall be brought from time to time by the Moors, which appearing to come from places uninfected, or to be of a nature from which no danger may be apprehended, I shall permit they may be brought in. Such goods as are liable to infection, as Hides, Alhaiques [*sic*],²³ Feathers, and the like sorts, shall be deposited at the Stacade,²⁴

²² Alexander MacKenny (see App. A).

²³ Haik. White, cotton, cloth, much used in Arab attire.

²⁴ Estacade. In this context, it probably means a line of stakes marking the boundary between Tangier and Morocco.

from whence they may be imbarqued without being brought into the City. And the whole Commerce, during the time the pestilence shall last in these parts, shall be managed by the hands only of such Jews who are present here on the Alcaid's accompt, without suffering any other person to come out of the Country, which method (with God's blessing) will sufficiently secure the continuance of the present good state of health we enjoy here.

M.^r Bowler,²⁵ whose return to England your Lord.^{ps} have been pleased to order, hath yet met with no opportunity of embarkation, he at present lies under some indisposition occasioned by a dangerous fall, which hath much bruised him, though he hopes to be in a condition to depart with Cap.^t Carter,²⁶ whom we expect suddenly, if not he shall take the next convenience that offers.

<11> I have nothing more to adde besides the acquainting your Lord.^{ps} that the 60 barrells of powder and the hundred Barbary Gun = barrells with their locks designed as a present to this Emperour have been received here ~ and the assuring your Lord.^{ps} that I am with all submission,

My Lords,
Your Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 5 [pp. 11–18]

To M.^r Secr.^y Jenkins

Tanger July 14.th 1681.

Honoured Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your kind letter and good advice of the 6th of June, and to assure you it shall be my care to obey you in all things and to serve my Master with honour and honesty. The hint you are pleased to give me of living well with Admiral Herbert²⁷ finds all imaginable disposition in my breast, it having been, and always will be, my Maxime, to conform my mind to my Masters service, which I do in this point you recommend to me the more easily, since nothing can sute [*sic*] more with my <12> own inclinations than a good understanding with that Gentleman, from whom I

²⁵ Phineas Bowles (see App. A).

²⁶ Captain Richard Carter, RN (see App. A).

²⁷ Admiral Arthur Herbert (see App. A).

must confesse to have recieved great favours and obligations. And I hope you will not concieve that I depart from this rule, if I take notice, that in what S.^r James Leslie has been pleased to represent that I had made a Peace with the Emperour of Morocco before his arrival (as Cap.^t Langstone²⁸ writes me) and that he might have had a better but for my being there, he hath not done me all that justice I might expect from him,²⁹ for I presume it no lesse then a duty to vindicate my self, without animosity or causing disputes to the hinderance of his Ma.^{ties} affairs, and believe Coll: Sackville has been so kind to me before this as to have done it for me. And, indeed, I have been so far from attempting any thing of that nature which S.^r James it seems has intimated to me, that when the Emperour offered me a Peace for four years, telling me there was no necessity of the Embassadors coming to him. I answered him (as all the Gentlemen that were with me can justify, and as will appear by all my Letters to Tanger and England) that I came not to treat of a Peace, and having no orders for the same it was not my part to intermeddle with it, that the Embassador brought full instructions from my Master, and might be expected in a <13> few days. The truth is, I was so averse to give the least umbrage of maintaining a negotiation which might ecclipse that of S.^r James that the very day of his arrival at Mequinez³⁰ I should have departed for Tanger, had not he himself (upon the Alcaid declaring that if I went they would not treat with him) conjured my stay and continuance there and, I may say without vanity, that had not my going into the country prepared the way for him, he had not certainly been received either by the King or the Alcaid. I must needs confesse that I gave S.^r James my opinion, that this Peace or rather Truce, seemed to me more convenient than a Truce of six months, since it was wholly referred to the King our Master to have it for the time he thought fit and that Tanger was not in so good a condition of defence, as a longer terme then that of six months would put it into. I hope none of my actions shall undeserve his Ma.^{ties} good opinion, and I am really persuaded that my appearance with this Emperour has settled such a correspondence between him and this Garrison, that it never had before, which I hope will prove to be all the harm that I have done.

<14> I have lately recieved a Letter from his Ma.^{ty} of Morocco (the translation whereof I here enclose) concerning the redeeming the Moorish Slaves here in exchange for cattle, which being wholly grounded on false suppositions, I endeavoured to soften my refusall

²⁸ Thomas Langston (see App. A).

²⁹ See Letter 1.

³⁰ Meknès.

in the best terms I was capable (as you will see in my enclosed answer) and that it might appear the lesse ingratefull to a Prince, whom I know to be of an humour impatient of contradiction, I conceived it necessary not to make him an absolute denial, and therefore presumed to choose out six Slaves, the most uselesse and unserviceable, to present him withal, which I hope the King my Master will approve of. And this I did with a prospect that such an expression of my respect to him, may induce him to a correspondence with me for the future, immediate and separate from the Alcaid, from whom (notwithstanding I live with him extreemly well) we shall not derive the same advantages as from the King, and this at present is the subject of my greatest industry.

The infection of Cadiz being confirmed to me I have taken care there shall be no communication with that Port, nor any vessells thence to be admitted here, and having at the same time recieved advice of severall places in the <15> Moors country to be likewise infected, you will see in my enclosed letter to the Alcaid under what cautions and rules I shall permit an intercourse with those people, and in this business of health I shall practise the most carefull methods that the state of our neighbours, and the condition of things from time to time shall dictate to mee.

Having some reason to suspect that the Alcaid Omar (contrary to what he had assured me formerly) would contrive that the person to be sent from the King Embassadour to England, might be of so inconsiderable merits as would possibly render him not very acceptable to his Ma.^{ties}. I thought it might import his service to write to the Alcaid on this subject, which I have done, in such terms as, giving for granted that the person designed will be of the greatest quality, may insinuate the necessity of disposing he should be so, as you will see in the close of my Letter to him.

I cannot but here repeat the sad condition of the horses in this Garrison, the whole four Troops being reduced to the number of 80 (those of the officers included) and of them I may safely say not half are fit for service; <16> this is a matter so essential to the welfare of his Ma.^{ties} Garrison, that I must needs urge with all the earnestness imaginable, a speedy supply may be ordered, which, as I have formerly hinted, cannot in my poor opinion be more conveniently done then from Spaine.

Some offices having lately become vacant in his Ma.^{ties} forces here I have supplied them with persons of whose merits I am fully satisfied, which I beg you would please to signify to his Ma.^{ties} that they may be honoured with his Royall Commission, confirming Henry Withers³¹ in

³¹ Henry Withers (see App. A).

that of Lieu.^t to Cap.^t George Talbott³² in the Regiment that was to have been S.^r Palmes Fairbornes;³³ Garratt Fitzgerald³⁴ in that of Ensigne to Cap.^t George Wingfield,³⁵ in the Duke of Monmouth's late Regiment, Corbett Henne³⁶ in that of Lieu.^t to Cap.^t George Bowes³⁷ Company in the Battalion of his Ma.^{ties} Guards, and Thomas Hussey³⁸ in that of Ensigne to [blank]

By Letters from a Gent.^{lm} I have in the Country with the Alcaid, I am informed a peace had been concluded with the French for one year in which time the King of Morocco is to send an Embassadour to France to confirm the same, for much longer terme as shall appear <17> most convenient for both Princes.³⁹ What we are at present able to learn of the conditions is, that restitution is to be made of whatsoever shall have been taken by either side during the warre, or the full value thereof. That if a Moorish vessel pursued by the ships of any nation whatsoever shall enter into any Port or harbour belonging to the French, she shall enjoy the protections of such harbour. That when a Moorish Man of Warre shall meet any French merchant = man at sea, the Merchant = man is to send his boat a board the Moorish ship to exhibite his Passeport; that the Moors have the liberty to come on board such merchantmen to search for passengers or goods belonging to their enemies, which they may seize as a breach of Articles. These advices come from the Moors themselves, the truth will be the better discovered when compared with the accompt the French shall give of this Treaty.

Here is newly arrived a French vessel from Legorne and Genua, and reports his having met Admirall Herbert with his Squadron at Alicante, from whence he intended for Argier,⁴⁰ having retaken three Prizes, <18> vizt. a small vessel laden with salt from

³² George Talbot (see App. A).

³³ Lieutenant Colonel Sir Palmes Fairborne (see App. A).

³⁴ Garrett FitzGerald (see App. A).

³⁵ George Wingfield (see App. A).

³⁶ Corbett Henne (see App. A).

³⁷ George Bowes (see App. A).

³⁸ Thomas Hussey (see App. A).

³⁹ The continuance of foreign enclaves on Moroccan territory caused Moulay Ismail to adopt a policy of consistent hostility towards Spain and Portugal but good relations with France. An ambassador, Mohammed Temim, attended the Court of Louis XIV in 1682. He also sought additional European allies (see Letter 103).

⁴⁰ Algiers.

Villafranca, a Sartia⁴¹ laden with corn from Genua, and a small Barco Longo.⁴² I am

Hon.^d S.^r,
Your &c.

Letter 6 [pp. 18–22]

To M.^r Secret.^y Jenkins

Tanger July 28.th 1681.

Honoured Sir,

I have the honour of yours of the 20th past, and must return you many humble thanks for the concern you are pleased to expresse, on the devolution of this new charge upon me, wherein my zeale for my Master's service and honour will be the more successful, while I govern my self by those dictates you are pleased to insinuate, and do endeavour to make his Ma.^{ties} interest alone the rule of all my actions.

The King's Letter to the Alcaid Omar I took care to forward the very moment it came to my hands, writing to him at the same time, and enclosing likewise the <19> Spanish translation of it, because I believe they might not be furnished there with sufficiently skilfull interpreters. I have yet seen nothing from the Commissioners of the Admiralty⁴³ about the Fregat [*sic*] ordered for the transportation of the Emperour's Embassadour,⁴⁴ though upon the first intimation of it to me I immediately acquainted the Alcaid there = with; I am now making the best preparations I am capable for the reception of him here, where I shall endeavour to treat him, as you order, with all the civilities and respects imaginable, and to promote as

⁴¹ A saetia, or saettia, was a small, two-masted, lateen-rigged, coastal trading vessel of Venetian design (*OED*).

⁴² A barca-longa (barque-longa, barcolongo) was an Iberian fishing vessel, common between the 17th and 19th centuries, usually about 70 feet long with two or three masts each bearing a lugsail (*OCS*, 31).

⁴³ When the passage of the Test Act in 1673 obliged the Roman Catholic duke of York to resign as Lord High Admiral, Charles II assumed the role assisted by a new, fifteen-man Admiralty Commission under the chairmanship of Prince Rupert of the Rhine (1618–1692), the 'first lord', and served by Samuel Pepys as secretary. The system endured until 1684 (Pepys, *Diary*, X. 1–5; Davies, *Pepys's Navy*, 27).

⁴⁴ Moulay Ismail's ambassador was Alcaid Ahmed Mohammed Attar Ben Haddu (or Ohadu), known to the English as 'Ben Hadu' (see App. A).

much as this place will give me leave the honour of my Master on so particular and unusuall an occasion. The Alcaid writes me that the person who shall be appointed shall be to the satisfaction of his Ma.^{tic} and that he shall be fully empowered and authorised to treat on and conclude a Peace as well by sea as land. I as yet know not of what quality he is, nor when I may expect him, in the mean while, I have urged that no time might be lost, and that his dispatches may be prepared for him with all speed, to the end that his Ma.^{ties} Fregats may not be obliged to an inconvenient delay here.

<20> Since my last I have received another Letter from the Emperour of Morocco (the translation whereof verbatim out of the original Arabick I here send enclosed) wherein he expresses to me his satisfaction in the present I had made him of the six Slaves &c. My answers to his Ma.^{tic} you will see likewise here adjoined and I hope I shall for the future have frequent occasions of treating directly with him, which (as I before hinted) will be of better consequence to my Masters service, then the doing it by the interposition [*sic*] and Ministry of the Alcaid. You will observe in my Letter to him that I present him with a couple of dogs, which I mention as bestowed on me by the King my Master, as well to magnify my own respect to his Ma.^{tic} of Morocco, in parting with what I ought to esteem so much, as to affect him with the greater conception and value of the present.

By a narrow observation of the present motions and transactions of the Moors, I have very convincing grounds to believe they have designs upon Larache,⁴⁵ a Garrison on this coast belonging to the Spaniards. For which reason I thought the good correspondence between my Master and his Catholick Ma.^{tic} and the interest of

⁴⁵ Larache is situated on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, about 100 km south of Tangier. First occupied by the Portuguese in 1471, it passed into Spanish possession in 1610 and was not returned at the Treaty of Lisbon, 1668. Kirke's intelligence was inaccurate: not until 1688 was Larache successfully attacked and the Spaniards expelled. However, the Spanish enclave of La Mamora had fallen earlier that year. On receiving information that its garrison was demoralized and weak, Omar Ben Haddu Hamami, alcaid of Alcazar (see App. A), had been ordered from Tangier to take command of jaysh forces from Tetuan, Sallee, Meknès, Fez, and Alcazar, which were assembling before the town. Arriving on 26 March 1681, Omar captured La Mamora on 2 April, the garrison of 134 men offering no effective resistance after the water supply had been interrupted. The soldiers were enslaved and only the governor, five officers, and the chaplain freed. La Mamora yielded 103 cannon, more than Moulay Ismail possessed in his entire kingdom, plus plentiful ammunition. Tangier's vulnerability was thereby greatly increased, although Moulay Ismail's open pursuit of a French alliance in order to oppose Spain more effectively had caused the latter to become temporarily friendlier towards England (Blunt, *Black Sunrise*, 203–205; Mercer, 134; *Tangier Texts*, 45; Windus, 470; App. C, The Tangier Horse).

<21> both in the preservation of that place, a sufficient motive to me to give the most seasonable advice thereof to Spain that I was capable, which you will see I have done by the enclosed copies of two Letters I have already writ to the Governour of Gibraltar, the first, in answer to one I have recieved from him; the other, in pursuance of the same subject.

I can never sufficiently lament to you our extraordinary want of horses in the Garrison, which (as I have represented) being diminished to a very small number, and those likewise info[i]rm and falling away daily. I lye under the unpleasant apprehension of seeing the place suddenly quite unfurnished and destitute of what is the best support and defence of it, the ill consequence whereof I leave to your prudent reflection.

I had formerly designed severall officers of my Regiment for England, in order to make recruits, but the late motions of the Moors towards Larache giving me a reasonable suspection, that, if they should succeed in their attempts upon that place, the pride of it might make them forget or undervalue our friendship, and en<22>courage then to renew their hostilities against us on whom they seem still to have an envious eye, I shall suspend the sending those officers and keep the Garrison as strong as I can till the Emperour of Morocco's Embassadour's arrivall here and embarcation for England shall have secured me the good intentions of these people. I am,

Hon.^d S.^r
Your &c.

Letter 7 [pp. 22–25]

Tanger August 12.th 1681.

To the Lords of the Committee

My Lords,

It is now a considerable time that I have not had the honour of any from your Lord.^{ps} and I can at present only acquaint you with the disputes I have with the Almoosdens [*sic*] (or chief officers of the fields here)⁴⁶ on the subject of our late contract with them for straw, they

⁴⁶ An almocaden was the captain of a company of infantry or the leader of a body of soldiers from a specific tribe. According to John Davis, an almocaden was a subordinate

refusing to comply with that, and severall other agreements pursuant to our Articles of Peace, till such time that the cloth wee <23> are to furnish them withall from England shall be delivered here;⁴⁷ alleging that the term is long since expired. And not withstanding I have endeavoured to satisfy them, that all care had been taken that the cloth might arrive in due time, but that the vessel on which it was embarked was detained by contrary winds, and that they ought always to except [expect] the casualties of the sea; they urge me to advance the cloth by buying or borrowing the same of their merchants in this place, wherein, besides that I have not his Ma.^{ties} order thereupon I shall take care not to gratify them, unless I shall first see all matters, which of late have been extreemly discomposed, so regulated on their side, that we may not lye at their mercy; experience having sufficiently taught us not to depend on their promise. I am making preparations for the reception of the Moorish Embassadour here, which, together with the provision I lay in of corn and straw for our horses, will be not a little expensive, and hath obliged me to draw Bills of 458^l. 6^s. 8^d in 2000 p.^s of 8/8⁴⁸ taken up of M.^r Price,⁴⁹ merchant of Cadiz, I question not but that your Lord.^{ps} will please to encourage the punctuall payment of it, assuring your Lord.^{ps} I shall husband all money for his <24> Ma.^{ties} service to the best advantage as you will see by the acompts of my disbursements.

The miserable decayed condition of our horse here has been long lamented by us, and has employed our thoughts about severall expedients of recruiting, and maintaining them with the greatest ease to his Ma.^{ties} service: amongst others I presume to recommend to your Lord.^{ps} the enclosed project of the Captains of the Severall Troops of the Garrison, with my humble opinion, that it will be extreemly necessary [that] as [a] speedy resolution be taken on this subject, being at present absolutely destitute of horse, which we are enough convinced are the best defence of the place. And since the causes of the miscarriage of the late horses will guide us to prevent the same

governor of a Moroccan 'cavila', an administrative sub-division, but the two definitions are not exclusive (Davis, *Queen's*, I. 281).

⁴⁷ According to the unratified Treaty of Meknès, the Moroccans were to receive, inter alia, gifts of woollen cloth, weapons, and gunpowder (CO 279/27, fos 207–211; *HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I. 57).

⁴⁸ Tangier normally conducted external business in the silver piece-of-eight (*real de a ocho*), the equivalent of 8 *reales*. Worth about 2 Dutch guilders or 4s 6d sterling, it was sometimes referred to as the Spanish dollar. The other principal currency within the Mediterranean basin was the Venetian gold ducat, valued at 5 Dutch guilders or 11s 3d sterling. The semi-official currency within the confines of Tangier was the pound sterling although all local moneys were accepted (see Letter 12).

⁴⁹ Benjamin Price (see App. A).

for the future, when your Lord.^{ps} are assured (as there is nothing more certain) that it hath chiefly proceeded from the disagreeableness of the Climate to English horses, and from the great want of forage here, you will at once think it reasonable that the recruits be made from Spain, and that his Ma.^{tic} doe establish a Magazine of Forrage in this place, with an officer to oversee the same, and provide for the constant and certain supplies of the severall Troops; I submit the whole to your <25> Lord.^{ps} great wisdom and impatiently expect his Ma.^{tics} pleasure herein. I am

My Lords,
Your &c.

Letter 8 [pp. 25–26]

Tanger August 13.th 1681.

To the Lords of the Committee

My Lords,

Since mine of yesterday I have had the fortune to succeed so well in my negotiations with these people, that, they having given me all desirable assurances of an exact and absolute observance of the Articles of Peace, and particularly the making good our late contract for straw (of which wee were induced to the utmost necessity) of enlarging our limits and of furnishing us with a constant and uninterrupted supply of refreshments and all sorts of provisions to be brought daily to our gates, I have thought it no inconsiderable piece of service to his Ma.^{tic} to gratify them in what they have so vehemently insisted on, concerning my advancing the cloth due by the Articles, for which reason I shall take up the same of M^r. Smith⁵⁰ a Merchant here who is wil<26>ling to furnish me with it on his Ma.^{tics} Credit, and the next post I shall presume to pass my Bills on the Lords of the Treasury for his payment and satisfaction. If the cloth designed from England shall be already embarked as soon as I shall receive it here I will take care to dispose of it to the best advantage for his Ma.^{tic} and deposite the product in the chest,

⁵⁰ William ‘Tangier’ Smith (see App. A).

or be my self accountable for it, as to your Lord.^{ps} shall seem best.
I am

My Lords
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 9 [pp. 26–27]

Tanger August the 12.th 1681.

To the Lords of the Treasury

My Lords,

Having lately received order from Ma.^{tie} to receive the Embassadour expected here from the Emperour of Morocco, with all imaginable marks of honour and regard, and to defray his and his retinues charges to England, besides the expense I now lye under of making provision of straw and barley for our horses, with many others unavoidably arising from the duties <27> of my station here, I have presumed to passe Bills on your Lord.^{ps} for the summe of two thousand p.^s of 8/8 which I take up of M.^r Benjamin Price Merch.^t in Cadiz not questioning but that your Lord.^{ps} will order the punctuall payment of them with that regard that is due to his Ma.^{ties} service and honour. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 10 [pp. 27–30]

Tanger August 12.th 1683 [*sic*].⁵¹

To M.^r Secr.^y Jenkins

Honoured Sir,

The last I have from you is of the 22nd past with his Ma.^{ties} commands to accommodate and provide for the Morocco Embassadour and his retinue, which I shall do with all imaginable care, the Alcaid

⁵¹ 1681.

of Alcazar having assured me he shall be ready by the arrivall of the Fregate designed for him, which I have not yet heard of.

Wee have had of late some debates with these people on severall points that regard the observance of the Articles late<28>ly made and our good correspondence; particularly having bargained with them for a good quantity of straw for our horses, to be delivered us here at certain rates agreed on by both sides, they endeavour now to evade the complying with that contract, on pretence that the terme being expired for the delivery of the cloth, which wee are to furnish them withall from England, they may justly refuse us this and other things they had agreed to supply us with according to the Articles. It hath been in vain to allege, as I have done, that the cloth was on the way, that it hath been detained by contrary winds, and that the Article which regards this matter obliges with respect always to the casualties of the sea that no humane power can answer for. They insist that I should advance the same taking it up of Merchants here on my Masters credit, I have sufficiently shewed them the unreasonableness of this demand, and that I could not venture to do it without his Ma.^{ties} order for it. So that at present our intercourse with these people seems to be suspended, and I believe I shall be reduced to make my provision of straw from Spain, which cannot be but a considerable greater expense. If I prevaile not with the Almocadens (or chief officers of these fields) to come speedily to a reasonable compliance with me, I <29> shall write an expostulating Letter to the Alcaid, and urge him in the most pressing manner to send his peremptory orders for the regulating these affairs. In the mean time I hope the cloth will not be delayed, that these people will have no pretext to cavill with us.

I lie at present under severall expences here for his Ma.^{ties} service, as particularly the making provision of corn and straw for our horses, whereunto the treatment of the Morocco Embassadour, according to his Ma.^{ties} commands, will make so great an addition, that I am obliged to take up of a Merchant in Cadiz two thousand p.^s of 8/8 on my Bills on the Lords of the Treasury, which you will pleased to move his Ma.^{tie} may be punctually paid.

I have by this time sufficiently wearied you with my complaints of the want of horse in this Garrison, which indeed is so sensible, that I cannot forbear this repeating of it by every occasion, and now I must send you the enclosed proposalls that have been delivered me by the Cap.^{ts} of the severall Troops³² here, on the subject of recruiting and maintaining them compleat for the future when recruited, to which I shall only adde that (supposing the recruits are to be made from

⁵² See Letters 3, 7.

Spain) it will be necessary his Ma.^{tie} should establish a Magazine <30> of forrage here, with an officer to take the care and charge of it for the delivery of a certain and constant proportion of provisions for the horses, the want of which hath been no small occasion of the ill thriving and miscarriage of those we lately had. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Your &c.

Letter 11 [pp. 30–31]

Tanger 13th August 1681

To Sir Leo: Jenkins

Honoured Sir,

I yesterday gave you an accompt of certain debates I had with the Almocadens here, concerning the cloth due by the Articles from England, which they urged (the time for the delivery of it being expired) I would procure here for their present supply. And because I thought this a fit opportunity of making their necessities subservient to ours, and to extort from them by this means that justice which otherwise I could never expect, I have condescended (on the assurances they have given me of complying fully with our contract for straw, of enlarging our <31> limits, of furnishing us with a daily supply of all sorts of provisions, and of observing for the future with the greatest punctuality all the Articles of the Peace) to procure the cloth for them here, which I shall take up on my Masters credit, and next Post draw my Bills on the Lords of the Treasury for payment of the same to the Merchant that gives it. In the mean time, as an earnest of the good intentions and the friendship of these people, they have this day returned me three persons whom (according to the Articles) they had seized wandring out of our bounds, one of them, [who] had been a fortnight in their possession, and was designed to be sent to Mequinez to the Emperour; another was an officer, who pursuing his game in the field unadvisedly went out of the limits, and had certainly been made a Slave did not my late resolution of gratifying the Moors in their desires concerning the cloth prevail with them to make us these returns, and I have a very comfortable prospect of

living better with them for the future then wee have ever yet done, to the great advantage of the place and his Ma.^{ties} service. I am

Hon.^d S.^r &c.

Letter 12 [p. 32]

<32> Tanger 16.th August 1683 [*sic*].⁵³

To y^c Lords of the Treasury.

My Lords,

I presume to make use of this opportunity of letting your Lord.^{ps} know that his Ma.^{tie} being engaged by the late Treaty with the Moorish Emperour to furnish a certain quantity of cloth as a present to him, the arrivall whereof having been delayed longer then these people thought it ought to have been, I have been forced (to avoid the inconveniences that would otherwise happen to his Ma.^{ties} service) to take up the cloth of a Merchant here on my Masters credit, and to advance the same to them, drawing my Bills on your Lord.^{ps} for the summe of 713[£]: 5^s: being the value of it viz.^t 33½ pieces of Blues⁵⁴ and Violets⁵⁵ at 70 p.^s of 8/8 the piece and 16½ pieces of Plunkets⁵⁶ at 50 p.^s of 8/8 at 4.^s 6.^d the p.^s of 8/8 the which Bills your Lord.^{ps} will please may be punctually answered and complied withall according to the intent of them. I am

My Lords
Your &c.

⁵³ 1681.

⁵⁴ Cloth made from 'blue wool', high quality combing wool normally taken from a sheep's neck (*OED*).

⁵⁵ Cloth dyed violet (*OED*).

⁵⁶ A fine, woollen fabric coloured grey or light blue (*OED*).

Letter 13 [pp. 33–34]<33> Tanger August 25.th 1681.

To the Lords of the Committee

My Lords,

My last to your Lord.^{ps} was of the 12.th and 13.th ins.^t which, by reason of the ill weather that detained the Yacht in her passage for Spain, arrived not there till after the departure of the ordinary,⁵⁷ and are now like to come to your Lord.^{ps} hands with this.

The last return brought me two from your Lord.^{ps} of the 18.th June, the one, enclosed to me from the ordnance office, gives me commands that the Slaves, Horses &c. belonging to the Mole be employed in carrying on shore his Ma.^{ties} stores and provisions: the other enjoyns me not to deliver the Gun Barrells, locks, Powder and cloth, which I should receive as a present to the Moorish Emperour till further order. I shall give such directions as to the former as may answer your Lord.^{ps} pleasure therein, and I am sorry I am not at liberty to pay the same obedience to the latter, having already advanced the cloth to the Alcaid, which I have taken up of a Merchant here (that from England being not yet arrived) on those irresistible motives of his Ma.^{ties} service, that I at <34> large mentioned in my last to your Lord.^{ps} And I am confident that when you shall please to consider that had I not complied with their demands in this particular I had hazarded all the advantages of our late Peace, and done his Ma.^{tie} an irreparable disservice, you will easily let me have the satisfaction (which I shall impatiently expect) of your approbations of what I have done herein, and promote the punctuall payment of the Bill I have drawn on the Commission.^{rs} of the Treasury to the Merch.^t that supplied me with the Cloth. When that from England shall arrive I shall lay it up safely till I receive your Lord.^{ps} order for the disposall of it.

The Moorish Embassadour is not yet come hither, and I am making the best preparation I am able for his reception, I beleive I shall not see him before I advise into the country the arrivall of the ship for his transportation, which yet appears not, nor have I any other notice of it then that it had pleased his Ma.^{tie} to order one for that purpose. I have nothing more to adde to your Lord.^{ps} but that the Garrison is in a perfect state of health, and that I am

My Lords, &c.

⁵⁷ A courier who conveyed letters and dispatches at regular intervals, i.e. the local Spanish postal service (*OED*).

Letter 14 [pp. 35–38]<35> Tanger August 25.th 1681.To M.^r Secr.^y Jenkins

Honoured Sir,

By the return of the Yacht, which wee dispatch every fortnight to Spain with our packetts from [for] the North, I find the Post was departed before her arrivall there, so that my Letters of 12.th and 13.th ins.^t will be forced to wait the opportunity by which this goes, and all of them come together, tho irregularly, yet I hope securely to your hands. I must now acknowledge yours of the 27.th of June and the 18.th July with a repetition of the commands I had before recieved of making provision for the Morocco Embassadour, and of living well with Admirall Herbert, to both which I shall pay all imaginable punctuall obedience. In order to the first, I have been some time making preparation, intending to lodge the Embassadour in the Castle, as the best accommodation for him, and most suitable to his Character, in the mean time I have no news of the ship designed for his transportation, which now a considerable time you have acquainted me was ordered by his Ma.^{tie}.

<36> I have this Post recieved a Letter from the Lords of the Committee for the Affairs of Tanger of the 18.th June ordering my not delivering the Powder, Gun Barrells &c. till their Lord.^{ps} farther commands therein. In the mean time I have been obliged, on the motives you will see in my last to you, to take up the cloth here and to deliver the same to supply the defect of its not being arrived from England in due time, and whereof these people made the highest complaints. The truth is their dissatisfaction and ill humour was, on this pretence, raised to that degree, that I saw no temperament could allay it, and that there was an absolute necessity of either renouncing all intercourse with them and the benefits of the Peace, or of gratifying them in a demand which had a very great colour of justice. And this I was the more easily induced into, imagining it as part of my obedience to his Ma.^{ties} pleasure (which you had formerly signified to me) that I should have all the regard and tenderness possible for the good faith of the nation, and suffer no tricks, surprises or overreachings in any case to be made use of. Which maxime, as it preserves the honour of the King, it does equally support his interest; for besides that it would have been indecent for me to suffer the reproaches of breach of promise from a people however themselves naturally perfidious, the want of those advantages

wee derive from the Peace (which would certainly have been the effects of my non compliance) would have been alike ruinous to his Ma.^{ties} service here. So that I am persuaded you will please to represent what I have acted herein, in such manner as may deserve the King my Master's approbation, and his order to the Lords of the Treasury for the punctuall payment of the Bill I have drawn on them for satisfaction of the Merch.^t who furnished me with the cloth.

We hear out of the country, that the Alcaid having been before Larache, and learning from two Spaniards he had taken cutting wood, that the Garrison had been lately considerably reinforced, he had withdrawn from there without making any attempt upon the place.

By a Letter from Cap.^t Langstone⁵⁸ he seems to intimate his Ma.^{ties} intentions of recruiting the severall Troops lately sent hither, which will be of extraordinary importance to the safety and strength of this Garrison: and because in my last some proposalls were sent from the Cap.^{ts} of the three Troops, I cannot but now adde that the old Troop of Cap.^t Mackenny⁵⁹ is in no lesse bad condition <38> then the others, there being not so much as an officer belonging to it besides himself, so that it is hoped that his Ma.^{tie} will please to order that it may be filled up to the compleat number of fifty men with all officers, which together with the other Troops will make up the force of 200 horse, not sufficiently competent, I must confesse, to render the place so secure as it might be desired (and as hereafter I trust it will be by a greater number) yet what is absolutely necessary for the present. I am with all respect,

Hon.^d S.^r
Your &c.

Letter 15 [pp. 38–40]

Tanger September 8.th 1683 [*sic*].⁶⁰

To y^c Lords of the Committee

My Lords,

Having none of your Lord.^{ps} to answer I shall only at present acquaint you, that since my delivery of the cloth I mentioned in my former dispatches, the Moors have continued very punctuall in

⁵⁸ Thomas Langston (see App. A).

⁵⁹ Alexander MacKenny (see Apps A and C).

⁶⁰ 1681.

supplying us with all necessaries and refreshments, which they bring daily to our lines, and there remaining <39> only one thing to perform, which is the enlargement of our limits, the Almocadens are gone to receive full instructions on that point, wherewith I expect they will return very speedily.

I have now at length made my full provision of straw, Hay and Barley, whereof I have been obliged to take so much the more, both to supply our present wants, and to repay what wee have received of M.^r Shere⁶¹ (who hath furnished us now for many months) which being deducted, I reckon to have in store sufficient to supply us, in the present posture we are, for about ten months, and I shall in my next give your Lord.^{ps} a particular accompt of our whole Provision.

I have acquainted the Moorish King and his Alcaid that the Ships ordered by my Master for the transportation of his Embassadour were here ready, and that I had prepared all other things for his reception and his entertainment, as well during his stay here as for his voyage for England, sending at the same time translations of his Ma.^{ties} Passeports in Spanish, that they might see all the necessary dispositions on our side, and that they might have no pretences to delay the dispatching of him. By my next I <40> may possibly be able to let your Lord.^{ps} know the resolution they will have taken on this subject. I am with all submission

My Lords,
Yours &c.

Letter 16 [pp. 40–43]

Tanger Septemb.^r 8.th 1681

To M.^r Secr.^y Jenkins

Honoured Sir,

I have now received yours of the 1.st past with his Ma.^{ties} commands revoking a former order for suspending the delivery of the presents to the Alcaid. My Letters by the two last Posts will have given the reasons that obliged me to advance the cloth to him, which present is not yet arrived from England.

⁶¹ Henry Sheres (see App. A).

By late advice from Admirall Herbert I acquainted the Morocco King, and the Alcaid (now at the Court of Mequinez) that there were two ships ready by my Masters order for recieving and transportation of the Embassad.^r that should be designed for England, whom I expected here suddenly, having made the preparations for his entertain^{<41>}ment that I ought to do. I sent at the same time copies of the Passeports translated into Spanish, that they might be sensible of the concern the King my Master had that the Embassadours voyage might be with all the conveniency and security imaginable; using all means and arguments, as well in my Letters to the Alcaid as by the insinuations of certain Jews in greatest credit with this King, that the Embassadour might be a person of the best quality, and be furnished with such a power to treat, as might not tye him to wait orders from hence, upon every particular point that may happen to be debated with him, and I now expect suddenly to hear what they will have resolved on this matter.

On Munday morning the 5.th being in the fields news was brought me that a Moor well mounted had entred our lines, and advancing as far as the spurre of Peterborough-Tower had delivered himself to our Guards, I met him immediately at the Town-Gate, and he telling me that he came to put himself under the King my Masters protection, I brought him into the Town, where examining him farther and asking him his quality and the reasons that had obliged him to that resolution, he told me he was nearly ^{<42>}related to his Ma.^{tic} of Morocco being of the Royall blood of the Sherifs [*sic*]⁶² and the Kings Cousin, calling himself Muley⁶³ Hamet Ben Mahamet, Ben fidel, Ben Muley Ali; that having a law suit with an Uncle about an estate in Tafilette⁶⁴ the King (who decides himself all things of that nature) had given it in favour of his adversary, whereat he had conceived so great a disgust that he had sworn to leave his service, and to live among the Christians, having betaken himself rather to the English then any others as people for whom he had the best opinion and in whom he reposed the greatest trust. I told him I should by no means deny him the protection he had desired of me, assuring him of all the civilities and good treatment as was due to his quality, and such a freedom of living with us that he should not repent his having

⁶² Sharif, Sherif, or Shereef, a term used throughout the Arabic-speaking world, indicated either a descendant of Mohammed through his daughter Fatima, and/or a person of high birth. It could also apply to a senior government official or magistrate.

⁶³ Moulay (Muley, Mawlay, Moulay, Mouley, Mulai) was a formal mode of address for all princes of the Moroccan imperial house, the equivalent of 'my lord' or 'master'.

⁶⁴ Tafilalt, Tamelt, Tafilet, a region of oases bordering the Northern Sahara Desert, south of the Atlas Mountains. It was noted for the cultivation of dates. The 'cousin' in question was probably Moulay Mohammed al-Sharif (Mercer, 128–130).

chosen an English Garrison for his retreat. He was extremely satisfied with these and the like assurances, and much more when he saw himself in a decent apartment, which I immediately ordered for him, and that I had gratified him in his desire of a Moorish Slave to assist and attend him at his meals, his Religious exercises and at all other seasons; and this treatment I shall continue till more time shall show me how I shall dispose of him. Of this whole business I have given an account to the Moorish King and his Alcaid, with a relation of the circumstances and of my obligations of affording him my Masters protection. In all his behaviour and discourse he appears extravagant even to a degree of madness, which I am told is the true character of a Prince of the Morocco family and one of the best arguments that he is of the Royall blood.

The Admirall some days ago run ashore and burnt a Turkish prize of about 300 ton on these Coasts, which they judged to be of Hamburgh, laden with deale boards, Barrels of steel, Mum⁶⁵ and Rhenish wine &c. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yours &c.

Letter 17 [pp. 43–46]

Tanger 22.nd September 1681.

To the Lords of the Committee.

My Lords,

Some days ago I recieved a Letter from the Alcaid Omar concerning the Moorish Sherif, who in my last I gave an account was retired hither, wherein he desires upon the score of <44> friendship, that I should return him, on his word that the Prince should run no hazard of his life; urging me with all possible entreaties to do it before the accident should come to his Masters ears, whose concern for it he knew not but might produce troublesome consequences. Hereupon I sounded the Princes mind, and finding him unwilling to trust himself to the Alcaid's promise, I immediately answered his Letter, that the Prince having voluntarily come into this Garrison, and demanded the protection of the King my Master, I was obliged by the law of nations

⁶⁵ A wheat beer brewed in Brunswick (*OED*).

and the regard I ought to have for his Ma.^{ties} honour to afford it him, which his Ex.^{cic} should not admire if I resolved to do as long as he should continue in the design of staying here, but whenever he should have a desire to return I should by no means oppose the same, not doubting but that his Ex.^{cic} would think a considerable number of English Christians no unreasonable return for a person of his quality. This answer was no sooner delivered then I recieved an expresse messenger with two Letters from the Emperour, both of them of an extraordinary stile, as your Lord.^{ps} will see by the enclosed translations out of Arabick, demanding in the most peremptory terms my delivery of the Sherif, who by this time being wrought upon and persuaded that his crime was not of such nature, but would easily deserve his Masters pardon, does now himself earnestly desire to go into the country. I considered this as a criticall conjuncture to be managed for his Ma.^{ties} service, and as it was evident to me that either the retardment or refusall of sending their Embassadour to England would prove the first ill consequence of denying to part with the Sherif, so I thought it would reflect too much on my own and my Masters honour, to give the Moors an occasion of believing, that my delivery of him was an effect of that threatning and imperious manner of the King's demanding him. For which reason I deferred for some time the returning him, on the grounds your Lord.^{ps} will see in the enclosed copy of my answer to the King's Letter, making the best use I could of this delay, to insinuate things of no small advantage to us, whereof the present occasion created sufficient matter and this day I dispatched the messenger again into the country being the second after his arrivall here. I am told that the Alcaid Omar (at present indisposed and under some disgrace at Mequinez) to satisfy the Emperour, who in his displeasure at the Sherifs having passed the Moorish Guards hither, had laid a great fine on the whole country, proposed as means to have him delivered, the seising [*sic*] of me, at some seasonable opportunity when I should appear lesse accompanied in the fields, whereat they say the King expressed great dislike, and was it seems the occasion of <46> his sending me those friendly cautions for my preservation your Lord.^{ps} will read in one of his Letters to me.

I here enclosed send your Lord.^{ps} the accompt of my disbursements for his Ma.^{ties} service, and having drawn Bills on the Lords of the Treasury for the summes I have expended on my own credit beyond what I have recieved, I humbly beg your Lord.^{ps} would please to take order that my Bills may be punctually answered, having been forced to take up the mony of M.^t Benjamin Price Merch.^t in Cadiz. I am with all submission

My Lords
Your &c.

Letter 18 [pp. 46–47]Tanger Septemb.^r 22.nd 1681.

To the Lords of the Treasurie

My Lords,

By the enclosed accompts you will see my disbursements here for his Ma.^{ties} service, which having considerably exceeded the summes I have received, your Lord.^{ps} will pardon me if I presume by this opportunity to draw my Bills on you, for what appears due to me on the balance of the said accompt being <47> which I am now forced to write to M.^r Benjamin Price to furnish me with, desiring that punctuall payment of the said Bills may be made to his order and that your Lord.^{ps} would command me who am,

My Lords
Your &c.

Letter 19 [pp. 47–49]Tanger Septemb.^r 22th [*sic*] 1683.⁶⁶To M.^r Secr.^y Jenkins

Honoured Sir,

I have the honour of yours of the 15.th past and return you my humblest thanks: and must now acquaint you that the Moor, whereof I gave you an accompt in my last had put himself under my Masters protection, appears since to be, no lesse then what he at first pretended, a neer relation to the Emperour. The Alcaid Omar writ me concerning him, endeavouring to prevaile with me to return him into the country, on his engagement that he should meet no ill treatment with his Master, but the Sherif (as they call him and all those of the Royall blood) thinking it not safe to depend on <48> the Alcaid's faith, resolved to continue here, and I once more writ the Alcaid my obligation of protecting him while he should persist in that design. Two days ago I recieved Letters from the Emperour by a Messenger expresse demanding the Sherif, with his

⁶⁶ 1681.

promise he should be safe if he returned, but with many threatnings in case I should refuse or delay the sending him, as you will see in the enclosed translations. I this day dispatched the messenger again into the country with my answer, whereof I here enclose a Copy palliating my not delivering the Sherif (who is now willing to return) with the most specious reasons, and making use of the detention of him to urge severall things of our interests to the Emperours consideration; which possibly his impatience to have the Sherif returned may induce him to allow. In the present conjuncture that wee are expecting their Embassadour, and that his Ma.^{ties} ships are here attending for his transportation, I thought it unseasonable to raise such difficulties as might exasperate a capritious Prince, easily inclined to violent resolutions, nor would I give an occasion by too ready a compliance for the Moors to believe that had been extorted from me by measures, which I ought to yield only to entreaties, a matter <49> so injurious to my Masters honour that I hope I have committed no error in this method I have taken.

The frequent quarrels that have happened here between the officers and between the souldiers in contempt of the strictest orders I have given out to hinder those inconveniencies, obliges me to a severity necessary in these cases, having suspended two Ensigns who lately fought [...] ⁶⁷ Pitts⁶⁸ and Roger Elliot⁶⁹ from their charges till his Ma.^{ties} pleasure hereupon shall be signified to me.

My disbursements here for his Ma.^{ties} service have been considerable (as you will see by the enclosed accompt of them) and I must beg your favour to forward the payment of the Bills I now draw upon the Lords of the Treasury, being what remains due to me on balance of the said accompt, which I have been forced to take up of M.^r Benjamin Price Merch.^t in Cadiz. I am,

Hon.rd S.^r
Your &c.

⁶⁷ There is a space here in the manuscript.

⁶⁸ Bartholomew Pitts (see App. A).

⁶⁹ Roger Elliott (see App. A).

Letter 20 [pp. 50–52]<50> Tanger October the 8.th 1681To M.^r Secr.^y Jenkins

Honoured Sir,

I have the honour of yours of the 29.th August, with the Queens commands to negotiate the redemption of twenty Portuguese Slaves, which I shall do with the greatest speed and diligence I am capable, and shall take care that her Ma.^{ties} alms be applied after the best manner to answer the charitable intentions.

I have not yet recieved the King of Morocco's reply to my last Letter concerning the Sherif retired here, in the mean time the Alcaid Omar has writ me once more by his brother the Governour of Tetuan⁷⁰ on the same subject, the translations of whose Letters and of my answers to them I hereby enclose, some few days more will I suppose bring this matter to a conclusion, and, if wee may believe the Alcaid, wee may suddenly expect their Embassadour here; tho, upon the best view I have been able to have of these people's intentions, and particularly on this negotiation about the Sherif, wherein they have practised so many tricks and artifices, I find some arguments to suspect them. In the mean time I am sure I have managed this whole businesse with those cautious measures, as not to afford them the least pretext to quarrel with us, and, if they intend any such thing, I have left them with[ou]t any argument to justify it, as you will see by the Copies of my severall Letters on this affair. The truth is, if matters are reasonably examined, wee ought not to judge they design a breach, but because these are a people wholly governed by caprice, and sudden fancies without ground, we cannot measure their ends according to the rules of prudence. This is the reason that having notice of the motion of a body of an army in our Neighbourhood I have provided against the danger of a surprise, having doubled all my Guards. I have taken all the care that possibly I have been able to put Pole Fort into the best condition it is capable of, which being too much exposed to an Enemy, I have manned it accordingly, and laid in proportionable Ammunition. And because wee are hindrd

⁷⁰ Ahmed Ben Haddu Hamami (see App. A). The semi-independent port and pirate base of Tetuan, 60 km east of Tangier, had been seized by Moulay Ismail from the al-Naksis family in 1673 but its allegiance to the Moroccan sultan remained fragile. See Mohamed ben Azzouz Hakim, *Alwad al-Naksis fi Hokmi Titawen (985–1084/1578–1673)* (Tetuan, 2002).

by the Treaty to make any alterations or additions, and that the officers as well as souldiers ly there without any sufficient covert against the rain and weather, I have ordered a tarpawlin to be spread over for the officers convenience, and <52> severall sentry boxes are making to be placed there that the souldiers may sleep warm and under shelter. I shall omit nothing that may tend to his Ma.^{ties} service and honour, and to discharge my self after the best manner of that trust which is reposed in me, and I must tell you that nothing can so much confirm the security and prosperous condition of this place, as his Ma.^{ties} speedy resolution about the recruits of horse, which I daily hope for and I assure you can never come too soon. I yesterday made a generall muster of the whole Garrison, and by my next shall be able to send you the Abstract of it that you may have a view of our force at present.

You will have received from Cap.^t Booth's⁷¹ hands a more exact relation, then I can be able to give, of the late service he hath done in taking an Algerine Man of Warre of great force, after a very vigorous resistance; so that I have little to say on that matter, more then that on the Captains complaint to me of want of men, I thought it of consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service to furnish him with a small number, by a generall detachment of thirty souldiers out of the Garrison, with two Serg.^{ts} two Corpor.^{lls} and a drum, Cap.^t Trelawny⁷² and Lieu.^t Robinson⁷³ having gone aboard him as Volunteers. I am

Hon.^d S.^r &c.

Letter 21 [pp. 53–56]

<53> Tanger Octob.^r 20.th 1681.

To M.^r Secr.^y Jenkins

Honoured Sir,

In my last I let you see what grounds I had not to be over confident of the good intentions of our Moorish Neighbours, and I was almost confirmed, by their late long suspicion of any communication with us, that they meditated some new methods, when Hash Mahamad Lucas⁷⁴ came in here with credentiall letters from Alcaid Omar to

⁷¹ William Booth (see App. A).

⁷² Henry Trelawny (see App. A).

⁷³ Charles Robinson (see App. A).

⁷⁴ Al-Hajj Mohammed Lucas (see App. A).

discourse with me, on the long depending affair of the Sherif: this person being the Alcaid's Secretary and on whose experience and knowledge of our interests he very much relies, began his first conference with me with the common and tedious argument of his Masters friendship and good will for me, urging his authority and credit with the Emperour and the good effects wee might expect from it; that immediately upon the delivery of the Sherif the Emperour would write me a kind Letter and their Embassadour designed for England (who had been delayed by no other reason but the detention of the Sherif here) would be immediately dispatched. I answered that I had as great an esteem for the Alcaid's person as any man living, and that I should sacrifice as much to his friendship, that when they should furnish <54> me with anything as might bear me harmlesse with the King my Master, I should by no means oppose the return of the Sherif: and that I did not comprehend, when I yielded so far as to part with him upon a civill Letter from the Emperour, wherein they made the difficulty to consist, that it was visible all the obstruction that there was in this businesse lay on their side; that it was very unreasonable to make this a pretence for the delay of their Embassadour, neither of those points having any manner of dependence. So that upon the whole I was the only person that might justly complain, that while I studied to make all things easy they seemed to discompose matters with groundlesse nicities; in conclusion, the Secretary percieving me to insist on the Emperour's writing me a friendly Letter on the subject of the Sherif, he changed his method, and producing to me another Letter from his Master which he had reserved for his last effort told me that according to their customes it was inconsistent wth the Emperour's honour to retract what he had before written me, by a submission of his style, and that therefore I must not expect any change from him till I should have delivered the Sherif, that his Master being fallen into the Emperour's disgrace upon this businesse, had the weighty condition of effecting the Sherif's surrendry laid upon him as the only means for the recovery of his former credit, and that my concur<55>rence in this matter was absolutely necessary, which he told me the Alcaid would acknowledge by all imaginable good offices on his part. I considered this as an extraordinary opportunity for his Ma.^{ties} service, and tho (had wee been in a condition of hazarding a breach) I should have been of opinion it ought to have been managed to the ruine of the Alcaid, (who loves us not in his heart and is the only person in the Emperour's service capable to traverse⁷⁵ the King our Masters interests in these parts) yet regarding

⁷⁵ to act against (*OED*).

the present posture we are in, I was forced to make a quite contrary use of this conjuncture telling the Secretary I was extremely sorry for the Alcaid's misfortunes, and that being so well acquainted, as I was, with the great esteem my Master had for him, I was satisfied I could not have a more justifiable ground to deliver the Sherif, or more to be approved by his Ma.^{ty} than the consideration of that great mans interests, that therefore I was ready to improve this occasion to his advantage, and give him the greatest marks of my concern for him. For this purpose, on Munday last, accompanied with the chief officers of the Garrison, our whole number of horse, and the best appearance I could make, I conducted the Sherif to the Estacade, where the Governour of Tetuan (one of Alcaid Omar's brothers) with a train of about thirty horsemen, met me, and in the most solemn manner I delivered the Sherif to his own people, declaring that I should have ever given him the King my Master's protection had he desired the same, and that nothing would have induced me to part with him but his own consent and the Emperours having engaged his word for his safety. This ceremony was followed with the highest expressions imaginable of acknowledgments by the Governour of Tetuan and the Alcaid's Secretary, and with many repeated assurances that within 10 or 12 days their Embassadour should appear here, and all things proceed to mutuall satisfaction. And this is the present state of our affirs which with my humble thanks for your last of the 12.th past is all the trouble you shall now have from

Hon.^d S.^r
Your &c.

Letter 22 [pp. 56–60]

Tanger October the 20.th 1681.

To the Lords of the Committee

My Lords,

By the Tyger Frigate⁷⁶ lately arrived here I have received your Lord.^{ps} of July the 26.th Aug.st 15.th & 17.th and of Sept.^r the 5th and 7.th

⁷⁶ HMS *Tyger* (5th rate, 46 guns), commanded by Captain Francis Wheler, RN, was usually known as *English Tyger* to distinguish her from HMS *Turkish Tyger* or *Tyger Prize* (4th rate, 48 guns), commanded by Captain Matthew Aylmer, RN (see App. A).

<57> Your commands in those of the 26.th of July concerning the mismanagement about souldiers quarters, and the accompt of the 6792 deale boards issued between the 31.st of December and the 31.st of March last, I shall be the better able to answer in my next, when I shall have more neerly examined those matters. What I can at present say upon the first is, that the abuse complained of is of so ancient a date, and (by what I yet observed) there appear so few marks of it, that I believe it hath been long since reformed by the care of some of his Ma.^{ties} former Governours here. Yet I cannot but take notice to your Lord.^{ps} that the expence his Ma.^{tie} is at in quartering upon Towns = men is so considerable, that for very near the Annuall amount of it, he might build quarters in more convenient and proper places, which with small repairs might endure for many years, and be more usefull to the end of his Ma.^{ties} service here, and this I humbly offer to your Lord.^{ps} consideration.

The fifty pieces of cloth, now arrived, I shall endeavour to sell to the best advantage, and shall be accountable to your Lord.^{ps} for the product of it. I have writ the Alcaid about the six Galloways,⁷⁷ which come so ill treated by the sea that it <58> will require some care and time to put them in a condition fit to be sent forward, when that is, I shall take care they may be safely delivered.⁷⁸

In your Lord.^{ps} of the 5.th of September I have the misfortune to see that what I had transacted with the Emperour of Morocco on the point of Slaves had met your disapprobation: and because I have some confidence (with humble submission to your Lord.^{ps} judgment) that my proceedings in that particular were not without justifiable grounds, you will give me leave to repeat to you how necessary it was to gratify the Emperour, at least with this small present I made him, since when these Princes give themselves the trouble to ask any thing, an absolute refusall (though never so well palliated) is considered as an unexpiable affront. And in these first beginnings of an ill established friendship, to occasion a provocation when we might so cheaply avoid it, and to draw upon our selves inconveniences, the least whereof would have been continuall disputes with them, and forwardnesse in compliance with any of those few Articles that are beneficiall to us, might justly have exposed me to your Lord.^{ps} severest censure, so that I hope it will appear

⁷⁷ Especially suitable for riding, the Galloway was a small horse peculiar to that eponymous Scottish region (*OED*).

⁷⁸ There is an addition in the margin to this paragraph: 'Reasons that induced the Governor to present the Emperor wth y^e six Slaves.'

by my not running the hazard of <59> those evils that I have erred at least on the securer side. I hope by this time those proper resolutions for recruiting the horse here, have been taken by your Lord.^{ps} as you are pleased to promise, the good state of health in Spain, rendring it now safe for those supplies to be made from thence.

What your Lord.^{ps} are pleased to recommend in yours of the 7.th of Sept.^r about propping of the mine in the South East part of the Town, shall be carefully looked into, and I shall give you a speedy accompt of it. In the mean time I must acquaint your Lord.^{ps} that I have employed the Miners in making of one about 30 foot from the wall of Peterborough = Tower in the nature of a well, and if (as probably wee shall) we meet with water it may serve for both, which would prove of extraordinary convenience for the Castle, having no water but what the enemy may cut off; wee have already run it fourteen foot under the Graft,⁷⁹ and design to carry it on as far as 200, this may happily be a serviceable peice of worke, and keeps our miners employed who would otherwise live idle.⁸⁰

I must acquaint your Lord.^{ps} with one great abuse <60> here, which is, that the souldiers to the end that they may have mony to play, to drink and commit other excesses do frequently sell their provisions to the Townsmen for (it may be) half the value of them, and thus they are forced to steal and use such like unlawfull courses for their sustenance and because I have done all in my power by the most severe orders and proclamations to prevent these inconveniences without any good successe, I must beg your Lord.^{ps} would be pleased to consider on some expedient to redresse so great an evil. I am

My Lords
Yo.^r &c.

⁷⁹ A ditch or moat.

⁸⁰ Counter-mine tunnels, or galleries, were frequently built into fortresses during initial construction. The intention was to enable a camouflet to be positioned beneath the anticipated location of a potential attacker's third parallel (C. Duffy, *The Fortress in the Age of Vauban and Frederick the Great, 1660–1789* (London, 1985), 297). Kirke evidently took these defensive precautions in anticipation of a European-style siege.

Letter 23 [pp. 60–62]Tanger Novemb.^r the 3.^d 1681.

[To the Lords of the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have used my best diligence to search into the bottom of the abuse mentioned in your Lord.^{ps} of July 26.th concerning the mismanagement of quarters which being a matter of ancient standing, proves of more difficult discovery <61> and will require yet some time to be thoroughly viewed, what I have done at present hath been to trace it to its first beginning by the examination of the leases of houses given by the severall Governours wherein I conceive there may have been some abuses, and when I shall have perfected this examination (which is my present work) I shall then passe to a particular survey of all the houses and ground and by an exact inspection therein shall be enabled to give your Lord.^{ps} a more distinct account of the whole matter. In the mean time having been informed that every Governour here was not sufficiently authorised to dispose of his Ma.^{ties} ground I should be glad to know w.^{ch} of the severall Governours leases are to be reputed valid and which not, and whether your Lord.^{ps} pleasure is that those inhabitants who (not suspecting the same) may have received leases from Gouvernours that had not sufficient power, shall be for that reason dispossessed of their respective houses.

The rains that have fallen of late have hindred the opening of the Mine which your Lord.^{ps} recommended but I am prepared to do it as soon as the season will permit mee. <62> I cannot be able to give your Lord.^{ps} so good an account of the expence of the deale boards you complain of as I shall be when I have made the survey which I did designe of the severall works and buildings here which I shall do with all possible expedition.

I must by this opportunity remind your Lord.^{ps} of a supply of coales for this Garrison our present stores being scarce sufficient for three months so that you will be pleased to give the speediest orders herein. I am

My Lords,
Your &c.

Letter 24 [pp. 62–66]Tanger November the 3.^d 1681.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I thought by this time I should have been able to have given you an account of the arrivall of the Moorish Embassadour in consequence of the many pressing letters I have writ on that subject and of the most solemn assurances of the Alcaid Omar's brother & Secretary. In the mean time he doth not yet appear, and the <63> death of that great Alcaid⁸¹ wherewith I have been acquainted by a Letter from Cidi Joseph Benabdula of Alcazar,⁸² will furnish them with new excuses for a longer retardment. There are various reports concerning the distemper whereof the Alcaid Omar dyed, some beleive it to be the effect of poison and endeavour to confirm their opinion by certain stories of provocations given by him to great persons, other [s] do conclude, possibly with more reason, that it was occasioned by discontent and the sense of his Masters displeasure, who (according to the custome of these Princes who usually make their Ministers purchase the continuance of their favour as often as they think fit) exacting from him greater summes of mony then it was possible for him to furnish, he threatned him with his highest indignation and cast him into that discomposure of body and mind which cost him his life. Though wee are told that the Emperour received the news of his death with much resentment, and honoured his funeralls with his presence, and his two brothers Cidi Ali Benabdala⁸³ and Cidi Joseph⁸⁴ are continued in their charges <64> the former in the Government of Alcazar and the other in that of Tetuan, so that in appearance the death of that person will produce no greater alteration then the succession of another to his employment of chief Minister who will likely prove more our friend, or at worst be lesse capable, through want of an equall experience to do us harm.

⁸¹ Omar Ben Haddu Hamami, alcaid of Alcazar (see App. A).

⁸² Ahmed Ben Haddu Hamami, alcaid of Tetuan (see App. A). 'Sidi' was a most respectful form of address granted to those of very high social standing. Its diminutive, Sid or Cid, was reserved for all those named after the Prophet Mohammed and thus much more widely applied.

⁸³ In 1681, Ali Ben Abdallah Hamami succeeded his brother, Omar, as alcaid of Alcazar (see App. A).

⁸⁴ Ahmed Ben Haddu Hamami, alcaid of Tetuan (see App. A).

I have lately had intelligence of a Jew come in here of an extraordinary nature, which I think it my duty to impart to you in the terms that I received it; he told me, that being at the house of a Spanish merch.^t in Tetuan where severall French Slaves were deposited till the arrivall of the mony for their redemption he was assured that some of those slaves having belonged to the Alcaid Omar were present at the late Treaty between him and the French where a truce for one year was agreed upon, and that in consequence thereof the Embassadour sent for France was to attend the adjustment of other matters of their mutuall interests that could not be concluded here which is a Peace for four years, and the carrying on a design against Tanger by a conjunction of their forces, the French being to streighten the place by sea and <65> the Moors by land upon surrendry whereof these last are to have the Christians and the plunder for their share and the French to remain in possession of the Town, and that the Moors would suspend the sending of an Embassadour to England till they should know the result of what shall be transacted in France, whither the person employed was accompanied with two servants only, and carried one Lyon, a Leopard, and two Ostriches as a present to his most Christian Ma.^{tie}. I shall make no remarke on this piece of intelligence but barely offer it to your consideration who will best judge what use to make of it.

In a list of the English Captives his Ma.^{tie} designs to redeem of these people I observe the names of some who deserted his service in this place and I think it necessary that you would please to inform me whether I am to give those when redeemed the same treatment as to others or whether I shall make them examples and punish them according to law as deserters.

Cap.^t Booth is lately come in again hither from cruising where having met the Admirall⁸⁵ and having <66> no longer need of the men I formerly ordered should be put on board him, they are again returned into the service of the Garrison.

Wee have a report here that a party of the Portugueses out of Masagan⁸⁶ had fallen upon severall Aruars [*sic*] or small cottages in the country and had taken a considerable booty of cattle, and brought off severall women and children captives.

I was proceeded thus far when I received the enclosed Letters from Alcaid Ali Benabdala, with the advice of the sudden approach of the Embassadour, to whom I shall endeavour to make a good reception.

⁸⁵ Arthur Herbert (see App. A).

⁸⁶ Mazagan, modern El Jadida, a port city on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, was captured by the Portuguese in 1502 and retained until 1769. Its well-preserved artillery fortifications resulted in listing as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2004.

I hear he brings two Lyons and 20 Ostriches but I am not informed of any horses. I am

Hon.^d Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 25 [pp. 66–68]

Tanger November 17.th 1681.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured S.^r

Yours of the 10.th of October tells me the ill fortune mine of the 12.th and 13.th of Aug.st which never came to <67> hand. I herewith send duplicates of what I then writ as I shall do for the future of all my dispatches to avoid as much as is possible the like inconveniences.

The late great rains have hindred the arrivall of the Moorish Embassadour whom I now daily expect and if there may be any credit given to the most positive assurances of these people (which indeed I do not at all rely upon) I may hope to see him here in [a] few days. In the mean time they have not as yet so much as acquainted me with his name or quality and I am informed that tis only since the death of the Alcaid Omar they have finally determined the sending of him.

I have received his Ma.^{ties} commands to be assistant to M.^r Thistlethwaite⁸⁷ by his own hands who is newly arrived here whereunto I shall pay all the obedience I ought to do and am extreemly glad that by the help of a person of his experience and sufficiency his Ma.^{tie} is likely to have a most exact accompt of the state of all manner of affairs in this place.

The present of horses designed for the Alcaid Omar I shall send to the Emperour himself as soon as I hear <68> of his return to Mequinez, from whence I am informed he departed some time since on an expedition towards Tremecen.⁸⁸ I shall nevertheless keep the two stone horses as not at all proper to be sent, till his

⁸⁷ Benedict Thistlethwaite (see App. A).

⁸⁸ Tlemcen in Algeria, lying to the south-west of Oran within a few miles of the Moroccan border, had been occupied by Spain in 1543; Morocco, 1543–1544; and captured by the Ottoman Empire in 1550 (William Lempriere, *A Tour through the Dominions of the Emperour of Morocco* (London, 1813), 44–46).

Ma.^{ties} farther commands therein, and delivered the mares only which may be possibly acceptable by reason of their smallnesse not usually seen in their country, and may serve (if for no other use) at least for the laughter and sport of the Moors.

There are a considerable number of officers belonging to this Garrison now in England absent by permission of the Commanders in chief here which permission not exceeding the term of six months being long since expired without their return hither I ought not according to the rigour of our instructions to suffer them to continue longer on the Muster Rolls, but because I am apt to believe that the greatest part of them have their licenses renewed and confirmed by his Ma.^{tic} for their farther continuance there I must beg you would please to acquaint me what persons have the benefit of that liberty, and whether I shall proceed as my directions intimate against those that have none. I am

Hon.^r S.^r &c.

Letter 26 [pp. 69–71]

<69> Tangier November 17.th 1681.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

In obedience to your Lord.^{ps} commands of searching into the mismanagement of quarters I have at length advanced so far as to have perfected my examination of the Leases of houses and ground given here by the severall Governours, whereof I lay before your Lord.^{ps} the most exact Scheme in the enclosed sheets. In the latter part of it which peculiarly regards quarters, you will have some view of the abuses complained of which indeed appear to me much greater then I could imagine and that his Ma.^{tic} has been extreemly injured in the misapplication of so vast an extent of ground and houses. And here I cannot but observe that many persons having engrossed to themselves through the countenance of Governours a Title to severall distinct houses under the notion of quarters have chosen one of them for their own habitation and disposed of the rest by sale of their Leases or other considerations to Townsmen who make such alterations in them as suit with their conveniences and convert them to uses contrary to what <70> they were first designed. Upon the whole I am persuaded when I come to a particular survey (which is my next work) and a view of Leases forfeited and of the encroachments

[that] have been made upon the Kings ground I shall find room enough for quarters to save the present great yearly expense upon that score, if his Ma.^{tie} shall think fit to make seizure of what shall be discovered so unduly usurped and shall be pleased to allow what money shall be necessary for the fitting and preparing the same for that use.

Upon the death of the Alcaid Omar I intended the horses which were designed as a present for that person should be sent unto the Emperour but having news from the country that he is on a march towards Tremecen no man knows upon what enterprises I shall deferre sending them till his return to Mequinez. And because the knowledge I have of these people convinces me that the two horses (who are much worse then any of their own) will prove no very acceptable present, I shall reserve till his Ma.^{ties} farther order and send the Mares only, whose smallnesse may serve for sport and divertisement tho for no other use in these countries.

I expect every moment the arrivall of the Moorish Embassadour who hath been hindred by the great rains which have fallen in these parts.

<71> Cap.^t Wyburne⁸⁹ is arrived here and with him Mr. Thistlethwaite to whose trust his Ma.^{tie} has been pleased to commit the inspection into the state of things in this place, I have according to his desire already ordered all persons concerned to expose to his examination their books and accompts and shall myself be as assistant to him as he can desire since I am persuaded his appearance here will prove of great advancement to his Ma.^{ties} service the talent and capacity of this person being extremely sutable to the confidence reposed in him. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps}. &c.

Letter 27 [pp. 71–77]

Tanger December the 2.^d 1683.⁹⁰

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured S.^r

I must humble acknowledge yours of the 24.th of October and as I question not but what hath long since come to hand of my proceeding in the businesse of the Moorish Sherif will have fully satisfied his

⁸⁹ John Wyborne (see App. A).

⁹⁰ 1681.

Ma.^{tie}, so I must with all submission <72> observe to you that had I acted according to the order of Councill, which I now receive, by a forcible detention of him, notwithstanding his willingnesse and even passionate entreaties to return home, if I must so take the meaning of the said order it would have appeared so great a violation of the laws observed between nations in friendship that would have created no small reproach to my Masters reputation, and scandal to the Moors who I am sure have sense enough to urge [*sic*] our reasons tho possibly they have not honour enough to practise them. Not to mention (what I have sufficiently demonstrated in my severall Letters on this subject) that had the thing been lawfull for us for that reason because perhaps it is so to the Moors it would have been of such ill consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service that in this conjuncture it was by no means conveniently practicable.

Soon after the dispatch of my last on 17.th Novemb.^r I had notice of the approach of the Moorish Embassadour and on the 21.st word being brought me that the Alcaid Ali Benabdala the present Vice = King of these countries appeared at our lines, I immediately sent to make him a compliment and to know when I <73> might expect the Embassadour. On the 23.^d at night I received a Letter from the Alcaid that the Embassadour was then arrived in their Camp, which news I welcomed with severall Guns from our walls. Being informed that one Jonas an English Renegade⁹¹ who had twice deserted this place a subtle and impudent villain, was in the Embassadour's train and designed to accompany him as his interpreter to England, I thought it necessary to prevent the same as well in regard of the indecency of the appearance in the King my Masters presence of a man who had denied his Religion and his Allegiance as of the inconvenience it might be to his Ma.^{ties} service that such a person should be entertained near the Embassadour who might give him a view into the posture of our affairs in England which ought as carefully to be concealed from these people as they endeavour to keep us ignorant in theirs. And because I knew that an argument of the respect due to my Master would not be convincing to those that are so little acquainted with the Laws of decency, that I could not absolutely except against any under the Embassadours protection without giving a reason for it, I resolved to take advantage of their naturall Jealousy to <74> make them no lesse earnest for his stay then I was, and therefore insinuated by proper instruments, that if this man should turn Christian in England (as he had given sufficient instances of the lightnesse of his mind in two severall changes) there would be no means found for his continuance

⁹¹Jonas Rowland (see App. A).

with the Embassadour [on] his return to Barbary. They hereupon took the alarm and on the 24.th in the morning El Hash Lucas (now stiled Secretary to this King's Ports) came to me from their Camp and made me this extravagant proposall that I should give him a Seguro⁹² and engage my Masters word and honour that if any person should happen in England of the Embassadours train to change his Religion and embrace Christianity that the Embassadour in such case should have the liberty to send that person in chains to Barbary in order to his punishment or to put him to what death he pleased there if he should think it more proper so to do. I sufficiently shewed from their own practice the unreasonableness of this demand and nevertheless it proved the debate of two days, at length they came to this resolution, that since he was a person recommended to the Embassadour by the Kings expresse <75> orders they would not depart without him but by his Ma.^{ties} consent, which they would write for, in the mean time that he should come into the Town with the Embassadour, that he might not have any occasion of perceiving he was suspected, that if the King as they beleived should command he should be returned to him, they would easily find a pretence of dispatching him hence with businesse into the country, if he resolved he should passe to England then whatever should happen thereupon both the Embassadour and we should remain blamelesse. This difficulty being overcome it was agreed that the Embassadour should make his entry into the Town on Munday the 28.th which he did accordingly accompanied to our lines by the Alcaid Ali and about two hundred horse where I met him the Alcaid Hamed – the great Omars brother, came with him to the very Gate, from whence I conducted him through the most remarkable parts of the Town and amidst the greatest honours and expressions of respect that I was capable of to the Castle which I had prepared for him and furnished with that decency as I am assured he made me no compliment when he told me he was extremely satisfied. The next day I <76> went into the field to make a visit to the Alcaid Ali with whom I had about an hours conference on severall matters that regarded our good neighbourhood and we parted with all the marks of mutuall confidence and satisfaction. The Alcaid Hamed came with me at the same time into the Town having the day before signified by one of the Almocadens that he desired it. I first treated him at my house and thence carried him to see the Embassadour in the Castle who I perceived took a great deal of pleasure in showing him his apartment and the whole house and after he had made a short visit I reconducted him into the fields as far as our own Lines. Since the Embassadours arrivall here he has

⁹² A seguro (Spanish) was a written guarantee of safe conduct.

vehemently urged the payment of the remainder of the powder due by the Articles which being forty-five barrells I thought it but just and suteable to his Ma.^{ties} intentions to deliver, and he hath dispatched the same into the country; I made use likewise of this opportunity to send the three small mares which the Embassadour hath taken care should be conveyed to the Emperour. I have acquainted them that the mony is now arrived from England for the redemption of the Slaves and begged this Emperors orders that they may be speedily returned here which I hope may be effected <77> before the Embassadours departure, and that I shall give some good account of what I am now transacting in obedience to the Queens commands about the Portugueses having not had before this an opportunity of making so much as an ouverture of that businesse.

The continuance of the Morocco Embassadour so much longer then I imagined in this place will oblige me to greater expences then I had proposed to my self, and I have therefore drawn Bills on the Treasury for one thousand p.^s of 8 which I humbly beg may be paid punctually. I am

Honoured S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 28 [pp. 77–81]

Tanger December the 2.^d 1683.⁹³

[To Owen Wynne]⁹⁴

Sir

Having sufficiently tired M.^r Secretary with what I have this day writ of our affairs here I have reserved the particular relation of the Morrish Embassadours Entry into this place for your entertainment which if you think <78> fit you may please to impart to M.^r Secretary when he is most at leisure.

It having been agreed that the Embassadour who had now continued severall days in the field, should come into the Town on Munday the 28 past I went out to meet him between eleven and twelve. I ordered the four troops of horse to march in the first place in such

⁹³ 1681.

⁹⁴ See App. A.

equipage as to make the best appearance after them fifty chosen Grenadeers of the Earle of Dunbartons,⁹⁵ then 30 Gunners with their linstocks in their livery coats and caps, they were followed by 30 Negros I had cloathed in painted coats⁹⁶ with their brown bills,⁹⁷ and after these surrounded with about 20 Gentlemen well mounted I rid my self, having six men of the tallest stature with long fusils,⁹⁸ on each side of my horse. In which order having proceeded a good distance beyond Fountain = Fort⁹⁹ the main body of the Moors which I took to be about 200 horse with their Lances being now within musket shot of us made a halt and the Embassadour with about thirty persons in his company advanced towards me, whom I received with those compliments as were suteable to the occasion, and those first Ceremonies being over I went to <79> make my salutations to the Alcaid Ali Benabdala, Vice = King of these Countries who remained in the head of the other Moorish party, which being ended, the Alcaid and the Embassadour with each of their parties began a skirmish it being their manner of rejoicing and expressing their satisfaction where having shewed their horsemanship and skill in managing their lances and fusils they at length parted, the Alcaid going off with his men and the Embassadour with his train proceeding in my company towards the Town. In our way passing by Bridges = Fort¹⁰⁰ at a sign made he was saluted from Pole = Fort¹⁰¹ with ten chambers,¹⁰² one great gun and Voley of small shot by what time that was ended we were arrived at the spurre of Catharina Gate¹⁰³ and then the Guns began to fire from

⁹⁵ The Royal Scots (see App. C).

⁹⁶ Probably painted silk.

⁹⁷ A bill, an old-fashioned infantry weapon, comprised an axe-head mounted on a long shaft, which was usually stained brown or black prior to varnishing (*OED*).

⁹⁸ Most British infantry was still armed with the matchlock musket although replaced by the longer and more efficient fusil (firelock, flintlock) was proceeding steadily.

⁹⁹ Fountain Fort, standing towards the southern extremity of the outer ring of fortifications, guarded one the city's few remaining, reliable water sources. Conduits, fed from catchment areas in the highlands to the south and south-east, ran along the line of the Old Fez Road and beneath the fort. Apparently, the existence of these channels was unknown to the Moors, although this is very hard to credit (Pepys, *Tangier Papers*, 91). See Letter 66.

¹⁰⁰ Bridges Fort, more properly Bridge's Fort, was named after Sir Tobias Bridge (see App. A).

¹⁰¹ Pole Fort, previously Catherine Fort, was a square, roofed blockhouse flanked by two flèches, adjacent to Bridge's Fort on the inner ring of fortifications (Elbl, *Portuguese Tangier*, 186–203; Hendrick Danckerts, 'A View of Tangier, 1669', Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402578).

¹⁰² A small cannon or mortar used for firing salutes (*OED*).

¹⁰³ Named after Queen Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705), wife of Charles II, Catharina Port, or Catherine Gate, was the principal landward entrance. Situated towards

Peterborough Tower¹⁰⁴ as far as Devils = Tower¹⁰⁵ immediately on his entrance into the gate M.^r Mayor¹⁰⁶ with the whole corporation in all their formalities received him M.^r Recorder¹⁰⁷ wellcoming him with a speech from thence he proceeded towards the Water = Gate¹⁰⁸ the streets being lined on both sides with the Musketeers of the Scotch Regiment,¹⁰⁹ all the officers saluting him as he passed, at Hides Battery¹¹⁰ he was saluted by <80> the officers at the head of the second Battalion of my Regiment¹¹¹ which was drawn up there and by all the Guns from that Battery and the Mole: in the little Parade he rode through a lane of the Town = Militia¹¹² who appeared very well in arms and thence in the old Parade through the Governours whole Regiment¹¹³ drawn up in two Battalions. On a new place of arms fronting the Castle Gate he saw the first Battalion of my Regiment which was drawn up there thence he

the southern extent of the *enceinte*, it was protected by a barbican, ravelin, and palisades. Beyond lay the English military cemetery. The ‘spure of Catharina Gate’ was the apex of the covering ravelin (Elbl, *Portuguese Tangier*, 163, 202–203).

¹⁰⁴ Peterborough Tower, named after the first English governor of Tangier, had originally been constructed by the Portuguese as the Noronha Tower – Alfonso de Noronha had governed Tangier, 1610–1614, and Luis de Noronha, 1614–1615 – and assumed its final form between 1624 and 1628. Built into the northern side of the Upper Castle, it was a vital observation post, its height providing a long-range view across the two lines of outworks into the broken country beyond, partly compensating for the domination of Tangier by higher ground to the south and west. It also commanded a renowned panorama across the Straits of Gibraltar. Such observation towers, integral components in the ‘Rebate’ system of colonial defence, were regular features of Portuguese fortresses in North Africa (Wenceslaus Hollar, *A Prospect of the Country from Peterborough Tower* (London, 1673); Elbl, *Portuguese Tangier*, 328–329). See App. C, Militia.

¹⁰⁵ Usually referred to by the English as Devil’s Drop, this small, palisaded blockhouse at the foot of low cliffs falling to the Atlantic shore, garrisoned by a dozen men under a sergeant, anchored the northern flank of the outer ring of fortifications. It lay within supporting distance of Fort Henrietta. The post was much too weak for such an important role and had fallen to the Moroccans on 14 May 1680 (Wenceslaus Hollar, *Henrietta Fort* (London, 1673); Luke, *Tangier*, 141; Elbl, *Portuguese Tangier*, 427).

¹⁰⁶ William Smith (see App. A).

¹⁰⁷ Henry Hordensnell was recorder in June 1683 (see Letter 140; App. A).

¹⁰⁸ The Water Gate gave access through the town walls on to the quay and mole (Wenceslaus Hollar, *Tangier from Above, without the Water Gate* (London, 1673); Elbl, *Portuguese Tangier*, 365–366).

¹⁰⁹ The Royal Scots (see App. C).

¹¹⁰ Hyde’s, or Hide’s, Battery was situated on the town walls overlooking the harbour. In 1683, Tangier was defended by thirteen batteries: Hyde’s (6 cannon), Old Parade (5 cannon), Ordnance Rabonnett (3 mortars), Mole (10 cannon), Governor’s Bastion (9 cannon), Stayner’s (2 cannon), Johnson’s (12 cannon), Irish (16 cannon), Sally Port (3 cannon), Peterborough Tower (19 cannon), Lawson’s (7 cannon), Boleing Bar (10 cannon plus 10 mortars), and Curtain Wall (6 cannon).

¹¹¹ The 2nd Tangier Regiment (see App. C).

¹¹² See App. C, Militia.

¹¹³ The 1st Tangier Regiment (see App. C).

entered the Castle both sides of the bridge and way into the Castle being lined with my Granadeers¹¹⁴ with their muskets rested and their Bayonets in the muzzles of their muskets¹¹⁵ immediately on his entrance into the Castle the Guns began to fire from Stainers Battery¹¹⁶ along the curtain to Peterborough = Tower the main = Guard of the Castle being drawn up on Stainers Battery, and the four Troops of horse (having passed a shorter way from the Town Gate) making a second appearance flanked the Kings Battalion of Guards¹¹⁷ that was drawn up before the house the officers saluting him as he passed to the Gate of the house = court from the Gate to the foot of the stairs was a lane of Gunners on the left hand with their <81> linstocks, and unmounted Troopers with their Carbines on the right here we alighted and led him up the stairs on which were likewise placed 20 unmounted Troopers with their Carbines through the Great Hall to his apartment where after a short stay I conducted him to a large open Gallery on the East side of the house from whence he had a prospect of the Bay, the Mole and the whole Town and then being saluted with three Volees of every division of each Regiment from their respective posts. I again brought him into the great Hall where the officers of each Regiment paid their respects to him in their severall bodies which ended I reconducted him to his apartment where I left him till the evening, at which time I returned to the Castle and we finished the honours of the day with an entertainment of fire works. I am

Sir,
Your &c.

¹¹⁴ In 1678, each English foot regiment created one company of 'grenadiers', equipped with hand grenades, flintlock muskets, and plug bayonets. Instead of the regulation wide-brimmed hats, grenadiers wore specially designed, brimless mitres or caps so that their grenade-throwing arms were not impeded (Childs, *Army of Charles II*, 59; A.S. Robertshaw, 'The uniforms, equipment and weapons of the English Army of 1688', in A.J. Guy and J. Spencer-Smith (eds), *1688: Glorious Revolution? The Fall and Rise of the British Army, 1660–1704* (London, 1988), 18, 21, 24, 32; Walton, 427–429, 437–438).

¹¹⁵ Plug bayonets, introduced into the English army in 1678, steadily superseded the pike (Childs, *Army of Charles II*, 62).

¹¹⁶ Stayner's Battery, named after Vice Admiral Sir Richard Stayner (1625–1662), was situated on the western ramparts of the Upper Castle (*HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, III. 53).

¹¹⁷ The King's Battalion (see Letter 80; App. C).

Letter 29 [p. 82]<82> Tanger Decemb.^r 2.^d 1681.[To the Earl of Conway]¹¹⁸

My Lord,

By the opportunity of the arrivall of the Moorish Embassadour whom wee received here the 28.th past and of the Alcaid Ali Benabdala his being now in these fields I have began to negotiate what your Lord.^p had recommended to me from her Ma.^{tie} about the redemption of the Portugese Slaves, having at the same time written to the Emperour thereupon and as formerly to your Lord.^p shall use my own name only in the businesse as an apparent means to procure them at the cheapest rate. I question not but that I shall have the fortune to succeed well in this affair, and as it will be the highest honour to me to render the least service to the Queen your Lord.^p cannot favour me more then to lay me all manner of devotion at her Ma.^{ties} feet. I am with much respect

My Lord,
Your &c.

Letter 30 [pp. 83–87]<83> Tanger Dec.^r 8.th 1683.¹¹⁹

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

By what I could conjecture from the severall discourses I had with the Morocco Embassadour and the Secretary Lucas before the departure of my last dispatches of the 2.^d inst.^t (sent by the ordinary land conveyance) I beleived his stay here would have been a considerable time, and indeed the businesse about the English Renegade,¹²⁰ which I discoursed at large in my last to you, had they used the method they then concluded on, of sending to know their Masters

¹¹⁸ See App. A.¹¹⁹ 1681.¹²⁰ Jonas Rowland (see App. A).

mind before they proceeded would have taken up near a month: but (I know not by what secret and sudden assurance) the jealousies they were at first possessed with are so extinguished, that they have resolved without consulting farther to carry him with them and are certainly persuaded they cannot have a more necessary and a more usefull engine in the Embassy. I know considering what I have already said about this Renegade, how needlesse it is to make any farther remarks or to insinuate how he ought to be received and treated in England and <84> with what circumspection he ought to be observed if admitted since his Ma.^{ties} wisdom will provide against any inconveniences that might be apprehended better then I am able to suggest.

It hath not been possible for me to attain any knowledge of the proposalls the Embassadour carries with him as to a Peace by sea but as to that by land it is naturall to beleive he will urge his Ma.^{ties} confirmation of what has been transacted by S.^r James Lesly wherein if they remit any thing of the unequall terms it will be to procure the advantages they aim at by sea.

The Embassadour appears to me a person of a good temper and understanding, his descent is from one of the most ancient families of Morocco by his father, his mother was as it seems an English woman. He has had severall charges and not many years ago was Governour of Tetuan where he behaved himself so well that the want of him is still lamented by those Inhabitants. His moderate humour will sufficiently be quickened by the contrary tempers of those that accompany him the Almocaden Mahamed el Haset¹²¹ and el Hash Mahamed Lucas the first, brother to the present Commander in chief of their fields, and creature of the Alcaid Ali a man of an active and haughty spirit; and the other descend<85>ed of a family of the Moors that were last expelled Spain who speaks indifferently well the Spanish language, that hath been long trained up to businesse among these people was once a dependant and instrument of Gayland and consequently an ancient acquaintance of this place, who upon the fall and ruine of that party found no better means to reconcile himself to the conquerour then by attempting a pilgrimage to Meca, where having purged himself of his crimes he returned home with the title as well as reputation of a Saint, a man who in all contentions about Government which are frequent in these parts, ever thought that

¹²¹ Ali Ben Abdallah Hamami, alcaid of Alcazar, wrote to Charles II on 15 December 1681, announcing that Moulay Ismail had dispatched Ambassador Alcaid Ahmed Mohammed Attar Ben Haddu to England. He was accompanied by deputy ambassador Mohammed al-Hafiz, muqaddam (leader or regional governor) of the Fahs (the northern region of the Gharb between Alcazar and Tangier), and a secretary, al-Hajj Mohammed Lucas (Hopkins, *Letters*, 19). See App. A.

cause the best which was the strongest of so flexible a conscience that it never stands in opposition to his interest and he that knows how to gratify his Avarice which is the strongest of all his passions will be too hard for him in negotiation, this is he in conclusion that is considered as the Conductor of the affairs of this Embassy as one that is alone acquainted with our methods and who by his late dependance on the Alcaid Omar is sufficiently seasoned with the maximes and principles of the great man.

<86> By this opportunity of the Embassadors departure many of our officers here have been extreemly importunate for the liberty of leaving the Garrison for some time to attend their affairs in other parts, and some of them having enough demonstrated to me the necessity of their absence I have not in this conjuncture denied it them. In the mean time I cannot but take notice to you it would be highly requisite, that as these leave the Garrison so those others who have already had that liberty and have abused it so as to have absented themselves some of them even six months longer then the term of their permission, may return to their employments here, it being certain that many of our companies particularly those of the Kings Battalion have now a long time wanted their officers and I have been informed that some of the Earle of Dunbarton's Regiment having received since their absence not only their own but their companies pay continue abroad leaving their debts here unsatisfied and the souldiers abused¹²² so that it will be necessary that all officers of the Garrison who cannot give good reasons for their absence after the expiration of their licenses receive peremptory commands to return to their severall charges.

<87> I enclose a copy of the Emperour's last Letter¹²³ to me which is all the trouble I at present give you from

Hon.^d S.^r,
Your &c.

¹²² Full pay for soldiers in Tangier was issued directly to the London-based agent of each troop or company captain who then forwarded the cash to Tangier by the next available ship. However, if the troop or company commander was on furlough in England, as was often the case, then the agent paid him the money, which he was expected to dispatch promptly to Tangier but these transfers were frequently much delayed, leaving the soldiers unpaid and obliged to seek other means of subsistence until their officer returned. The list of debts owed by the military to the civilian inhabitants, tabulated in 1686 and 1687, suggests that the soldiers survived on extensive, extended credit, often pledged against their uniforms and equipment, plus remuneration for casual portorage in the harbour and general labouring work, especially on the mole and fortifications, when other duties permitted. Some of the more entrepreneurial, or their wives, opened public houses (*CTB, 1685–1689*, 844–847; Routh, *Tangier*, 345; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, 127–128).

¹²³ Kirke's reply to Moulay Ismail is printed in, *Tangier Texts*, 225.

Letter 31 [pp. 87–88]Tanger Decemb.^r 8th 1683.¹²⁴

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Having writ M.^r Secretary about the arrivall, reception and entertainment of the Morocco Embassadour I have nothing to trouble your Lord.^{ps} with at present more then to acquaint you that the work I had began concerning the survey of the ground and houses here being suspended by reason of my necessary application to other matters I shall now upon the Embassad.^{rs} departure continue the same and give your Lord.^{ps} an account of it with what possible speed I am able.

M.^r Thistlethwaite hath been very industrious in those matters committed to his charge having already made so successfull progresse therein that in a short time he will dispatch Cap.^t Wyburne and give you that satisfaction you may expect from his extraordinary diligence.

<88> Not long since I humbly recommended to your Lord.^{ps} the providing for a speedy supply of coals for the Garrison our stores being almost exhausted: and to prevent the inconvenience we must necessarily undergo, in case they should quite fail us before we are furnished from home, I have ordered men into the country to cut wood (as is permitted us by the Articles) which I shall lay up and distribute as I shall see requisite. I am

My Lords
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 32 [p. 88]Tanger Dec.^r 8.th 1683.¹²⁵

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The continuance of the Morocco Embassadour here much longer then I imagined will consequently engage me in greater expences then I was prepared for, and I have been for this reason obliged to

¹²⁴ 1681.¹²⁵ 1681.

draw Bills on your Lord.^{ps} of 229[£]: 3^s: 4.^d for a thousand p.^s of 8 taken up of M.^r Price of Cadiz, which I earnestly beg you would order may be punctually paid since it will prove of ill consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service that the Merch.^t who furnished me should be discouraged. I remain with all submission

My Lords,
Y.^r &c.

Letter 33 [pp. 89–90]

<89> Tanger December 15th 1683.¹²⁶

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The 8.th ins.^t I received the honour of your Lord.^{ps} of the 3.rd of October by the *Mary Rose*¹²⁷ with some Duplicates of Letters already come to hand and which I have long since acknowledged by the ordinary land conveyance. I have taken care for the receiving of the soldiers apparell which hath been already delivered to the respective companies for which they were designed according to the number of our last muster, the remaining clothes being deposited in the Treasurers hands till your Lord.^{ps} farther directions, Viz.^t 27 Coats, 22 pair of breeches, 22 pair of shoes, 18 pair of stockings, 41 shirts, 45 cravats and 21 hats: these clothes are not comparably so good as the former.

The Treasurer is now issuing according to the instructions he hath from your Lord.^{ps} the nine months pay arrived here where I must note to you that the deductions which have been made in England on a considerable part of the officers pay have been such as that the remainder can in no manner reach to satisfy what they owe in this place and <90> that the officers now absent having taken up their pay at home do wholly neglect their debts here all to the great prejudice and empoverishing of these Inhabitants whose principall support being from the Garrison, and that of the Garrison from their trust and credit with the Inhabitants it will be of ill consequence to suffer these mutuall conveniencies to fail or be obstructed

¹²⁶ 1681.

¹²⁷ HMS *Mary Rose* (4th rate, 40 guns). Her commander was Captain John Ashby, RN (see App. A).

by any discouragements the names of these officers I shall be able to let your Lord.^{ps} know by the next. I am

My Lords
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 34 [pp. 90–94]

Tanger December 15.th 1681.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Having given my self the honour to write to you by sea by the opportunity of the Morocco Embassadors departure for England (which was on Friday the 9.th ins.^{ly}) I have at present small matter to trouble you with. I know I need not weary you with hints of the faithlesse and caprichious humors <91> of these people having already so often repeated severall instances of it in my dispatches, so that whatsoever negotiation the Embassador shall enter upon in England I am confident you will have that value for his bare word and promises (wherein they are extremely pompous and liberal) as not to build upon it nor trust his Ma.^{ties} interests to any lesse security then what shall be strengthened with his hand and seale and all the solemnities of written engagements. For I am apt to believe that when wee insist to reduce the terms of our mutuall friendship to that just equality that ought to be expected they will certainly evade it by arguing want of sufficient power and contenting themselves to gratify us in some considerable and lesse significant points will urge the ratification of S.^r James Lesly's Treaty in the main with promises and the most specious engagements of their honours and reputation that at their return home they will be able to induce the King their Master to afford us all the advantages we shall propose, intimating perhaps that his Ma.^{tie} is not yet well acquainted with us that we must leave things to be improved & perfected by time and that assoon¹²⁸ as they shall see their Master again and have told him the <92> honours they received in England and convinced of his Ma.^{ties} affection and esteeme for him they will then certainly procure from him any thing that wee shall desire. This being a

¹²⁸ Archaic spelling of 'as soon'.

model of their usuall method I am persuaded they will practise it when they arrive there and will find you not unacquainted with it.

I have obeyed his Ma.^{ties} commands by turning the two Ensigns Pitts and Elliot¹²⁹ out of their employments here having substituted John Lesly¹³⁰ Ensigne to Cap.^t Giles¹³¹ his company in Elliots place as Ensigne to S.^r James Lesly's company and David Roche¹³² in Pits¹³³ his place as Ensigne to Cap.^t Ely's¹³⁴ company and Andrew Mortimer¹³⁵ in Lesly's place as Ensigne to Cap.^t Giles. I have at the same time supplied Lieu.^t Bradshaw's¹³⁶ place late Lieu.^t to Cap.^t Culliford's¹³⁷ company in my own Regiment by commissionating Stephen Hobson¹³⁸ thereunto, before Ensigne to Cap.^t Fox¹³⁹ his company and filled that vacancy by appointing Piercy Kirke,¹⁴⁰ my kinsman, to be Ensigne to the said company. Ensigne Macgill¹⁴¹ leaving his employment here upon occasions of returning home which he had bought being a Volunteer hath resigned the same of Ensigne to Cap.^t Barbour's¹⁴² company in the four companies late the Duke <93> of Monmouth's¹⁴³ to Simon Duff¹⁴⁴ Volunteer in the Earle of Dunbarton's Regiment which promotions I beg may be confirmed by his Ma.^{ties} R.^l Commission.

Yesterday arrived here in a Bark [*sic*] of Portugall an Irish Priest called Augustin Simons with a Patent from the Prince of Portugall to succeed one Father Marcos in the Portuguese church Confessor to strangers. I made difficulty at first to receive him into the Town but information of the whole Portuguese chapter here and of our own chief Minister that they have ever had an Irishman in the said church I at length consented to his admittance, in the mean time I desire to know whether Priests belonging to the said church who are his Ma.^{ties} subjects ought to enjoy the same benefits of our

¹²⁹ Bartholomew Pitts and Roger Elliott (see Letter 19; App. A).

¹³⁰ James Lesley (see App. A).

¹³¹ John Giles (see App. A).

¹³² David Roche (see App. A).

¹³³ Bartholomew Pitts (see App. A).

¹³⁴ Brent Ely (see App. A).

¹³⁵ Andrew Mortimer (see App. A).

¹³⁶ Arthur Bradshaw (see App. A).

¹³⁷ William Culliford (see App. A).

¹³⁸ Stephen Hobson (see App. A).

¹³⁹ Charles Fox (see App. A).

¹⁴⁰ This 'kinsman' was not Captain Percy Kirke, RN but may have been the governor's son, Percy Kirke (1683–1741), in which case he was entered on the regimental rolls while still a new-born baby (Childs, *Kirke*, 187–188). See App. A.

¹⁴¹ William McGill (see App. A).

¹⁴² Thomas Barbour (see App. A).

¹⁴³ See Apps A and C.

¹⁴⁴ Simon Duff (see App. A).

capitulations with Portugall as the Portugueses and if it be his Ma.^{ties} pleasure that they continue here.

I must acquaint you that notwithstanding the severall proclamations I have issued to prevent the disorders occasioned by souldiers quarrelling many nevertheless have continued those insolencies and some mischiefs hapned which has obliged me by the opinion of a Councill of war of our field officers and principall <94> Captains here, to find out the severest penalties we have been able having resolved that if any souldier shall draw his sword or Bayonet or be found with his sword or Bayonet drawn on any occasion whatsoever he shall be delivered to the Marshall to have a chain fastned to his leg, and be daily sent to the King's work to continue there so long time as I shall think fit.¹⁴⁵ This penalty is now inflicted on one that hath since been found guilty and hope will prove effectuall to hinder the like disorders for the future.

By this opportunity I send the account to the Lords of the Treasury of what hath been expended here in the entertainment of the Moorish Sherif, the Embassadour and his train, and on other incident occasions the speedy payment whereof I beg you would promote. I am

Hon.^d S.^r

Letter 35 [pp. 94–98]

Tanger Decemb.^r 29.th 1681.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

It is now a considerable time I have not had the honour of any from your Lord.^{ps}. The nine months pay <95> lately arrived here is now issued by the Treasurers according to your directions but with that extraordinary dissatisfaction by reason of the many and unequall deductions on the pay of officers that I cannot but very earnestly take notice of it to your Lord.^{ps} as a matter worthy of redresse. And in the first place I must repeat to you the great inconvenience I

¹⁴⁵ Samuel Pepys reported that this punishment was extensively employed in 1683–1684. He seems to have assumed that it was an example of Kirke's gratuitous cruelty rather than a legitimate sentence long approved by the principal secretary of state and the Tangier Committee (Pepys, *Tangier Papers*, 92; Childs, *Kirke*, 53).

mentioned in my last dispatch to your Lord.^{ps} of paying officers in England absent from the Garrison who taking up money at home even beyond the extent of their pay, the deductions thereof being made by the Treasurer charged on the accounts sent hither their debts to the Townsmen which are considerable and do far surpass their pay remain unsatisfied and of these names that are come to my knowledge, are Ensign Middleton Wingfield Wotton,¹⁴⁶ Lieu.^t Westcombe¹⁴⁷ and Ensign Martin¹⁴⁸ of the old Regiment¹⁴⁹ whose engagements here do considerably surpass their pay and this last having sold his place and made over to another the pay that was due to him hath neglected his creditors here and since his arrivall in England received himself that pay of the Treasurer which was now become due to another. <96> In the next place I must mention those deductions whereof there is no reason given and the officers upon whom they are made being unacquainted with the ground of them, it will appear necessary that all deductions for the future be clear and evident and the severall discharges and receipts of the officers be transmitted with the Accompts to the Treasurers here.

One of the enclosed papers will shew your Lord.^{ps} the names of the officers in my Regiment which have been charged with debts from England exceeding their pay and those deductions being made there must necessarily arise such inconveniencies as will induce your Lord.^{ps} to give order to prevent them for the future. A second paper likewise enclosed will give you a view of severall payments made in England to the officers of Cap.^t Neatby's¹⁵⁰ Troop beyond their pay due to them which being charged to the said Captains Abstract will lye too grievous on him. The enclosed Petitions will shew your Lord.^{ps} the complaints of severall other persons here on the subject of their pay your Lord.^{ps} will take such resolution on the whole as are <97> most convenient. And here I cannot but mention to your Lord.^{ps} that having my self received before my coming hither two months pay for my self and the officers of my own Regiment without deductions – which determined the 25th of November 1680 clearing the accompts with M.^r Hewer¹⁵¹ according to the value of money current in England I find to my great surprisall that the said two months pay so received and accounted for in England is charged now with the allowance of 3.^d in the dollar in

¹⁴⁶ Middleton Wingfield Wootton (see App. A).

¹⁴⁷ George Westcombe (see App. A).

¹⁴⁸ John Martin (see App. A).

¹⁴⁹ The 1st Tangier Regiment.

¹⁵⁰ Captain Charles Nedby of the Tangier Horse (see Letter 11; App. A).

¹⁵¹ William Hewer (see App. A).

the nature of our pay in this Garrison and this I think is extremely unequall since the officers to whom that pay was then distributed being some dead and others removed I cannot make them bear a share in the pretended allowance, and the whole weight of it must fall on me which I hope your Lord.^{ps} will prevent and order the said charge of 3.^d in the dollar for those two months may be taken of.

I shall be glad to know your Lord.^{ps} resolutions about the future provision of Barly and Straw for our horses whether I shall use the same method as before or that your Lord.^{ps} will give <98> other directions in that matter. I am with all submission

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 36 [pp. 98–103]

Tanger January 12.th 1681[/2].

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I must humbly thank you for the Honour of yours of the 5.th past and let you know some debates that are still depending between my self and the Alcaid Ali Benabdala, the present Vice: King of these countries, who not long since sent a Letter to me by a person expresse telling me the King his Master had demanded of him a thousand firelocks and desiring I would furnish him for his mony with that number or with what could be found here ordering the rest might be speedily sent from England. I told his Agent that all sorts of arms within my power being in the King my Masters Magazines and designed for the use and service of the Garrison only I could by no means dispose of them <99> and that I looked upon the Alcaid as a person too reasonable to expect I should, that the selling of arms (now permitted by the Treaty) being a businesse proper to merchants only he ought on such occasions to apply himself to them who upon agreement would not fail to supply him, and that in this which was all within my power I would serve him willingly by promoting and countenancing any such contract he should make. Upon this Agent bargaining with a Merchant here for that number of firelocks to be brought from England and then urging to me the Alcaids present necessity of satisfying the Kings impatience, which since it was impossible to do to the full of what

he had demanded he begged very earnestly I would help him to do in some measure by lending to him the hundred firelocks belonging to the Gun = Barrells which were sent hither due to the Articles, and which this King having refused as not proper for his use remained still in the stores, I told him that whatever was in the stores I could not dispose of but for the uses for which they were designed and that those locks being intended as payment of what was due by the Treaty, tho King Muley Ismael had refused them I ought to expect my Masters orders for my farther directions but that the Alcaid might see how <100> much I desired to serve him I was willing to furnish him with thirty of the locks upon the Merchants obligation of repaying them when those he had contracted for should arrive from England and that if in the mean time King Muley Ismael should demand them I would let him know what had passed between the Alcaid and my self. This being agreed to and when I expected the Alcaid's acknowledgment and thanks for what I had done the same Agent returns to these fields with two publick Notaries of Tetuan, and delivered in a Protest or declaration in the Alcaid's name wherein he endeavours to make out that by the Articles I am obliged to have all manner of contraband ready whenever he shall desire to buy the same, for your better view of all which and of my answer to it I referre my self to the enclosed papers. And because on this businesse of the contraband I have something humbly to offer that I presume may be worthy his Ma.^{ties} consideration which being involved among other points I am preparing relating to a better Peace by Land (for as to that by sea I must professe my self in the dark)¹⁵² and which I shall have digested into some method by my next, I conceive it may be to his Ma.^{ties} service to delay the resolutions upon the Morocco Embassadors proposalls till you <101> shall have received such lights as I shall be able to give you from hence and as those would be much better had I a view of the proposalls made there so it would be no hard thing to entertain the Embassadour with proper amusements till you shall please to let me have them and that I shall have made my best remarks upon the same.

Since my answer to the Alcaids Protest I have received a Letter from him on the subject of the redemption of English and Portuguese Slaves which I am at present negotiating and tho as to the first I conceived there was no difficulty the prices being long since agreed on I know not by what insinuation the Alcaid writes me that the Slaves were now on the way and that he was acquainted that the Alcaid Omar before his death had told King Muley Ismael that the English according to Agreement were to pay 200 ducats each

¹⁵² 'In the dark', was one of Kirke's favourite expressions.

and that I would have the Portugueses at the same rate they should likewise come with them. I consider this as a trick of the Alcaid to gain himself some advantage by the Slaves and perhaps aiming by raising obstructions in the businesse to make me more pliant in the point he is so earnest for about the contraband. In the mean time I have answered him that the King Muley Ismael needed no information in <102> the businesse of the English Slaves from Alcaid Omar it having been particularly transacted by his Ma.^{tic} himself with our Embassadour¹⁵³ at which I was present and the agreement (whereunto the King gave his full assent was at 200 p.^s of 8: each Slave according to which the mony was sent from England and was here ready, concluding that if the Alcaid persisted in these niceties I should be forced to acquaint his Ma.^{tic} with the true reasons why so considerable a summe was so long out of his Coffers. And as to the Portugueses who are strangers to us, I told him I admired he should set the same rates on them as on the English especially since I was certain that there had been a late redemption of Spaniards at 150 p.^s of 8 each and it appeared to me little sutable to our good correspondence that they should have more easynesse for their enemies then for their friends.

You will see by our Articles with these people the liberty we have of buying cattle, refreshments &c. at the prices they are sold in the markets amongst themselves in the mean time I have been sensible that the persons which have hitherto been employed into the country for that purpose by reason of their ignorance in the language and customes have been ever imposed upon by the Alcaids Agents and sent back with the worst <103> sort of cattle and at the most excessive rates, so that I resolved to make a full tryall by sending a servant of my own to Alcazar who speaking the language well and according to my orders bargaining in the markets had made provision of good cattle and very cheap which coming to the Gouverour of the Town his knowledge he found means by the help of some Saints (as they call them zealous men in their Religion[]) to raise the multitude who with great noise and clamour crying out against the ill practice of permitting such privileges to Christians, would have offered violence to my servant. The Governour hereupon pretends great concern for the danger he was in and coming to his protection obliged him to receive such cattle he recommended to him and at the price he pleased. Such tricks as these the Alcaid makes use of to frustrate the intent of the Article and engrosse to himself all manner of trade with this Garrison upon which assoon as I shall receive his reply (if he make me any) to my answer to his Protest I

¹⁵³ Sir James Lesley (see App. A).

shall take an occasion to expostulate with him in such terms as the case requires. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Your &c.

Letter 37 [pp. 104–105]

<104> Tanger January 12.th 1683.¹⁵⁴

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have none of your Lord.^{ps} to answer and shall at present only acquaint you that I have already discovered such inconveniencies in the making a Provision of wood in the country here as will oblige me to forbear any farther attempts of that nature unless I shall be necessitated to it by the greatest want of firing. I have employed in that service severall days about a hundred and twenty men at 6.^d day which with one p.^s of 8/8 I give daily to the Moors that oversee them and the charges of bringing the wood home by boats will make that sort of provision dearer then coals from England.

I must now tell your Lord.^{ps} that having lately opened the cloth sent hither on the Tyger Fregate as a present to this Emperour and which came without any account or Invoice I find that same to differ much both in quantity and quality from what we were obliged to by the Article for that mentions one hundred pieces of cloth and that they should be violets browns and plunkets whereas there hath only 87 pieces only [*sic*] been delivered in 9 bails and those few of the colours which are required <105> but a various mixture of such as are of no great esteem among these people which I intend shall be viewed by his Ma.^{ties} Comptroller¹⁵⁵ here and 2 or 3 merchants here in order to make an estimate of them according to which I shall govern my self in the disposall of it to the most advantage and will give your Lord.^{ps} the best account of.

In obedience to an order I lately received from your Lord.^{ps} of specifying the particular services to which some things mentioned in the Victuallers Certificate of the 9.th of August were applied, I enclosed send an account of it under the Victuallers hand and

¹⁵⁴ 1681/2.

¹⁵⁵ John Erlisman (see App. A).

shall observe for the future in all warrants for issuing any thing out of the stores to express the particular use for which they are designed.

I omitted in my former to send your Lord.^{ps} the last Abstract of our musters which I now enclose, and remain with all submission,

My Lords,
You.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 38 [pp. 106–110]

<106> Tanger January 26.th 1683.¹⁵⁶

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I have the honour of yours of the 19.th past humbly to acknowledge and do presume by this opportunity to send such a Peace by Land with these people as the present conjuncture seems to admit of. And because the remoteness of these parts from England and the small acquaintance we have with their methods, interests and humours, leave us very much in the dark as to the management of a negotiation with them, I have thought it my duty to make the most exact enquiries, and and [*sic*] to attain such informations from persons most intelligents [*sic*] and best instructed in their affairs as might enable me to represent some matters that possibly may not be unserviceable in your treating with the Moorish Embassadour in England. In the first place I must observe to you that the Point of contraband is that which makes the Moors set the highest value on our friendship for being in extraordinary want of it and knowing no way of furnishing themselves so conveniently as by our means we may consider this concession as the great indeed only tye upon them for the observance of Articles. And because it will be necessary for the reasons you will see in the marginate remarks upon that Article that the contraband should be kept up at good rates and in his Ma.^{ties} hands <107> only some means should be found out to prevent that the Moorish Embassadours buying of it in England (which I am informed he intends to do to considerable quantities) that he may not be acquainted with the prices of it in England and this may be endeavoured by letting of him know that our laws and constitutions are such that it would expose the King to the

¹⁵⁶ 1681/2.

clamours and censure of his subjects should he permit the Moors to buy publickly in a Christian country Arms and Powder which they will make use of to the destruction of Christians that the liberty of buying it in Tanager is the greatest instance his Ma.^{ty} can give them of his friendship and good will for them, which likewise would not be in his power to grant but that the remissenesse of that place and pretence of furnishing his own stores, prevented the publick notice and consequently the scandall of it. But if this happens not to succeed it will be then expedient to let him know by such skillfull persons as discourse with him that the customes on Powder are very great, as fifty or more per cent, and that the freights are likewise extraordinary by the reason of the hazard of transporting of so dangerous a commodity but that out of a particular regard for the Embassadour the King will order he should have it free of freight and custome and by this means our good ends will be attained, first the hindring him the true knowledge of the charge of powder exported, and then the having laid an obligation <108> upon him which he will be obliged to acknowledge. In all conferences with the Embassadour and his Camerades it will be adviseable to affect great privacy and that things of businesse may not be transacted with them with that publick ostentation or possibly may be thought fit to be used in England for these being a people that give a mysterious turn to the most insignificant affair there can be no more successfull means of treating with them then their own way. The liberty of fortifying without our walls would have been a point extremely desirable for considering the present posture of affairs in Barbary which are in great tranquillity the Kings treasures and power which is now greater then that of his late Predecessours it cannot be expected they should endure the proposall and for those other reasons expressed in the margent of our enclosed Project it is necessary that point should not be so much as touched the Moors being of a nature never to grant all at once, and what they would now certainly refuse is [as?] an unreasonable demand they will possibly grant us when time shall have better settled our good understanding and that future accidents may give us more advantages to ask it or they have lesse power or will to deny it us. If his Ma.^{ty} shall consider this Peace or other benefits we may hereafter propose to our selves worthy his Royall concern he cannot purchase it by easier or surer means then by making presents to the Embassadour <109> and those with him which is to be done their own way secretly in such manner that none of them know that the others have been favoured and each beleive himself to be honourably distinguished from the rest. Besides these private presents which it will be convenient should be in mony there are others to be made in publick and particularly at

their departure which his Ma.^{tie} may please to command may be given them in cloth, Guns and the like. The businesse of the contraband (as I think I have sufficiently evidenced) being absolutely necessary to be kept in the King our Masters hands there remains only that it should be managed here by some very experienced person, and I cannot but recommend (if his Ma.^{tie} shall think to approve of that proposall) Solomon Pariente¹⁵⁷ the present interpreter here as the fittest person to serve as his Ma.^{ties} factor whose long practice with the Moors and known fidelity to his interests will render him capable of giving the best account of such an affair.

The delay which I find in the businesse of the Slaves (whereof I gave you some relations in my last) hath obliged me to make use of the pretence of presenting some Guns I had ordered to be made in England for King Muley Ismael and which I have lately received to send a Generall expresse to to [*sic*] his Ma.^{tie} whom I have instructed in all things requisite to the pressing and more effectual <110> solliciting that affair and I hope to have some speedy and satisfactory answer of that and severall other points I have committed to the management of the person I have employed.

In a late Letter from King Muley Ismael he writes me that the Mares I had sent were not creatures of the kind that he expected which by a description he gives of this fancy impossible to be comprehended I perceive is something little and swift and not to [be] found in England in the mean time I am glad to see that I was [not?] mistaken in sending at the same time the two large horses which were likewise designed. I have nothing more then the constant professions of my being

Hon.^d Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 39 [pp. 110–114]

Tanger January the 26.th 168½

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I must here correct a mistake in my last of this day fortnight about the cloth which I told your Lord.^{ps} I had opened and found differ in quantity and quality to what was appointed by <111> the Articles.

¹⁵⁷ See App. A.

The truth is my small acquaintance with the way of packing up that sort of merchandice easily betrayed me into an error about the quantity for imagining there might be a hundred peeces designed and reckoning every particular parcell to be a whole peice whereas I found but 87 parcells only I apprehended there was something wanting in this quantity. But having since called some merchants to view and estimate the same I find that of the greatest part of this cloth two of those parcells make but one peice and that there are severall peices in the whole which is what is due by the Treaty for one half year. But as to the other point of the quality of it, it is not only quite different to what is demanded in the Article, but those colours that are sent be so ill sorted that I shall never be able to dispose of it at once even at the lowest rates set on it by the said Merchants (which your Lord.^{ps} will see in the enclosed paper) and shall be forced to sell it by small parcells and consequently will require a considerable time to make that mony of it.

Here hath lately hapned an unfortunate accident to the persons that at present farm his Ma.^{ties} Revenue and Portorage,¹⁵⁸ which being managed by Slaves, the persons concerned main<112>tained a considerable number for that purpose who being always lockt up at night in the place made after the intent of a Bagno¹⁵⁹ under an arch near the common sewer, and where there was no suspition of their being able to make any escape but through the roof (for which reason there was always a Sentry over them) found neverthesse means by degrees to saw the door that opened to the common sewer, and seventeen of the best and most considerable of them escaped in the night before they were discovered by the Sentry creeping along the common sewer to the hole that empties itself through the Town wall into the sea, where the iron Portcullis which I had ordered to be placed (with the design of preventing such flights) being not well closed they had an opportunity of going out undiscovered. Upon this accident one M.^r Cuthbert¹⁶⁰ and Waring¹⁶¹ have it seems advanced

¹⁵⁸ Aside from rents for the king's houses and fines imposed by the law courts, the principal sources of Tangier's local revenue – excise, wharfage, cranage, portorage, and herbage – were farmed by contractors. Portorage was charged at 2d per one man's burthen (75–120 lbs) and the work was undertaken by slaves, until their release in 1682, and then by soldiers (Routh, *Tangier*, 152–154. For a bibliography, see Cormack, *Pensioners*, 2).

¹⁵⁹ A bagnio was a prison, or secure hostel, for the detention of slaves. In 1671, the Tangier bagnio accommodated 79 slaves owned by the military government, mostly employed on building the mole: there were also 17 in private ownership. In 1682, when the king ordered the release of all slaves, these numbers were 37 and 42 respectively: private owners were compensated by a payment of 100 pieces-of-eight per slave. Bagnio could also mean a bath house and, by extension, a brothel (Pepys, *Dairy*, X. 410; Routh, *Tangier*, 141, 229, 273). See Letter 41.

¹⁶⁰ Robert Cuthbert (see App. A).

¹⁶¹ James Waring (see App. A).

some proposalls to Ma.^{ties} Comptroller and Treasurers here of farming the said Portorage that are of greater benefit to his Ma.^{ties} Revenue. But because application has been made to me by M.^r Vansusterfleet¹⁶² the present farmer desiring he may be continued in it yet three months longer in which time he may be enabled either to sell his remaining Slaves to the best advantage and in some measure repair his losse or to buy others in order to proceed in this service of the farm wherein he will equall or possibly make better advances then the <113> other Undertakers, I have granted he may be continued as he desires till your Lord.^{ps} shall think fit to dispose otherwise. This I cannot but consider as a thing of so much equity that I believe I ought not deny it to a person of eminent rank in this corporation, nor for the profit of two young Merchants that take the advantage of his misfortunes, consent to the utter ruine of himself and his family. In the mean time having informed my self how this branch of his Ma.^{ties} Revenue here hath been managed for some years past, and what income it hath at severall time produced to his Ma.^{tie} I have ordered the enclosed scheme to be drawn for your Lord.^{ps} view, from which your Lord.^{ps} will be better able to judge what will be the best method of managing the same for the future. In the mean time I cannot but conceive (if the informations that have been given me by some Merchants are just)] that if his Ma.^{tie} think fit to make this part of his Revenue here into his own hands the businesse of Portorage to be performed by his Slaves he would find a much better account then by the farming of it, since being a matter of so easy management it seems obvious that being committed to the care of a person of trust and diligence those profits may be derived to his Ma.^{tie} whereof private men are so very greedy. The Letter of the present pretenders <114> to that farme to the Comptroller and the Treasurers mentioning the undervaluing of this branch of Ma.^{ties} Revenue made me believe there might have been an equall neglect in the rest, and upon enquiry the Comptroller and late Treasurers shewed me the enclosed Letter to the Mayor and Corporation in discharge of themselves and to which no answer hath been returned by your Lord.^{ps} will order what you think convenient. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

¹⁶² Daniel Vansusterfleet (see App. A).

Letter 40 [pp. 114–116]Tanger February 10.th 168½

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir

The Yacht employed in the attendance on this Garrison, having in her last voyage to Cadiz lost her anchor and being obliged to go to Gibraltar to supply that want I have been obliged to hire a boat expresse to carry my last dispatches for Spain which by reason of the ill weather being not yet returned I have at present none of yours to acknowledge.

I have advice that this Emperour is speedily expected at Me<115>quinez from whence I hope by my next I may be able to give you some account of what hath been transacted by the Gentleman I have sent concerning the Captives and other matters committed to his management.

Some misdemeanours have been of late committed by souldiers breaking down and stealing of deale boards and stacades¹⁶³ whereby his Ma.^{ties} forts have been weakned and that sort of stores very much embezled and because the Articles of war by which wee are at present governed have not provided sufficient punishment for offenders of that nature where the crimes are of such weighty consequence, I have by the concurrence and advice of the chief officers of his Ma.^{ties} forces here issued proclamation that whatever souldiers shall for the future be found guilty of the said misdemeanours shall dye without mercy as the only means to prevent the same and hindring the demolishing of his Ma.^{ties} forts by our own hands.

I humbly offer the enclosed Petition to his Ma.^{ties} Royall consideration and shall only say that the merits and usefullnesse of the person are such as may recommend him in the highest manner no man being more versed and skilled in the affairs and humours of the Moors and consequently none more capable of serving in the quality he is which being absolutely necessary <116> in this place, a thing of Considerable labour and application will deserve a proportionable allowance for the maintenance of himself and family.

I am now making a contract with the Moors for their cutting and bringing in wood to us from the country which if I can procure at reasonable rates I shall make a considerable provision of it, all our coals being already quite spent.

¹⁶³ Stockades enclosing the various forts and blockhouses.

I have filled the vacancy of a Lieu.^t in Cap.^t Thomas S.^t John's¹⁶⁴ company in the old Regiment here, by putting in William Webster¹⁶⁵ late Ensigne to Cap.^t Henry Rowe¹⁶⁶ and supplied this place by making John Martin¹⁶⁷ Ensigne to the said Captain both which you will please to represent to his Ma.^{ty} as deserving the confirmation of his Royall commission. I am

Honoured Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 41 [pp. 116–117]

Tanger February 10.th 168 $\frac{1}{2}$

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have little to trouble your Lord.^{ps} by this opportunity more then to acquaint you that some souldiers having been of late guilty <117> of breaking down and stealing deale boards, stacades and timber belonging to the fortifications here to the great weakning and impairing of the fortifications I have been obliged to supply the deficiency of our Articles of war which do not sufficiently provide for punishment in that particular by publishing with the advice of the chief officers of the Garrison a Proclamation forbidding such misdemeanours under pain of death which means alone will prevent disorders of such ill consequence for the future.

Having been informed by experienced persons how much a Bath¹⁶⁸ would contribute to secure the health of our souldiers in this place, I have thought it a matter of good service to build a small one at present which I am doing, wherein three or four may bath at a time as a tryall and upon knowledge of the effect of it, I shall advise your

¹⁶⁴ Thomas St John (see App. A).

¹⁶⁵ William Webster (see App. A).

¹⁶⁶ Henry Rowe (see App. A).

¹⁶⁷ John Martin (see App. A).

¹⁶⁸ Pepys subsequently accused Kirke of both building and employing 'his little bathing house' for immoral purposes. This was probably fair comment but the original intention had been to improve the garrison's health and hygiene. This bath house was distinct and separate from the 'bagnio', the slave prison (Pepys, *Tangier Papers*, 90, 92). See Letter 39.

Lord.^{ps} to the end if you shall think fit one more capacious and of more convenience may be built hereafter. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 42 [pp. 118–122]

<118> Tanger February 23.^d 1683.¹⁶⁹

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

The weather has been so bad of late, that we now want the letters of two posts so that I have at present none of yours before me to answer. The Gentleman I had dispatched to King Muley Ismael returned last night hither, and tells me he was extremely satisfied with the present of Guns I had sent him, with the knowledge of his Embassadors kind reception here and the many marks of the King my Masters friendship and good will and these things had so prevailed upon him that notwithstanding the difficulties that were raised about the price of the English Captives (whereof I have given you an account) he was at length willing that they should come with the Gentleman. I had sent according to the agreement 200 p.^s of 8/8 each as likewise the Portugueses at the same rates, and all necessary orders were given for that purpose a kind Letter and a present was designed for me and the Slaves were already come out of Mequinez in order to proceed for this place, when the King receiving an advice from Suz upon former notices he had of the same nature that English Vessells furnished those of Santa=<119>Cruz (where his Nephew and great enemy Muley Hamets title is supported)¹⁷⁰ with powder and ammunition he expressed his resentment of it with his usuall fury and passion and immediately revoked the orders he had given about the Slaves declaring that none of them should be suffered to stir out of the

¹⁶⁹ 1681/2.

¹⁷⁰ Four provinces, previously independent kingdoms, comprised the sultanate of Morocco: Fez, Morocco, Tafilet, and, the most southerly, Sus, named after the eponymous river at the mouth of which stood the ancient capital city of Santa Cruz, a Portuguese foundation destroyed by an earthquake in 1731. Its site is now occupied by the modern port city of Agadir. 'Muley Hamet' was Moulay Ahmed ibn Muhriz, Moulay Ismail's nephew. See App. A.

country till he should receive a Letter from the King of England promising that no English ships should hereafter be permitted to carry such like supplies to his Enemy. He would hearken to nothing my Gentleman would have alleged but commanded him to make hast to Tanger and let me know his resolution of detaining the Slaves was unalterable till Justice should be done him upon the complaint. This is but an addition to the many instances you have already had of the caprice and humours of the people wee have here to deal with and will sufficiently fortify us from ever being prevailed upon to ground any certain relyance on their most solemn promises and engagements which will infallibly cease upon the slightest pretences whenever our weaknesse or unwatchfullnesse shall flatter them with the hopes of successe. The Letter whose translation I enclose from Alcaid Hamet (the late Omars brother) now Governour of Alcazar¹⁷¹ will let you see in their stile the King's reception of my Gentleman and his resentment of the news he had <120> received from Sus upon which particular I suppose his Ma.^{tie} will be easily induced so far to gratify Muley Ismael as to publish his Royall pleasure that no English Merch.^t or Vessell will presume to furnish those of Suz with warlike provisions and to order his Letter may be transmitted hither for this Kings repose and satisfaction on that subject. In the mean time I intend to write to him once more about the release of the Slaves according to our Agreement and will use the best arguments I can to prevaile with him leaving nothing unattempted to remove this difficulty and to hasten the effect of his Ma.^{ties} pious intentions in this redemption.

I formerly told you of King Muley Ismael's expedition to the frontiers about Oran¹⁷² and Tremecen. I since hear by the Gentleman I employed into the country that having made some small incursions on the people confining [*sic*] with Oran he had at last compounded with them and upon news of an army marching towards him from the Kingdome of Argiers¹⁷³ who had been alarmed by his approaching their limits he had thought fit to withdraw and had returned without doing anything remarkable to Mequinez. That since his return he had raised a great persecution against the Jews ordering their Synagogues to be pulled down and their books burnt and

¹⁷¹ Mohammed al-Hafiz (see App. A).

¹⁷² Oran, now Algeria's second city, was under Spanish occupation, 1509–1708, and 1732–1792.

¹⁷³ From 1671, Algeria, a major base for pirates and privateers, was a virtually autonomous province within the Ottoman Empire. It was ruled by a dey: Mohammed I (1671–1682); Baba Hassan (r.1682–1683), and Mezzo Morto Hüsseyin (1683–1686). In June 1681, Moulay Ismail's half-hearted movement against Temcen, which had been reinforced by Turkish troops, was easily repulsed (Mercer, 127–128).

permitting the execution of it to the rabble under pretence of zeale and reverence to his Religion which his divines enform him cannot without scandall suffer those people to cohabit and mix themselves among the Moors: so that for the future they are to have their separate dwelling places out of the Town, and these he has ordered to be near his palace intending that none shall live within the Town but persons bearing arms. It is certain he has had severall late alarms from his nephew Muley Hamet¹⁷⁴ whose strength is much increased and gives him no small apprehensions, this will oblige him suddenly to remove with the best force he can make towards the frontiers of Suz to encounter that dangerous Competitor and we may expect to hear that he will meet a considerable diversion that way.

Having observed in the Castle an excellent Magazine for the keeping provisions at present applied to the quartering of souldiers I cannot but give my humble opinion that it would be extremly necessary it were converted to the other use for tho the present Magazine which is in the Town be sufficiently capacious yet it is not so secure and in case of any ill accident or surprise (which is not impossible) and when our safe retreat is only to the Upper Castle it would be a shamefull improvidence should wee want stores to maintain us there. Not that I would have the present Magazine no longer used but that the provisions for the future may be so divided as that the most considerable quantities should be laid up and kept in that of the Upper Castle which I offer as my opinion, as well as the necessity of having at least two powder houses, and upon these particulars I would be glad to receive his Ma.^{ties} pleasure.

Cap.^t Carre¹⁷⁵ who hath long served in the old Regiment of this Garrison being through age and infirmities now almost two yeares confined to his chamber and incapable of farther service hath been permitted to dispose of his company to his best advantage which at length he hath resigned upon consideration to James Guy, eldest Lieu.^t of the said Regiment.¹⁷⁶ I have consented more willingly to this disposal since Cap.^t Carre being indebted to his Ma.^{ty} and others here it will put him into a condition of disengaging himself. By this remove, Rob.^t Ogilby,¹⁷⁷ late Lieu.^t to Cap.^t Carre, is made Lieu.^t to S.^r James Lesly, Major of the said Regiment, and John Pinkney¹⁷⁸ is made Lieu.^t to Cap.^t Gay, you will please to represent

¹⁷⁴ Ahmed ibn Muhriz (see App. A).

¹⁷⁵ Cuthbert Carre (see App. A).

¹⁷⁶ James Gay (see App. A).

¹⁷⁷ Robert Ogilby (see App. A).

¹⁷⁸ John Pinkney (see App. A).

them so that they may be all honoured with his Ma.^{ties} Royall commission. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 43 [pp. 123–124]

<123> Tanger February 23.rd 1683¹⁷⁹

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The delay of a supply of coales from England, and the late ill weather which has hindred the bringing in of our wood from the country obliges me to remedy our present necessity of firing by the distributing of Puncheon¹⁸⁰ Staves to the severall companies which stores are now and will be of extraordinary usefulness.

Here was some appearance of a law suit to arise between his Ma.^{ties} Comptroller and the officer of his Revenue and Cap.^t Carre who has long served in the old Regiment about the rent due for many years past of two small houses he was in possession of, he alleging a grant of the Earle of Middleton of the said houses for his quarters and producing his lease to that purpose, and they arguing that the Governour had no power to dispose of his Ma.^{ties} Revenue, upon the whole it appearing that indeed the Cap.^t had never any other quarters, and the matter being of it self sufficiently intricate I proposed the buying of the said two houses with a tenement of free = land adjoining for his Ma.^{ties} use appointing the Comptroller and the present Treasurer Cap.^t S.^t John to estimate the same which they leant [*sic*] done in one thousand & sixty p.^s of 8 and thereupon <124> an agreement has been made with the Captain who has surrendered all his rights to his Ma.^{tie} and entered into condition of repaying five hundred and ten p.^s of 8 arrears of rent pretended from him and of this I have received an obligation under his hand and delivered him Bills on the Lords of the Treasury for the said 1060 p.^s of 8 the present quarters of the greatest part of the officers of my Regiment which costs his Ma.^{tie} 200 p.^s of 8 p ann being ready to fall to the ground the repair whereof will

¹⁷⁹ 1681/2.

¹⁸⁰ A puncheon was a large cask or barrel (*OED*).

require by the most modest computation the expence of 500 p.^s of 8. I thought it better to remove them from so chargeable a place and to make this purchase for his Ma.^{tie} which I am confident will appear very cheap especially considering the great quantities of stone and materials of building there besides the advantage of its situation being adjoining to the Castle if his Ma.^{tie} shall at any time think fit to enlarge the fortifications that way, he will want no mans consent (as hath hapned in like cases) being himself proprietor of the ground. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 44 [pp. 125–130]

<125> Tanger March 9.th 168½

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I must return you my most humble thanks for the honour of yours of the 2.^d the 16.th and the 30.th of January which by reason of the late bad weather I received not in the due course of time. The severall encloseds for this King and the Alcaid I have carefully forwarded.

Since the return of my Gentleman out of the country – of whose transactions I gave you an account in my last, I have once more writ to this King on the subject of the Slaves insisting on the reasonableness of the thing and on his Ma.^{ties} promise and urging there might to be no farther delay in that business. I have yet received no answer either from the King or the Alcaid, but I have taken such measures to attain my end that I think will scarce faile, and I hope speedily to be able to send you some satisfactory answer.

Coll: Sackville having intimated to me his Ma.^{ties} designe of reducing this Garrison to the established number of 2000 foot upon a peaceable conclusion of the Morocco Embassadors negotiation there I think it my duty to represent such <126> remarks in order to a future establishment as my present experience and nearer view into the necessities of the place have suggested unto me and for that reason I have presumed to offer the enclosed modell of such an establishing as in my opinion will prove most conducive to his Ma.^{ties} service and best answer the great end of saving expence so as not to neglect the preservation of the Town. And here I am confident you will agree with me that it will not be prudent to rely so

much on any adjustment that shall be made with these people as that it should hinder us from being well disposed and provided against future accidents. To which end nothing can so effectually conduce as the dividing the whole number of the foot into two Regiments, for the main service here depending on parties (which are to be multiplied as occasion shall require) that would be but ill performed were there not a sufficient number of field = officers to command the same whose experience and repute renders them only truly capable of such duty whereas was it committed to the conduct of private Captains the want of skill in some of name and reputation in others would too evidently expose his Ma.^{ties} service to great hazards. And this necessity of field officers will appear the more indispensable in case of the sicknesse, indisposition or death of the Governour or such like accidents when it would be of the highest inconvenience that there should be a want of fit persons to succeed in the various dependances that would be occasion[ed] by such an alteration. I reduce the severall companies to a fewer number then in the present establishment for by this means they will always be preserved the more compleat, be the more capable of order and discipline, their faults or good behaviour the sooner observed and are the easier punished or encouraged by their Captains and will consequently be the more serviceable. Those that consider the nature of a war here will find the convenience of entertaining one company of Granadeers at least in each Regiment, which ought to be kept apart without an intermixture with the other companies for their better order the preservation of those exercises proper to them and their greater aptnesse to service. All this exceeds not the number of 120 men more then what I am informed his Ma.^{tie} designs and I humbly conceive would put this Garrison into a state of apprehending nothing from its neighbours. I cannot but at the same time represent the want here of a skillfull Engineer,¹⁸¹ Firemaster,¹⁸² and M.^r Gunner¹⁸³ for tho their places are not at present unsupplied yet the unfitness of the persons that execute the same make it extremely requisite <128> they should be

¹⁸¹ The resident military engineer was Johannes Ewald Tessin. In 1675, the Ordnance Office had provided Tangier with an engineer, a keeper of magazines and stores, an assistant storekeeper, a master carpenter, a firemaster, a gunsmith, and a master gunner assisted by 16 gunners. During the emergency in 1680, the number of gunners was increased to 52 (see App. A, NOLDEN, Ernestus; TESSIN, Johannes Ewald).

¹⁸² A firemaster to supervise the local manufacture, acquisition, and storage of gunpowder and pyrotechnics was appointed and supervised by the Comptroller of Fireworks in the Ordnance Office in the Tower of London. Members of his staff were known as 'fireworkers' (*OED*; Tomlinson, *Guns*, 14, 47, 49, 55, 57, 77, 107, 237–238).

¹⁸³ A master gunner was usually appointed to each garrison. He was responsible to the local governor and the Master Gunner of the Ordnance Office in London. This position was held by James Hunter in 1683 (Tomlinson, *Guns*, 238–239; Drenth and Riley, I. 143). See App. A, HUNTER, James.

put into better hands. In this want I must adde that of Canon there being scarce one of our whole Artillery truly serviceable, and that a generall exchange of them likewise would prove of happy consequence to the defence of the Garrison.

There being a considerable number of souldiers belonging to the old Regiment here, whose age and infirmities make them incapable of service, it would be necessary that they were recalled and that their places be supplied with able men. This is what I judged I ought not to omit in so seasonable an opportunity as when I am informed his Ma.^{ties} counsells are employed about an establishment of this Garrison, and because the importance of putting matters into a good method from the beginning is such as influences the whole course and progresse of them, I have made use of this first occasion of representing on this subject what I conceived most proper for his Ma.^{ties} service here, which I humbly submit to his Royall consideration remaining with that submission that becomes me

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c

<129> The Governours Regiment is at present established as follows.

The Colonel	12 Ensigns.
The Lieu. ^t Col:	36 Sergeants.
The Major.	36 Corporals.
12 Captains.	34 Drums.
12 Lieu. ^{ts}	120 Souldiers each company.

The four Monmouth companies annexed to the said Regiment are established as followeth,

4 Captains.	12 Corporals.
4 Lieu. ^{ts}	
4 Ensigns.	8 Drums.
12 Sergeants	100 Souldiers each company.

It is proposed that the said Regiment & four annexed companies be incorporated in one Regiment of

16 Companies.
60 Souldiers in each company with the additionall officers of
An Ayde Major.
Quartermaster.

One Surgeons Mate more. Drum Major.

One company of 100 Granadeers with 1 Cap.^t 2 Lieu.^{ts} 4 Serg.^{ts} 4 Corp.^{ls} 2 Drums all which amount to the number of 1060 Souldiers.

An Aide Major is more necessary here then in other stations for the Batalions drawing up in severall Parades it is impossible for the Governour to command without Aide Majors or Aide de Camp to carry his orders from one Parade to the another.

<130> A Quartermaster looks after the souldiers provisions, sees it delivered, keeps order at the delivery, views the Quarters and doth the duty of Aide Major to the second Battalion.

The establishment of Coll: Kirke's Regiment¹⁸⁴ is as followeth

16 Companies. 3 Corporals:
64 Souldiers in each. 2. Drums.
2, Sergeants.

It is proposed that the said Regiment may be composed of

16 Companies. 3 Corporalls.
60 Souldiers each. 2 Drums.
3 Serg.^{ts} 100 Granadeers in one company, 1 Cap.^t 2
Lieu.^{ts} 4 Serg.^{ts} 4 Corp.^{ls} 2 Drummers.

The addition of a Sergeant to each company is necessary here by reason of the many out Guards commanded by Sergeants the want of which obligeth on some occasions to depute a common Souldier, to the great neglect of duty.

The 200 Horse in four Troops.
An Aide Major. One Farrier.
One Kettle Drum. One Sadler to each Troop.

The present establishment of Gunners and Miners to be continued. The places of Master = Gunner, Firemaster and Ingenier to be supplied with persons better capacitated then those that now execute them.

¹⁸⁴The 2nd Tangier Regiment (see App. C).

Letter 45 [pp. 131–132]<131> Tanger March 9.th 168½.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Your Lord.^{ps} of the 17.th of December which I now receive blames my omitting of the particular reasons for my drawing a Bill of exchange of four hundred fifty eight pounds, six shillings and eight pence, tho I am confident if your Lord.^{ps} think fit to command my Letter I writ you of the 12.th of August to be read you will find an account sufficiently expressive of the nature of the service and necessity of it.

I have acquainted your Lord.^{ps} in severall former Letters that the cloth sent upon the Tyger Fregate and designed for the Emperour of Morocco being as I conceived of no farther service here I had designed them for Sali¹⁸⁵ and in effect have already disposed of the greatest part of them to the best profit I have been able whereof I shall give your Lord.^{ps} an exact account.

By a Letter I lately received from M.^r Creed¹⁸⁶ I find your Lord.^{ps} are sensible of our want of Coale and that we might expect a speedy supply. In the mean time I must acquaint your Lord.^{ps} that the wood I have cut in the country here with <132> some quantities that I have bought from Spain will afford us firing for yet one month more and I am now bargaining with the Moors (who notwithstanding the Articles in that particular are not easily prevailed with) to cut wood for us and deliver it at the cheapest rates by which means I hope we shall hold out till our supply arrives from England. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

¹⁸⁵ Sallee, variously Sala, Salla, Salli, Salee, Sallee, Salé, Sali, on the Atlantic coast in the north-west of Morocco is now a suburb of modern Rabat. Moulay Ismail exercised little effective control over this virtually independent city state and den of pirates, the infamous Sallee Rovers.

¹⁸⁶ John Creed (see App. A).

Letter 46 [pp. 132–135]Tanger March 22.nd 168½

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

The post hath brought me none of yours to acknowledge and I have at present only to acquaint you that my earnest solicitations for the redemption of the English and Portuguese captives (wherein I have used all the methods imaginable) having proved fruitlesse through the late humorous exceptions of this King, I had made my last effort by engaging the Alcaid to use his best offices in his visit to his Ma.^{tie} not long since and by writing to him once more in the most pressing manner by the hands of the Alcaid and <133> this hath produced no more then the enclosed answer to my Letter which I send translated into English and which seems to be a resolution of detaining the Slaves till they be satisfied for the pre-tences he there alleges. I hereupon immediately writ to the Alcaid expostulating with him on the groundlesse motives of these delays in the termes you will see in the enclosed: he intends himself to come suddenly to these fields, when I shall be able to see the bottom of their designs in this businesse and give you an account of it.

The many proclamations and orders I have issued here under the severest penalties to prevent quarrells and maintain a good discipline in the Garrison had produced such effect that of late we have lived extream quietly among ourselves which order however was not long since interrupted by Ensigne Tessin,¹⁸⁷ who having in Cap.^t Giles¹⁸⁸ his absence (a deserving person and one of the eldest Captains of the old Regiment) presumed to traduce him in the most scurrilous and indecent termes, having drawn his sword and wounded one of the company that blamed him for those expressions was neverthesse upon his submission and promise of a future good behaviour pardoned the fault. Since which the same Tessin hath been the occasion of another quarrell wherein without any reasonable pro<134>vocation he hath passed to the extravagance of giving severall blows with his cane to another officer (the manner of which you will see in the enclosed depositions) with circumstances of such scandall and contempt of orders, that I have been forced at length to turn him out of his employment taking care to do that justice

¹⁸⁷ Bernard Tessin (see App. A).¹⁸⁸ John Giles (see App. A).

herein as may answer to his Ma.^{ties} intentions of preventing misdemeanours of so dangerous consequence.

By the death of our Town Major¹⁸⁹ here have been severall vacancies, which I filled with the persons I thought most deserving having appointed M.^r William Davis,¹⁹⁰ one who hath served very well and many yeares of good experience and qualifications, to succeed in the place of Town Major. His late employment of Adjutant to my Regiment I having supplied by naming M.^r Maurice Roche to it. I have made Cap.^t Burges¹⁹¹ Cap.^t of the late company of Cap.^t White in the old Regiment who is succeeded in his place of Cap.^t Lieu.^t to the old Regiment by M.^r John Berry.¹⁹² I have appointed M.^r John Martin¹⁹³ to be Lieu.^t to Cap.^t Charles Colliers¹⁹⁴ company in my Regiment in the place of Lieu.^t Rugely¹⁹⁵ deceased, and M.^r John Jeaffries¹⁹⁶ to be Lieu.^t to Cap.^t Griffith's¹⁹⁷ company in my Regiment in the room of M.^r Berry, and M.^r Aldus¹⁹⁸ to be Ensigne to the same company, for all which persons you will please to procure his Ma.^{ties} Royall Commissions.

<135> It is now necessary to think of making some provision of straw and barley for our horses I shall be glad to know his Ma.^{ties} pleasure as to the method I shall use therein whether I shall provide for the horses only we have here at present or likewise for those that we expect. I have formerly proposed to the Lords Commission.¹⁸⁵ the conveniency of having a particular Magazine of forrage here with a person on purpose to oversee it and take care of the delivery and laying up of the necessary stores of that nature, which I once again remind them of and am with all imaginable respect,

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c

¹⁸⁹ A town major was the chief executive officer in a garrison or fortress, responsible for billeting, routine day-to-day administration, and discipline. He reported directly to the governor. The officer in question was John White (see App. A, ALSOP, Roger; DAVIS, William; HOPE, John; WHITE, John).

¹⁹⁰ William Davis (see App. A).

¹⁹¹ John Burgess (see App. A).

¹⁹² William Berry (see App. A).

¹⁹³ John Martin (see App. A).

¹⁹⁴ Charles Collier (see App. A).

¹⁹⁵ Lieutenant Rugeley (see App. A).

¹⁹⁶ John Jeffreys (see App. A).

¹⁹⁷ Edward Griffith (see App. A).

¹⁹⁸ Samuel Arnold (see App. A).

Letter 47 [pp. 135–136]Tanger March 22.nd 1683¹⁹⁹

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have in former Letters to your Lord.^{ps} given my self the honour of offering my humble opinion, that it would be extremely convenient a Magazine was established here of forrage for our horses with some fit person to have the charge and care of laying up the neces<136>sary provisions in it of keeping an account of it and delivering it from time to time; I now again repeat the same to your Lord.^{ps} proposing it once more to your considerations, humbly begging that in the mean time you shall have taken the resolutions on it as shall appear best to you, you would let me know what method I shall use in the making provision which I shall ere long be obliged to do, whether I shall lay up only what is necessary for our present number of horses or what may be also sufficient for the recruits we may expect. By the way I must observe to your Lord.^{ps} that experience has taught us that straw is much more proper and more agreeable to our horses then the Hay of this Country which being full of stalky herbs of an ill tast, I am of opinion that our whole provision for the future ought to be of straw and barley. I shall wait your Lord.^{ps} orders in this matter and remain with all submission

My Lords
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 48 [pp. 137–141]<137> Tanger April 3.rd 1682

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Since my writing to you a former of this date, having considered the usuall tricks of evasion practised by the Moors whenever they are pressed in any difficult point, I am absolutely convinced that

¹⁹⁹ 1681/2.

the Embassadors urging the liberty of fortifying be left to his Masters pleasure and insinuating he would not refuse it having given his word of Peace is nothing else in effect then the easing himself of any excuse of a burthen that was too hard for him, and the gratifying his impatience of making an end of the Treaty. For I am very confident in the present state of things the Moors will never be induced by any arguments we can frame, or means we can put in practice, to suffer our fortifying without the wall: and for this reason if the satisfaction of his Ma.^{ty} depends only on that point it will not be worth his trouble and expence nor agreeable to his honour to send an Embassadour hither with proposalls who will certainly return to him with a deniall. If my dispatches of the 26.th of January shall have reached your hands timely enough I hope they have been of some use to you since I am persuaded the <138> project I then sent is the best foundation of a Peace by land we can at this time propose to our selves, and framed with so easy termes in respect to the Moors that they can raise no exceptions.

In these dispatches I assured that the only value this Emperour set upon our Peace was for the Articles of contraband and the conveniency of procuring Guns and powder, which cement of our correspondence will now prove the weaker if it be true (as I am assured it is by very good hands) that the Hollanders are treating a Peace with these people, upon terms of furnishing them with a certain number of Canon for the present and supplies of powder from time to time, which negotiation is carried on by the management of some Jews in Barbary by the assistance of others their correspondents in Holland.²⁰⁰ And because the effect of this negotiation which I hear the Emperour desires extremely would be of the highest prejudice to our peace with these people, it would be advisable some means should be found to hinder it, which possibly his Ma.^{ty} may do by sending his commands to his Minister at the Hague to represent there that having information of a Treaty of Peace by sea in reference to Saly managed by certain Jews on terms that will prove prejudiciall to his Ma.^{ties} Garrison of <139> Tanger and probably destruction to the Peace he hath lately made with the Emperour of Morocco his Ma.^{ty} ought to expect from so good Allies that they will proceed no farther in a matter where the States²⁰¹ derive so inconsiderable an interest, wherein they gratify chiefly the avarice of those Jews who did first insinuate it and where they cast his

²⁰⁰ A reference, perhaps, to the internationalism of Sephardic Jewry. See Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan (eds), *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500–1800* (Baltimore, MD, 2009).

²⁰¹ The States General of the Dutch Republic.

Ma.^{ties} most important concerns in these parts into an evident discomposure. I suppose that in the present conjuncture of affairs such a representation in Holland would not be ineffectual, I am sure it is necessary that all industry should be used to prevent the inconveniencies threatned by such a Treaty, and I should have found a nearer and most certain way of doing it here had I been enabled to make some presents to such persons as have most influence in this Kings mind and counsells. On this occasion I cannot but represent the necessity of some fond²⁰² here or in Cadiz for such services it being demonstrable that if we intend a durable Peace with these people we must cultivate it by seasonable presents and largesses, and I am persuaded that sometimes the saving of an inconsiderable summe hath occasioned here accidents which we have not been able to redresse or which have been redressed only with vast and weighty expences.

P. S.

<140> A Packet is just now fallen into my hands which being sent expresse from a Jew in Mequinez and recommended to a Dutch Merch.^t in Cadiz I conjectured might contain something concerning the negotiation with the States Generall and in effect having found it to be a relation of what had been transacted in that businesse under the hand of the Jew chiefly employed in it together with a Letter from King Muley Ismael to the states, I have ordered so much of it to be put into English as can be interpreted for the present, by such as I can trust, which is the whole packet except only the King's Letter in Arabick. From these papers you will sufficiently see the whole state of that businesse, which to the end it might be managed with lesse noise hath been carried on privately by Jews some of whom having had a too frequent correspondence with this place and been too curious to examine the state of our affairs, I find it absolutely conducing to his Ma.^{ties} service to forbid all of that nation that are not immediately employed from the King or the Alcaid to depart the Garrison as a means to prevent in a great manner the subtle and treacherous practices of a people that scruple not to sacrifice any thing to their private interests and revenge. Mesquita²⁰³ whom he men<141>tions in his Letters, is a Jew bred in Spain and who hath lived some time in this place. Maimasan,²⁰⁴ whom he stiles the King's Major Domo, is in effect the principall Jew of Barbary and one who by finding ways to gratify the Kings avarice has a pre-vailling influence over him. This man hath on some occasions

²⁰² fund.

²⁰³ Joseph Bueno Mesquita (see App. A).

²⁰⁴ Abraham Maimarān (see App. A).

sufficiently explained himself to me that many might engage him to the English interests, I could wish I had been able to deal farther with him then by promises, for I fear the small hopes of making any effectual advantages by us has induced him to hearken to other insinuations and to look now a contrary way you will observe from these papers that one Letter of this Kings agreeing to the proposalls is already sent so that no time should be lost in using the best means to prevent the final conclusion of this Treaty.

Letter 49 [pp. 141–143]

Tanger April 3.^d 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I make use of this opportunity of acquainting your Lord.^{ps} that the stores here being unprovided of bedding and sheets for souldiers it will be necessary that directions be given for a supply of those <142> things, which your Lord.^{ps} will please to proportion according to the establishment that shall be resolved on for the Garrison: the sheets heretofore already sent are not yet disposed of, and I shall keep the remaining part of them in the stores, till I receive the knowledge of what his Ma.^{tic} shall determine as to the number of the forces he intends to maintain here.

I have been acquainted by our last Letters from England with his Ma.^{ties} too gracious regard to my small services in his appointing my continuance in the Gouvernement of this place²⁰⁵ and because I know how much your Lord.^{ps} have contributed to this new honour I think I cannot better expresse my sense of your favours, then by assuring your Lord.^{ps} I shall endeavour to deport my self in such manner in the great trust his Ma.^{tic} hath been pleased to repose in me as that your Lord.^{ps} shall not be ashamed to promote my continuance in his grace and good opinion. This honour obliging me to remove my dwelling to the Castle I cannot but let your Lord.^{ps} know that I find the house there by a long neglect and want of repairs almost inhabitable [*sic*] so that it will require no small expence of all materials to fit it to a moderate decency.

Here are three Victuallers arrived with the last convoy who bring us extraordinary good provisions and I must needs say <143> that

²⁰⁵ Kirke was commissioned governor of Tangier on 26 January 1682 (Childs, *Kirke*, 40).

M.^r Sturt²⁰⁶ by the observation I have had in the time of my being here hath furnished us with Victualls of the best nature and whose wholesomenesse shews it self in the well thriving of our souldiers: the same ships have brought us a seasonable supply of coals. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 50 [pp. 143–145]

Tanger April 3.^d 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Yours of the 27 of February answers me in the most obliging manner of the honour his Ma.^{tie} hath been pleased to confer on me in the Gouvernement of this place wherein the too great value he hath laid on my small performances imposes on me a stronger tye to endeavour to acquit my self zealously and faithfully of so important a trust. And as I have the honour to serve the best and most gracious Master in the world, so I have an humble confidence that I shall never forfeit his good opinion, since I shall never depart from the firm resolutions I have hitherto cherished of directing all my actions by the principles <144> of an unbyassed honesty and duty. It is no small addition of pride to me that you are pleased to expresse your concern for me on this occasion to whose good offices and favours I know I am too much obliged not to acknowledge them with the sincerest professions of thankfullnesse and respect.

M.^r Godolphin²⁰⁷ lets me know that the Treaty with the Morocco Embassadour was neer drawn to a conclusion, but that the liberty of fortifying he beleived would be no otherwise granted then under the Emperour's pleasure, which would make it necessary to send an Embassadour hither. And upon this occasion I think it my duty to give my humble Opinion, if his Ma.^{tie} shall determine another Embassy to this Prince, that the person named should be of the best qualification, the naturall haughtinesse of these people valuing nothing that bears not some visible stamp of greatness and

²⁰⁶ Anthony Sturt (see App. A).

²⁰⁷ Sidney Godolphin (see App. A).

ostentation, and in this case, M.^r Sheres²⁰⁸ who is now returning home and who will arrive seasonably, may probably be prevailed with to take on him the employment of Secretary of the Embassy, whose experience and knowledge of the Moors and our affairs here will be able to conduct such a negotiation to a good end. But if there happen to be reasons that may hinder his Ma.^{ties} naming some persons of our chiefest nobility, I am persuaded that in such case <145> no one will appear so proper to bear that character as M.^r Sheres being more eminently fitted with the essentiall qualifications for it, then any other person that I know his Ma.^{ties} can make use of.²⁰⁹ The Alcaid has not yet answered my last Letter and I expect every moment the news of his having appointed persons to attend the Gentleman I have designed with his Ma.^{ties} Letter to the Emperour; I can yet give no farther account of the redemption of the Slaves am with all submission

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

P: S:

Erasmus Nolden²¹⁰ who hath served a considerable time here as Master = Carpenter, a good workman, wants his Ma.^{ties} warrant for that place which you will be pleased to represent that he may be furnished with it if it shall be so thought fitt.

Letter 51 [pp. 146–151]

<146> Tanger Aprill the 20.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Yours of the 13.th past hath put me out of some pain I was in for fear the project I sent of a Peace by land with these people might have miscarried I could wish it had arrived sooner to your hands, that it might have prevented what hath been delivered by the Lords Commissioners which since in probability will not be wholly admitted by the Embassadour I suppose mine may supply the

²⁰⁸ Henry Sheres (see App. A).

²⁰⁹ Childs, *Kirke*, 37–39. See Letters 1, 5.

²¹⁰ Ernestus Nolden (see App. A).

place of it and containing the same things in effect, under such qualifications that they cannot reject if they deal with us honestly and with a true design of Peace.

The Alcaid on his return from a late visit he hath made the Emperour hath practised new tricks to extort from me the contraband he so earnestly desires making use of one of his Almocadens or Captains of the Guards of these fields for that purpose who arriving here the last week, sent me word he had something to impart to me from the Alcaid and desired I would see him in the feilds. I satisfied my self to send my Secretary to him to know his businesse to whom he endeavoured first to cover the Emperour's breach of promise in not dismissing the Slaves with the best colours of reason they are able to give, and would needs make the going of our ships to S.^{ta} Cruz and the keeping of Mahumetan Slaves here passe for very substantiall ones. He then magnified the liberty that we enjoyed of buying cattle and provisions in the country and the kindnesse and friendship of the Alcaid who he said ought to expect due returns from me and that I could never make them but by supplying him with contraband the only commodity that might endear him to his Prince and make him appear before him with confidence whereas in his last visit to him having nothing to present him but clothes and such sort of manufactures he had the misfortune to receive a severe reprehension from him. That he the Almocaden feared if I did not speedily furnish some good quantities of powder and Gun = locks the Alcaid would take a resolution of hindring the bringing in of any provisions to Tanger out of the country, and that this advertisement he gave me privately as a good friend and to prevent the reducing matters to an extremity. My Secretary who was sufficiently instructed in these matters made him at the same time so full a reply, shewing so well the unreasonableness of their demand of contraband from me and rectifying so distinctly their mistake of the whole case grounded on an imaginary supposition that I found not worth the <148> trouble of sending out again to him on that subject. The next day I was acquainted that the same Almocaden had hindred the coming in of certain poultry that was brought hither and sold at the stacade. I hereupon sent out my Secretary to know the meaning of it, whom the Almocaden told he had acted by orders he had just then received from the Alcaid, who had resolved that nothing should enter the gates of Tanger from the country till we yielded the point of contraband according to their notion of it. This obliged me to write immediately to the Alcaid, to know of him if that breach of Articles committed by his Almocaden had been by his order, and to acquaint him that if it was true that he had taken the resolution I was enformed he had of denying us the

liberties of the Treaty, I would consider it as an absolute infraction of the Peace and that the ill consequences of it would be charged on him: that for my part I should take my Master's honour should not suffer, and to give a good account of the trust reposed in me. When I expected the Alcaid's answer, the Almocaden sent in a message desiring to speak with my Secretary who thereupon went out to him and found that his businesse was to begge pardon in a very submissive manner for what he had done, disowning he had an order for it from the Alcaid taking the blame upon himself and excusing his <149> action as well as he could as an effect of his transport and anger against the man that had sold the provisions and who behaved himself not so respectfully as he ought. My Secretary told him after some reproaches of his proceeding that I expected impatiently the Alcaid's answer to my Letter according to which I should take my measures and govern my self for the future: he then told him, that being conscious of having acted rashly he had indeed taken the liberty of keeping my Letter by him, arguing that I writ too severely and in terms that might expose him to the Alcaid; that he had sent to England to beg the King my Master's pardon by the Embassadour there and he hoped that I would take no farther notice of it, and be so kind to him as to conceal it from the knowledge of the Alcaid since it would prove the ruine of him. I perceived by this as I had before early conjectured that this whole proceeding was only to make an experiment upon my humour, which the Alcaid thought might more conveniently be done by others hands then by his own that if it hapned to succeed he would then own it done by his order, if not his honour and authority might still remain entire there being no disgrace in the submission of his Almocaden which would have ill becomed himself. So that having gained our main <150> point I thought it not proper to urge this matter any further.

The Alcaid I have of late discerned hath applied himself to convert the Commerce with this place by land to a trade by sea, which he carries on by French Vessells, or such as wear French colours wherein some of our own merchants for their private interests have so far concurred that if speedy prevention were not made use of it would prove of the highest prejudice of the place, some of them entertaining such Vessells here whereby they trade from this Bay to that of Tetuan without passing the goods as was wont through the Town to the great losse of his Ma.^{ty} and the generall damage of the inhabitants and commerce. I shall use all the proper methods I can propose to my self to reduce things as they ought to be and to make this place as valuable to our neighbours as best sutes the interest of it and his Ma.^{ty} service: for which reason I shall take order that no merchandise for the future shall be exported for the Moors

country but by land, nor admit of any intercourse with them by sea by any Vessells whatsoever and to restore our Commerce the sooner to its proper current I shall not permit any parcells of goods to be carried into the country so much as by land till I see their merchandises <151> brought to us the same way, which hath of late by the Alcaid's artifice, and the covetous consent of some of our own people, been quite obstructed. It is certain that in our Marine Treaty with these people (if we conclude any such Treaty) great regard should be had to desire all the advantages of commerce with them to this his Ma.^{ties} Garrison and tho the [blank] of our Merchants Ships in their ports and trading in them will be an unavoidable Article yet I presume it will be necessary that no mention be made of any English Factory or so much as a single Merchant to reside in them which permission would be of ill consequence to Tanger, and it is therefore adviseable means should be considered on to prevent that mischief. This I hint from the advice I have received that some of our countrymen intend to establish themselves in Sale and Tetuan and particularly one Holder²¹¹ who is now in the country a man famous for selling powder to the Moors in the heat of our war with them. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 52 [pp. 152–153]

<152> Tanger April 20.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have some time since given your Lord.^{ps} an account of my having bought the house of Cap.^y Carre for his Ma.^{ties} service which is now in my possession and by the removal of severall officers thither will ease him of the charge of two houses that were entertained for quarters, the one of 200 p.^s of 8 the other of 350 p.^s of 8 yearly rent which I have now delivered up to the Landlords.

I have drawn Bills on the Lords of the Treasury of one thousand p.^s of 8 payable to the assigns of M.^r Benjamin Price Merch.^t in Cadiz being money wherewith he furnished me for the payment of

²¹¹ Richard Holder (see App. A).

M.^r Sheres for necessaries I bought of him for his Ma.^{ties} service, viz.^t six Slaves at 300 p.^s of 8, one Barco longo at 300 p.^s of 8, and one bed and furniture at 312 p.^s of 8 for the use of the Morocco Embassadour. I have been necessarily constrained to the purchase of the said Barco longo since all our boats belonging to this place being broken by the late transporting of the Spanish succours and there being none to attend the present service of the <153> Garrison but the yacht (which likewise cannot be constant in its attendance by reason of its frequent want of cleaning). I have experienced the inconvenience of this defect and have supplied it the best and cheapest way I have been able by adding this boat to his Ma.^{ties} use and service here. Your Lord.^{ps} will please so to order it that my Bills may be punctually complied with, reducing the 312 doll.^{rs} out of the account of my expences in the reception of the Moorish Embassadour here where I have charged it, is long since sent home and yet unpaid as also 88 p.^s of 8, which M.^r Sheres delivered me here to make up the 1000 p.^s of 8 paid him upon my Bills in Cadiz. I am

My Lords
Your Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 53 [pp. 153–160]

Tanger May the 4.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

By yours of the [blank] (for which I humbly thank you) I see the Treaty with the Moorish Embassadour is con<154>cluded. I am glad you have so vigorously contended about the point of contraband and hope it hath been thought fit to afford it them, according to those cautions and measures only hinted in the project I sent home, which will make our friendship valuable to them, will serve as a pledge of their good behaviour and serves his Ma.^{ties} interests in these parts. I perceive there are some points left to the Emperour's approbation, and which the Embassadour hath taken upon him to procure at his returne home, and shew I am bold to say you are not to depend on, since hee will not have sufficient credit with his master to obtain or indeed courage to propose them. The businesse of fortifying is as yet an insufferable scandal to these

people, and as they esteem us for the only consideration of furnishing them with Contraband, so they think those things highly paid by the Emperour's word of Peace, and those other small concessions already granted.

In former dispatches I have represented y^c necessitie of preventing the conclusion of the Treatie between y^c States of Holland & this Emperour, which would certainly so weaken his Ma.^{ties} interests here that I am not but once more prest²¹² all means may be used effectually to hinder it.

The Alcaid not long since writ to me to let me know that his Master having encharged him with Letters for Argier he designed to dispatch an embarcation expresse with them and desired my Seguro for the same, I answered him that provided it were no Man of war or other ship of burthen (the King my Masters Fleet lying then before Argier) but such a Vessell as was proper only for the carrying of Letters and the people all subjects of King Muley Ismael, when he should acquaint me with it, I should not deny him the Seguro he desired of me. He hereupon writes that the Vessell was a Tartan²¹³ of 14 men, all his Masters subjects. I sent him word the Seguro should be ready whenever he should appoint a person to receive it, he at the same time took the opportunity of expostulating with him on the subject of his obstructing the trade by Land, telling that so long as he should suffer nothing to come out of the country into the gates of Tanger, I should be obliged to hinder any goods from going out of the Town into the country. Some days after he sent a person with a civill Letter to me telling me that Cafila's²¹⁴ should come in as they were wont, and that relying upon my promise <156> of giving the Seguro, he had already dispatched the Vessell having writ to the Admirall of our squadron and all the sea commanders that they should not molest her because I had given him my word of a Seguro. I told the Gentleman that brought the Letter that I did not know in case the Vessell should meet with our ships what credit those Letters might have with them and that the Alcaid should have kept her till I had acquitted myself of my promise which he had sufficient instances to persuade I would certainly have done. He replied that the Alcaid was pressed

²¹² Assuming that here 'prest' means 'ready/prepared', this sentence might read: 'In former dispatches I have represented y^c necessitie of preventing the conclusion of the Treatie between y^c States of Holland & this Emperour, which would certainly so weaken his Ma.^{ties} interests here that I am once more ready to use all means effectually to hinder it.'

²¹³ A tartan, or tartane, was a small, single-masted, lateen-rigged, sailing vessel used for fishing and coastal trade throughout the Mediterranean. It carried a crew of up to 30 men (*OCS*, 576–577).

²¹⁴ A cafila was a caravan or string of pack horses, often military in nature (*OED*).

in time and that the King his Master having limited him to a day (the Letters that were sent being of the greatest importance) he could not stay for the Seguro, but that he hoped I would now send it him, urging my word for it. I told him that the Alcaid himself had revised my promise ineffectual²¹⁵ which being for the security of the Vessel I was only capable of giving it before she run the hazard; and that since she was parted a Passeport in the Alcaid's hands would be of no manner of use to her at sea. The man would not comprehend this but continued three days solliciting the Passeport, within which time Admirall Herbert arriving here after the concluding a Peace with Argiers,²¹⁶ and learning from him <157> that the Vessel dispatched by the Alcaid had certainly performed her Voyage, I thought I need not scruple to gratify him and therefore sent him the Passeport to avoid debates on a subject which is now of no moment.

In obedience to the commands you lay upon me of sending an account of the matter of fact in the case represented in a petition (whose copy you enclose to me) of John Facy,²¹⁷ I must tell you that this person having been turned out by reason of his misdemeanours from his practise in the Court here, and suddenly to be prosecuted for felony, at a certain publick session came into that Court, where with an insolent behaviour accompanied with the most reviling and indecent speeches he accused M.^r Recorder²¹⁸ of High Treason and other pretended crimes so much to the scandall and indignation of the Mayor²¹⁹ and most of the members of the corporation then sitting, that it was thought fit he should be committed to prison, the Mayor being afterwards informed that Facy had reported his having papers from England and hands from many persons which tended to the disturbance of the Peace here. He hereupon as a Magistrate taking some of his officers with him and Alderman Sanford²²⁰ searched the said Facy's Pockett and chest taking nothing <158> from him but the draught of an Indictment under his own hand against one Williams who was the person bound over to prosecute him for felony: and this being the matter of fact and the best relation I can make of what then passed in this case, I must acquaint you that the same Facy hath since denied in open Court [blank] of the Recorder, declaring it to be false, and upon his knees begging

²¹⁵ This clause might be better expressed, 'had reconsidered my promise and found it ineffectual.'

²¹⁶ In April 1682, Herbert secured a peace at sea with Algiers but it is not clear whether this agreement achieved the status of a formal treaty (Hornstein, 145–147).

²¹⁷ John Facy (see App. A).

²¹⁸ Henry Hordesnall (Pepys, *Tangier Papers*, 334). See Letter 141; App. A.

²¹⁹ William Smith (see App. A).

²²⁰ Nicholas Sandford (see App. A).

his pardon for it. By all the information I have of this man from persons and Gentlemen of unsuspected truth, I find he is one that in several places hath left marks of wickednesse and discovers himself to be of the stamp of those turbulent spirits that can live no where and love no Government and am persuaded that his desire of being sent for home was only to have a means and pretence of leaving the Garrison (being now a military man) and to join himself to some others of his own choice there in England that importune his Ma.^{ties} Counsellors & whose practises are too base & obvious to prevail when there is so much wisdom to prevent them. I cannot leave this subject without doing some justice to M.^r Mayor and to M.^r Recorder in giving my opinion that they are persons who serve very meritoriously in their employments which I think could not be placed in the hands of men better principled with honesty and integrity and that <159> could attend with more Zeale to the interest and service of his Ma.^{ty} in this City in their respective stations.

I hope the case of Solomon Pariente will deserve his Ma.^{ties} favourable consideration, and though you were pleased to let me know that some other person had been proposed to serve here as Interpreter I must however humbly offer my sense, that it is not adviseable to make use of such a one as is only perfect Master of the Language, but that likewise is acquainted with the true state of things among the Moors, that is instructed in the present constitution of their affairs and that consequently is capable of managing a negotiation (if occasion should require) between us and them: and I am so far from being of opinion that his Ma.^{ty} ought not establish a Jew²²¹ in this station, that I consider no other to be truly proper for it for the Interpreter being the person we can only best make use of to converse familiarly with the Moors, and to endeavour to procure such notion from them as may be of advantage to us it is necessary he

²²¹ Because of their value as dealers, bankers, go-betweens with the Moroccans, translators into Spanish, Portuguese, and Arabic, and general facilitators, in 1662 Governor Lord Peterborough permitted the Jews to stay in Tangier. Most lived in Jews' Lane, adjacent to the synagogue. In the light of this relatively warm welcome, which was at notable variance with the frosty attitude of the Roman Catholic Portuguese, more families were subsequently tempted to settle. Colonel John Fitzgerald, lieutenant governor from 1664–1666, was warned not to let too many Jews live within the town because they were highly influential in trade and commerce, often to the detriment of the interests of English merchants. Out of a total civilian population of 700 in 1676, there were 51 Jews, 5 Moors, and 130 'foreigners'. In 1677, the Jews were formally banished but this diktat was never enforced and most remained, including Solomon Pariente. When numbers began to rise again, Governor Kirke threatened to lodge them in tents beyond the town walls but this was nothing more than typically Kirkeian bluster (Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World* (Oxford 2011), 174–178; Meakin, *Land of the Moors*, 121–122, 127). See Letters 67, 125; App. A, PARIENTE, Solomon.

be a man, that has some however inconsiderable dependence among them that he may appear to them to be their friend or at least impartial to the interest of both people to the end he may attain a good confidence and credit with them and of this a Jew only can <160> be capable, whereas if the person be of another nation and depend wholly upon us, it is certain that he will nevertheless serve as an Interpreter, but he will not be able to do us those more important offices of having a view upon their actions and mind of the Moors, who will be jealous of him and consequently too cautious in their conversation with him. And since it is plain we may reap great benefits by a Jewish Interpreter, so it is evident we have a sufficient tye upon him and pledge of his fidelity if he is a person that hath a wife and children among us, and where his chief interest is the service of his Ma.^{tie} and because all these circumstances meet in Solomon Pariente joined to a long experience of him I cannot but once again earnestly recommend him.

M.^r Mayor having made application to me signifying the usefulness of having a second Lieu.^t of the Train:bands²²² for the better discipline and command of them I have confirmed Robert Hodges,²²³ the person he hath presented, by my Commission. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 54 [pp. 161–162]

<161> Tanger May the 18.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The terme of the farme of that branch of his Ma.^{ties} Revenue the porterage lately expiring I had given notice to all that were willing to enter upon the same anew to give in their proposalls by a certain day, when severall appearing and the matter being put to the question it hath been thought very much to his Ma.^{ties} service to put it into the hands of new undertakers who have offered to advance that revenue the summe of nine hundred p.^s of 8/8 more then was given by the last farmers of it, so that whereas before it yeilded but his Ma.^{tie}

²²² The town militia.

²²³ This man was not Captain Robert Hodges of the Royal Scots.

eleven hundred p.^s of 8/8 yearly, it will now amount to two thousand, which your Lord.^{ps} will observe to be an extraordinary increase, and for the performance of it such security is to be given to them as shall be to the satisfaction of the officers of his Ma.^{ties} Revenue here. I having formerly begged your Lord.^{ps} pleasure concerning the method for the future of managing this particular branch of the revenue, have not consented to the letting it beyond the term of six months, till such time you shall think fit to signify to me your resolutions thereupon. <162> I hope by my next I shall be ready to make your Lord.^{ps} some good report concerning my late survey of this place in obedience to those commands I had formerly received from your Lord.^{ps} remaining with respectfull submission,

My Lords
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 55 [pp. 162–167]

Tanger May the 18.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I most humbly thank you for your's of the 10.th past which came accompanied with his Ma.^{ties} orders concerning the delivery of a Negro Slave supposed to be in the possession of M.^r Shere. After the best enquiry I have made into this businesse the only report I am able to return upon it is that by what appears to me, the said Slave belonged not to M.^r Shere but to a certain other person a Captain of the Garrison and I find that not only the Negro Captive but the other which had been sent in exchange of him are both long since dead: this is testified by the Captives at present in the <163> Kings Bagno here in the enclosed Certificates made for the satisfaction of the Governour of Argier the farther clearing of the whole matter must be expected from M.^r Shere himself who being by this time in England will be able to give the best and truest account of it and leaves me nothing to add thereupon.

I herewith send you a List of the names of such officers as are now absent from their employment in this Garrison and submit it to his Ma.^{ties} pleasure to send back those that he shall judge convenient. Since you think fit to tell me his Ma.^{ties} approbation that the officers should satisfie the debts they contract here before their departure

hence, it will be necessary that you send me his R.¹ order thereupon, which I will take care shall be punctually performed.

You give me his Ma.^{ties} commands to send the two horses (which I had detained) to the Emperour of Morocco, and because I am apt to beleive my keeping them here may have been misrepresented or misunderstood, I must let you know it hath been done upon good ground and where my Master's honour was concerned. The late Alcaid Omar had recommended the procuring of a certain small sort of horses he had been informed were in England with which he designed as an extraordinary curiosity to present <164> the Emperour.

When Lucas was here to sollicite the delivery of the Sherif three small mares with two horses of a much larger size arrived here and at the same time a Letter from Coll: Sackville to that Alcaid, I sent the Letter by the hands of Lucas who found the Alcaid dead by the time that he reached the Court of Mequinez, after whose decease there hapned a considerable intervall wherein there was no correspondence with us from the country nor any opportunity of sending the horses till the arrivall of the Embassadour here. And he coming without any present for the King my Master that might deserve his acceptance or that was suteable to his honour and dignity I made some scruples to deliver them till the Alcaid Ali and Lucas (who before had both faithfully promised me that the Embassadour should be accompanied with all the marks of this Emperour's regard for my Master) had procured a present of horses of this country, but that failing through the ingratitude of those men I sent the mares without any farther delay or dispute to the Alcaid Ali with my Letter to the Emperour, imagining that their unusuall smallness might possibly serve as some divertissement to him but knowing that the larger horses <165> which indeed have nothing singular or tolerably good in them would prove but a bad present I thought it best to detain them here. True it is that Lucas and the Alcaid Ali solicited they might be sent, telling me that any thing from my Master would be welcome, but I am too well acquainted not to know that they make all presents that passe their hands appear to their Master as so many tributes rendred him from other princes and that they strive to magnify them selves by being the instruments of conveying them, and to flatter his vanity, when they cannot do it in greater matters, even with things the most insignificant and uselesse. In the mean time I received a Letter from the Emperour wherein he tells me he desired no such thing as a horse but that the creature he means and thought might be had in England was of quite another nature, something he says extreamly little and infinitely swift, and which by his description I cannot comprehend. So

that this way his Ma.^{tie} has been misinformed if he hath been persuaded that the Emperour is at all desirous of the delivery of the two horses here that being in truth the meer procurement of the Alcaid Ali only for his own honour at the expence of my Master: for on the contrary the Emperour himself expresly tells me he doth <166> not expect any, and my Gentleman's information who was with him in the Country of his reception of the Mares with laughter and contempt bestowing them on his Gardners sufficiently convinces me that it will not be for my Master's service and reputation that I should send them. I question not but upon the clearing of this point, which (I know not by what means) hath been misrepresented you will perceiue it convenient not to determine me at any time to have acted rashly however my proceedings may be descanted [*sic*] on till you have a true discernment of the motives which direct me, and that it is reasonable to beleive my weak eyes may see farther into the advantages of his Ma.^{ties} service here who am upon the place then those of Strangers penetration that are too remote.

Having lately taken a view of the condition of Pole Fort I find that notwithstanding the severe proclamations I have issued (and whereof I have formerly given you an account) against the breaking down and stealing the deale boards and timber, the souldiers do daily by a generall and irremediable connivance of officers and Sentinels steal the materials of the said Fort so that unless provision be made for the repair of it it [*sic*] is to be feared it will be insensibly weakned to that degree as will render it much the lesse serviceable <167> which I thought my duty to represent to the end you may please to receive his Ma.^{ties} commands thereupon. I am

My Lords,
Your &c.

Letter 56 [pp. 167–169]

Tanger June 1.st 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I give you my most humble thanks for the honour of yours of the 24.th Aprill and am glad his Ma.^{tie} hath approved the proposalls I took the liberty of making concerning a storehouse in the Upper = Castle which I am sure will be of the greatest usefulness and

because his Ma.^{tie} hath no Granary here a thing certainly of indispenſible neceſſity, I think no place ſo fit for this as a ſmall additionall building over the ſaid Magazine of provisions which will prove to be a very inconsiderable increaſe of expence more then what will be requiſite for the repair and fitting the Magazine itſelf, and you will ſee the eſtimate of y.^c whole in the enclosed <168> paper. I am likewiſe meditating the building of a ſtable not far from the Magazine and Granary to contain 80 horſe which can no where be ſo ſerviceably lodged as in the Upper = Caſtle, ſince upon any ſudden occaſion for them in the field they have the advantage of ſallying on the higher ground from whence they have a view on all ſides and are moſt capable of being commanded to the beſt uſe, and of this as alſo of a powder = houſe which I propoſed at the ſame time I mentioned the Magazine, you will find the Eſtimate here enclosed.

I have advice from the country that the States of Holland have ſo greedily received the overtures of a Treaty with this King that they had already ſent a conſiderable quantity of powder by way of advance, I need not hint how neceſſary it is that ſuch ſupplies ſhould come to theſe people by no hands but ours and conſequently that the States be obliged by ſome meanes to change their meaſures here, ſince I have in ſeverall diſpatches ſufficiently repeated thoſe advertencies²²⁴ and that you ſee better the importance of them then I can expreſſe. This King is making great preparatifs for warre, none can certainly tell whither he deſigns and I know not what credit is to be given to the advice I have <169> of a Truce between him and his Nephew Muley Hamet²²⁵ and that he intends an expedition againſt Argiers.

Hearing of ſeverall officers that are renewing and have renewed their paſſes in England (which by his Ma.^{ties} particular inſtructions are given by me for ſix months only) I think it my duty to let you know, there are great abuſes in this kind, for ſo many officers having perhaps other employments at home but moſt taken with the ſatisfaction of living among their friends and the pleaſures of an eaſy life, do under pretences of buſineſſe from time to time procure prolongation of their terme of abſence ſo that moſt of them are wanting from their employments longer then is fit, and ſome perhaps never intends [*sic*] to return to them, leaving their companies committed to their charge in the diſorder you may imagine to the great neglect of the King's ſervice and weakning the Garrifon: ſo that I humbly conceive much caution ought to be uſed in England in the renewing ſuch paſſes and that if any officer ſhall exceed the term preſcribed for his abſence I ought to obſerve his Ma.^{ties} inſtructions in ſuch caſes

²²⁴ Attentiveness, awareness (*OED*).

²²⁵ Ahmed ibn Muhriz. See App. A.

since I presume it is left to my Judgment when it is convenient for them to return to their Posts.²²⁶ I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 57 [pp. 170–171]

<170> Tanger June 1.st 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Having received your Lord.^{ps} commands some time since concerning a particular inspection about the mismanagement of quarters, and the application of his Ma.^{ties} ground here to private uses I have been carefull to examine the matter to the bottom with all imaginable diligence and to the end I might be able to represent the same clearly and distinctly to you Lord.^{ps} I have at length compleated the particular survey of all his Ma.^{ties} ground, the free-land and Leases here, an exact draught whereof I have ordered to be made in a large sheet containing a delineation of the whole Town and every particular tenement therein, the respective heads of quarters, Leases, and Freeholds being distinguished by severall colours which sheet being too large for a packet I shall send by the first opportunity by sea, and which will afford your Lord.^{ps} at one view all true comprehensions of the state of that whole businesse. In the mean time I here enclose to your Lord.^{ps} the remarks which have been made in our late survey of such the encroachments of private persons <171> on his Ma.^{ties} ground to the end your Lord.^{ps} may take such resolutions as shall appear most proper to you.²²⁷

²²⁶ The official and unofficial absence of commissioned officers, especially company and troop captains, was a significant problem throughout the home military establishments. It was, understandably, particularly prevalent in unpopular, remote, and dangerous overseas stations where, having engineered their escape, absentees were usually reluctant to return. It was an extension of the common contemporary practice whereby government office holders accepted full salaries, privileges, and perquisites but then employed deputies, at lower rates of pay, to execute the necessary duties. The military variant was especially attractive and cheap because the state already provided, and paid for, substitutes in the form of subalterns and NCOs (Childs, *Army of Charles II*, 42, 123).

²²⁷ This thorough survey formed the basis for both planning the evacuation in 1684 and Samuel Pepys's subsequent adjudication of claims for compensation (Childs, *Kirke*, 48).

I cannot but make use of this occasion to acquaint your Lord.^{ps} of severall tenements of Freehold belonging to M.^r Luke²²⁸ at present rented by his Ma.^{tic} as quarters, which lying in an extraordinary convenient situation for officers between the old Parade and the Upper = Castle, I am humbly of opinion it may be worth his Ma.^{ties} purchase which can never be done with more advantage then at present they being now applied to the use of quarters being in good repair, & consequently will require no farther expence then meerly the buying of them when your Lord.^{ps} shall think fit to signify to me your pleasure in it I will cause an estimate to be taken of the said tenements and remit the same to you for the Gouvernement of such as you may employ on bargaining with M.^r Luke who is now in England. I am

My Lords
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 58 [pp. 172–176]

<172> Tanger June 15.th 1683.²²⁹

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I have the honour of yours of the 8.th past and according to your directions in it offered to accommodate Admirall Herbert with such Mahumetan Slaves as he should need to comply with the engagement he made when he was before Argiers; but he being in a condition to do it with the Slaves that were in his own hands thinks not fit to make use of any here, which should immediatly have been delivered him since there is nothing wherein through personall friendship but especially in regard to his Ma.^{ties} service we do not both of us willing agree. I perceive that upon return of the Morocco Embassadour the Mahumetan captives here are likely to have their freedome and I should be glad to know whether his Ma.^{ties} intentions do regard the Slaves which belong to himself only or those likewise which have been purchased by private persons since in this case it being necessary that his Ma.^{tic} make a compensation to the Owners for them it will be convenient I should know

²²⁸ John Luke (see App. A).

²²⁹ 1682.

as soon as it is possible his R.¹ pleasure therein which I wish I might receive <173> before the arrival of the Embassadour and that the thing happens to be published, that I might be able to take them off their hands upon such pretexts as I should find at reasonable and moderate rates, whereas otherwise they may probably enhance²³⁰ the purchase and lay too high a value on them. I know not what the Embassadour of Muley Ismail may have represented in England on the businesse of captives, nor upon what motives my Master has been induced to give freedom to the Mahumetans tho I dare be bold to affirm that the Morocco King will make no exchange of Christians for them and that while we redeem our people of him with ready mony he will expect his own country men as a present. I cannot but take notice of the threat made by the Morocco Embassadour which you mention in your Letter to Admirall Herbert that if any hostility be committed by him on these coasts in the intervall of the Marine Treaty, they would not on their side observe the Peace by Land, since it gives fresh arguments of the faithlesnesse of these people and warns us from the relying on their word longer then while they are under all the imaginable ties of interest neither is this last sufficiently prevailing against the sudden transports <174> of caprice or humour which very often makes them loose [*sic*] the view even of their cheifest interests and swerve into all the extravagancies of madnesse and passion. I make these hints the more frequently, because I receive here daily expressions of the levity and rashnesse of the Moors in the continuall dependancies between my self and the Vice = King of these countries which give me the hardest and the nicest exercise that can possibly be imagined.

A Tunis man of warre hath lately brought in here a Lubeck Prize and sold her here which he took at sea laden with barley, rye, beans &c. I have taken off the barley for the King's use, having an occasion of procuring it at the cheapest rate and which I thought I ought not to neglect. I should be glad if you would please to acquaint me whether such Vessells as shall be taken by the Ships of Argiers, Tunis or other Moors with whom his Ma.^{ty} hath Peace and shall be brought immediately hither without being carried to any of their own Ports may be condemned by the Court of Admiralty of this place and be sold here as lawfull Prizes.

I formerly hinted something to you of a proposal of S.^r Martin Westcombe²³¹ wherein the service of King Muley Ismael was so highly concerned, that he pressed me to impart it to <175> him

²³⁰ Raise (prices, value of) (*OED*).

²³¹ See App. A.

and to manage it with much secrecie. The businesse being in short to let him know that in the year 1632 Muly Mahamed Cheque²³² the king then reigning had made great offers to a Christian that traded in his country under the name of the Merchant of Pearles to procure him from the Escorial²³³ in Spain a certain Arabick book which had been taken from him by the Spaniards with much riches in a Vessel whereon he had embarked it [*sic*] that it was then impossible by reason of the difficulties and scruples, or at least the first leaf of it, with the picture of a certain Moorish King on the one side & containing it seems on the other in severall characters & figures a Key whereby the great treasures of many Kings his Predecessors were to be discovered, scruples raised by the inquisition in Spain to obtain it, but that since the same person had found means to do it and that it was now in his possession, and should be delivered to his Ma.^{ty} if he would think fit to treat with him, and give a good consideration for it. I made this overture to the King and he received it with much satisfaction, pressing that the mysterious leaf might be brought to Tanger, and that upon my advice of the arrival of it he would send such persons his confidants <176> as should treat about it, and in effect S.^r Martin Westcombe with two others one of which is an old man and the same that was called the Merchant of Pearles, came hither by the last return of the Yacht bringing with them the pretended leaf, which they have deposited in my keeping and I have dispatched a Gentleman to the King with the notice of it. Tho I look upon the businesse as chimericall and the dream of covetous men, yet I attain this advantage by it of maintaining an immediate correspondence with the King and you shall suddenly know what our secret Treaty will have produced. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

²³² Moulay Mohammed al-Sheikh, sultan of Morocco (r.1636–1655), was a son of Sultan Moulay Zaidan al-Nasir (r.1603–1637). See Letter 62.

²³³ The Spanish royal palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 50 km north-west of Madrid.

Letter 59 [pp. 176–177]Tanger June 15.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The enclosed is a Duplicate of what I writ to your Lord.^{ps} by the last Post, and I shall take care to send the draught of the survey of the Town I have lately made here by the conveyance of the New = Castle,²³⁴ which I think will be the <177> first opportunity by sea for England.

Some few days ago a Tunis Man of Warre brought in here a Lubeck Vessell which he had made prize and demanding the[y] might be exposed [*sic*] to saile together with her lading it was done accordingly by inch of candle,²³⁵ some part of the lading being barley I could not omit so good an opportunity of making that sort of provision at a cheap rate for his Ma.^{ties} service, whereof I shall give your Lord.^{ps} an account by my next.

I must acquaint your Lord.^{ps} that there being at present but two Captains lodged in the Upper = Castle since it is an evident necessity a greater number of officers should be in so advantagious a station, the charge of which I hope will not be very considerable and which I shall send your Lord.^{ps} in due time. I am,

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps}

Letter 60 [pp. 178–183]<178> Tanger June 29.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Your last of the 22.nd past (for which I return you my humble thanks) brought me his Ma.^{ties} pleasure, about the new establishment here, which expresses his R.¹ concern for this important place. And

²³⁴ HMS *Newcastle* (4th rate, 44 guns), Captain Edward Russell, RN (see App. A).

²³⁵ A candle auction, a common form of public sale during the second half of the 17th century.

since all the measures taken in his Ma.^{ties} counsell, are the effect of that of that [*sic*] prudence which is inseparable from them, I must attribute the resolution of reducing the horse forces here to one troop, to my defect of explaining my self in the late modell I sent home. I think it therefore my duty to represent with all humble submission, the necessity of entertaining in this Garrison at least two hundred horse. For I am confident his Ma.^{tie} doth not so far repose himself on our late peace with the Morocco King, as not to intend we should be always in a good posture of defence: the uncertain condition of affairs in the country, the perfidiousnesse and inconstancy of these people, gives us sufficient arguments to depend only on our own watchfulnesse and providence. I must likewise suppose that his Ma.^{tie} intends, we should maintain our ground without <179> the walls, since upon that depends the preservation of the Town it self: and it is upon these supposalls (which will doubtless be allowed) that I urge the necessity of a competent number of horse. Whoever considers the nature of the Moorish forces, which consist chiefly in horse, and of the ground about us which overlooks the Town, will find that our horse forces here ought to bear a reasonable proportion to our foot. For it is impossible for these last, whenever employed in parties to disengage themselves with credit and advantage, unless they be sustained with horse to divert the enemy, or to secure and favour their retreat. Wee never engaged in these fields upon equall terms, and the exceeding numbers of our enemy, will often afford him the opportunity of intercepting and cutting off the communication of our parties, and of ruining a whole design, which would be prevented by the assistance and support of horse. The numbers intended in one troop can by no means answer the end we ought to propose to your selves in his Ma.^{ties} service, since of sixty horse men they will soon decrease (considering the severall accidents) to a smaller number, not easily to be recruited: besides whenever a breach happens, we can have no lesse then a hundred <180> Troopers lodged without our walls, to be relieved daily; the continuance of which fatigue and duty would keep a greater number of men, then my modesty suffers me to propose, to a hard and painfull exercise. I must needs take notice on this occasion of of [*sic*] the mortall apprehensions our people entertain of the enemies horse, the vigour of their attaques, the strangenesse of their arms, their quicknesse and agility in their pursuits, and I know not what else, had struck such a terror into the minds of our souldiers in our former engagements with them that they were quite disheartened: they cried out that they were not led to fight but to be massacred, and indeed behaved themselves to the losse of their reputation, and of almost all the ground without the walls. It was then a sad experience that

taught us the necessity of horse, and forced his Ma.^{tie} to owe those seasonable succours to a neighbour who perhaps will never hereafter be in a humour to afford them. It is certain that the Spanish and English recruits of horse gave new life to the courage of our men, and it is particularly to their service and performances that we are obliged for the recovery of our credit, the maintaining our small territory without the walls, and the defence & safety of the place. Nor is it to be questioned if his Ma.^{tie} <181> resolve to reduce the horse here, but that the foot will relapse into their former fears of the enemy, and while his Ma.^{tie} persuades himself he hath two Regiments to defend this important Garrison, he will have in effect, but so many men to betray it. Adde to this that as the withdrawing of our troops hence, and the leaving our foot in a manner naked will dishearten our own people, so it may give but a too powerfull temptation to the Moors (who have a carefull eye upon us) to make use of the advantage and despise our peace: which they will certainly never maintain; when once they loose the opinion of our force. The charge of these Troops will I confesse, be weighty but it is likewise necessary, and the consideration, how much is hazarded for want of them, the expence of furnishing greater supplies in the times of exigency when his Ma.^{ties} counsells may happen to be disturbed by our clamours from hence, the unwillingnesse wherewith men engage on a sudden service in a place sufficiently decried at home, and the other difficulties that must attend such an emergency, will, I hope, turn the balance and induce his Ma.^{tie} to approve of what <182> I have proposed concerning four Troops to be established now in time of Peace to consist of fifty Troopers each. I represent these things not without a great deale of zeale, to discharge my self of my duty to his Ma.^{ties} service, wherein, for my own part, I professe I need nothing to encourage me, having sufficient motives in the honour of that trust reposed in me to preserve and maintain it to the last drop of my blood.

I have been diligent as becomes me to promote and encourage the generall commerce of this place and in this regard have on severall occasions broke the designs of some merchants here that consider only their private interests in maintaining an entercourse with Tetuan and Sale to be managed by people employed and Vessells freighted by them for that place, I have taken care to prevent the same whereof I think myself obliged to give you an account and humbly to remind you how necessary it would be that I should have his Ma.^{ties} instructions for my conduct in the matter of commerce as well as in every thing else that regards his R.¹ service.

<183> I send you inclosed the particular account of my late expences here having drawn Bills on his Ma.^{ties} Treasury for 3282

p.^s of 8/8 and 4 R.^{s236} being what remains due upon balance payable to the order of M.^r Benjamin Price Merch.^t in Cadiz which I beg you would be pleased to promote and forward with your favour. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 61 [pp. 183–187]

Tanger June the 28.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

M.^r Secretary Jenkins in his Letter to me of the 22.nd of May hath been pleased to let me know the report your Lord.^{ps} had made to his Ma.^{tie} concerning our new establishment, wherein you have evidenced how much you take to heart the preservation and interest of this R.^l Garrison. I must only take the liberty to assure your Lord.^{ps} that the number of <184> horse forces assigned will prove too few for the service of the place. It will be impossible for us to maintain our ground without the walls and consequently to defend the Town it self (in a time that the Moors have learnt a more regular way of besieging) without the support of proportionable numbers of horse to be joined to our severall parties of foot, and the allowance of one Troop can by no means answer that end. I must humbly beg your Lord.^{ps} serious consideration that sixty horse will soon diminish to a far lesse number, and it would be a great misfortune in time of necessity to find our selves destitute of those forces which are of greatest service. It will be hard for us to defend our lines unless we be in a condition to make our discoveries beyond them the ground being of a nature that an army of forty thousand men may lodge within musket shot of us unperceived; and this cannot be performed without some reasonable force of cavalry. I need only remind your Lord.^{ps} that our late successes against the Moors, which struck greater impressions of awe in them and courage in our people then was <185> ever visible before is to be attributed cheifly to the service of our English horse and the Spanish Auxiliaries. There is nothing certainly so

²³⁶ The Spanish real was worth $\frac{1}{8}$ of one piece-of-eight.

convincing as experience and the same reasons that rendred the horse necessary for the recovering of our ground make them equally usefull for the maintaining it. I can not but urge these things to your Lord.^{ps} with the greater vehemence from the knowledge I have of the unsafe relyance on our late Peace with our Neighbours where variable humours ought to warn us to be seasonably prepared for all future accidents. I hope your Lord.^{ps} will beleive that I represent nothing in this occasion or that I am capable of doing it in any other which I consider not my indispensable duty to his Ma.^{ties} service, and that as no man will more freely hazard his own life for his R.^l service so none can be more cautious of hazarding the Town committed to my charge. Upon these motives and such as I have represented by this opportunity in my Letter to M.^r Secretary Jenkins, I presume your Lord.^{ps} will find it expedient to desire his Ma.^{ties} allowance of four Troops of horse to the Garrison to <186> be composed of fifty troopers each. This division will render them more proper for service, will be a means to keep them more compleat and as I humbly conceive will answer the end of being a sufficient defence of this important and usefull place.

Your Lord.^{ps} are not to be informed how necessary it is for the encouragement of trade and the making a flourishing commerce here to prevent the establishment of English Factories in Sale or Tetuan or indeed in any manner of traffick in those ports and to endeavour as much as wee are able to render this place the Staple Town of European merchandises. It is for this reason that I have discouraged certain merchants here from the designe of trading in those places and have hindred some others for their own private interests amongst us who would have settled a trade of wood in Sale from proceeding in their contracts not without hopes of deriving the commerce of that commodity to these parts. And upon this occasion I cannot but beg your Lord.^{ps} would please to send me some instructions for my Gouvernement in this necessary point of trade.

<187> I have taken up the four hundred pounds allowance for contingencies, which had not been before touched in my time, to discharge part of the expences of severall services in the place and do by this opportunity remit your Lord.^{ps} the particular acc.^t of such charges the balance whereof remaining due being 3282 p.^s of 8/8 4 R.^s I have been obliged to take up of M.^r Price of Cadiz upon my Bills on the Lords of the Treasury which your Lord.^{ps} will take order may be punctually paid that Merch.^t complaining of such delays in the Treasury that make him very much a looser.

There is enclosed likewise a State of the expence and remainder of Coale provision, which I send in obedience to your Lord.^{ps} commands in that particular. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 62 [pp. 188–191]

<188> Tanger July the 8.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

In mine of the 15.th June I gave you a short relation of the overture I made of an affair to Muley Ismael which had been proposed to me by S.^r Martin Westcombe. I now take the opportunity of Cap.^t Russell's²³⁷ return to England (to whom I have discoursed at large about the businesse, and who will be able to give you a good narration of it) to acquaint you that the Gentleman whom I dispatched to the Morocco King with the notice of the mysterious paper being brought to Tanger, is returned with a Letter to me from his Ma.^{tic} the translation whereof I enclose. At the same time a principall Moor by the King's order to discourse with me, to view the paper and receive the proposalls which should be made I told him that what I had done hitherto was with much trouble and many persuasions to have prevailed with the owners of the paper to bring it hither and that now since it was here I should use my best endeavours to procure it might be delivered to his Ma.^{tic} upon the most reasonable terms, and hereupon I left <189> the Moor to discourse with the Merchant of Pearls who remains here with me, from him he received the whole history of the affair, how he came to the knowledge of this secret which so many years ago had been imparted to him by King Muley Mahamed Sec,²³⁸ he told him the instrument that he had used to effect his great designe of withdrawing the paper out of the Escuriall, the many disappointments he had met with, the vast expences and hazards he had undergone and that in fine by the assistance of a Fryar the businesse had been managed with that art and

²³⁷ Captain Edward Russell, RN, commander of HMS *Newcastle* (see Letter 59; App. A).

²³⁸ Sultan Moulay Mohammed al-Sheikh. See Letter 58.

successes that at length they had found measures to convey it away, and at my persuasion and promise of King Muley Ismael's fair dealing he had brought it to this place. Hee then produced the paper, which is one leaf in small quarto, having the picture of a Moorish King on the one side and on the other the writing which discovers the great treasures of severall princes, the Moor considered the Picture and the inscription over it (which was all that was permitted him) with much attention, and professed with all the marks of a true persuasion that he was convinced that was the reall paper so much desired, formerly by Muley <190> Mahamed Shec and now by Muley Ismael and desired to know upon what conditions they would part with it. The Merchant of Pearles told him that when Muley Mahamed Shec first treated with him about it he had offered him two millions of p.^s of 8/8, and that he beleived Muley Ismael no lesse interested in the thing or lesse generous then his Predecessour that therefore he proposed the same terms to his Ma.^{tic}. The Moor would have persuaded the Pearl Merchant to go with him to the King, but he excusing himself on the pretence of age and disability for so great a journey, he would then have me to procure the paper of him, and send it by a Gentleman of mine offering to remain himself in Tanger as security of the Kings performance of what should be mutuall agreed on. I let him know the only part I could act in this businesse was that of mediation wherein I would not be wanting to serve his Ma.^{tic} and the Merchant of Pearls having assured him it was not in his power to part with the leafe on the security he offered without the consent of his Partners in the affair it was at length agreed that he should write to them for their instructions and that the Moor should proceed to King Muley Ismael with an account of what he had <191> already transacted here, and then the Moor departed carrying with him my Letters to his Ma.^{tic} and the Alcaid in those terms you will find in the enclosed. This is the present state of that affair, which for any thing I see to the contrary may prove of more importance then at the first view I could easily persuade my self, & possibly may deserve the King my Masters instructions for my conduct in it.²³⁹ I shall expect them by the first opportunity, in the mean time I will find means to protract and

²³⁹ This wondrous story of buried treasure, the location of which was indicated by a secret code written on the first leaf of a manuscript, was entirely fictitious. However, it provided Kirke with a bargaining counter when negotiating with Moulay Ismail at the time when the English diplomatic position was most disadvantageous. For a fuller account, see Nabil Matar, 'Arabic Books and a Moroccan Treasure: Colonel Percival Kirke and Mulay Ismail, 1682–1683', *The Seventeenth Century*, 26 (2011), 119–129.

draw out the negotiation till I shall hear from you upon the subject.
I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 63 [pp. 191–193]

Tanger July 13.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Hon.^d S.^r

In my dispatches two days since by Cap.^t Russell in the New Castle, I gave you an account at large of the affair I am at present treating with King Muley Ismael <192> whereof I made you a relation in the close of mine of the 15.th June. My Gentleman returned out of the country brings me the news of the Morocco King's being retreated from the frontier of Argeir and of his march towards his Nephew who it seems presses upon the border of Morocco. He likewise tells me of three or four English Vessells lately brought into Sale by the men of war belonging to that place, some of them taken in the soundings who will shew that upon confidence of the Embassadors procuring his Ma.^{ties} orders to his Fregats not to molest their ships they have made use of the advantage and taken a liberty of ranging and committing hostilities which otherwise they would not have ventured to have done. One of the English Vessells belong to the Holders²⁴⁰ called the Fortune of London²⁴¹ John Rice Master bound for Safi²⁴² in this Kings dominions and for S.^{ta} Cruz²⁴³ under the government of his Nephew Muley Hamet²⁴⁴ as appears by the Originall Bill of Lading come to my hand, her cargo was Bails of Cloth, Spice, 291 double flat barrs of iron, twenty large Gun = barrells, 300 Gun Locks &c. M.^r Richard Holder²⁴⁵ Merchant in London is known by his Ma.^{ties} Councill having been examined there concerning severall <193> quantities of powder which the Moors had from him in the

²⁴⁰ Richard and Benjamin Holder (see App. A, HOLDER, Richard).

²⁴¹ An elderly merchantman of 200 tons (*CSPDI*, 1651, 507).

²⁴² Safi lies on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, south of Casablanca.

²⁴³ Santa Cruz, modern Agadir.

²⁴⁴ Ahmed ibn Muhriz (see App. A).

²⁴⁵ Richard Holder (see App. A).

heat of our war with them. His brother Benjamin Holder now resides in this country, as his Factor where certainly they drive a Trade of ill consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service in Contraband. I have had some complaints of this last from two English men (the one of them Master of a Ship) whom he bought from the Moors for his own service using them as the Moors do with all the worst circumstances of Slavery, and that when he came to Tanger with a designe (which he did the last summer for severall months) to settle here he left the said poore English men, in the hands of Jews, least bringing them hither they might claim and procure their liberty. This is all at present I have to acquaint you with. I am,

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 64 [pp. 194–195]

<194> Tanger July the 28.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have nothing at present to trouble your Lord.^{ps} with more then to remind you of the exhausted condition of our Ammunition Stores which business having been long since laid before your Lord.^{ps} I was in good hopes that before this time convenient supplies would have been remitted hither. The truth is at present there is scarce anything of absolute use remaining in the Stores our provision of powder being reduced now to lesse then three hundred barrells our match is long since quite expended, and I have been forced to buy some small supplies of this last from Spain. Your Lord.^{ps} know how much the life and welfare of a Garrison does consist in plentifull supplies of stores of Ammunition and the ill consequences of the want of them which makes me assure my self that you will give speedy and effectuall orders for the furnishing us with those Stores in a new & a full supply of his Ma.^{ties} Magazines here. In my former to your Lord.^{ps} I sent you a State of our coale provisions, and I must likewise humbly recommend to your care <195> some speedy recruits of that sort, since the remains at present in the Stores will hardly suffice for three months. I am

My Lords,
Your Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 65 [pp. 195–197]Tanger, July the 28.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Hon.^d S.^r

Your last to me is of June the 19.th for which I return you my humble thanks. I perceive by it that the Morocco Embassadour's whole negotiation is at length brought to a conclusion, he having signed a Marine Treaty with hopes as you say, that his Master will ratifie the same,²⁴⁶ which is certainly very doubtfull, unlesse it answers the full of his expectation and that the Embassadour shall be able to recommend what he has done, by an acceptable & a handsome present on his return. I acquainted you in my last of severall successfull hostilities which have lately been committed by these people on the King my Masters subjects at sea at a time that they were satisfied his <196> Ma.^{ties} ships were obliged by their orders to do no unkindnesse to them. I have been expostulating with some of our Merchants here for their furnishing the Moors with contraband commodities at Sale, Safi and other Ports which supplies ought to passe only through this place. They allege for their justification the new Marine Treaty, whereby that liberty is (they say) permitted, having had certain informations of all that has been transacted with the Morocco Embassadour in England by the Person who served as Interpreter, and from whom one of our Merchants has received (as he gives out) copy of the Articles. I am sorry that any body should be better furnished with such notices then my self, and, I am sure, it would have been very usefull to me, to have received by some means or other, greater light into the state and condition of these Treaties at home then has been afforded me.

The Embassadour is impatiently expected by these people with whom I live at present something uneasy the Alcamoden of these fields upon every little emergency referring me to the Alcaid, and he making use of such delays and captious nicities as very much lessens and almost disappoints us of the privileges we ought to enjoy by the Ar<197>ticles. I wish that upon the Embassador's return matters may run upon a more easy method and a surer foundation for the future. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.r &c.

²⁴⁶ In an undated letter, probably written in July 1682, Kirke urged Moulay Ismail to ratify both the Treaty of Meknès and the London maritime treaty negotiated by Ben Haddu (*Tangier Texts*, 229–230).

Letter 66 [pp. 197–200]Tanger August the 10.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Hon:^d S.^r,

I give you my humble thanks for yours of the third of July which gives me hopes to hear at large from you on the arrivall of the Morocco Embassadour who yet appears not but is impatiently wished for by these people.

I hope that upon the establishment of the forces to be continued in this Garrison especial regard and care will be had for recruits to compleat the severall companies of those Regiments that are to remain, as well as to supply the places of severall superannuated, maimed and disabled men, which it is necessary should be relieved nor can I see any more proper or easy way for the doing it then by draughts <198> out of those forces that shall be recalled which will afford us seasoned and experienced souldiers and such as sutable to the exigency of his Ma.^{ties} service here. I represented formerly and do now humbly take the liberty to repeat the necessity of a generall exchange of our artillery together with a supply of able Gunners which I doubt not will in due time deserve his Ma.^{ties} consideration.²⁴⁷

I have been of late upon very ill terms of correspondence with the Alcaid of this country who seems wholly to neglect the Articles of Peace and observes them no farther then just the necessity of his own affairs do compell him, so that upon every point of our poor privileges I am harassed with continuall & endlesse debates. I cannot but give you some few instances which will convince you how great a part of my time is employed in messages & controversies as if the good correspondence were yet to be established or indeed as if they meant no such thing as a good correspondence. By our Treaty of Peace there ought always to be in these feilds an Almocaden with full instructions for the punctuall execution of the severall points granted us for which reason he is to be furnished with a Copy of y^e Articles with the design of avoiding the inconvenience <199> of the delays which must necessarily intervene if

²⁴⁷ The state of the garrison artillery had been a matter of concern to Kirke since the beginning of his governorship. Many tubes were ancient and corroded, the carriages broken and rotten, and the gunners untrained and/or incompetent (*HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I, 63, 73–74, 79; Childs, *Kirke*, 43–44).

upon every small emergency we should be constrained to apply our selves to the Vice King who is at a distance. There is a matter which I sometimes obtain particularly when any great thing is expected from me, though for the most part, and especially these three or four last months it hath been impossible for me by all the means and instances I have used to pursue the observance of it the neglect which doth indeed occasion all other difficulties and debates. Wee have the liberty of cleansing and mending our water pipes in the fields and this I have sollicitied in vain now a long time.²⁴⁸ Wee are to be furnished with straw upon demand at reasonable rates, and because in this season of the year it is necessary I should make my provision of those stores it is now two months that I have by messages and Letters not to be numbred demanded it of the Alcaid, who promises from time to time, but by his unreasonable and artificiall delays I have ground to beleive he would drive me to the inconvenience of being wholly disappointed of that supply or to the necessity of receiving it from him at such prices as he shall contrive to be imposed. This way of proceeding hath obliged me at length to write him peremptorily that I shall take any farther delays as an absolute deniall that

²⁴⁸ Tangier's water supply had been overhauled by the Portuguese, 1657–1658. In 1662, the out-going governor, Don Luis de Almeida, Count of Avintes (d.1671), presented Lord Peterborough with a book containing details of the local hydrology. Unfortunately, Peterborough took this with him when leaving the government in December and subsequent attempts at recovery were unsuccessful. Winter, spring, and autumn rainfall was collected in three ways. First, in small reservoirs – called 'tanks' or 'cisterns' – filled from local springs and situated both within the town and, since the early 16th century, inside the principal out-forts. Secondly, water from the highlands to the south and south-east was carried along the line of the Old Fez Road in subterranean conduits that terminated at Fountain Fort. Thirdly, an ancient Maghribi and Portuguese network of underground pipes ran from the Marshan Plateau, which was situated to the west and south-west of the town. Some channels from the Marshan filled a cistern in the market place and supplied wells, known as fountains, for at least 50 private houses, while others served Whitehall Fort, which stood on the Marshan, irrigating the bowling green and kitchen garden as well as supplying a drinking trough for cattle. In 1662, a pipeline was built from the principal town cistern to the wharf to 'water' ships directly. Although Colonel Roger Alsop had this pipeline repaired in 1674, subsequent poor management had allowed the Marshan water courses and their subordinate fountains to silt-up and the whole complex was so out of order by 1680, a year of severe drought across much of Morocco, that the conduits ending under Fountain Fort constituted the sole reliable source. By tapping the memories of some of the older Portuguese residents, Kirke uncovered and restored an ancient water course enabling the re-opening of 20 fountains during 1682. Nevertheless, the situation remained critical. Prolonged drought would have jeopardized the English occupation and the generally poor state of the water system was one of myriad reasons behind the final abandonment of the colony (Elbl, *Portuguese Tangier*, 71–72, 78, 150–161, 237, 428–430; Routh, *Tangier*, 256–257; Childs, *Kirke*, 44; Meakin, *Land of the Moors*, 102; Susan Gilson Miller, 'Watering the Garden of Tangier: Colonial Contestations in a Moroccan City', *Journal of North African Studies*, 5 (2000), 25–50; Mercer, 131). See Letters 28, 91.

<200> he should send me his positive resolutions and that he should not admire since he on his part is so notoriously wanting in the execution of what had been capitulated if I should be the lesse carefull of the observance of it in mine, and if his denial of our just privileges did force me for the future to refuse what he might expect from me. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Your &c.

Letter 67 [pp. 200–208]

Tanger August the 24.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

By the hands of M.^r Onby²⁴⁹ lately arrived here, I received a box containing your letter to me of the 26.th of July, the two originall land and Marine Treaties, to be exchanged for those the Embassadour of Morocco brings on his Masters ratification of them, a draught of two separate Articles which upon this Kings allowance here are to be signed by me in my Masters behalf, for which likewise I receive his Ma.^{ties} Commission, as also a Cypher and copies of the Treaties in <201> Spanish and English. The Woolwich Fregate²⁵⁰ is not yet arrived with the Embassadour but we have reason to expect him every moment, and I shall take care to give him such a reception here as may confirm him in the continuance of the honour of my Masters favourable opinion of him.

Upon perusall of the Land Treaty I find it in effect to be a confirmation of that of Mequinez, and I cannot but take notice that some things seem not to me so clearly and so distinctly expressed, as would have been necessary, having to do with a people captious in the highest degree, and that are extream dextrous in cavills. The 11.th Article, about deserters, appears to me couched in too large and generall terms, to provide against the disputes which will infallibly arise on either side, in case the deserters shall happen to change their religion. For as the Moors will never restore a Christian that shall turn Renegade – and will allege that the case being not mentioned in

²⁴⁹ Thomas Onby (see App. A).

²⁵⁰ HMS *Woolwich* (4th rate, 54 guns), Captain William Holden, RN (see App. A).

the Articles they are not obliged thereunto, so it will be as hard on our side [(t)hough indeed the case will not be so frequent) to return a Moor that may declare himself a Christian. So that upon this subject I am likely to have many debates, for <202> notwithstanding the strictest eye and care imaginable, our souldiers to avoid the present hardship of duty here, do but too often run blindly into greater misery, that they are not sensible of, by deserting and turning Moores. Possibly the[y] beleive that the Embassadour could not admit of this particular case, has been the reason that it was thought more adviseable to omit it, and leave things as in the Article, in generall terms, and to this I have no reply, but must take the best advantage of it I shall be capable.

The 15.th Article about the admitting of a certain number of Moors to enter and remain in the Town, seems not sufficiently plain and expressive of its intent, for in our part it mentions thirty carriers (besides Jews) to be admitted in case of the arrivall of Cafilas, and again in another part thirty Moors are allowed to come in, and (as the Article says) to remain in Tanger, at other times when there are no such Cafilas. So that the number of Moores being to be the same whether there shall happen to be or not to be any Cafilas, the disjunction in the Article appears not to be so very necessary; but what deserves to be explained and is indeed of great importance are the words, to remain in Tan<203>ger, and it would be worth knowing whether their intent is that such Moors and Jews have the liberty to remain in Town by night and to reside within our walls as long as they think fit? which they will possibly pretend to from that large expression, and if designed will prove of pernicious consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service, and the safety of the Garrison. For certainly of all people in the world, none are lesse to be trusted to an intimacy and familiarity with the Moors, then the English, as there is an absolute contrariety in their humours and designs, the first being a nation naturally subtle, distrustfull, implacable, and undermining, and our people on the other side, generous, loving, credulous, and without any reserve, so that in effect a too easy and frequent communication (which the liberty of the Moors and Jews lying in the Town must necessarily create) would certainly be a snare to us, it would give them the advantage of having an eye upon all our actions and designs, of looking near into the posture of the Garrison and Town, of observing the mind, affections and interests of the officers and Magistrates, and, in conclusion of instructing themselves in the greatest secret of our affairs, both in this place and at home, notions that may insensibly betray <204> us into inconveniences never to be remedied. We are but too apt to think our selves secure to live without suspicions, and, besides

the force of our Treaties have minds naturally inclined to peace, whereas on the contrary our Neighbours are restlesse, enterprising, and by the very fundation of their Religion, whatever engagements intervene not to be reconciled to Christians: so that upon the whole, I cannot but lay it down as a maxime that our friendship will be the more durable the lesse familiarly we converse with them. These considerations will oblige me not to interpret that article giving the Moores and Jews the liberty of lying and residing in the Town, but shall reserve the granting of it to such persons only as I shall judge convenient, unless his Ma.^{tie} shall think fit to send me his expresse orders to the contrary.²⁵¹

I cannot but observe in the Article concerning contraband the Moors have the freedom of buying it without limitation, whereas in my humble opinion, we should have afforded them those supplies to a certain stint only (as I hinted in the project I sent home) since they being left at large to buy what quantities they shall please themselves and we lying under the obligation of delivering the same upon demand they may have opportunities of laying up Magazines and stores of those things which some time or other may prove of dangerous consequence to us.

[Inserted in the left-hand margin] Besides that this unrestrained concession may give them the advantage of practising tricks with us for whenever they have a mind to deny us any of our privileges (w^{ch} they will be as sure to be as often as they can) they will be apt to ask of us greater quantities of contraband then they know we may have at any one time in the Town, and will make y^e delay of sending to England for it a pretence for their deferring to comply with us till we shall have satisfied their demands which will draw with it a long train of inconveniences which I fear I may very frequently labour under.

The feuds you mention to have happened between the Embassadour and his companions, and which, you say, you had rather leave to others then take notice to me of it your self, have in effect been long since known here both by private Letters and private papers out of England. Lucas the Secretary and the Alcomaden have been early industrious to traduce the Embassadour's behaviour on this side, and by the help of the Alcaid Ali Vice = King of these

²⁵¹ Kirke had good reason for concern because Tangier was already highly insecure without admitting additional Moors and Jews. The Anglo-Moroccan-Portuguese-Jewish population of soldiers and their families, merchants and traders, sailors, slaves, and renegades already presented the Moroccans with ample opportunities for espionage. Also, the tiny town and its minute hinterland were overlooked by a corset of higher ground, allowing the Moors direct observation over most of the garrison's activities (see Letter 53).

countries (who is jealous of the Embassadour's credit, and lives in great emulation of him) have already spread their malice as far as the ears of King Muley Ismael whom they have artificially possessed with prejudices to his disadvantage. One thing I cannot but mention as unfortunate, which is, that all the Letters the Embassadour may have writ this way, to his friends or to his Master himself in his justification, passing through the hands of his adversaries, have been certainly intercepted, and for this reason they have had the advantages which is a great point here of telling their story first, you are pleased to say Lucas promises all devotion to the Kings service, and that he brings me <206> a Letter from you to me to encourage in him that good disposition. You may be sure that I shall use all imaginable means to make him usefull to us, but I must needs tell you, I very much suspect the man who I know has no sentiments of honour or gratitude, and it will be a hard matter, to make the promotion of the King my Master's interests here, to comport with his desires of revenge upon the Embassadour wherein he is engaged beyond retreat and which are routed in too mischievous a heart ever to be extinguished. I hope however when I shall have given such informations and hints to the Embassadour, of severall contrivances of his enemies as are come to my knowledge that notwithstanding the advances they have made to discredit him, he will be prepared to disabuse his Master, and so far restore himself to his good opinion as to defeat the designs of those that oppose him and answer in some measure the expectations we have of that soundness of heart which is extraordinary in a man of his education and this climate.

You mention a complaint made of a new imposition of half a piece of 8 on every kintall²⁵² of wax, brought in hither by the Moors. I know there is nothing so frequent as surmises of oppression in all Gouvernements but if all the complaint <207> that shall happen to be made of me be as unreasonable and groundlesse as this, I am sure never to incur his Ma.^{ties} displeasure or the imputation of doing him or his subjects any disservice in this place. I must tell you therefore that some months ago, certain persons were pleased to flatter me, that, by my management of affairs with the Moors, our trade and entercourse with them was rendred so easy and flourishing, that they perceived most of the Gentlemen of the commerce here, were inclined to give me some marks of their acknowledgment and sense of my diligence and industry of their protection, and hereupon not many days after they expressed themselves to me in the terms you will see in the enclosed copy of a paper the Originall

²⁵² A quintal was equivalent to one hundredweight (112 lbs or 50.8 kilos).

whereof I keep by me, and was drawn by one of their cheif members, writ with his own hand and subscribed universally by the whole comerce. So that it will appear to you that what by the Informers is termed an imposition on the wax of the Moors, is indeed but a concession and a voluntary giuft [*sic*] of the English so far from being a discouragement to trade, that it is granted in the view of its greater prosperity and encrease and I am persuaded his Ma.^{ties} intentions are not to tye up his Governours to that precisenesse that while they do good to others they may not reap the benefit <208> of it themselves even when it comes freely into their hands. I am with all respect

Honoured Sir.
Your &c.

Letter 68 [pp. 208–216]

Tanger September the 4.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

The two last posts have brought me none from you by land and the last I have had of yours by the hands of M.^r Onby, of the 26.th of July by sea, I have acknowledged in my former dispatches of the 24.th past, since which on wednesday the 30.th of August in the evening the Woolwich Fregate came to anchor in this road with the Morocco Embassadour. I immediately sent Coll: Trelawny²⁵³ to welcome and confer with him who brought me word that those heats which began in England between him and his Camerades, broke out to the highest excesse since they were imbarked, and that particularly the Almocaden²⁵⁴ had confined him self the greatest part of the voyage, to his cabin, without ever conversing with him. The next morning about ten a <209> clock the Embassadour came ashore where I received him my self at the water side and conducted him to the Castle, amidst all the expressions of joy and respect that this place was capable of, the military appearance and other demonstrations being with little difference the same as were shewed

²⁵³ Charles Trelawny (see App. A). On 15 September 1682, Ambassador Ben Haddu wrote to Charles II that he had safely reached Tangier (Hopkins, *Letters*, 20).

²⁵⁴ Mohammed al-Hafiz, the deputy ambassador (see App. A).

him at his first entrance hither upon this Embassy.²⁵⁵ I had so contrived the lodging of the Embassadour and his companions in distinct apartments, that it was easy for me to entertain any of them alone, without the knowledge of the others when I thought fit; and having taken the first good opportunity to discourse with the Embassadour to discover from him what hopes he could give me of being effectually serviceable to his Ma.^{ties} interest here I began freely with him on the unhappy subject of his variance with Lucas and the Almocaden, offering my mediation towards a reconciliation, if he thought fit to accept of it. He thanked me with great sense of my concern for him, but told me that those Gentlemen, upon more sober thoughts, had made the first advances to quit all animosities and to forget what had passed between them, and that they were made friends the very day of their arrivall here; that however they were persons he by no means trusted, that he beleived they would do him all the ill offices they could possibly with their own safety, but that he depended upon the justnesse and fairnessse <210> of his behaviour, and that he could speak with confidence before the King his Master when those others would not have courage to shew their faces. He made use of very sensible expressions to own the honour he received in England, and professed that his whole thoughts would be employed to do good to Tanger, which he would endeavour even to the hazard of his life and fortune. He has delivered me his Ma.^{ties} Letter and commands about the freeing of all Mahumetan Slaves in this place as well those belonging to his Ma.^{tie} as those of private persons for which last he is pleased to impower me to contract on his behalfe with the respective owners.²⁵⁶ I beleived the King my Masters intentions were that the Embassadour should be gratified without any reserve I therefore proceeded immediately to this work and calling in all persons that had any such Slaves in their possession, I did in the presence of M.^r Mayor, one alderman and severall principall officers, declare to them his Ma.^{ties} pleasure desiring to agree with them upon fair and reasonable rates for their Slaves so to be delivered. They most of them expressed great surprise at this motion, and indeed the want of present credits to satisfie them made it a very difficult affair, and will prove the more burthensome to his Ma.^{ties} Treasury, and because those persons that have the cheif interest in <211> Slaves here are such as have farmed some branches of his

²⁵⁵ See Letters 27, 28.

²⁵⁶ On Moroccan and British slavery in Tangier, see G.E. Aylmer, 'Slavery under Charles II: The Mediterranean and Tangier', *English Historical Review*, 114 (1999), 378–388; G.A. Starr, 'Escape from Barbary: A seventeenth-century genre', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 29 (1965), 35–52.

Ma.^{ties} Revenue, I was forced to ingage that the Officers of the Revenue should demand no summes of money of them as might be standing out due from them on those accounts to the King till the Bills on the Treasury should be complied with. This matter being ended I immediately delivered the whole number of Slaves to the Embassadour, amounting to almost ninety persons, according to the enclosed lists, which the Embassadour without one moments delay sent presently into the country. This generall liberty of the Mahumetans is certainly an extraordinary expression of the King my Masters friendship and generosity, I hope it will be so interpreted to the Moors, and that his Ma.^{tie} may reap the effects from it which he proposes to himself.

I perceive the Embassadour has brought with him great quantities of powder and other contraband, and because it is a matter that may admit dispute, whether such considerable Stores may conveniently be permitted to be sent hence into the country, before the ratification of the Whitehall Treaty by King Muley Ismael, I expected his Ma.^{ties} expresse order concerning it for my direction, but having received none <212> I shall follow what I guesse to be his R.¹ intention, and consent to the conveying of it whenever the Embassadour shall desire, the King I suppose being persuaded that such condescension and good offices may better enable the Embassadour to recommend his negotiation to his Masters favourable opinion, wherein I trust his Ma.^{tie} will not be altogether disappointed.

A brother of the Embassadour's is arrived in these fields from Court, who, I am informed, has orders to receive whatever presents the Embassadour brings with him, and to conduct them to the King, the Embassadour in the mean time being to retire to his house and wait there his Master's farther commands. This news together with Alcaid Ali his not appearance to see and welcome the Embassadour, makes me beleive that his enemies have been active and powerfull: but all things here are inconstant in the highest degree these Princes do love and hate by moments and leave us room to hope that the Embassadour will have his turn to be heard and to prevaile. He talks not yet of stirring from hence, and what means he will use to procure his Master's ratification of the Treaties, within the time limit, I am not yet acquainted with: <213> the truth is, those forms tho necessarily and constantly practised between Christian Princes and all civilized Governments, I am confident are unheard of here, where the only notion they have of Embassies is that whatsoever is agreed to by the Embassadour implies at the same time his Masters assent, without the necessity of any farther confirmation, and I cannot but have some apprehensions that the two separate Articles about fortifying and Captives will hardly be included in our Treaty,

and that I shall scarce have the honour to make use of the Commission his Ma.^{ties} has sent me to sign them on his behalfe.

The late contract with the famers of his Ma.^{ties} Revenue of Porterage here is become void of necessity by his Ma.^{ties} having taken from them their Slaves by whose hands it was carried on. I have therefore without delay entred upon new terms with the former undertakers who being to make use of souldiers for the future a way that will be infinitely more expensive to them have obliged me to abate them 800 of the 2000 p.^s of 8/8 p anno: the old contract being to continue on this foot for three months only by which time I hope to <214> know his Ma.^{ties} farther pleasure in this point.

The greatest part of our quarters here being ready to fall to the ground, I have appointed persons to make an Estimate of the materials requisite for the repair of them which by this post I send to the Lords of the Committee and must make use of his Ma.^{ties} credit to be supplied in order to the carrying on those works with such materials as his Ma.^{ties} Stores cannot furnish.

I once more receive his Ma.^{ties} commands for the delivery of the two horses to Alcaid Ali. I thought the reasons I had given in my Letter to you of 18.th of May would have been sufficiently convincing that I detained them not upon the score of my private interest as to my great mortification I perceive has been represented contrary to truth or indeed the least shadow of reason. For as they were horses of no manner of use to me so they were employed and mustered in the Troops here for his Ma.^{ties} service one of them being sickly almost from the very moment of his arrivall here is since dead, the other shall be delivered to any person that the Alcaid shall appoint to receive him who however who however [*sic*] never intended those horses for himself but for his Master and the King <215> had writ me positively whose Letter I have by me to produce that they were of no use to him. It was necessary as I humbly conceive that the Alcaid Ali and Lucas should gain a point of me, and I am not at all concerned for my own credit while the lessening of it may advance my Masters service.

The King having given to Hadgi Lucas five Slaves belonging to the sea (one whereof belonging to a Vessell sunk by Cap.^t Wheeler²⁵⁷) he had before bestowed on that Captain, amongst others whose value was to be distributed to the Ship's company, and these being sold in order to make that dividend, the matter has occasioned some dispute, being contested by Lucas in a very indecent manner the Admirall alleging the Slave is not in his power, and that he cannot

²⁵⁷ Captain Francis Wheler, RN (see App. A).

dispose of the Right of another man.²⁵⁸ The Embassadour hereupon interposes and desires the Admirall would buy him on the King's account as I had done a great number of Slaves in Tanger. The Admirall told him that was it a matter of small value he would not scruple to buy him to satisfie the Embassadour, but that his purse could not reach to 2000 p.^s of 8/8 which the Slave was esteemed at nor could he charge to <216> his Master so great a summe without especiall order for it, but that he would write to England to know the King pleasure in it. In the mean time security being given the Slave should remain in Tanger till his Ma.^{ties} orders came: this is at length agreed to on all sides (and the Slave accordingly will be brought this day ashore) with this difference only that whereas the Admirall proposed he should be left in Town the Embassadour proposed [sic] he should be delivered to him leaving 1200 p.^s of 8/8 in a Merchants hands till his Ma.^{ties} pleasure should be known from England, w.^{ch} the Admirall to gratify the Embassadour hath likewise assented to. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r

Letter 69 [pp. 216–220]²⁵⁹

Tanger August the 24.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The season of year calling upon me to lay up my provision of straw for our horses of the Garrison I <217> had for this reason signified to the Alcaid, Vice = King of these countries my desires of coming to an agreement about it with the Moors according to our Articles of Peace. He entertained me with promises that I should be furnished according to my wishes, but seing some months past without any effect, notwithstanding my continuall pressing of it and that the season was now far spent, I easily judged that these delays were affected

²⁵⁸ The capture of the *Golden Horse* and the sinking of the *Admiral of Salé* had deprived Wheler and his crew of prize money. In partial compensation, they were permitted to sell some of the survivors as slaves.

²⁵⁹ The chronological sequence is broken here. Letter 69 clearly follows Letter 67 rather than 68.

by him, and that he was playing a usuall artifice of necessitating me either to loose the opportunity to quicken them into a compliance with me, by working on their necessities, and this offered it self very speedily. The King of Morocco had ordered a bed to be made of a vast bignesse and extravagant contrivance, in Lisbon, for the procuring of which two Jews were employed thither with my particular recommendation, and by the great industry of Consul Maynard²⁶⁰ had the fortune to succeed in their little negotiation, which otherwise they would certainly never have effected. This bed after a long time and impatient expectation of King Muley Ismael arrived hither in the very time of my sharpest disputes with the Alcaid about <218> the straw which I demanded. He extreemly earnest to have the honour of conveying it to his Master, writes me a very civill Letter (as their way is when they want any thing) desiring me to suffer the bed to be landed upon the strand, and put into his custody. I replied that assoon as he should send me a positive answer about the straw, he should desire nothing reasonable of me that I should not willingly agree to, and that the bed should be landed that very moment when I should receive his answer. This inflames him into a very great passion, and when we thought him a[t] Tetuan he appears himself at our lines, whence he immediately sends for our Jewish Interpreter and expostulates with him on my proceeding bidding him use his endeavour to persuade me to permit the bed to be landed without any farther delay. I answered him by the same Jew, that he himself occasioned that delay, and that whatever prejudice should accrew to his Masters service, would be justly charged on him, in whose hands it was, by giving a due satisfaction to my demands grounded on the Articles of Peace, and which had been now so unreasonable a time depending, to obtain an immediate delivery of the bed: <219> which I told him, however I detained not, but having my self had the greatest share of doing King Muley Ismael service in the procuring of it, I could not consent it should passe through the hands of one that had treated me so ill as he had done, and had brought such discredit upon his Masters word that I was resolved to convey it to his Ma.^{tie} my self, and to that effect desired his Seguro for a Gentleman I designed to dispatch to his Ma.^{tie} with my reasons for it and that I should propose to send it by one of the King my Masters Fregats to Sale from whence it might be conducted more commodiously and with greater expedition. This (as I was very sensible it would) put him into alarms that are not conceivable, and casting about how he might be honourably reconciled to me, he thought Admirall Herbert (who was then

²⁶⁰ Thomas Maynard (see App. A).

here) might be a proper Instrument and to that end desires a conference with him. The Admirall hereupon goes out to him, and after many professions of the soundnesse and integrity of his intentions, he at length promises upon his word and honour, that if I would order the delivery of the bed to him he would immediately answer my expectations about the straw. <220> The Admirall thought he had reason to give credit to him and therefore engaged himself to prevaile with me to comply with the Alcaid's desires. The bed, in conclusion, was delivered on those terms, and after many other niceties and long controversies I have at last concluded a hard bargain with the Moors for straw allowing them one p.^s of 8/8 for every 5 Quintalls,²⁶¹ and must depend upon their good faith for their keeping of it. I have been the longer in this relation, to give your Lord.^{ps} an instance how hard a thing it is, to bring these people, to allow us any of the Privileges that we may claim by our Articles which they never observe but when they are compelled to it, or when they expect from us greater advantages in return for them.

I have in severall Letters given your Lord.^{ps} an account of the ill state of our quarters most of them having been long out of repair, and because this is the season to make the amendments which are necessary and that they are in too bad a condition to be longer neglected, I have ordered a survey to be made of them to examine what repairs are requisite and shall immediately enter upon that works whereof your Lord.^{ps} shall have an account. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 70 [pp. 221–222]

<221> Tanger, September 4.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

It having been his Ma.^{ties} pleasure to make a present of all the Mahumetan Slaves here as well those belonging to himself as those of private persons to the Emperour of Morocco I have in obedience thereunto delivered them to the Embassadour arrived here, and

²⁶¹ Quintal.

consequently the contract of the late undertakers of the management of the branch of his Ma.^{ties} Revenue on Portorage which has been hitherto carried on by the hands of Slaves must necessarily cease. I have long since given my self the honour to write to your Lord.^{ps} on this subject of Portorage, laying before your Lord.^{ps} the consideration of what methods should be most necessary for the future management of that Revenue, your Lord.^{ps} directions herein would have been very seasonable on this conjuncture had I received them but having yet heard nothing from your Lord.^{ps} on this point I have been forced to loose time to enter into the a [*sic*] new contract with the same farmers who upon the change of circumstances being reduced to much more expensive <222> ways of managing the farm which they must do for the future by the hands of souldiers are not able to carry it on on [*sic*] the former terms of 2000 p.^s of 8/8 p anno: so that our new engagement is for 1200 p.^s of 8/8 to continue for three months only by which time I may receive your Lord.^{ps} approbation for proceeding in this method or your direction for some other of more advantage to your Ma.^{ties} service.

In my last I acquainted your Lord.^{ps} with my design of surveying the severall quarters here in order to the making such repairs as are necessary which survey is now finished, and your Lord.^{ps} will see what materialls are requisite in the enclosed report to me of the persons I appointed to view and examine the same. I shall immediately begin this work which indeed will dispense with no delay and those materialls wherewith I cannot be supplied out of his Ma.^{ties} Stores I shall take up elsewhere and draw credits for the same upon his Ma.^{ties} Treasury. I am

My Lords
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

<223> P. S.

In pursuance of his Ma.^{ties} especial commands for the buying of all the Mahumetan Slaves here in the possession of private men, I have accordingly bargained on the Kings account with the respective owners who the greatest part of them being persons from whom severall summes of money will become due to his Ma.^{tic} for excise and on other scores of the Revenue here I have been forced to effect the purchase commanded me by the Kings Letter to engage to those persons that the officers of the Revenue should exact nothing from them on those accounts till the Bills drawn upon the Treasury in order to their reimbursements for their Slaves shall be complied with, and indeed it is but reasonable that since they trust the King

to so considerable a [blank] they should have some encouragement for it. These Bills will be remitted by the next.

Letter 71 [pp. 223–225]

Tang.^r Septemb.^r the 4.th 1682.

[To Owen Wynne]

S.^r

I cannot express how very much I am obliged to you for the trouble you have taken upon you about the affairs <224> of this Garrison, which I see by a long Letter written in your hand and in M.^r Secretary's name though he was not then in the way to sign it, brought by the Morocco Embassadour, the same Letter with some additions made more hast in the hands of M.^r Onby who arrived here many days before the Embassadour which I acknowledged to M.^r Secretary himself by the last Post. I must now particularly thank you for yours of the 23.rd of July, and for the hints you give me in it for my private directions which shew you have a true friendship for me, you may be sure I will deserve it by making that value of it I ought to do and by endeavouring you shall have no reason to complain of your being too kind to me. I must confesse I was a little surprised to see my detention of the two horses so unreasonably misinterpreted and to receive his Ma.^{ties} commands for the delivery of them accompanied with so bitter a reprehension when I beleived I had given unanswerable reasons to M.^r Secretary that it was not at all requisite that the horses should be sent, but that it might rather prove prejudiciall to his Ma.^{ties} service, King Muley Ismael having writ me they were of no service to him, and this is the first time I knew that his Ma.^{tie} <225> designed to present them to the Alcaid of Alcazar. I easily see that the Alcaid has influenced Lucas and Lucas possibly moved the Embassadour to demand that these horses should be delivered after this long intervall, who neverthesse have no other interest in it then the private pleasure they receive in extorting from me by my Master's order, what they could not get (because they had never deserved it of me nor of my Master) by my own consent. I perceive they have been extream liberall to these Gentlemen in England, and that they have treated them with a franknesse as if they had been bred in the French Climate and had an equall sense of honour with those that are, and these too have not been lesse prodigall in their promises. I wish they may acquit themselves

to our expectation tho I very much fear the expence will be on our side, and the advantage only theirs. I shall write to you as often as I can our passages here and that with the plainesse and freedome that will convince you how much I am

Sir
Your &c.

Letter 72 [pp. 226–227]

<226> Tanger September the 7.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

By the Morocco Embassadour I receive his Ma.^{ties} commands of giving liberty to all the Mahumetan Slaves to all the Mahumetan Slaves [*sic*] of this place as well those belonging to himself as to private persons his intentions being to make a present of them to the Emperour. And to the end that no injury might be done to his Ma.^{ties} Subjects owners of such Slaves, I had orders at the same time to make use of the King's credit and to agree with them on his account at the most convenient rates I should be able for the purchase of them. I have in obedience hereunto bargained with the respective masters of Slaves here, and after many difficulties have reduced them to rest satisfied with Bills on your Lord.^{ps} for their reimbursement, which go by this opportunity, this whole businesse being transacted in the presence of the Mayor, an Alderman and many principall officers who are witnesses of the management of it, the number of Slaves, their names, those of the severall owners, and the rates agreed upon your Lord.^{ps} will see in the enclosed list.

<227> By Cap.^t Deering²⁶² in the Dover Fregate,²⁶³ I receive your Lord.^{ps} of the 24th of May mentioning four months pay for this Garrison by the hands of M.^r Hewer and six months pay by the Agent of the new undertakers of his Ma.^{ties} Revenue in Ireland²⁶⁴ which last money I find is not in that readinesse as I am confident your Lord.^{ps} expect it should and as would be very necessary for the comfort and encouragement of this poor Garrison that have a

²⁶² Captain Daniel Dering, RN (see App. A).

²⁶³ HMS *Dover* (4th rate, 48 guns).

²⁶⁴ Benedict Thistlethwaite (see App. A).

long train of arrears due to them, for after that the said Fregate had made a considerable stay in Cadiz to take in (as is pretended) money payable Bills drawn on a Merchant there. I have been acquainted by M.^r Thistlethwaite that tho the said Bills were accepted by the Merchant, he had desired some considerable time to make payment and for ought I can see it is uncertain whether they will be at length complied with and I cannot but fear that the measures your Lord.^{ps} had taken for this six months pay will be unhappily disappointed. I am not yet able to discern the true reasons of the unexpected hinderance nor upon whom to charge the inconveniences that will arise from it and can only consider this first attempt of the Irish Contractors in favour of this Garrison as an unlucky example for their future proceedings. I am,

My Lords.
Y.^r &c.

Letter 73 [pp. 228–231]

<228> Tanger Septemb.^r 7.th 1682

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

In mine of the 5.th by sea (Duplicate whereof I send by this opportunity) I gave you an account of what had been transacted here till that time from the arrivall of the Morocco Embassadour. By what I have heard and have observed since I find nothing to confirm me in the belief of the report was brought me that the Embassadour was commanded to repair to his house to wait there his Masters farther pleasure. For he now himself assures me he will go directly to his Ma.^{ty} and makes no question he shall be able to defeat the malice of his enemies, and make them fall into the Snares they had designed for him. The Alcaid Ali Benabdala has ever since the beginning of the Embassy considered this man, as his competitor, and has made use of many tricks and engines to discredit him. Certain it is, according to all appearances of affairs at present, the one cannot stand without the fall of the other, and they are this moment making the best of each others interest, and straining their utmost <229> policy to build each of them his fortune in the others ruine. The Embassadour I find to be extremely resolute and to behave himself with great courage and firmnesse of mind: I have offered all the assistance I am capable

to afford him either on my Masters behalf or on my own score, and I have hinted to him my opinion that the signifying to King Muley Ismael severall irregularities of Alcaid Ali in his deportment towards this Garrison (whereof I could give a great many instances) might weigh heavy in the balance, and do the Embassadour some service. He told me they would certainly be extremely usefull to him, and on the first good opportunity (he being now busied in forwarding his severall presents into the country) we are to have a private conference on that subject. It is not to be doubted but that the ruine of the Embassadour, would be in effect the ruine of his Ma.^{ties} interest here (as far [*sic*] it is concerned in the Peace) and the disgrace of Alcaid Ali will infallibly make way for this man to succeed in the Gouvernement of these provinces which would be of incredible advantage to our affairs and ought to be endeavoured by all means imaginable.

The Embassadour has now landed his powder and all <230> other things he brings with him and immediately dispatches them into the country, designing himself suddenly to follow not without good hopes of returning hither after some stay at Court with such orders from his Masters as shall give us all those advantages that we can expect from our late Treaty.

I have by this opportunity given Bills on the Treasury on his Ma.^{ties} behalf for the reimbursement of the severall persons of whom any Mahumetan Slaves have been taken, and I am confident it will appear very reasonable that as little delay be used as is possible in giving them the just satisfaction.

I expected on the arrival of the Moorish Embassadour to have seen the greatest part of the absent officers return to their respective posts here but none appearing yet, besides Cap.^t Fox, I must once more remind you how necessary it is that they be hastned to their employments, the liberty they take of staying beyond the term of their permissions, or of begging his Ma.^{ties} prolonging them, being certainly of ill consequence to his R.^l service here which is all I have to trouble you with at present from

Hon.^d Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

<231> P. S.

Lucas some days after his arrivall here delivered to me yours of the 11.th of July. I shall strictly observe your directions in it and tho I have no great opinion of this mans faithfullnesse or kindnesse for Tanger,

yet I shall live with him with all imaginable shew of confidence and good understanding and make the best use of him which shall be possible.

Letter 74 [pp. 231–232]

Tang.^r Septemb.^r 7.th 1683²² ²⁶⁵

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I gave your Lord.^{ps} an account in mine of the 5.th by sea (duplicate whereof goes with this) of the agreement I had made on his Ma.^{ties} behalfe with the private persons the respective owners of Mahumetan Slaves here having with much difficulty prevailed with them to be satisfied with Bills on the Treasury for their reimbursement. Those Bills now go by this opportunity being for 5156 p.^s of 8/8 the import of forty eight Slaves bought according to the rates mentioned in a List sent to the Commissioners of the Treasury, and I make no question but as these persons have given good proof of the esteem they have of his Ma.^{ties} credit so your Lord.^{ps} will be pleased to take their concerns into your protection, and that you will look upon it as worth your care to take order that they may have the speediest satisfaction that may be consistent with his Ma.^{ties} service.

I have at length laid up my provision of Straw being 3000 Quintalls at one p.^s of 8/8 each five Quintalls according to agreement with the Moors. I am

My Lords,
Your &c.

²⁶⁵ 7 September 1682. The superscript ‘?’ has been inserted by a later hand.

Letter 75 [pp. 232–253]Tanger Sept.^r y^c 20.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

My last dispatches gave you an account of the heats and competition between the Embassadour and the Alcaid of Alcazar which imposed on me a very difficult part to act while I endeavoured to keep fair with both, but this last having openly declared that he would break whatever had been transacted by the other, and use all his interest to discredit his negotiation in England, I found it of absolute necessity to adhere to the Embassadour and afford him all the assistances I was able to support him and my Masters interest here apparently involved in his safety. To this end I furnished him with severall Articles of complaint of the Alcaids ill Gouernment and the oppressions we lye under by his continuall injustices and contempt of that good correspondence he ought to maintain with us, all set forth in a paper I delivered him in English and the heads whereof he took himself in Arabick recommending to Jonas his care to have the whole translated when he should arrive with the King, copie of which paper I here likewise enclose. The motives of the discontents between these two great men is no other then that of emulation, the Alcaid Ali suspecting that the good opinion of the Embassadour may gain with his Master for his English negotiation, will preferre him to his employment, and make him appear most worthy to gouvern in the neighbourhood of Tanger and this he endeavours to prevent with all the artifice and malice his is capable of. The Embassadour daily expressing his impatience to be gone and taking no notice to me of what he had seemed to engage in the Treaty of enlarging and marking out ground for the grazing of our cattle I thought it convenient to move it to him and he told me that tho it was true I might justly demand it of him yet that it would be much better to defer it till he had seen the King desiring me to rely on his care for the due performance of his engagements which could not be but by his methods and the truth is tho I mentioned to him the point of setting out the ground I was sensible enough he could do nothing in it at present without the concurrence of Alcaid Ali, it being not in his power to intermeddle in what purely concerns the others province.

On Tuesday the 12.th inst.^t the Embassadour departed hence with intention to proceed directly towards his Ma.^{tic} King Muley Ismael, I

accompanied him to our lines taking my leave of him with all the publick demonstration of honour & respect that could possibly be expressed, and wherewith I am sure he is gone extremely satisfied. They have sent before them all the presents having left nothing here but the powder they took up in England upon credit of private persons to whom they engaged for the payment at a certain time and their arrivall at Tanager the greatest part thereof for the account of <235> Alcaid Ali and Hadgi Lucas but having no ready mony to comply with their agreement they would have dealt with me to passe my word for the payment at a certain time, and when I made them sensible that the Merchants here for good reasons would be very scrupulous to take my security, they would then have me to compell the persons interested to admit of such other security they could give them, which I told them was [not] within my power to do, but that I would interpose my best offices to prevaile with them to be content with such security as should appear reasonable. I must prepare you to receive a relation of the behaviour of these people which fills the measure of their treacheries whereof I have given you already so many frequent instances. The Embassadour was scarce out of sight of Tanager, when between nine and ten a clock at night, an English Vessell which was at anchor, within pistoll shot of the Mole, was boarded by the Moorish Brigantine,²⁶⁶ who entred severall armed men into her, and going directly to the Cabin seized upon the Master and one man that was with him, but some of the ships company having an opportunity to put off in the Ship's boat, gave a timely alarm to our Guards upon the Mole, who thereupon made severall <236> canon shot towards the Moors, and these apprehending that our people would soon reach them (for I was by that time upon the Mole my self giving the best orders I was able to prevent the mischief) they contented themselves to retreat in hast carrying with them the Master of the Ship and the other man which they took in his company. I spent the greatest part of the night in the examination of the matter of fact and the manner of it which you will see in the enclosed depositions of the Ships company and early the next morning I dispatched Cap.^t Fox to reach the Embassadour with my Letter of complaint of so rude and treacherous an insult, copy whereof is here enclosed. It was a hard thing to beleive the Moors would have adventured to make so bold and insolent an attempt unless they had been well

²⁶⁶ A brigantine was a two-masted sailing vessel, square rigged on the foremast and fore-and-aft rigged on the mainmast. The name 'brigantine' is thought to have originated from the Mediterranean 'sea brigands', although Moroccan and Algerian corsairs favoured oared galleys (OCSS, 68).

informed of the force of the Vessell and the posture of things in the Bay, and I could not but reflect that two Jews belonging to the Alcaid had that very evening, (contrary to custome) asked me leave to go on board certain Vessells, on pretence of making I know not what bargains, which I scrupled not in our present circumstances to grant them, and I am very confident that the enterprisers received their necessary informations by their means. The truth is there has scarce any <237> prejudice hapned to this Garrison which hath not been contrived by Jewish arts and Councils, and it would have been much to be wished that the liberty of admitting those people into the Town had been left in the Whitehall Treaty under the same restrictions as in Coll: Sackville's Truce. For tho it may be alleaged that no Commerce can be managed with the Moors but by the hands of the Jews, who are only acquainted with the methods of it, yet the design of trade is by no means disappointed by those limitations since it remained in the Governour's breast to permit such of them of whose probity and good behaviour he was sufficiently satisfied. But to give a generall and free admission into his Ma.^{ties} Garrison to as many of those undermining people as are willing to croud among us, as it is of no advantage to trade, it is certainly of ill and dangerous consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service. Neither the place wee live in, nor the present conjuncture will suffer us to practice the same freedome of entercourse and confidence as his Ma.^{ties} subjects enjoy in other situations and under other more stable and settled Government. We ought to proportion our methods and provisions for trade according to our capacities of it, to be content with that mea<238>sure of liberty, that is consistent with our preservation and not to gratify the desires of every Merchant (who I know are great sticklers for the Jewish freedome, and who have a view only of their present profit) expose his Ma.^{ties} and even their own interest by hazarding the safety of the place.. [*sic*] It is for these reasons that I have once more expelled the Jews, upon the late insolence committed in our Bay, neither shall I permit them for the future to swarm among us, or to continue in the Town by night resolving to interpret the 15.th Article of the Whitehall Treaty according to the measures of my Masters apparent interest (as I have already acquainted you in mine of the 14.th of August) till I receive his Ma.^{ties} farther orders and declaration of his R. mind on this subject. Two days after the attempt upon the English Vessell in the Bay, I had private information sent me by Maimaran²⁶⁷ a Jew that it was a boat belonging to Arzila²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Abraham Maimarān (see App. A).

²⁶⁸ Asilah (variously Arzila, Arzilla, Asila), a small, fortified town on the north-western coast of Morocco, some 30 km south of Tangier.

which had done it, that the said boat had been lurking severall days within the Bay, and that the men belonging to it had applied themselves to Hadgi Lucas while he was here, telling him they had been long watching for prise but that now the Peace being confirmed they durst not venture to make any attempt desiring <239> his advice how they ought to behave themselves, that Lucas told them the Peace signified nothing, that they should act boldly and enterprise whatever they could hope to compasse, without reserve, even to the seizing the Governour himself if they were able. This advice together with other circumstances confirm me in an opinion that the whole businesse was projected by Hadgi Lucas and the Alcaid Ali, the intent being to carry away the Vessell and the people in her, to make me the more easy and force me as they conceived to a speedy compliance with their desires of sending them the powder not yet satisfied upon hopes of exchanging for it the men and Vessell which they would assure me in great kinnesse should be returned. By this I am persuaded you are now well acquainted with the people we have to deale withall and that you know how far you are to trust your correspondent Hadgi Lucas, who being Alcaid Ali's confident, and treacherous in his nature will do all the mischief he is able whereof he hath given us early proofs in his first steps and behaviour on this side.

The Embassadour was no sooner arrived at Alcazar but he dispatched an expresse to me, with the notice he could proceed no farther unlesse he carried with him all the <240> powder, having his Masters positive orders for it, and you will see among the enclosed papers translates [*sic*] of severall Letters, that have passed between him, the Alcaid Ali and my self on that subject; I having assured them I would do them all the service in it I was able but that I could not consent that any thing should go out of the Gates of Tanger, till satisfaction was made for the injury done to my Master's honour, which I am resolved to insist on, for if once the Alcaid Ali attains his end by getting the powder into his hands, I have no security that ever I shall see a just reparation, but on the contrary all the reason in the world to believe, I shall certainly be disappointed of it since the Alcaid would be able to gain that credit with his Master, by so considerable a present of powder, as to put himself in a condition of crushing the Embassadour and dealing with me with his usuall malicious artifices.

I have formerly given you an answer that no sooner were they acquainted here with my Master's kindnesse in giving orders that his Fregats should commit no hostilities upon them or infest their Coast, when they immediately armed all the Vessells they could and sent out their whole <241> force to advantage themselves of so favourable a conjuncture of preying securely upon us, adventuring

some of them as far as the channell,²⁶⁹ and besides those other Vessells I formerly told you they have since brought in four or five more English prizes to the great losse of his Ma.^{ties} Subjects, and is another superabundant discovery of their ill intentions.

I must acquaint you that the night of the Moorish assault in our bay, as I was going to give orders upon the Mole, passing through the Water Gate I found Ensigne Beckford,²⁷⁰ who commanded the Guard at that Post, so disordered with drink that he was not able to give me the word and obliged me at that time to commit the care of his guard to another, and since to turn him out of his employment that offence being such as is scarce ever pardoned, and that person had left no room for my indulgence I having formerly apprehended him under the same crime. I have given his place to M.^r Lister,²⁷¹ a Kinsman of Coll: Churchills,²⁷² who came over with the Morocco Embassadour and whom I recommend unto you for his confirmation by his Ma.^{ties} Commission. The severall officers I have placed in my time <242> wanting the King's Commission will be seen in an enclosed List of them, and I should be glad you would be pleased to signify to me if it be necessary that I trouble you for the future on this account of Commissions, whether my power is not sufficient for the commissionating such I shall think convenient as I have the honour of being Generall of his Ma.^{ties} forces here always giving an account of the reasons of any displacing or filling vacancies as the same shall happen.

We were in great hopes of receiving ten months pay, six months whereof being designed on the Irish fond, by all I can understand by M.^r Thistlethwayte Agent of the late Undertakers here, will scarce be touched by us, that person acquainting me his employers had recalled him, with orders to withdraw the severall summes of money in his hands, both for the redemption of the Captives in Barbary, and what was designed for our pay: but because I have yet received no notice of any alteration from your self, the Lords of the Committee or other my Superiours, I have ordered M.^r Thistlethwaite not to part with the money till I am certain the former directions are revoked; <243> the contrary winds which have

²⁶⁹ The English Channel. Although the Mediterranean coastal regions of Spain, France, Italy, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia were the principal targets of Moroccan and Algerian pirates, they also ranged along the Portuguese coast and thence into the Bay of Biscay and the Western Approaches. Lundy Island in the Bristol Channel had been occupied between 1627 and 1632 as a base for summer operations, whence they attacked Iceland in 1627 and Baltimore in south-west Ireland, in 1631.

²⁷⁰ Ensign John Beckford (see App. A).

²⁷¹ Martin Lister-Killigrew (see App. A).

²⁷² John Churchill (see App. A).

hindred now almost a fortnight the arrivall of my Letters from Cadiz may possibly occasion my being yet in the dark as to the passages with those Irish Contractors and the state of our affairs which seemed to depend on them.

Cap.^t Fox came in to me this night from the Alcaid he brings with him the Master of the Vessell and the other man taken with him, and tells me that his first appearance in the country was not at all pleasing to the Alcaid; that he found the Embassadour and him at great variance and guessed by the Alcaid's countenance, and many high words that passed between him and the Embassadour, that he designed to keep him Prisoner till the powder should be sent but that the Embassadour's threats and reasons overbalanced him and prevailed with him to change his face and actions to that degree as he passed from the extream of aversion to the excesse of kindnesse ordering him to be well accommodated during his stay and when he had expressed his resentment for the affront done to my Master's honour by causing the chief of the actors in it to be beaten with many blows he <244> presented Cap.^t Fox with an English Souldier who had been trappann²⁷³ out of our lines and returned him to me with a Letter wherein he magnifies the justice as he terms it which he had ordered should be done for my satisfaction for the insolence of the attempt in the Bay and desires the powder may immediately be sent him: I must confesse I expected from him some such slight reparation, neither should I have attained so much had I not the powder in my hands which I shall yet keep (which indeed I cannot part with if I would the owners being not here to give their consent) as an earnest that he shall yet behave himself better towards my Masters honour which I shall never think truly repaired till the chief offender at least be capitally punished in the view of Tanger and the Bay, a Justice which I think it my indispensible duty to insist on, and which if I procure not from the Alcaid I must make my applications for it to King Muley Ismael.

I have hinted on this occasion to the Lords of the Committee the necessity of a Guard boat, for the quietnesse and security of our bay, which being an establishment of such consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service <245> and honour, I humbly recommend it to your consideration, and am with all manner of respect,

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^f &c.

²⁷³ To entrap, lure, or decoy others into actions which may not be to their advantage (*OED*).

Upon the death of Alcaid Omar the Gouvernement of these Kingdoms falling to his Kinsman the Alcaid Ali Benabdala,²⁷⁴ by King Muley Ismael's choice of him great good was expected from him, and that the Peace between the two Kings would be the more punctually observed, matters being to passe through his hands, who besides the incitements of his own Zeale for his Master's service, lay under the obligation of the highest favours received from Coll: Kirke. But neither of these considerations being sufficient to prevaile with this Alcaid, to live in good correspondance with the English, never having complied with any of the Articles in favour of them, but when forced thereunto by his own interest to the great discredit of King Muley Ismaels Royall word, the frustrating his Ma.^{ties} good intentions, the great prejudice of trade, and of the generall good of both <246> nations. Amongst all the instances of Alcaid Ali's apparent disregard of the Articles of Peace, the most remarkable are these that follow.

The English have the liberty by the Articles of Peace to buy of the Moores a certain number of Cattle besides all sorts of fruit, and other refreshments in what places they shall think fit, and at the current market prices amongst the Moores without paying any impositions more then the natives themselves. The Governour of Tanger has solicited the benefit of this Article very often, and very pressingly, but without effect, the Alcaid Ali obliging the English to buy the cattle either in Tetuan or Alcazar (not permitting them to go to any other part) and to receive it from the hands of his servants only, who make them pay exorbitant rates, and to the double of what it is worth in the market: and if any Moor (as they are all of them extremely desirous) be willing to conform themselves to the Articles, and sell to the English at reasonable rates, the Alcaid immediately interposes his high power to hinder the same, and to break the agreements ordering nothing to be delivered but by his own people <247> who ever give the worst sort and at the prices they please themselves, he endeavouring even in things of this small importance to draw all manner of profit to himself. As to what concerns the buying of fruits and other refreshments, the Alcaid not permitting the English to resort for them to those places where they may be most conveniently had, is the reason that they have enjoyed no benefit from that part of the Article.

The English have the liberty of cutting wood and of cleansing the watercourse in the feilds: yet whenever the Governour of Tanger happens to demand the same of the Alcaid, tho in so inconsiderable matters, and so expressly granted in the Articles, he cannot absolutely

²⁷⁴ Ali Ben Abdallah Hamami (see App. A).

deny them, he practises however such intollerable delays, keeping things in such long suspense before he finally resolves that y.^c time passing together w.th the opportunity the English have never been able to make any true advantage of that liberty.

The Moors by the Articles of Peace are obliged to furnish the Governour of Tanger with such quantities <248> of straw as he shall demand, and at moderate prices, and it is to be admired that in so slight a matter such difficulties should be raised as have been experienced. And yet it is certain that the Governour of Tanger having acquainted the Alcaid Ali with his want of straw, and desiring he might be supplied with it according to the Articles, at reasonable rates, he has not been able (notwithstanding his continuall instances) to procure the Alcaid's finall resolution, he entertaining him from time to time with promises and no performance, till at length the opportunity of the Governour's making provision of straw from Spain (as he might have done) being past, the Alcaid granted it, and the Governour was then forced to receive it at the rates the Almocadens pleased, which is to be supposed the Alcaid aimed at by these delays.

It is provided in the Articles, that if any Englishman happen to come into the hands of the Moors, the Governour of Tanger, is to be informed of it, and the manner of his being taken to be examined in the presence of the prisoner. In the mean time the English are daily taken by the Moors, the Governour of Tanger having never been able to know where and how they <249> have been made captives, and on a certain occasion on the disappearance of an English Souldier, desiring to be informed of the Moorish Guards, if the said souldier was retired amongst them, they first answered they knew nothing of him, and the next sent word that the souldier was turned Moor, and was at Tetuan, the Alcaid not consenting tho earnestly pressed to it by the Governour, that the souldier might be brought to the lines of Tanger, for the examination of the truth. It is certain that our people have been frequently carried by force, and drawn out of our bounds by the Moors and of this it will suffice to give one remarkable instance. An English Souldier being alone, and sitting in a place somewhat remote, tho much within the limits belonging to the Town, was espied by the Moors, and about eight or ten of them came over to him, seized upon him, and would have carried him away, but he had the fortune to disengage himself from them and make his escape, leaving with the Moores his hat and fooling [*sic*] piece, which were afterwards upon the Governour of Tanger's complaint and resentment of the injury, restored: and <250> of this passage a Publick Notary of Tetuan, who hapned to be at that time in Tanger, is a good witsse. It is not long since that Lieu.^t

Nicholson²⁷⁵ (whom the Governour has often employed on messages to King Muley Ismael) hearing that a Moor one of his acquaintance, was arrived in the feilds of Tanger, designed to make him a visit, accompanied with other officers of the Garrison, and to that end demanded of the Moorish Guards, according to the Articles one to conduct them; the Guards told him, that they were free to go alone, and that it was not necessary they should carry a Moor with them, upon this assurance relying upon the good faith of the Moors he went forward with his companions, and was afterward himself and those that were with him seized on in the country and kept prisoners for two days. There scarce passes any week, wherein such like molestations and injuries are not practised by the Moors, continually watching what Christian they can snatch up, wherein they are so rigorously precise, that if an Englishman happen, through forgetfulness or inadvertency, to go one step beyond the bounds, they immediately make him Captive, there arising <251> from this hardnesse and niceties, disputes very unsuitable to the intent of the Articles, and highly destructive to that good correspondence that ought to be maintained. These inconveniences chiefly arise from the little regard the Alcaid Ali hath had to the many instances of the Governour of Tanger, that Almocadens might be placed in these feilds, to see all things carried fairly on either side, and tho this be particularly provided for in the Treaty of Peace, yet the Alcaid as if he studied all ways to hinder a good understanding has never taken any due care to observe the same the persons he sets over the Guards here, being men of no credit, and that serve to obstruct rather then to expedite any dependancies we may have as it often happens upon the forementioned abuses, & many others wherein they say they can act nothing without the Alcaid's order, and the Alcaid neglecting to send them such orders, we live for the most part in a state of warre. These insignificant inferiour officers put the Governour of Tanger to unspeakable vexations, they often stop things that have been bought by his people in the country from coming into <252> Town, pretending they have not the Alcaid's order for it's conveyance, and at the same time offer to let them passe for money or other presents: and of these injuries tho complaint has been made to Alcaid Ali, he is not pleased to take any notice of it or to afford any redresse.

By the Articles the English have the liberty of fishing in their boats, within the limits therein specified, yet very lately three Christians fishing in the Bay of Tanger, were taken and carried away by the Moors, and are now as is informed in the Slavery at Tetuan. A case that

²⁷⁵ Francis Nicholson (see App. A).

likewise hapned very lately, is remarkable, and may be not improperly related here. Certain Moores arrived in this road passengers on an English Vessell from the Levant, it hapned that one night the Ship's company being asleep the Moors took an occasion, without any apparent reason for it, having been very kindly treated by the Captain of the Vessell, to run ashore with the two boats belonging to her, leaving them upon the sands, where the next morning the Captain seeing them in the place where his passengers had made their flight, he ordered one of his seamen to swim to them to <253> secure them till such time he could provide other boats to bring them off, the sea man had no sooner reached the boats, when severall Moors, who is to be supposed lay hid for that purpose, came out, seized him, and carried him to Tetuan, where he is still Captive notwithstanding that the Governour of Tanger, has demanded him severall times and in the most urging manner imaginable of Alcaid Ali.

To relate at large the many injustices and unreasonable proceedings of this Alcaid, would be an endlesse worke, this paper must be concluded with the observation that his monopolizing all the trade of the country, and keeping up the commodities to his prices, is the cheifest discouragement of the commerce between the two nations, and a great diminution of the Royall customes of King Muley Ismael, the Alcaid taking measures to be the only Merchant of the country himself wherein he expresses his skill and greedinesse of profit, by his trusting no Factors and coming himself to the lines of Tanger to drive his own bargains with Christian Traders.

Letter 76 [pp. 254–257]

<254> Tanger Septemb.^r 20.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The notice we had of ten months pay designed for the Garrison which was to be followed with other speedy supplies of the same nature was of great encouragement to us who labour under such long arrears but that has been since extreemly abated by M.^r Thistlethwayte Agent of the Irish Undertakers having acquainted me he had received orders from his Employers to withdraw himself from hence with the severall summes of money in his hands, as well that which was designed for the redemption of the English Captives

as for the payment of the six months of our Arrears. In the mean time having received nothing from your Lord.^{ps} or the Lords Commission:^{ps} of the Treasury contrary to the former orders for the disposall of that money in the services to which it was first designed, I have ordered M.^r Thistlethwaite not to part with the said money till I am well satisfied that the doing of it is agreeable to his Ma.^{ties} Royall <255> pleasure. Wee hope speedy reparation will be made us for this disheartening disappointment by some other methods for a greater supply the Garrison being at present extremly necessitous and having almost worn out their credit with the Inhabitants. And here I must once more repeat to your Lord.^{ps} many complaints of officers that take up their pay in England leaving their debts here unsatisfied, which I once more offer to your consideration as an abuse of ill consequence and which ought to be prevented. The four months pay by the hands of M.^r Hewer's Agents is now issuing according to the directions they have received. I have formerly given your Lord.^{ps} an account of an abuse generally and daily practised here of souldiers selling their provisions to the Townsmen for money which they spend in drink or play & bring them into the necessity of eating ill to the impairing of their health or of using bad courses to supply their want. Many proclamations have been issued here to prevent both the Inhabitants bying and the souldiers selling their provisions under great penalties but all proves unsuccessfull. I expected by this <256> time to have been furnished with some expedient by your Lord.^{ps} for the hinderance of this abuse but having received no directions from you therein I humbly propose that for prevention of so great an inconvenience one souldier be appointed to every respective company who is to be duty free to take care to dresse the provisions and serve as Cook to the whole company receiving daily from the Sergeants hands each man's proportion practising the same method as at sea, w.^{ch} will be of no other charge to his Ma.^{tie} then that of one great copper to every company whereby the souldiers health is provided for by having their full allowance and the eating of it orderly and well dressed, many misdemeanours are prevented which arise from their selling their provisions and a great expence of coale saved to his Ma.^{ties} service in this case so much a lesse quantity of those stores will be necessary, as in one years time will go near to answer the charges of the severall furnaces.²⁷⁶ I humbly beg your Lord.^{ps} will

²⁷⁶ This is possibly the first recorded attempt to establish an officially designated cook in any unit in the British Army. In the Royal Navy, sailors ate in messes of about eight men. Each served a turn, in rotation, as mess cook whose duties included collecting the day's

be pleased to signify to me your orders herein and whether this method shall be approved by you or whether you will direct some other that shall seem more convenient <257> to you. I humbly take the liberty once more to presse your Lord.^{ps} very earnestly about a speedy supply of all sorts of Ammunition = Stores, they being now totally exhausted and our powder almost at an end in a season that wee are not certain how soon we may want it for our defence.

A late assault committed on an English Vessell in this Bay by a Moorish Brigantine at a season when we had reason to beleive our selves most secure in the friendship and affections of these people, seems to convince us of the absolute necessity of making some provision against the like attempts we being but too much exposed to them whenever they have a mind to take the advantage of the night and weather. For prevention whereof I cannot but propose the establishment of a Guard = boat to be always out at night with men proper for that service, and a sutable allowance for them which I humbly lay before your Lord.^{ps} consideration, as the only means to secure the quietnesse and honour of our Port. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 77 [pp. 258–263]

<258> Tanger Octob.^r the 5.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured S.^r

Your last to me of August 14.th for which honour I return you many humble thanks. My former gave you a large account of the insult committed by a Moorish boat within our Mole to the disturbance of our good understanding with our Neighbours, my instances for satisfaction, and the Alcalds replies thereupon. Since w.^{ch} having continued to urge very pressingly my demands of Justice on the

rations (usually beer, biscuit, oatmeal, salt meat, cheese, peas, butter, and sugar) from the purser, or one of his mates, preparing the meal, putting the dish into a marked bag, and delivering it to the galley where it was boiled in a large kettle by the ship's cook. Given the close association between the army and Royal Navy in Tangier, these army cooks might have adopted similar methods (see Letter 2).

offenders, the Alcaid himself came to these lines with whom I had a conference, and sharply expostulated on the whole matter. He told me that the accident which had hapned had given him as great displeasure, as I could have received my self, that he had been carefull to apprehend the criminalls, had imprisoned them punished them with stripes and now brought them to these feilds to be seen in chains, which was even farther then his power extended, he having no jurisdiction over them they being strangers and none of them belonging to the dominions of King <259> Muley Ismael. To this I replied that if it was true that they were foreigners, they then ought to be lookt upon as Pyrates and common Enemies, and that since he scrupled to punish them himself, it was but just he should deliver them to me, since by all laws no protection ought to be given to publick robbers. He answered that some of them belonging to Argiers and some to other parts of the Levant, where severall of his Masters subjects were trading, the states to which they belonged would take their revenge on those persons and their goods, if he should put these men into my hands, and alleaging many other things of as little moment, in the close desired I would not suffer this to be an interruption of our mutuall entercourse, telling me that the King had laid his absolute commands upon him to send his powder without any farther delay and that therefore he hoped I would permit the same: I ended this conference by assuring him that if he would propose to me any proper expedient for the vindication of my Master's honour, which I ought to consider beyond all other things, the powder should not be so much as one moment detained here. The next day he sent me a Letter, whereof the enclosed is translation, and <260> because I was sufficiently convinced that I should never receive from the Alcaid farther reparation then what he had already given, and which he would never have done had he not been compelled by the necessity of the conjuncture, and that the Embassadour had writ severall pressing Letters to me, that he could not proceed towards the King his Master without the powder, I thought it at length convenient to suffer it to be sent out (the owners having received security to their satisfaction) on the condition mentioned in the Alcaid's Letter of sending a person expresse with my complaint to King Muley Ismael and referring my self for the reparation the Alcaid could not give me to his Ma.^{tics} Justice. I have accordingly appointed a Gentleman to go into the country, and hope it may be a means to convey our other greivances to the King's knowledge if the Embassadour should happen to be present when he arrives, who has undertaken to make use of the first opportunity to inform his Ma.^{tic} of the Alcaid's ill deportment towards us, and which for want of other friends wee can never expect should

otherwise be given him, the Alcaid having taken care to stop all passages to the King's ear and that the messages I send from <261> hence as well as all other notices of affairs between us be interpreted and conveyed to his Ma.^{tie} by his creatures. I have been long sensible of these inconveniences and have now lately received fresh instances of them in a Letter from that King brought me few days ago by a Gentleman I had dispatched to him on the affair of the Treasures, and to negotiate the restitution of severall ships taken by the Moors, copie of which Letter I here enclose with that of mine to his Ma.^{tie} which I send by my other Gentleman containing my complaint of the insolence committed in our Bay, and my reply to the King's answers about the Ships.

I have yet no certain account of the motions of the Morocco Embassadour who after his departure hence continued some time at Alcazar, and from thence he passed to Sale, where he kept the Holy = days after their Lent,²⁷⁷ from which place I received Letters from him and the King the sense whereof you will see in the enclosed translates [*sic*], since which I hear he is returned to Alcazar, I will not assure that all credit may be given to the close of his last Letter where he intimates his <262> Masters having conferred on him a Gouvernement in the neighbourhood of Tanger neither can I certainly affirm that the Letter is his own, it being writ in Spanish in Hadgi Lucas his hand and I am not able to distinguish whether his name which is put to it in Arabick be of his Character. A little more time will shew us how this King will be disposed towards the ratifying the Whitehall Treaty, which I consider as a matter exposed to great uncertainties, all the interest of the Alcaid Ali, Hadgi Lucas and the principall of these Alcomadens being united to hinder it, and the Embassadour for ought I conjecture by his motions wanting power to contend with so strong a party.

An Embassadour is lately arrived at Tetuan from the French King, to treat a Peace with these people, who I doe not hear is yet on his way towards the King nor is it easy for me to learn what proposalls he brings with him.

I gave you an account some months ago of an Argerine Man of warre that brought in a small prise here, whom we treated with all kindnesse and afforded him many good offices. In the mean time the same Ar<263>gerine hath received Commission at Sali, and in conjunction with these Rovers has since done great harm to the English having made severall prises (and among others M.^t Onby's Ship) carrying them into that Port. I have complained to the Embassadour of this unkind and unreasonable manner of proceeding

²⁷⁷ Kirke is probably referring to Eid al-Fitr celebrating the end of Ramadan.

and if he has any credit with the King and that he will employ the same sincerely, we may expect that the pressing instances I have already made his Ma.^{tie} and which I repeat by the Gent.^m I now dispatch may produce some good effects. I am with all respect,

Hon.^d Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 78 [pp. 264–267]

<264> Tanger Octob.^r the 1682 [*sic*]

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I am humbly to acknowledge two from your Lord.^{ps} of the 22.nd of August, the one bringing me a reprehension from you for the omission as your Lord.^{ps} are pleased to tell me of accompanying my Bill of 3282 p.^s of 8/8 with expresse and clear advice of the occasion and necessity of it, whereat I am the more surprised as I cannot conceive how I have incurred so heavy a charge when upon a review of my Letter to your Lord.^{ps} of the 29.th of June I find it was attended with a particular account of the use and services which had occasioned my drawing the said Bill: if the Vouchers and attestations your Lord.^{ps} now mention went not at the same time [...] ²⁷⁸ I humbly presume I am not to be blamed who never received before now any directions in that particular, tho your Lord.^{ps} are pleased to suppose that such had been sent me, neither indeed was I acquainted that this method had ever been observed here or could I ever be able to conceive that the persons whom his Ma.^{tie} thought <265> worthy so considerable a trust as the Gouvernement of this place should be checked by the Mayor and Comptroller in the disposall of small summes of money for his service, tho at the same time I cannot but humbly thank your Lord.^{ps} that you have thought fit to enjoyn me a formality which will preserve me from censure and which I will certainly follow with all the strictnesse and punctuality you can desire of me. In the mean time I must take the liberty to beg your Lord.^{ps} that you would please to examine if my said Letter of the 29.th June and the particular account which accompanied it hath been duly represented to you, since I have reason to believe there

²⁷⁸ There is a short space in the manuscript.

have been many mistakes of this nature and that a great part of my Letters, I know not by what ill luck never have the honour to come before your Lord.^{ps} or the contents of them being only summarily explained have not deserved your consideration of I may reasonably make this conjecture when to my continuall and uninterrupted dispatches to your Lord.^{ps} wherein I beg your directions on all emergencies and represent many things of high concern to his Ma.^{ties} service I have never had the happinesse to know your pleasure thereupon <266> or receive so much as the satisfaction of being certain that my Letters appear before your Lord.^{ps} whereby being left very much in the dark how to comport my self the King's affairs here may happen to be endangered an inconvenience which will deserve your Lord.^{ps} serious thought and orders to prevent.

The particular accounts I had formerly sent home to your Lord.^{ps} having been viewed and examined with their receipts and Vouchers by M.^r Mayor and the Comptroller, I do by this opportunity transmit to you the enclosed attested by them for your satisfaction, and which I hope will clear to you all that regards this businesse.

My last gave your Lord.^{ps} an account that M.^r Thistlethwayte had signified to me he had received orders from his Employers that recalled him with the mony in his keeping: in the mean time I have received no directions from you or the Lords of the Treasury contrary to those I had long since ordering six months pay by the hands of the said M.^r Thistlethwayte, I therefore enjoyned him to issue the same, but refusing it, I have thereupon by the unanimous advice of all the Commandants <267> of his Ma.^{ties} forces here, and upon the motives and necessities that will appear in the enclosed resolve ordered that the mony in his custody be taken from him, and that part of it which regards the pay of the Garrison to be put into the hands of M.^r Hewer's Agents to be forthwith issued, and that parcel which was designed for the redemption of the English Captives in Barbary to be deposited in the chest till his Ma.^{ties} pleasure shall be known. The summes of mony which have been taken from the said M.^r Thistlethwayte, on account of the Garrison which he affirms is all in his custody will not reach to what was intended, and according to computation made will compleat only about four months pay. It is lamentable to consider the present poverty of the Garrison, which unlesse your Lord.^{ps} out of great tendernesse for us do not please to take care for speedy remedy will certainly cast us into great extremities, & I hope this point will deserve your serious and favourable regard. I am with all due respect

My Lords
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 79 [pp. 268–272]<268> Tanger Octob.^r 5.th 1682.[To Colonel George Legge]²⁷⁹

Sir,

Your extraordinary concern for this Garrison and his Ma.^{ties} interest here hath appeared so much to our advantage in a supply of Stores brought by M.^r Povey²⁸⁰ and many other expressions of your kindnesse for us that I should but ill acquit my self of the true sense I have of my share in those favours should I not make use of the first opportunity of giving you my humble thanks for them. It is not the least happinesse of this place and I am sure the greatest of my fortune to have your kind regard, and I know not how I can better consult for his Ma.^{ties} service in the station where I am then the submitting all our affairs to the protection of a person whose zeale for our welfare has been already so remarkable that I cannot despair but the frequent applications I shall take the liberty to make to you will meet with a favourable reception. It is out of this view that I must now acquaint you the Stores already come and those <269> which (as I am told by M.^r Povey) we may suddenly expect will not answer our wants here, his Ma.^{ties} Magazines being quite exhausted, and the exigencies of a place exposed to so many hazards, requiring entire and plentiful supplies I hope this point will deserve your farther consideration. The canon designed for us were as I am informed according to your directions to have been of ten foot in length whereas those we have received are only of 8 & 9,²⁸¹ they will serve for Johnson's Battery²⁸² and it will be necessary

²⁷⁹ Although the recipient of Letter 79 is addressed as 'Sir', the signature is preceded by 'My Lords'. Kirke was writing to Colonel George Legge, Master General of the Ordnance from 28 January 1682 (*HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I. 77; Tomlinson, *Guns*, 223). See App. A.

²⁸⁰ Francis Povey (see App. A).

²⁸¹ Longer barrels normally gave greater range and accuracy, important considerations at Tanger where it was imperative to keep attackers away from the vulnerable curtain walls. The cannon mentioned were probably either demi-culverins (8–10 pounders) or culverins (18 pounders).

²⁸² The Portuguese had constructed a u-shaped bastion, the Baluarte dos Fidalgos, adjoining the ramparts at right angles midway between Catherine Port and the Upper Castle. It was renamed Johnson's Battery, probably after Roger Johnson, major of the Earl of Peterborough's Regiment, 1661–1663/4. Resembling a caponier in both form and function, it enabled enfilading fire along the length of the ditch towards the Upper Castle and Catherine Port and supported Whitehall Fort to its front (Elbl, *Portuguese Tangier*, 256, 258, 266–279, 380–388; Dalton, *Army Lists*, I. 9, 24, 26).

that sea carriages be sent for them,²⁸³ those we have here being improper and unusefull: and that for the other Batteries, Guns be ordered of greater length.

All our quarters here being quite decayed and falling to the ground, I was necessitated to make some speedy provision for their repair, and because his Ma.^{ties} Stores were not in a condition to furnish the materialls necessary upon an Estimate made thereof (which I have formerly remitted to the Lords of the Committee) I have taken care to procure a supply from Cadiz on his Ma.^{ties} credit by the help of merchants there and am now entring upon that <270> work which can admit of no manner of delay.

M.^r Povey hath acquainted me how sensible you seem to be of great abuses here concerning quarters and indeed of a late generall survey I have made by direction of the Lords of the Committee, I have discovered many as will appear by the report I have sent home, it being certain that there are severall of the Kings houses in the possession of officers under the notion of quarters that are applied to other uses and no small part of his Ma.^{ties} ground encroached upon by private persons. When these matters are rectified as I suppose they will speedily when their Lord.^{ps} shall think fit to take the informations I have sent, into their consideration it will be a great ease to the King's charge here.

Wee are now in great expectation to hear how the Morocco Embassadour will have been received by his Master, and what regard will be had to his English negotiation. It is certain that this depends on incredible hazards, the caprichous humour of a Prince who understands not or doth not value the transactions of an Embassy, and the powerfull interest of <271> the Alcaid of Alcazar and many others who conspire to defeat and discredit all that hath been done in England, may make us very much suspect the event, a little time will discover how matters will dispose themselves and you shall receive frequent accounts of all our passages here from me.

In a Letter I have received from the Lords of the Committee they complain that some Bills of exchange which I drew on the Treasury wanted the proper advice of the service which occasioned the same,

²⁸³ Although cannon barrels were inter-changeable between land and sea service, their mounting carriages differed considerably. The naval variant, the 'truck' carriage, comprised an open, wooden box, with a small wheel at each corner, designed for running over the planking of a ship's deck. The much heavier and more cumbersome land carriage had two, large, spoked, road wheels, and a long trail that anchored the piece when firing. Mobility was provided by attaching the trail to a limber and the whole to a team of horses or oxen. Because the cannon in Johnson's Battery were permanently deployed in that station, Kirke decided that cheaper and more readily constructed truck carriages were adequate.

and because I conceive nothing can expresse more distinctly the occasion of the mony then a particular account which accompanied my said Bills I am apt to beleive there is some great mistake and that my Letters are misrepresented to their Lord.^{ps} which may be too probable since I have the ill fortune not to be able to reckon M.^r Creed among my friends, who I can demonstrate hath informed their Lord.^{ps} ill on this very occasion if it be true that it is he who has induced them to believe that former directions had been sent me of transmitting my accompts attested by the Mayor and Comptroller <272> whereas never any such orders came hither. In the mean time was my reputation only in hazard by the ill nature of that secretary I should easily acquiesce but because great prejudices may accrue to his Ma.^{ties} service I cannot but be infinitely concerned and hope their Lord.^{ps} will take care not to be surprised into any mistakes about my proceedings for the future. I here send you enclosed my answer to their Lord.^{ps} Letter and for prevention of future inconveniences if you give me leave I shall transmit to you from time to time copies of my severall dispatches to their Lord.^{ps} I shall hereafter send home. I am

My Lords [*sic*],
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 80 [pp. 272–276]

Tanger Octob.^r 19.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I have none of your's unanswered the last Post coming in without any from you. This will be deliver<273>ed to you by Cap.^t Mathews²⁸⁴ a person for whom I have a particular esteem and who having served his Ma.^{tic} some years in this Garrison will be able to give you no ill account of the posture of our military affairs here.

Since the departure of the Morocco Embassadour from Alcazar I have had no news of his motions nor am I yet able to let you know what may be expected from him or what will be the issue of that high competition between him and the Alcaid Ali.

²⁸⁴William Mathews (see App. A).

I received by the hands of M.^r Onby an order of the Lords of the Committee directed to my self and severall others of this place for the examination of evidence upon certain Articles which had been exhibited against the Mayor, the Recorder and the Commissary of the Musters²⁸⁵ in pursuance whereunto having had severall meetings and used all diligence and exactnesse in our said enquiries we are at length able to make our report thereupon, and have transmitted by this opportunity the said examinations to their Lord.^{ps} whereby it will appear that the Author of the said <274> Articles has been interested and pushed on by a great deale of malice and I am persuaded that when their Lord.^{ps} receive complaints for the future they will consider not only the nature of them but the credit and qualifications of the persons who preferre them before they give themselves the trouble to make any resolves thereupon.

I have in former Letters hinted to you my humble opinion about the recruiting of the two Regiments to be settled here upon the establishment, and that it appears most for his Ma.^{ties} service that such recruits should be made by draughts out of the King's Batalion of Guards, and the Earle of Dumbarton's Regiment whenever they are recalled.²⁸⁶ The superannuated Souldiers and such as are maimed and otherwise disabled must likewise be sent home for none ought to be entertained that are not of service to his Ma.^{tie} and that do not countervaille the charge of their present maintenance so that some provision should be made for them in England as well out of compassion to their present helplesse state and justice to their past services as for encourage<275>ment to others. Neither can I propose any better expedient for the present releife of them, in the mean time that more convenient ways be found then that the said maimed and old Souldiers be put into the places of those that shall be drawn out of the forces that are recalled and so continue them on his Ma.^{ties} pay where there is no such necessity of any extraordinary service from them.²⁸⁷

I have just received notice out of the country that the Morocco Embassadour having sent Jonas before him to the King his Master with some account of affairs and particularly letting of him know that having spent his whole estate and ruined himself by the purchasing so considerable quantities of powder as he had sent him he hoped

²⁸⁵ Edward Hughes (see App. A). See App. A, MORDAUNT, Sir John.

²⁸⁶ See Letter 28; App. C.

²⁸⁷ Kirke's characteristic display of consideration for old and injured soldiers was probably motivated by the need for a fit and healthy garrison. However, there was a growing awareness that society should provide for superannuated and maimed warriors, viz. the near-contemporary foundations of Les Invalides in Paris; Kilmainham Hospital, Dublin; and the Royal Hospital, Chelsea (Cormack, *Pensioners*, 10–18). See Letter 81.

his Ma.^{tie} in consideration of that and his other services would be pleased to confer some employment upon him to repair his fortunes the King hereupon ordered Jonas to be laid in chains and immediately sent severall of his Guards to meet the Embassadour and his Camerades who were then upon the way and were treated with the very same disgracefull rigour, what <276> other consequences shall attend this surprising accident I may possibly be able to give you an account of very suddenly. In the mean time we may reasonably conjecture that the Whitehall Treaty is in some danger of not meeting so speedy a confirmation as was expected, and we can only hope that the Embassadour may yet recover his credit (for those that are treated by the King as Slaves one day are often his favourites the next) without passing any certain judgement on matters more then that our good correspondence with these people hangs on such chances and hazards as warns us from any reliance on it. I am

Hon.^d Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 81 [pp. 276–280]

Tanger October 19.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I here enclose a Duplicate of my last to your Lord.^{ps} sending this by sea by the hands of Cap.^t Mathews. <277> I do likewise by the same conveyance transmit your Lord.^{ps} the examination of witnesses in this place upon the Articles exhibited against the Mayor, the Recorder and the Commissary of the Musters²⁸⁸ taken with all faithfulness and diligence in pursuance of your Lord.^{ps} order in that particular. Your Lord.^{ps} will see the inconsistency and the weak grounds of those complaints and that there has been a great mixture of malice in the design. I do not question but that your Lord.^{ps} will have that regard to justice and the ease of such as have the honour to serve his Ma.^{tie} here as to admit of no informations but from persons whose characters may give credit to them, and where the matter is of sufficient consequence to deserve your Lord.^{ps} trouble.

²⁸⁸ William Smith; Henry Hordesnell; and Edward Hughes (see App. A).

I have formerly given my self the honour to lay before your Lord.^{ps} consideration of recruiting the two Regiments to be left here and I cannot but repeat my humble opinion that there can be no way of doing it with more ease or greater convenience to the King's service then by draughts out of the other forces when they are recalled home which <278> will be of men seasoned to the Climate and acquainted with the service. I have taken a view of all our superannuated men and such as are otherwise unserviceable and find no lesse then 150 in the old Regiment,²⁸⁹ 20 in my own²⁹⁰ and 56 diseased and incapable of duty.²⁹¹ Your Lord.^{ps} will see the necessity that an exchange be made of them they being only an unprofitable charge here to his Ma.^{tic} and it will deserve your Lord.^{ps} tender consideration that some sort of provision be made for their subsistence in England. I humbly propose as the best expedient that occurs to me for the preventing their present want and their clamours at their arrivall home that they may be put into the places of such as are taken out of the other forces for recruits and be continued in the King's pay in England, till some more convenient way may be found out for their reliefe it being inconsistent with his Ma.^{ties} Justice and piety as well as the good of his service that so great a number of men grown old and disabled in his wars should be at last exposed to the misery of wanting bread.

In mine of September the 4.th I remitted your Lord.^{ps} the report made me by the persons I had appointed <279> to survey the quarters of the severall materialls requisite for the repair of them which being a work considering the approaching season that could admit of no delay I was necessitated to make provision of the said materialls on his Ma.^{ties} credit from Spain the import of which together with that of my expences in the entertainment of the Morocco Embassadour amounting to 6543 p.^s of 8/8 7 R.^s will appear in the adjoined accounts vouched and attested according to your late directions and I have drawn Bills for the same on the Treasury payable to the assigns of M.^r Benjamin Price which I hope your Lord.^{ps} will see punctually complied with. Some part of the said materialls vizt. 7 beams, 350 pipes²⁹² of lime; and 6150 tiles amounting to 743 p.^s of 8/8 4 R.^s are not yet arrived from Cadiz but I expect

²⁸⁹ The 1st Tangier Regiment.

²⁹⁰ Kirke is referring to his 'old' unit, the 2nd Tangier Regiment. As governor, he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 1st Tangier Regiment, 19 April 1682 (Childs, *Kirke*, 39–40).

²⁹¹ See Letter 80.

²⁹² A large barrel. A pipe of wine held 477 litres or 105 Imperial gallons (*OED*).

them by the first opportunity and as soon as they come will remit your Lord.^{ps} the vouched receipt for them.

I have often urged to your Lord.^{ps} the sending of an entire and plentiful supply of all sorts of stores, and this being a matter so essential to our preservation yo.^r Lord.^{ps} will excuse me if I repeat it often & importunity [*sic*]. I <280> once more remit your Lord.^{ps} our former demands with some necessary additions which I humbly offer to your consideration and beg your speedy resolutions thereon. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{sps} &c.

Letter 82 [pp. 280–281]²⁹³

Tang.^r Octob.^r 19.th 1682.

[To Colonel George Legge]

Sir,

I gave my self the honour to write to you the last post and cannot but make use of this opportunity on Cap.^t Mathews his return to England once more to recommend our affairs heir to your protection. In my former a Duplicate whereof goes herewith I took notice to you of the exhausted condition of His Ma.^{ties} Stores here and I now take the liberty to remit you the former with some additional demands which I beg with all the earnestness imaginable you would take order may be sent hither to the full with as much expedition as may be. The person by whose <281> hands you will receive this will be able to give you a good account of our present posture so that I shall not trouble you with any large reflections on our affairs. I shall only tell you in few words that I this very moment receive advice out of the country that the Morocco Embassadour has had the misfortune to incur his Master's displeasure to that degree that himself and his Camerades were loaded with chains, and what may be the farther effects of the Emperours indignation wee yet know not. In the mean time it is a miserable change of the Scene that the same person who had R.^l honour done him in a foreign country should be treated at home beneath the condition of a Slave and it affords us a too convincing instance that we are not to set any firm reliance on our Peace with a Prince whose inclinations and humours vary

²⁹³ A calendared version of this letter can be found in, *HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I, 77–78.

every moment and that follows the dictates only of an unaccountable caprice. What shall have been the consequences of these first marks of his fury, I may be able to acquaint you in my next when I shall honour my self with the continuance of being,

S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 83 [pp. 282–283]

<282> Tanger Octob.^r 19.th 1682

[To the Earl of Rochester]²⁹⁴

My Lord,

Your Lord.^{ps} extraordinary application to his Ma.^{ties} service hath extended it self even to this Garrison so much to our advantage that we cannot but reckon upon the honour of your protection as the certain assurance of our welfare, and I shall be encouraged into the liberty of giving your Lord.^{ps} frequent relations to our passages and the state of our affairs here since none of the king's interests are so remote whereon your Lord.^p is not pleased to cast a careful and favourable regard. Amongst other points [*sic*].

Amongst other points tendred to his Ma.^{ties} consideration about the future establishment of this Garrison, that of recruits is not of the least moment and I promise my self that order will be taken for the filling up the severall companies of the Regiment[s] which are to remain here to their compleat number of men. I have transmitted to the Lords of the Committee by this opportunity an account of the superannua<283>ted maimed and disabled men, in whose places it will be necessary that others be entertained fit for service, and that some provision be made for the maintenance of those that shall be sent home a point of great piety and Justice and which will be worth your Lord.^{ps} care to promote and countenance. For payment of a considerable supply of materials for. [*sic*]

I have drawn Bills on the Treasury for payment of a considerable supply of materials for the repair of our quarters which I have taken at Cadiz on his Ma.^{ties} credit the stores here being utterly unfurnished, as likewise for the late charge of the Morocco Embassadour.^s Entertainment having by this opportunity transmitted both to the

²⁹⁴ See App. A.

Treasury and the Lords of the Committee my particular account of expences in those services I humbly beg your Lord.^{ps} favour that my said Bills may be complied with since having no fond to make use of on the daily emergencies of his Ma.^{ties} occasions here, I am constrained to follow this method. I am

My Lord,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 84 [p. 284]

<284> Tang.^r Octob.^r 19.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have been obliged to draw Bills of exchange on your Lord.^{ps} for the summe of 6543 p.^s of 8/8 7 R.^s payable to the order of M.^r Benjamin Price. The necessity and occasion of giving your Lord.^{ps} the trouble will appear in the enclosed accounts the one being of materials I have taken up on his Ma.^{ties} credit at Cadiz, for the repair of our quarters which are falling to the ground, the others relating to the charges of the Morocco Embassadors entertainment upon his return hither from England and both of such concern to the Kings service & honour that I cannot question but your Lord.^{ps} will favour my said Bills with a punctuall compliance. I am with all due respect.

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 85 [p. 285]

<285> Tang.^r Octob.^r 19.th 1682

[To the Earl of Rochester]

My Lord,

As I cannot but consider it to be my greatest happinesse in the station where I am that your Lord.^p is pleased to take the affairs of this Garrison so much to heart so I must beg leave by this opportunitie of

Capt.^t Mathews his return home to expresse my true sense of it in my humble acknowledgment and thanks to your Lord.^p and since the eminent place which you have deserved in his Ma.^{ties} Councils and your own Zeale for his R.^l service do sufficiently persuade me to rely on your protection in every thing that regards our interest and concerns here I am sure your Lord.^p will excuse me if I sometimes take the liberty to represent to you our necessities, and the posture of our affairs not doubting but that my endeavours to acquit my self faithfully of the great trust wherewith I am encharged will recommend me to your Lord.^{ps} good opinion an advantage which will gratify the highest ambition of

My Lord,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 86 [pp. 286–289]

<286> Tanger Novemb.^r 2.^d 1682

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Having lately upon examination and enquiry into the management of his Ma.^{ties} customs discovered great abuses in not making due entries of goods and merchandises brought in occasioned by the misdemeanours and unfaithfullnesse of the Landwaiter²⁹⁵ I have therefore turned him out of his employment. What other faults he has committed have not yet come to my knowledge in the mean time I have taken care to secure him, and have ordered to seize his papers, which are at present under the examination of the Comptroller. I have consulted with the officers of his Ma.^{ties} Revenue about the best meanes to prevent future miscarriages and it seems necessary that whereas one Landwaiter alone will always be in a capacity of dealing dishonestly whenever he pleases there should be two appointed who may serve as a check to each other and his Ma.^{tic} not be so easily defrauded. I have <287> hereupon named two persons to assist as Landwaiters who have each of them given in 1000 p.^s of 8/8 security for their fidelity and good behaviour and I humbly propose them to your Lord.^{ps} confirmation

²⁹⁵ A land-waiter, or landing-waiter, was a customs official charged with examining goods brought ashore, assessing their liability for duty, and collecting moneys owed.

with my opinion that one farther meanes to oblige them to be faithfull and diligent in the discharge of their duty would be the making the Salary sufficient for a livelyhood the allowance of 30 p anno: according to the present establishment not affording an ordinary subsistence whereas if it were increased to 50.^{ls} they would scarcely be tempted into any misdemeanour and would put too great value upon it to hazard the losse of it. I do not question but that your Lord.^{ps} will think 100.^{ls} a year well bestowed which will certainly save his Ma.^{tie} far greater summes, your Lord.^{ps} will be pleased to take this matter into your consideration and give such directions in it as shall appear best unto you.²⁹⁶

I hope I shall suddenly have your Lord.^{ps} resolution on the proposall I made you in mine of the 20.th of September for prevention of Souldiers selling their provisions and consulting [*sic*] for their health in the well dressing of their meat I cannot but now add a great <288> means conducing to the latter that instead of butter which is the most unwholesome portion of their provisions they may have an equivalent allowance of Beverage their ordinary drink being only water which to people that live upon nothing but salt meats must necessarily create vicious habits of body and which will in a great measure be prevented by a more healthfull liquour. I once more recommend to your Lord.^{ps} care the sending hither a speedy supply of coals these stores being now quite expended and I am at present obliged to issue to the Garrison the wood that I had laid up and procured from the Moors.

The men belonging to the Prattick = boat being not at all diligent in attending that service I have enquired into the reasons of it and they excusing themselves on the shortnesse of their allowance which obliges them to apply themselves to other businesse for their subsistence, I have taken care of a new regulation of them, in order to their due compliance with their duty affording them provisions out of the Stores and reducing their Salary of twenty six pound <289> p anno to 1[£] 3^s p month which I recommend to your Lord.^{ps} approbation and that you would please to order these provisions be made good to Alderman Sturt.²⁹⁷ I am

My Lords
Yo.^r &c.

²⁹⁶ Kirke's recommendations were accepted and acted upon by the Lords of the Treasury (*CTB, 1681–1685*, 880).

²⁹⁷ Anthony Sturt (see App. A).

Letter 87 [pp. 289–291]Tanger Novemb.^r the 2.^d 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Yours of the 25.th of September I now receive and return you my humble thanks for it. I can yet give you no news of the Morocco Embassadour's reception with his Master or what he has transacted in order to the ratification of our Treaties. I have been informed tho I cannot answer for the certainty of the advice that since his late disgrace he has recovered much credit with the Emperour and is kindly treated by him, but that Lucas and the Almocaden were still under his Ma.^{ties} displeasure. The Alcaid Ali lives at present very peaceably with me and seems <290> desirous of a better understanding then formerly he was willing to maintain, which made me beleive him under some apprehensions of the Embassadour's succeſse and I shall endeavour to improve these dispositions the best that I am able for his Ma.^{ties} service.

I perceive there are some thoughts of supplying this Garrison out of Ireland, upon which occasion I cannot but give you my humble judgment and observe to you that the provisions from thence cannot answer the necessity of his Ma.^{ties} service here. It is absolutely requisite that in this place we should have always in store six months provisions considering the hazards and accidents of the sea and experience has sufficiently demonstrated that no Irish meats as they are cured will keep three months almost in any place of the world much lesse in this Climate, and if they are salted to the same degree as our English provisions they turn dry and hard and are not fit to be expended. The navy stores here which have been lately supplied with Irish provisions have felt but too sensibly these inconveniences the Agents of those Victuallers have been obliged to cast into <291> the sea and bury underground no lesse then 23972 p.^s of beefe and Porke which was so extreamly corrupted that besides its being unserviceable for the uses to which it was designed it grew by reason of its noisome smell an insufferable nuisance to the place, and if any of his Ma.^{ties} ships in the Mediterranean shall happen to call here for victualls as they will certainly be obliged before the Navy stores can be sufficiently furnished they must be supplied out of the Garrisons provisions. This being so convincing a demonstration of the unserviceableness of Irish provisions here, it will certainly appear necessary that the usuall method of supplying us out of England be still

observed wherein Alderman Sturt our present Victualler has dealt so well and faithfully that I must do him the justice of acquainting you that during my time here I have observed the Victualls he furnishes have always been of the best sort and that he has not given us the least occasion of complaint. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 88 [p. 292]

<292> Tanger Novemb.^r 2.^d 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

Having had notice that your Lord.^{ps} do design one of his Ma.^{ties} Fregats to be sent from home to attend this Garrison I cannot but humbly recommend to your Lord.^{ps} remembrance the services of Cap.^t George Aylmer²⁹⁸ who at present commands his Ma.^{ties} Yacht in these parts persuading my self that when you are pleased to consider how long he has been in this station, how well he has demeaned himself therein and his other qualifications of languages and acquaintance with those neighbours with whom wee are to entertain a particular correspondence your Lord.^{ps} will find him to be the fittest person to be continued in this service and that you will assign to him the command of such Fregat you shall think fit to send hither. As I am very certain that I consult for his Ma.^{ties} best service in this recommendation so I assure my self it will deserve your Lord.^{ps} favourable regard and that you will more easily excuse this trouble you receive from,

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

²⁹⁸ George Aylmer (see App. A).

Letter 89 [pp. 293–300]<293> Tang.^r Novemb.^r 4.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

The Secretary Hadgi Mahamed Lucas came in hither yesterday, but I was surprised to hear instead of the notice which I expected of the ratification of our Treaties a lamentable relation of the severe treatment of the Embassadour, himself, and the Almocaden, which you may be pleased to have the patience to take after the manner that he hath reported it. He tells me that the Embassadour was proceeded six leagues beyond Saly towards the King's camp, when he was met by about ten blacks of his Ma.^{ties} Guard²⁹⁹ who seeing him and the rest with him well mounted and in a condition of making their escape, they put on the countenance of friends and crying out severall times good news approached the Embassadour who waited for them, as soon as they came up they divided themselves and apprehended the Embassadour and his Camerades immediately putting them into irons of a hundred pound weight carrying them in that posture to the Camp where they <294> were brought to the Kings presence and his Ma.^{tie} after a long discourse with other persons that were with him without daigning so much as to regard them for an hours space, at length turned towards them calling them doggs and reproaching them in the harshest expressions of having forgot their own country and turned to the Christians, commanding immediately they should be dragged twelve leagues through a country of stones and bryars, which had been put in execution had not the intercession of the Sherifs and Muftis³⁰⁰ appeased his Ma.^{tie} and procured their pardon. After this severity the King was pleased to call for them and enquire what they had done in England whereupon the Embassadour and his Camerades made their report, enlarging much on the great honours done them, whereat the King seemed well satisfied, and expressed his content at the presents that were brought, but that at a certain time when the Embassadour was with the King together with Alcaid Hamit,³⁰¹ this Alcaid Ali's brother there arose a great contest between them about the affairs of the English and many high words each of them op<295>posing and

²⁹⁹ Members of Moulay Ismail's Black Guard (see App. D).

³⁰⁰ A mufti was a scholar specializing in the interpretation of Sharia Law.

³⁰¹ Ahmed Ben Haddu Hamami, alcaid of Tetuan (see App. A).

contradicting the other; whereat the King was much displeas'd and rising from his seat expressed his fury in discharging of it on the people that were next him, killing about fourteen or sixteen men that however the same evening he was more sedate and sending once more for the Embassadour and hearing over again his relation of English matters he came to the resolution of sending a Letter to the King my Master which he encharg'd me to remit by a person expresse wherein he tells his Ma.^{tie} that the disputes between his Embassadour, & the Alcaids of Alcazar and Tetuan leaving him in the dark as to the dependances between us, he desires that a person of the greatest quality may be sent from England to treat personally with him and receive the conditions of Peace from his own mouth. This you will see is an extraordinary change of the face of matters here and a great disappointment of the King my Master's measures, and at the same time you will perceive with what reason I so continually inculcated my suspicions of these people. I cannot but be persuaded that this project of a great man to be <296> sent from England hath been long since laid and fram'd even while the Embassadour was in our Court and that the debates between him and the Alcaid Ali hath been a collusion only and a pretence for this King's demanding the thing, the severe reception of the Embassadour (which I consider as an outward shew and not half so much as is represented) serving likewise to the same end. Our presents bring so pleasing a tast with them that I perceive they are fond of having them often, which they think they cannot better enjoy then by the coming and going of Embassad.^{rs}. This point will deserve a very serious consideration and I question not but will be determin'd most for his Ma.^{ties} service. If wee refuse to send an Embassadour, cautious persons may persuade themselves that this King's offence thereat may draw a new war on us, and that it may be this is a hard & unreasonable proposall cast in on purpose with a presumption of our denial to break fairly with us, and indeed such is the inconceivable capriciousnesse of these people that any repulse especially to the King himself appears unsupportable <297> and exacts all the marks of resentment and revenge. On the other side many may possibly be of opinion that there being no manner of security that another Embassy will derive the advantages we ought to propose to our selves and that may answer the vast expence and charge of it considering the examples we have already had, we ought rather to send a modest excuse to the Emperour alleging that the knowledge in England of his Ma.^{ties} severe treatment of so deserving a person as his own Embassadour who had done so considerable service had so much wrought upon the nobility in England that none would hazard themselves to the dangers of a strange country, that

the King of England is however very willing to continue a good correspondence with him on the same foot as was concluded at Mequinez and that matters may depend on the force of that Treaty which his Ma.^{ty} doth confirm. Those who may be induced to this opinion may probably persuade themselves that King Muley Ismael for the refusall of the ceremony of an Embassadour only, the want of the presents which would accompany him would not be easily provoked to break with the King of England especially when he should see Tanger in a condition of strength which may be effected with far lesse charge then that of those Embassies the Emperour demands. Upon the whole I humbly beg his Ma.^{ty} to consider that we are with this change of our affairs once more reduced in effect to a certain State of warre, the dissolution of the Whitehall Treaty is no other then the discomposing of all our former engagements we having nothing else now to depend on then the King's bare word in his Letter, for which reason I hope I shall receive with all convenient speed your instructions for my Gouvernement on so nice a conjuncture. It is my humble opinion, that considering the nature of the people we live amongst, I should as soon as possible be enabled and put into a posture of maintaining my Masters reputation and interest from all injurious attempts and insults of our neighbours which as things are at present will not long defer the laying on me some reasonable measure, whereas there is nothing can be a sufficient check to them and leave the King our Master at the liberty of taking secure resolutions on this sudden accident but the sending us the supplies we want and which I have so long urged on a foresight of these events. It would powerfully awe the Moors and probably soften Muley Ismael to more easy terms did they see in this season that we were providing here for our strength and security. I am persuaded therefore it will appear requisite in the highest degree that some small number at least of horse be ordered to be forthwith procured in Spain and sent hither, that all the absent officers be immediately commanded to their posts and a speedy supply sent us of Ammunition Stores our powder being almost quite expended at a time that we have glutted the Moors with it by such liberall and generous supplies. I have frequently given you an account of the many inconveniences I have experienced from the Jews who betray all our interests and from whom wee never receive any service to the publick, desiring your directions how I ought to comport my self towards them without having received from you on that Subject, & this being a season wherein I ought to observe a great deale of circumspection, I shall endeavour to be rid of them by degrees and suffer none to live among us but such of whom I am well satisfied till I have his Ma.^{ties} pleasure therein. If his Ma.^{ty} shall think fit to

<300> send an Embassadour I humbly conceive it will not be inconvenient that he be ordered to take such instructions and advice as I shall be able to furnish him withall in this place for his better conduct in his Ma.^{ties} service.³⁰² You will have the goodnesse to excuse the hasty and undigested method wherein I write this, Lucas earnestly pressing the dispatch of my Gentleman and the wind and weather serving for the Yachts departure. I am,

Honoured Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 90 [pp. 300–304]

Tanger Novemb.^r the 16.th 1682

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Hon.^d S.^r

Since the dispatch of Lieu.^t Nicholson with King Muley Ismael's Letter for my Master, El Hash Mahamed Lucas who hath continued some days with us hath taken much pains to persuade me of what advantage the sending another Embassadour would be to our interest here and that we could never expect any oppor<301>tunity of strengthening our good correspondence equall to what the King himself hath proposed to us, who for the future will have all matters between us to passe through his own hands without trusting to his Ministers who is sensible do abuse and misinform him. He magnifies very much his Master's condescension in granting the four months cessation by sea, and when I expostulated with him how ill a return the Embassadour and himself have made us to the great marks they received in England of my Master's kindnesse, he finds no answer but that having the misfortune to fall under his King's displeasure before they could expose to him the circumstances of their negotiation they had not an opportunity of effecting what otherwise they hoped to have done. I can perceive nothing in the bottom of this new proposall

³⁰² Kirke's opinions and the suggestion that he be allowed to brief any future ambassador about the complexities of the local politico-military situation, may have encouraged the anti-Tangier lobby in Whitehall. It is impossible to assess precisely the adverse political impact of the governor's interpretation of events but, when added to Moulay Ismail's refusal to ratify the Treaty of Meknès and the harsh usage of his own returning ambassador, it probably hardened attitudes in favour of abandonment, which would not have been Kirke's intention.

of an Embassadour from England but a design of keeping matters still in suspence and of drawing the advantage of presents from us whilst they conceive us still under an awe of them. If we gratify them in their desires we must still expect to be imposed upon with new demands we have given them already so <302> much and so liberally that now they imagine we can refuse them nothing and our easinesse as it will be interpreted by them to be an effect of our fears will but draw on us harder exactions for the future. If we do not comply with their desires we must then put ourselves into a condition here of asserting his Ma.^{ties} honour and letting them see we are not a people to be sported with, and indeed the Moors if I can judge of them will never value us or be the more our friends for what we give them but for what we are able to refuse them. I perceive some of our merchants are extremely desirous of another Embassadour from home, whose coming comporting with their private interests it is not to be admitted if they earnestly long for it. I doubt not but that his Ma.^{tie} will take those measures as are most for his service, and that I shall receive with all speed imaginable directions for my Gouvernement on this nice conjuncture of affairs.

The Gentleman I sent into the country with my Letter to King Muley Ismail demanding satisfaction for the insult committed in this Bay returned yesterday with his Ma.^{ties} answer which you will see in the en<303>closed translation out of Arabick as likewise two other Letters from Alcaid Hamet Gouvernor of Alcazar³⁰³ and the late Moorish Embassadour whose stile is extremely different from what I expected from him; the truth is he is the only man among them that I think I may affirm I have been deceived in, but I am now convinced that there is not power enough in any benefits to make a Moor an honest man.

The 9th inst.^t three Argier men of war The Golden Lyon, Tagarin³⁰⁴ and the Aprecio,³⁰⁵ appeared on this coast lying by from break of day till the afternoon between Jews River and this place about three a clock a boat came off from them to desire Prattick and to know if they might be fitted with a mast, I sent word that if they produced our Consuls passe and that they certified me they were in a good state of health aboard they should be very welcome and have the same liberty as the King my Masters Fregats. With this answer the boat returned to them and when we expected their coming in they sailed by us taking a Spanish boat w.th seven

³⁰³ Mohammed al-Hafiz (see App. A).

³⁰⁴ In Spanish, a 'tagarino/a' was a Moor who lived among Christians.

³⁰⁵ In Spanish, 'aprecio' means valuable, esteemed, or precious.

men belonging <304> to Estepona,³⁰⁶ laden with wine, lemons, cabbages, charcoal and other provisions for this place just as she was coming into the Port. This accident being sufficient to discourage the Spaniards from a Commerce with us, which as our affairs now stand with our neighbours would prove of the greatest prejudice to us, I have written to our English Consul at Argiers³⁰⁷ to represent this breach of Articles and to solicit that Government to return the Spaniards that were taken and make reparation for their losses and I hope you will think it convenient that the person who is designed to reside at Argiers as his Ma.^{ties} Consul if not yet departed may be particularly encharged with the care of this businesse it behoving us so much to give all manner of countenance and protection to a free intercourse with our neighbours. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 91 [pp. 305–309]

<305> Tang.^r Novemb.^r 16.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

By a Vessell lately arrived we have received a small supply of Ammunition Stores but so much inferiour to our necessities that I must continue my urgent and importunate sollicitation of an entire and plentiful provision of all sorts according to the demands sent home especially on this dangerous conjuncture and late change of the face of our affairs with our neighbours.

The Rains which have fallen here tho they have not been extraordinary have nevertheless done us much mischief. Our quarters which were not quite repaired have been more weakened and

³⁰⁶ Estepona, in the district of Málaga, lies 30 km south-west of Marbella.

³⁰⁷ Although Samuel Martin, a former naval purser, had been consul between 1672 and 1676 at an annual salary of £100, at this date there was no permanent English official in Algiers. During 1682, Admiral Arthur Herbert dispatched Captain John Neville, RN, previously commander of HMY *Anne*, to serve in a temporary capacity until the arrival of Sir Paul Rycout (1629–1700) in October 1683 (Bromley, *Corsairs*, 33; Playfair, *Scourge*, 140–141; Margaret Willes, *The Curious World of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn* (New Haven, CT, 2017), 205; Baker, *Journal*, 71, 219; Pepys, *Diary*, X. 241; *CSPD*, 1674, 517–518; *CTB*, 1672–1675, 6; *CTB*, 1676–1679, 565). See App. A, NEVILLE, John.

endamaged, the Magazine of Pole = Fort is quite fallen and a great part of the Town = wall near Peterborough Tower split from the top almost to the foundation which had been for some years weak and yeilding this neglect the breach so much increased as will now require to be quite renewed. I have endeavoured to se<306>cure that part of the wall of Peterborough Tower with the best defences I have been able to use for the present till his Ma.^{tie} shall think fit to take into his R.¹ consideration the entire renewing of the same as well as many other parts of the Town = wall which are in a very ruinous condition hoping some effectual means will be speedily found for a work which so much regards our preservation and whereof I remind your Lord.^{ps} with all earnest and due submission. I have taken care to repair the best I was able the Magazine of Pole = Fort where indeed all things are in a very tottering condition the Posts and Stacades being almost all rotten under ground, it being the nature of this earth that no timber can last in it. I have formerly desired his Ma.^{ties} pleasure about the generall repair of that Fort and I should be glad to receive some directions thereupon. The defects of all buildings here have been long the subject of many reflections, certain it is that the way which hath been hitherto practised with the stone of the country hath so many inconveniences in it that it would be extreemly expedient some <307> other might be found out of better advantage to his Ma.^{ties} service, and I am of opinion that we may be furnished from England with bricks at as cheap if not cheaper rates then we can procure stone here considering the charge of cutting it in the quarry & of bringing it into the Town. We compute one tun of stone all charges included will amount to about 10:£ and one thousand bricks are worth about 8 or 9; and the expence of bringing them hither will not be considerable if his Ma.^{tie} make use of his own Hoyes³⁰⁸ or that he think fit to ballast with them such of his Fregats as come this way. One tun of Stone will not raise comparable so much worke as a thousand bricks the walls of the first requiring a far greater thickness then of these latter, the expence of time for plaster will be doubly more for the pointing of the stone then for the laying of the bricks besides that a work with these latter will be finished in half the time & with fewer hands then is requisite for to build with stone, and what weighs beyond all exception a brick work is almost perpetuall whereas the building <308> with stone here which in effect is no other then a more compacted sort of sand will endure scarce one whole year and will necessitate

³⁰⁸ Of Dutch origin, a hoy was a small, single-masted, fore-and-aft rigged, coastal sailing vessel of about 60 tons. Dutch hoyes usually had two masts, each carrying a lugsail (OCSS, 269).

his Ma.^{tie} to the continuall eating charges of repairs or of new building. These considerations make me hope your Lord.^{ps} will find means that as well the publick Magazines here as the Quarters may be for the future built with bricks from home the durability and other conveniences of this way of building abundantly recompensing the present expence of it and I humbly propose this to your Lord.^{ps} serious thought.

Admirall Herbert having left a Brigantine here which had been taken from the Moors, I have fitted her with fourteen men hoping in this uncertain posture of affairs she may prove of good service to us having ordered her to keep continuall watch to secure the Peace and quietnesse of our bay against any attempts of the Moors or others, I victuall the men out of his Ma.^{ties} Stores here, I shall continue to do so till I receive your Lord.^{ps} farther directions for there confirmations in that service or as you shall think fit.

<309> There is scarce any thing of more consequence or of greater benefit for the preservation of the Garrison then water which however had been much neglected many wells having been filled up and springs lost which I am now endeavouring to retrieve, I have opened about 20 wells and by the help of some ancient Portugueses have found an excellent water course which had been unknown for many years. They tell me of a book which was left with my Lord Peterborough that retains the knowledge of the water-courses and many other necessary secrets which if it were possible to recover might prove some time or other of great use to us.³⁰⁹ I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 92 [pp. 310–311]

<310> Tanger Novemb.^r 16. 1682

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I must give you my humble thanks for y^e supply of stores lately arrived here in a Vessel consigned to M.^r Povey³¹⁰ which came seasonably, and tho far inferiour to our wants, yet I hope they are

³⁰⁹ See Letter 66.

³¹⁰ Francis Povey (see App. A).

forerunners of large and plentiful provisions that will be sent us with that speed as y^c present posture of affairs seems to exact more then ever. I expected the arrivall of a Fire-Master & Master-Gunner whom I was told you have been pleased to provide, but they are not yet appearing I beg they may be sent by the first opportunite. Among other stores you shall think fit to furnish us withall, I desire some Tinkar's mortar-peices for hand-granades³¹¹ may be sent over which I am sure will be of great use & service in this place.

All our bateries here being unflagged by reason whereof the Gun-carriages sinking into the earth grow rotten and are impaired, I am <311> now employing all y^c workmen we have to digge stone which I have lately found within our own bounds for the flagging them, which shall be done with what speed is possible and that our other workes in hand will permit us.

I have by this Post given an account to the Lords of the Committee of some damage the late rain has done us, particularly by widening a breach which had been for severall years in y^c Wall of Peterborough Tower, which I have endeavoured to secure for the present, hoping that some effectuall care will be taken for the entire renewing of it. Whenever his Ma.^{tie} shall take into his consideration the necessitie of repairing our Town-Wall or rather of rebuilding the same in many places, it will be requisite that at the same time an Engineer be sent over the person who at present exercises that employment besides that (as I am of opinion) he was very well skilled in y^c matters of his profession, being now grown old and unfit for any service of that nature.³¹² I am

S.^r
Y.^r &c.

³¹¹ Before 1678, John Tinker, a fireworker in the Ordnance Office at the Tower of London, designed a hand-held, grenade thrower. A flintlock was attached to a very short, stubby barrel, sufficiently wide to accept a hand grenade, and the whole was mounted on an attenuated stock. The munition was loaded with the fuse pointing towards the breech so that it was ignited by the firing of the propellant charge. It was fired from the hip. Although expensive, each costing £5 10s, fifty were ordered in 1685 (*Pollard's History of Firearms*, ed. Claude Blair (London, 1983), 92; F.D. Cleaveland, *Notes on the Early History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery* (Woolwich, 1892), 49).

³¹² Johannes Ewald Tessin, who was either 75 or 76 years of age (Childs, *Kirke*, 84). See App. A.

Letter 93 [pp. 312–315]<312> Tanger November 30.th 1682

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

This Post brings mee two of yours of Octob.^r 23.^d for w.^{ch} I give you my most humble thanks. I see my kind treatment of the Morocco Embassadour and condescension to all his desires has been approved of by his Maj.^{ty} and I am sorry that what by this time you will have heard from hence will have discovered to you how much we have been mistaken in our measures and on what uncertain grounds we build when wee repose any reliance on y^c most solemn words & engagements of y^c Moors. It was an unexpressible mortification to me to consider how much this Embassadour's refusal of ratifying our Treaties will gratifie the desires which are entertained as you hint in your Letter by y^c restless spirits at home. The advice you are pleased to give me with so much goodnesse and freedom of avoiding all occasions of misunderstanding with these people I have allways had in view, and for <313> the very reasons you mention of disappointing those seditious men that wishing ill to our peace at home sollicite the disturbing it by forrein diversions, I have allways endeavoured to deport my self towards these people with that fairness and circumspection as never to afford them the least colour or pretence of complaint: and I could have been willing that the present uncertain posture of our affairs here had been occasioned rather by my fault then by y^c levitie and inconstant humour of the Moors, since it is very easy for his Maj.^{ty} to remove an unskilfull Governour but impossible to change the dispositions of a whole Nation. I shall make it my endeavour however in this conjuncture to act nothing that may provoke our neighbours or push matters to an extremitie choosing rather to dissemble and render my self insensible to many hard measures that I must expect from them, then to call them to account unseasonably with this reserve that as I shall be far from promoting any breach with the Moors, so I shall never endure that my master's honour be too impudently insulted over.

<314> You are pleased to take notice of what I mentioned in mine of the 28th of July of some merchants here averring to me they were informed of that [which] had been transacted with the Morocco Embassadour in England by the person who served as interpreter & recommending to mee to search the truth of this bussinesse to

the bottom and to give you an account of it. What I can say at present (for I have not now time to make a particular examination) is, that expostulating with M.^r Lodington³¹³ one of our merchants here and factor of M.^r Onby on the subject of furnishing the Moors with Contraband at Sale in a season, that we had no Peace with them by Sea; he told me I had no reason to disapprove of it, the Marine-Treatie being concluded in England whereby that libertie was permitted them, and this he could assure me was true having certain intelligence of it from the interpreter made use of in that negociation. About y^e same time the same person told Lieu.^t Nicholson (who will be able to give you an account of it himself if he happen to be yet in England) that he had received Copies of y^e Treaties concluded wth <315> y^e Morocco Embassadour the Morocco Ambassador [*sic*] and had been acquainted from time to time with all transactions and passages of that Embassie, which is what I am able to give you at present by way of satisfaction in this particular.

I have been informed that Captain Griffith of my Regiment hath either sold or designs to sell his company³¹⁴ & Captain Annesly³¹⁵ acquaints he hath the same intentions. I must upon this occasion take notice to you that this libertie of selling will be of ill consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service since it will be of great discouragement to the Lieu.^{ts} who being Gentlemen that have served long and deservingly may justly expect to be promoted, and it would be a very injurious and hard measure upon them to see the hopes of his preferment cut off when a Captain that has a mind to quitt the King's service shall be suffered to dispose of his place to whom he himself shall propose. I hope that when this shall be duly considered that the libertie of selling (if it has not been allready granted) will not be allowed to the said Captains or to any others.³¹⁶ I am

Hon.^d S.^r &c.

³¹³ Nathaniel Lodington (see App. A).

³¹⁴ This rumour was partially correct. Captain Edward Griffith did sell his company to Edward Shirley, who was commissioned on 6 January 1683, but Griffith had resumed command by the time the battalion returned to England in 1684 (see Letter 46; App. A, GRIFFITH, Edward; SHIRLEY, Edward).

³¹⁵ Maurice Annesley. This purchase was completed, Annesley selling to Robert Purcell, 1 March 1683 (see App. A, ANNESLEY, Maurice; PURCELL, Robert; ROCHE, Maurice).

³¹⁶ The inefficiencies of the purchase system succinctly summarized.

Letter 94 [pp. 316–320]<316> Tanger Novemb.^r 30.th 1682

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The Garrison being reduced to some extremitie for want of firing, our coal stores being long since expended, I am now cutting wood in our neighbouring feilds by the Moors permission, which that I might do with the lesse charge, and make the best advantage of y^c fair days we have at present, I content my self with a brush wood, which growes not far from our Lines, and is cut and brought in by our own people. The Season I hope will give me leave to lay up enough to serve for our wants within which time we hope to receive our usual supplies from England.

In my last I acquainted y.^r Lord.^{ps} that the rains had much widened an old breach in the y^c Wall of Peterborough Tower. I have since fortified the same the best I have been able, and doubt not but that y.^r Lord.^{ps} will take into speedy consideration as well y^c rebuilding that part of y^c Wall as many <317> others when there are the like deficiencies. I am now taking care to flagge the Bateries of Peterborough Tower which are of most use and have been long neglected. I have found a sort of stone very proper for it within our own bounds at no great distance from y^c Batteries, and if we succeed in a way we are now continuing of drawing up the Stone from y^c Quarry to y^c Wall, we shall perform that work with so much the lesse charge and trouble.

The three months farm of y^c Porterage being now expired we have put it into the hands of y^c same undertakers for the same term they having advanced that Revenue to 2000 [pieces] of 8 p anno beyond their former contract. One of the enclosed papers will show y.^r Lord.^{ps} what farther proposalls are made by y^c present Farmers for their continuance in this Farm: which being apprehended by some merchants in this Place, they have represented to me y^c inconveniences of suffering the management of y^c Porterage to be in y^c hands of men of trade, who whenever they have their <318> own merchandises to carry do neglect those of other men, preferring their private conveniences before the common accommodation of y^c merchants in general, who lye at their discretion. I have often solicited y.^r Lord.^{ps} resolutions about y^c management of this branch of his Maj.^{ties} Revenues, having formerly ventured to give my opinion therein and now I cannot but offer my humble judgement that as

merchants are no proper persons to be trusted with this farme, so it would certainly redound to a far greater advantage to his Maj.^{tie} did he please to take the management of that Revenue into his own hands. The use of Mahametan Slaves as Porters being taken away, and the inconvenience of employing souldiers (who must necessarily be excused from their military duty) being very great, there is certainly no better way of having y^c work of Porterage performed, then by y^c hands of Negroes or Christian Slaves which may be bought from Spain, and who when there is no <319> work for them of Portage may be employed on other publick services of y^c Garrison. I intend by y^c first opportunitie to recommend y^c buying of about thirty such Slaves which shall be applyed to his Maj.^{ties} service if he think fit to take into his hands y^c management of that Revenue. If any inconveniences shall appear to yo^r Lord.^{ps} Service, I humbly offer to undertake y^c managem^t of it my self by way of farm and do propose that if yo^r Lord.^{ps} are pleased to put the same into my hands for y^c term of three years I will advance that Revenue to 500 p.^s of 8 p anno more then is offered by y^c present farmers making y^c same 2000 p.^s of 8 to his Maj.^{tie} whereas they have proposed only 1500, which I am confident will appear to yo^r Lord.^{ps} a very considerable augmentation, and on this subject I hope you will give mee your resolutions by y^c first opportunitie.

The three Gunsmiths³¹⁷ here having misdemeaned themselves in their employment, and through <320> idlenesse and neglect rendring no service to his Maj.^{tie} I have judg'd it necessary to discharge them from y^c Garrison, and to confer their places on others of more honestie and better abilities, which I thought my dutie to signify to yo^r Lord.^{ps} and is all I have at present to trouble you with, remaining wth great respect,

My Lords,
Yo^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

³¹⁷ The establishment of 10 October 1661 had allowed three gunsmiths for the infantry and one for the cavalry. The latter post was retrenched in 1668 (see App. C).

Letter 95 [pp. 320–322]Tanger Novemb.^r 30. 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Upon the hearing of a cause in the Court-merchant of this citie, which was cast out of the said Court before they passed to give Sentence thereupon, y^c Plaintiff finding himself aggrieved and that his allegations (which he conceived of great force) were slighted by them, desired that <321> y^c matter in question might be brought before the Court of Appeal, which the Judges of y^c Court-merchant refused as a thing not practicable. And because that on this subject there have arisen severall debates between the Court of Appeal & Court-merchant, concerning when & in what cases appeals may be admitted from one Court to the other, we have thought it our duty humbly to lay y^c whole matter before yo^r Lord.^{ps} as it is stated in y^c enclosed Papers, the one containing y^c opinion of y^c Judges of the Court-merchant in defence of their proceeding; the other being a short scheme of y^c case or matter in dispute between the two Courts, presuming at the same time to offer our humble Judgements, that if the Court-merchant be suffered to interpret y^c words of his Maj.^{ties} Charter (by which they pretend to warrant their proceedings) according to the strict import and rigour of y^c Letter, the Court of Appeal established will in effect have no ex<322>istence in being but at the pleasure of the Court-merchant, since it is absolutely in their power not to try a cause, or not to grant an appeal after tryall whenever they think fit, and his Maj.^{ties} R.^r intentions of releiving parties aggrieved will be entirely frustrated. This being a matter of great consequence as well to the advantage as reputation of the Commerce, we humbly beg yo.^r Lord.^{ps} will be pleased to give yo.^r selves y^c trouble of deciding y^c matter in question, and signifying his Maj.^{ties} pleasure to us thereupon. We remain wth all submission,

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 96 [pp. 323–324]³¹⁸<323> Tanger Novemb: 30. 1682.

[To Colonel George Legge]

S.^r

I have little to trouble you withall at present more then the meer profession of my respect and my perseverance in the resolution I have taken of suffering no Post to depart without some small account of our passages here.

Our want of Coal has obliged me to take up about a months provision of wood out of y^c Moors country which is cut not far from our Lines and is brought into Town by our own people. I told you in my last of our designe to flag y^c Batteries of Peterborough-Tower. I am now contriving the cheapest way of bringing up stone to them, and it will be a great lessening of charges if we succeed in what we are now endeavouring to draw up y^c stone directly from y^c Quarry, which is of no great distance from y^c Wall, but will be very difficult by reason of its extraordinary height.³¹⁹

I have discharged three Gunsmiths who did his <324> Ma.^{tie} no manner of service, and have placed three others in their employment, which I am well satisfied are men fitly qualified, and will acquit themselves to the best advantage.

Give me leave to remind you of what I recommended in my last about the repairing and new fortifying our Town-Wall, and the many other necessities of the Garrison wherewith you are sufficiently acquainted to create yo^r concern for us & y^c continued marks of your kindnesse, which is earnestly begged by

Sir,
Your &c.

³¹⁸ Calendared at *HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I. 79.

³¹⁹ The quarry was situated at the little settlement of Whitby, 1 km west of Tangier (Routh, *Tangier*, 346).

Letter 97 [pp. 325–330]<325> Tanger Decemb.^r 15.th 1682

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I give you my humble thanks for y^{rs} of y^c 6th of Novemb.^r which gives me his Ma.^{ties} resolutions upon two points I had represented, Viz^t, the delivery of the Embassadour's powder, and y^c admitting of Jews into the Town. I am glad I had so well discerned his Ma.^{ties} intentions as to the first point, that I have long since acted suteable to the instructions you now send me, the conjuncture not permitting me to wait y^c arrivall of them. As to the other point concerning y^c Jews wherein his Ma.^{tie} had consulted as well y^c Barbary merchants as Coll: Sackville and M.^r Sheres, I humbly acquiesce in his R.^{ll} determination of it. Tho I cannot but persist in my opinion (with all honour to those of different Judgements) that a place so remote from immediate releif out of England, & so exposed to the surprizes of a faithlesse people that surround us and regard us with an envious eye, cannot be too cautiously preserved: and consequently I <326> conceive that the Jews as well as the Moors admitted into the Town should be Limited to a certain number and y^c advantages of Trade be carried on with securitie both to its self and to the Gouvernement. Our present doubtfull State wherein the measures his Ma.^{tie} had taken to work a good correspondence wth our neighbours are unhappily disappointed, will oblige me to an extraordinary circumspection, and to admitt only such numbers of Jews as may bee consistent with the good and Wellfare of y^c place. These people do indeed every day give me some new instances of their unfittesse to be suffered here, it having been my fortune to discover more then others possibly have done before me of the crookednesse and malice of their natures. I find some of them have received and disposed of severall quantities of Powder of his Ma.^{ties} Stores, for which likewise two Gunners are now in custodie, and I have reason to beleive that three Souldiers who have lately deserted & turned Moors have been inveigled and enticed thereunto by y^c too great freedom of commerce with the Moors & Jews.

<327> By a ship lately arrived from England we have received his Ma.^{ties} Letters Patents constituting a Court of Oyer and

Terminer³²⁰ so much to the satisfaction of the generality of this place that his Ma.^{tic} could have made them no present more suitable to his R.¹ goodnesse, and to his care of them. In the mean time some there are who doubtless considering this Commission as a check upon their actions are willing to persuade themselves that the same is to be in force for one session only, as sent on the particular occasion of trying a person who had been committed for clipping the King's coin. I must confesse I am not versed in the forms of such Commissions but if we are to interpret the meaning of that which hath been sent hither according to the naturall import of the words which do not imply any limitation of time we must look upon it to be a thing of continuance and to remain in force till his Ma.^{tic} shall think fit to revoke it. Indeed the use of this Court is of so great consequence to the welfare of the place and does so effectually secure our civill peace and an equall administration of Justice that there are few who doubt but that his Ma.^{tics} design is that the same should be conti<328>nued here all honest people looking on it as the effect of his R.¹ intentions for their good. Great remissenesse and many mistakes are found in our ordinary Court of Record³²¹ here and it seldome happens but that the King suffers whenever he is a party in any cause whereof I could give many instances tho I shall now mention one only which is fresh and has been lately the occasion of some debate. It is that a man belonging to the Mole having been indicted for embezling the King's stores and particularly the stealing of 12 musket barrells they were valued as not worth a penny each and the matter laid in the indictment as pety larceny, the Bill found by the Grand Jury, and tho there could be nothing more strong and positive then the evidence of two good witnesses the man was acquitted by the traverse Jury³²² and cleared in Court. I caused this matter

³²⁰ According to the Tangier municipal charter of 1668, all criminal cases in which the accused was a civilian and trial by jury was required were heard at a Court of Quarter Sessions. If the defendant belonged to the armed forces, then he appeared before a court martial. The mayor, aldermen, and recorder were appointed JPs and conducted the Quarter Sessions, the mayor, recorder, and any three aldermen constituting a quorum. The JPs also determined lesser offences at petty sessions. Initially, the royal appointment in December 1682 of a Court of Oyer and Terminer, presided over by a royally appointed judge and thus hierarchically superior to the Quarter Sessions, caused some confusion. Kirke hoped that the new court would strengthen his authority in maintaining discipline both within the garrison and the civilian population at a time when morale was crumbling and indiscipline and criminality increasing. To his chagrin, it soon became clear that the Court of Oyer and Terminer was a special commission for one session only. Trials under its jurisdiction were conducted on 19 and 27 December 1682 (Routh, *Tangier*, 118–119, 276–278).

³²¹ Tangier's charter established a weekly Court of Record to hear civil cases. The mayor and recorder, or any three or more aldermen, adjudicated (Routh, *Tangier*, 118).

³²² i.e. the trial jury.

(which I considered of great consequence (his Ma.^{ties} stores being daily embezzled and continuall complaints made to me by the Commissaries thereof) to be brought in at our session of Oyer and Terminer and laying it in the indictment according to the true nature of the crime and fitting it to a second conizance, <329> the businesse being thus before the Grand = Jury there was private debate among them thereupon, and fearing it seems that if they found this Bill many former actions of that Court wherein they had served might be liable to be called again in question they thought fit to bring it in Ignoramus, whereby they obstructed the Justice which I promised my self, and which would have been a discouragement of any such wicked and dangerous practises for the future. The proceedings of these Juries made me deferre the tryall of the two Gunners above mentioned reserving them for a Court = Martiall to which it properly belongs, and I shall for the future in all extraordinary cases take care that officers of the Garrison be joined with Townsmen in such Juries as shall be made use of in our Court of Oyer and Terminer, as a necessary mixture in this place to bring things to a Just temperament, our pety Juries here being composed of a number of Taverners for the greatest part and mean people who live by disorders and the loose-nesse of Gouvernment.

Here hath been many days a report of the death of King Muley Ismael but I do very much suspect the truth of <330> it, others speak of a battle between him and his nephew³²³ wherein he has had considerable losse, neither can we procure any certain knowledge of this matter, what I can give as true, and which I have from my own servant lately come out of the country, is, that there is no news at all in these parts of the Alcaid notwithstanding his people here have long since told me he had taken his leave of the King in order to his return and that he had been sent back with all imaginable marks of his Ma.^{ties} favour and esteem. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

³²³ Moulay Ismail attacked his rebellious nephew, Ahmed ibn Muhriz, in the Sus region during the latter part of 1682. Three major battles were fought during 1683, mostly around the city of Tarundant, before a ceasefire was agreed in November (Mercer, 136–138). See App. A.

Letter 98 [pp. 330–335]Tang.^r Decemb.^r 15.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Upon receipt of the late Commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to my self, the Mayor, Recorder & others of this place, some persons I know not upon what grounds seem to raise doubts about the time that <331> the same is to remain in force on presumption that it designed only for the present occasion of trying a person who had been committed for clipping the King's coin, and that it is not to extend to any matters in the future. I cannot but be of the number of those who vary from this opinion, humbly conceiving his Ma.^{ties} intentions are that it continue in force and that we act in vertue of it as often as we shall see occasion till such time as he shall think fit to revoke it, and this may be collected from the words of the Patent its self wherein there is no limitation but chiefly from the usefulness of it in a place of this remotenesse from home and where the establishment of such a Court is highly requisite for the awing of inferior judicatures and the preservation of sound and equall justice. The truth is this Court has been but too long wanting here and I look upon it as a great effect of your Lord.^{ps} prudence and of your tenderness and care for us that you have at length found out so good an expedient to prevent as well the many troubles you formerly received in the importunate addresses and complaints that have been made to you from hence as the injuries which accrew <332> to many of all conditions from the irregular and negligent waies of proceeding which too frequently happen in our ordinary Court of Record. Possibly never any thing was received here with more generall satisfaction as was the knowledge of this Commission it being a joy to all good men to see their peace secured by so excellent means and bad people awed with the despair of escaping unpunished. We held our first sessions on Tuesday last the 12.th instant with all imaginable solemnity and your Lord.^{ps} will see in one of the enclosed papers the severall matters and indictments brought before us and the sentences thereupon. I must here take notice to your Lord.^{ps} as one instance amongst infinite others that I could give of the remisse proceedings of our Court of Record that one Dobbs, having been indicted in that Court for the stealing of 12 musket barrells belonging to his Ma.^{tie} I know not by what directions to the Clarke of the Peace for drawing the indictment the barrells were undervalued as not worth

one penny each and the fact made only a matter of petty larceny, y^c indictment being found by the Grand = Jury, the man notwithstanding two substantiall and clear evidences against him was by the Traverse = Jury brought in not <333> guilty and acquitted. This being a fresh irregularity of that Court I thought my self obliged out of love to justice and due course of the lawes and to give terrour to such as do abuse them for the future, to have the same businesse brought in at our last sessions of Oyer and Terminer and for that reason I took care that the matter should be truly laid in the indictment and the barrells estimated according to their just value but the Bill being before the Grand = Jury these Gentlemen apprehending if they found this, it might open a door to have many former proceedings unravelled, brought it in Ignoramus to our great amazement and indeed scandall of the whole Court. Your Lord.^{ps} will see in the other paper enclosed a summary of the proceedings in this cause both in the Court of Record and that of Oyer and Terminer with the names of the severall Juries which being composed of Burghers only seldome inclining to the King's cause and those particularly of the Traverse-Juries being a mixture of Taverners, Shoemakers and base people who make profit of buying things that have been embezled from his Ma.^{ties} stores, I shall for the future upon any extraordinary occasion wherein the King is concerned in our <334> Sessions of Oyer and Terminer cause officers of the Garrison, men of parts and honour to serve in Juries as a necessary ally³²⁴ to the Townsmen and this I hear has been practised formerly in the Court of Record tho I know not for what reason it has been of late neglected. I must confesse I was much surprised at this proceeding of the Grand = Jury and having committed two Gunners for the like crime of embezling his Ma.^{ties} stores I thought it not convenient while our Juries continued under their present constitution to bring them to their tryall this last sessions, least I should at the same time have met with the like disappointment of Justice. His Ma.^{ties} Storekeeper³²⁵ hath made many complaints to me and we are daily sensible of great embezlements which obliges me to use all the vigilance and care imaginable to prevent it whereunto nothing will more conduce then the doing some exemplary justice on such offenders as shall be detected.

Since I have received the materialls for building which I sent for out of Spain I have made quarters in the Castle for near 500 men, one Troop of horse, 20 officers and nine Gunners the Castle which is our <335> chief defence lying before naked and as it

³²⁴ Counterweight.

³²⁵ Francis Povey (see Letter 79; App. A).

were neglected there being no house and the officers distributed in unnecessary parts of the Town, so that there is now nothing so much wanting as the Magazine particularly that of powder whereof I have long since writ and whose estimate lies before your Lord.^{ps} attending your resolution thereupon.

Doctor Lawrence³²⁶ having represented to me that the necessity of his affairs obliged him to return to England, and having been now a long time very importunate with me on that subject I have thought it not unreasonable to dispense with his absence for six months on condition that if he return not by the expiration of that term that some other Phisitian be sent to supply his place. I give your Lord.^{ps} an account of it to the end that if D.^r Lawrence happen to settle himself at home whereof he seems to have some prospect, or that he continue absent beyond the term of his permission, your Lord.^{ps} would please to take such care of us that some able and skillfull man be sent over to succeed him and whom I beg your Lord.^{ps} to consider we cannot want above six months. I am with all respect

My Lords
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 99 [pp. 336–337]

<336> Tang.^r Decemb.^r 15.th 1682.

[To John Creed]³²⁷

Sir,

Having lately discovered some embezzlements of the King's stores and particularly of Gun = barrells and powder, the person detected about the barrells was brought to his tryall in our ordinary Court of Record where a slight Indictment was brought in beneath the crime and where he had the fortune to meet with a Jury who acquitted him even of that too notwithstanding the force and clearnesse of a double evidence. I thought upon the arrivall of a late Commission from his Ma.^{tie} constituting a Court of Oyer and Terminer wherein I have the honour to be named in the first place, I should have had an opportunity to redresse the remissenesse which I had observed to have been in the Court of Record in that particular case and to see

³²⁶ Thomas Lawrence (see App. A).

³²⁷ See App. A.

Justice done upon the offender at our first session which was on the 12.th past, for which reason I caused the true nature of the crime to be laid in the indictment which being sent to the Grand = Jury and by them largely debated was at length by those Gentlemen who were <337> unwilling to shew a way to have other matters called over again returned with an Ignoramus to my great surprise. This businesse failing and suspecting the like issue had I brought the two Gunners to their tryall there who are committed for the powder I thought it more safe to reserve them for a Court = Martiall. I have represented at large by this opportunity the ill constitution of our Juries here to the Lords of the Committee & you will see by what I have laid before their consideration how necessary it is that they be better regulated for the future, and how much it will conduce to the better securing of Justice and the credit of his Ma.^{ties} tribunals, in a place where the eyes of strangers are upon us, that officers of the Garrison be mixed with the Townsmen in our Juries here which hath been as I am informed already practised. I am

Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 100 [p. 338]

<338> Tang.^r Decemb.^r 15.th 1682

[To the Earl of Rochester]

My Lord,

I am so well acquainted with your Lord.^{ps} concern for the good of this place that I have great confidence it will be no unacceptable news to you, when I tell your Lord.^p what Joy his Ma.^{ties} late Commission constituting a Court of Oyer and Terminer here hath created in the hearts of all honest men. They consider it as the best and most excellent expedient that could have been found to secure an equall and impartial administration of Justice, and look upon it as an establishment so accommodated to the nature of this Government as sufficiently shews the prudence and wisdom which directed it. I am not ignorant what influence your Lord.^{p's} counsells have in all resolutions to our advantage, and am sensible that whenever great benefitts are conferred upon a large measure of our thanks & acknowledgments are due to your Lord.^p I humbly beg the continuance of

your favour to us and that you would honour me with your commands who am with the greatest respect imaginable.

My Lord,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 101 [p. 339]

<339> Tang.^r Decemb.^r 15.th 1682

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have sometimes humbly represented to your Lord.^{ps} the necessity of settling a fond here or in Cadiz for my supply of mony on the many sudden emergencies and occasions of publick service and I cannot but by this opportunity of M.^r Price's return to England repeat to your Lord.^{ps} and let you know that as this Gentleman has eminently expressed his zeal to his Ma.^{ties} service and the good of this place by furnishing me with such summes as I have hitherto wanted, so if your Lord.^{ps} shall at length think fit to settle a credit in Cadiz for the future advantage and the better carrying on of those publick services no person can be more proper then he is to treat with those you shall please to appoint on such a businesse and to undertake it more to your Lord.^{ps} satisfaction. I am

My Lords
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 102 [p. 340]

<340> Tang.^r Decemb.^r 15.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I cannot suffer M.^r Price to return home without accompanying with the just testimony of the great use he hath been to his Ma.^{ties} service here in the ready and constant supplies of mony he hath

afforded me on all occasions of publick necessity. If his Ma.^{tie} shall think fit (as certainly it would be extreamly expedient) to settle a credit for me in Cadiz, your Lord.^{ps} will not find any person more proper to undertake such service or with whom you may treat with greater assurance of a good performance then this Gentleman, which I thought not unreasonable to acquaint your Lord.^{ps} withall, remaining with much respect

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 103 [pp. 341–343]

<341> Tanger Decemb.^r 28.th 1682.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Your last to me is of the 20.th past which now challenges my humble thanks and acknowledgment. The Alcaid Ali Benabdala is now arrived in these parts on his return from his late visit to the King his Master & is to continue in this neighbourhood with the same authority as before. On his coming to Alcazar he sent a Moor hither with a Letter to me from King Muley Ismael in answer to one of mine to his Ma.^{tie} by the hands of Hash Mahamed Lucas the translation whereof out of Arabick I here enclose and is a repetition only of what he had written in former Letters which I have already sent home. There has been no action yet between the two armies the King finding it impossible by reason of the difficulty of the passages to make any advance into the territories of Sus and his nephew standing only on the defensive makes use of all the advantages of the places to annoy and disturb him so that the King is grown weary of making any farther attempts and as wee hear severall Sherifs and Muftis are <342> now employed to negotiate a Peace the main point in question being about the title of King which the nephew peremptorily insists on and the Uncle is willing to yeild only that of Vice = Roy urging that he should acknowledge his authority as derived from him. The Moor sent hither by the Alcaid has in some discourse of pretended confidence with M.^r

Onby told him, that the French Embassadour³²⁸ was returning with the project of a Treaty of Peace by sea drawn by the Moorish Ministers that there was to be a cessation of arms for four months the time allowed for the French King's approbation of the Treaty.

³²⁸ Kirke was well-informed. During the 1670s, French merchant shipping had been much harassed and molested by corsairs from Salée and Algiers. Government response, however, was ineffectual: instead of deploying sufficient force to overawe the pirates, individual cruisers were dispatched to patrol the western Mediterranean and North African coasts. This policy was reconsidered following particularly heavy depredations in 1680 and two squadrons under the marquis de Château-Renault and Lieutenant General Abraham DuQuesne, marquis de Bouchet (c.1610–1688), blockaded Salée. Both sides then sought a diplomatic solution. Captain Joseph-Antoine L'Éclaire de la Barre (1622–1688) travelled to Alcazar to begin talks with the alcaid, Omar Ben Haddu Hamami. The negotiations proceeded smoothly and a truce was signed on 1 July 1681 followed by a treaty on 13 July, which was subject to ratification by Louis XIV and Moulay Ismail. On 21 September 1681, three Moroccan diplomats – al-Hajj Mohammed Temim Attitouani, sometime governor of Salée and current pasha of Tetuan; al-Hajj Ali Manino, alcaid of Salée; and al-Hajj Abd el-Qader, accompanied by seven or eight staff – boarded Barre's vessels at Tahaddert and set out for Paris to conclude the necessary ratification. They reached Brest on 17 October and Paris on 30 December and were received by Louis XIV at St Germain-en-Laye, 4 January 1682. Following discussions with Louis's ministers, Colbert de Croissy and Seignelay, a draft peace treaty was agreed and initialled, 29 January 1682.

Temim held his audience of leave with Louis on 10 February 1682 and departed from Paris ten days later. His party reached Tetuan on 12 April. Very soon afterwards, the Baron de Saint-Amand, a captain in the French navy, was sent by Louis XIV as ambassador to the Moroccan court in Meknès to follow up these talks and finalize the treaty with Moulay Ismail. Saint-Amand was instructed to obtain the best concessions for French traders; arrange joint action against the Turks in Algeria; free French slaves; bring back several books from Fez; and impress upon the sultan the unimaginable splendour and power of Louis XIV. An ageing man and less than enthusiastic about his task, Saint-Amand's prospective negotiating stance was heavily compromised when a French squadron, consisting of 11 warships and 7 'bomb galiots' under DuQuesne, bombarded Algiers in August 1682. The Dey of Algiers promptly concluded peace with Morocco enabling him to turn his full attention on the French. Saint-Amand was accordingly instructed not to press for a Franco-Moroccan campaign against Algiers. He reached Tetuan in October and, after some delay, went to Salée. Following suitable entertainment, the French delegation left for the south on 24 November eventually arriving at Moulay Ismail's army camp in the Atlas Mountains on 10 December. The sultan promptly disowned the terms negotiated by Temim in Paris but was prepared to discuss proposals for a maritime treaty. Little progress was made, however, and the talks finally stalled, as was usually the case, over the question of the redemption of slaves. Saint-Amand departed from camp on 14 December 1682 and entered Paris in April 1683. His experiences were typical of nearly all European diplomats who tried to negotiate maritime treaties with Morocco because Moulay Ismail had little control over the semi-independent port of Salée. DuQuesne bombarded Algiers again in 1683 causing so much damage to the city and the Algerian fleet that, in the following year, the dey agreed a peace for one hundred years: notwithstanding, Algiers required further chastisement in 1688 (Baron de, Saint-Amand, *Voyage de Monsieur le Baron de S^t Amand, Capitaine du Vaisseau, Ambassadeur du Roy Tres-Chrétien vers le Roy de Maroc, par un Officier de Marine* (Lyons, 1698); J. Tolan, G. Veinstein, and Henry Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World* (Princeton, 2013), 203–204; Playfair, *Scourge*, 142–143; Jacques Caillé, 'Ambassades et missions marocaines en France', *Hespéris Tamuda*, 1 (1960), 45–48). See Letter 5; App. A, CHÂTEAU-RENAULT, François.

That the Embassadour had proposed that King Muley Ismael would make war on those of Argiers by land whilst the French King pressed them by sea, and that in the conquest of them the Town should remain in the possession of King Muley Ismael and that they should likewise employ their joint forces against Tanger, upon surrendry whereof the Town was to be delivered to the French and King Muley Ismael to remain with the Slaves and pillage, that these proposalls were rejected by the King with great indignation and the Embassadour sent away with much discon<343>tent. I shall make no long reflection on this intelligence it being my opinion that this Moor hath been instructed by the Alcaid and furnished with these discourses to give us a greater assurance of their friendship and a stronger confidence on the faith of their neighbourhood, in the mean time I give you this account that you may make such use of it [as] you shall think fit. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 104 [pp. 343–344]

Tang.^r Decemb.^r the 28.th 1682.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

We have received your Lord.^{ps} directions in yours of the 20.th for paying the arrears and discharging of severall Guardians,³²⁹ Masons, Stonecutters and others to the number of about 20 persons now unusefull to his Ma.^{ties} service: but the credit your Lord.^{ps} have been pleased to allow of 1500:£ not reaching to the payment of that number (as you will see in the enclosed account of what is due to the severall persons) and rendring us incapable to answer fully the <344> ends your Lord.^{ps} seem to propose we have been in some pain how to govern our selves herein. Yet because the consulting your Lord.^{ps} farther pleasure would take up too much time and that we conceive your Lord.^{ps} intentions are to ease his Ma.^{tie} of a growing charge wee have therefore resolved (as esteeming it most suitable to the nature of the thing) to obey your Lord.^{ps} as far as the summe whereunto wee are limited will permit and enable

³²⁹ Watchmen.

us, which will extend to the discharge and full payment of three Guardians, and eight masons and stonemasons according to the adjoined account wherein we shall proceed with all imaginable care and expedition and transmit an account thereof to your Lord.^{ps} with our next. We remain with all submission

My Lords,
Your Lord.^{sps} &c.

Letter 105 [pp. 345–346]

<345> Tang.^r January 11.th 1682.³³⁰

[To Lord Dartmouth]³³¹

My Lord,

This is chiefly to congratulate the new honour his Ma.^{tie} hath been pleased to conferre on you, and to assure your Lord.^p that no one can receive the knowledge of your prosperity with greater rejoicing then my self or can wish more sincerely then I do the highest increase of your Lord.^{ps} fortune and improvement of your Master's favour.

I have formerly acquainted their Lord.^{ps} of the Committee how requisite it is to have Ammunition Magazines in the Castle and because the usefullnesse of it appears greater to me every day I have therefore removed a good number of armes placing part of them in the Castle = house where there is room proper for them & part in another place I have designed no lesse convenient. But among all our necessities in the Castle none is of greater consequence then that of a Powder = house, & since I have found a way of bringing up stone easily and cheaply, I shall run the hazard of a reprehension from their Lord.^{ps} in beginning that worke even before I receive their or<346>der for it not doubting but that when they shall find the charge so inconsiderable and the work so necessary they will approve if not commend my diligence. I am with all true respect

My Lord,
Yo.^r &c.

³³⁰ 1682/3.

³³¹ Colonel George Legge had been created Baron Dartmouth on 2 December 1682 (*HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I. 79).

Letter 106 [pp. 346–352]Tang.^r January 11.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I have two of yours before me of the 27.th of Novemb.^r and the 4.th of December which I must now acknowledge with my humble thanks for them. The first brought me enclosed two Letters addressed to Admirall Herbert who is now here with us and I shall take care to deliver one of them or send it to him (if he happen not to be here) when the time shall be expired wherein they are to lie deposited in my hands in pursuance of the order of Councill. Your other Letter concerns a complaint of the French that the Corsairs of Argiers are suffered to have retreat here to surprise the French Vessells &c. I cannot but admire that such com^{<347>}plaints should have been made and that the French Ministers without giving themselves the trouble to examine the truth of things should have accused me with so much lightnesse when I can honestly affirme there is not so much as a Clause in the whole complaint reasonably grounded. There hath been one Argerine Man of warre only in this road since our peace with those people, who it is true came hither with a small prize but one that he had taken severall days before he appeared with us. He continued here some weeks his people for the greatest part deserting him in which time he stirred not hence or made any offer to cruise and when he at length departed the first news we heard of him was that he had been entertained by those of Sale and that he had carried severall English Vessells prizes into that Port. And as there have been no Corsairs of Argiers in our road but this only so I have been far from suffering two or three of the Tunisines who have hapned to call here to sail when they thought fit, that the last who was in this road attempting to weigh in the night time against the rules of our Port was hindred by us and the next day ^{<348>}sailing without leave I caused two or three Guns to be fired at him whereof I hear he has since complained to our Consul at Tunis³³² and possibly by this time the same complaint may be before his Ma.^{tye} [.] The charge of permitting the Argerines to carry their Slaves thro this Town into the Moors country is a groundless surmisall only, it never having been asked of me by those people and much lesse granted by me. On the contrary, I can assure you I have

³³² Thomas Baker (see App. A).

protected severall French and particularly favoured the escape of one from aboard the said Argerine who had been long in captivity among them and whom I took care to have transported in his Ma.^{ties} Yacht to Cadiz in order to his return to his own country. So that the French complaint instead of fixing any reall charge on me hath only afforded me an opportunity of shewing what kindnesse I have had for them. I shall observe the directions you are pleased to give me in reference to my deportment towards the Corsairs of Argiers in case any of them happen to make use of this Port tho I beleive it will appear hard to them to be refused the liberty of selling their prizes here which they take at sea it may be some hundred of leagues from hence and I am mistaken if Admirall Herbert <349> has not told me that tho this be not stipulated in our Treaty with them yet there was some useball³³³ agreement concerning it, so that I beleive it may appear necessary that you give your self the trouble to send me his Ma.^{ties} clear and positive commands relating to this particular of selling their prizes.

Some dayes ago the Alcaid Ali Benabdala came into these fields and tho I endeavoured to hinder the dispersing of any reports on the arrivall of our last English Packet yet some of our people have been so indiscreet in discoursing and the Jews amongst us so industrious to learn news that the Alcaid was acquainted the very moment of his coming that the King of England had designed to send no Embassadour to Mequinez but that in England they seemed to dispose themselves to a new war with the Moors. This report, the Author whereof I cannot yet discover, obliged the Alcaid not to shew himself unto us till he was able to appear in a posture as he thought might make him redoubted³³⁴ and so summoning the greatest part of the country he came to our lines on Tuesday last accompanied with about 200 horse and having sent in before a mes<350> senger to tell me that he came to make me a visit I ordered our walls towards the feilds to be manned to the best advantage with the old Regiment and mine, the King's Batalion of Guards and the Earle of Dunbarton's Regiment to be drawn into the feilds and posted so as to make a very good appearance, and my self together with Admirall Herbert and the principall officers of the Garrison accompanied with all our horse and two companies of Granadiers went to meet him at our lines where there passed severall complements and civilities between us, and after a short conference we parted with many professions of friendship. He has since writ me a Letter desiring Seguros for three of their ships bound for Argiers

³³³ usable.

³³⁴ redoubtable.

and I at the same time have demanded that the two deserters may be returned me, which matters will occasion the going and coming of severall papers between us. I fear I shall scarce be able to procure what I desire they pretending that the men are turned Moors³³⁵ and if I gratifie him in what he demands I shall take care that the Seguros shall not exceed the time allotted by King Muley Ismael for a cessation of arms by sea [...] ³³⁶ The French Embassadour³³⁷ is now at Tetuan on his return home I hear he <351> earnestly desired to have passed this way but the Alcaid would not suffer him to come among us. We have news of a Peace between King Muley Ismael and his Nephew Muley Hamet³³⁸ who is to remain in quiet possession of the Kingdom of Sus and to relinquish all his other possessions and tho I am told that this is generally reported in the country I will not venture to engage for the truth of it.

Tho for the reasons I gave you in mine of the 15.th past I put off the hearing the cause of the two Gunners in our Court of Oyer and Terminer who were committed for embezling his Ma.^{ties} powder, I have been since prevailed upon to make one prooffe more of the inclination of our Juries and of our Court of Record in the King's concerns and therefore I ordered that one of the said Gunners as belonging to this Garrison (the other as a Ship Gunner being delivered to Admirall Herbert) should be brought to his tryall at the last sessions of that Court, where the proceedings according to the accustomed manner were easie and favourable and the criminall fined only in 5:^s to his Ma.^{ties}. I am sorry that I am obliged to give <352> you so frequent instances of this kind and that I have so many reasons to despair of ever seeing Justice done to the King in our ordinary Court here which makes me beg once more that what I represented in my Letter of the 15.th of December on the Subject of such like proceedings may be taken into serious consideration. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

³³⁵ Christian slaves who apostatized were no longer candidates for rescue and repatriation.

³³⁶ There is a two-word space in the manuscript.

³³⁷ Saint-Amand (see Letter 103).

³³⁸ Ahmed ibn Muhriz. See App. A.

Letter 107 [pp. 352–354]Tang.^r January 25.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To the Earl of Rochester]

My Lord,

I must give your Lord.^P my most humble thanks for the great honour of yours by Lieu.^t Nicholson, and shall serve with so much the more cheerfulness in the station where I am, since I have the satisfaction of being assured of your Lord.^{ps} favourable and Just representation of me and my actions to his Ma.^{tic}. I am sufficiently sensible how active and powerfull your Lord.^{ps} commands have been for the protection of this poor Garrison on the <353> uncertain conjuncture of affairs here, and tho it were to be wished that the determinations upon what I had represented concerning our present state had been more effectually to answer our necessities yet I have all the reason imaginable humbly to acquiesce in them as the best measures which prudence and a due regard for his Ma.^{ties} other more important interests could for the present have suggested. And as I am confident that both his Ma.^{tic} and all his Ministers have so true impressions of the unspeakable consequence and usefulness of this place to his service that they will always think it deserves an extraordinary regard, so I hope it will not be long ere we feel greater effects of their care for us and that they will make use of the first opportunity of enlarging our supplies so as to bear a nearer proportion to our wants. I cannot forbear here to indicate the necessity of recruiting our horse which I am persuaded will in it's due time be considered and resolved on, the use of them (whatever may have been represented by others) being of the greatest consequence to the preservation and service of this place.

<354> I forwarded two days since Lieu.^t Nicholson with his Ma.^{ties} answer to the Emperour of Morocco into the country, accompanying him with Letters from my self and Instructions for his deparment copies whereof I have sent to M.^r Secretary and now a small time will give us the result. On all events I am prepared to act my part with a great deale of zeale and vigilance, and as hitherto on all occasions I have made it my businesse to humour and condescend to these people for the sake of Peace whenever I could do it without discovering too great weaknesse so if they shall think fit to break it I shall endeavour to let them see we can endure a war and to give them such entertainment as to make them the more

value us for the future. I humbly beg the continuance of your Lord.^{ps} favour and am with all imaginable submission and respect,

My Lord
Yo.^r Lord.^{sps} &c.

Letter 108 [pp. 355–358]

<355> Tang.^r January 25.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Lord Dartmouth]

My Lord,

Lieu.^t Nicholson who arrived with us the [...] ³³⁹ ins.^t brought me the great honour of your Lord.^{ps} of the 18.th past, and I am extremely proud with the assurance your Lord.^{sp} who so well knows the King's mind is pleased to give me of his Ma.^{ties} being satisfied with my small endeavours in his service, and particularly the honour you do me in your Lord.^{sps} good opinion of mee, which I assure your Lord.^p I esteem as too great an advantage ever to forfeit it by any action of my life.

His Ma.^{ties} Letter to the Emperour of Morocco carries that reason and justice in it, as would work effectually on any people but these wee have to deal with: yet tho they are not of an humour to be prevailed upon with the arguments of what is just and equitable, the opinion of force is of extraordinary efficacy with them, and it is extremely visible since they have heard that no Embassadour is likely to be sent from England that we are expecting the effects <356> of his Ma.^{ties} great care of us in the supply of stores, Ammunition and other recruits, and that wee are preparing for the worst of events, how much their countenances and discourse is changed, and indeed the sense they have of our resolution has produced such auspicious marks, and I have found the Alcaid Ali so strangely complying, as prevails with me to entertain no small hopes of good successe from his Ma.^{ties} Letter which I forwarded to the Emperour two days since by M.^r Nicholson. I was ever of persuasion that nothing can make the Moors set a true value on our friendship and engage them to any firmnesse and constancy in their Treaties but their opinion of our strength and of our sense of honour and it now appears evident to me that if they see wee are not neglected at home but

³³⁹ There is a blank space in the manuscript.

that good provision be made for us they will not easily be induced to quarrell with us. I wish the exigence of his Ma.^{ties} other important affairs would have permitted him to recruit our horse and to fill up the number of the four Troops according to my representation which I assure your Lord.^p I did not calculate at large or for my own advantage but proportioned it with such regard to his Ma.^{ties} service here as not to loose at the same time the consideration and view of his other necessities. And because it is certain that the Moors do chiefly measure our power here by our strength in horse, I cannot but hope that some favourable conjuncture at home will speedily fall out which will permit his Ma.^{ties} to reassume the consideration of this important point.

I perceive by some Letters from England that the businesse of my repairing quarters had not been well apprehended by the Lords of the Committee, and that this matter had been represented as if I had undertaken some new and unnecessary works, when I can assure your Lord.^{sp} there has not been one stone laid but for the repair of what would otherwise have fallen to the ground. I have expended nothing but on the King's own houses and I look upon it as good husbandry with small charge to prevent a greater and by making seasonable repairs to save the expence of building anew. I have eased the King of a considerable rent charge for the quartering of officers in Burgers <358> houses by removing them to those of his own, and am sure have had such particular care to save mony to his Ma.^{ties} in this very businesse wherein I have been censured that I doubt not when the Lords shall be better informed or shall give themselves the trouble to consider more maturely on what I have performed they will easily approve of it. I humbly beg your Lord.^{ps} beleif that no man is with greatest truth and submission then I am

My Lord,
Yo.^r Lord.^{sp} &c

Letter 109 [pp. 358–360]

Tanger January 25.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have the honour of two of your Lord.^{ps} of the 29th November and December 15.th the former giving me directions for the future management and carrying on all fortifications and publick buildings,

which I will take care shall be punctually executed. In order whereunto the persons therein appointed as Commission.^{rs} for <359> the inspecting such works³⁴⁰ have had their first meeting and shall continue their weakly consults in obedience to your Lord.^{ps} orders. Your other Letter contains his Ma.^{ties} resolution on your Lord.^{ps} report on some proposalls made by me for the service of this place particularly the arming and exercising one company of the two Regiments as Granadeers and the manner of clothing each Regiment. In pursuance whereof I have already formed the two companies of Cap.^t Mathews and Cap.^t Trelawny³⁴¹ to the exercise of Granadeers and that they may fully answer the intention of his Ma.^{ties} service in case of any sudden action. I have small draughts out of the severall other companies and compleated those two to the number of sixty men each which is no increase of charge to his Ma.^{tic}. Severall men of the Batalion of Guards here offering themselves willingly to serve in these companies as Sergeants or Corporalls I have preferred them accordingly and I am confident there are not two Companies of better men in any Garrison of his Ma.^{ties} dominions.

I have often mentioned to your Lord.^{ps} the decay of Pole = Fort without yet receiving any directions for its re<360>pair and because in its present condition it lies but too much exposed to the enemy, the losse whereof would be of the greatest prejudice and annoyance to the Town, I humbly beg the liberty of proposing to your Lord.^{sp} that I may be furnished from home with a sufficient quantity of Purbeck stone ready cut into coins³⁴² (which may be sent hither by any ship bound this way at a cheaper rate then wee can dig and cut them here) wherewith in case of necessity I shall be able to raise on a sudden on the same ground a good redoubt capable to hold sixty men which may afterwards be enlarged as opportunity shall present and his Ma.^{ties} service require and this I consider to be of such consequence that I hope I shall have your Lord.^{sp} speedy directions therein. I am

My Lords
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

³⁴⁰ See Letter 130.

³⁴¹ Capts William Mathews and Henry Trelawny (see App. A).

³⁴² Quoin.

Letter 110 [pp. 361–372]<361> Tang.^r January 25.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Lieu.^t Nicholson arrived with us the [...] ³⁴³ inst.^t and brought me two of yours of the 18.th past with triplicates of severall Letters and orders (which I had before received) relating to the Moors hostilities at sea and giving directions to Admirall Herbert for his acting against those people. The Admirall (before the arrival of this expresse) was departed hence to the coast of Saly in pursuance of orders he had received from the Commission.^{ts} of the Admiralty antecedent to those which lye deposited in my hands, and wherein he was directed only to protect all English Vessells and retake such as he should meet with made prizes by those Corsairs, yet because in the additionall instructions you have been pleased to send me about the delivery of those Letters in my keeping addressed to the Admirall, I found that his Ma.^{ties} intention was to stave off a war by land as much as possible which he apprehended the begining of hostilities at sea might the sooner draw upon us, I did therefore (immediately on the arrivall of the expresse) dispatch a small Vessell in <362> search of the Admirall with an extract of some part of those instructions to the end that no unseasonable alarme might be given to these people by him. Yesterday he returned to this road and acquaints me that those of Sale excused themselves that they did not permit his people to go ashore to buy refreshments (which he made a colour for his coming thither) on the pretence of their Alcaid's absence, and that he perceived they were jealous of him. He has brought from thence a Moor which came off to him from aboard a Tunis Man of warre a native of S.^{ta} Cruz a man of desperate fortune and that seems ready to undertake any thing that shall be proposed to him. He speaks English having among the many turns he hath made in the world been some time in England, and I may possibly find occasion of making use of him. The Admirall informs me he had an opportunity while he was before Sale of conversing with some people belonging to the brothers of the late Moroccho Embassadour who live there and that they had informed him that one Bonan,³⁴⁴ a Jew, had been

³⁴³ There is a blank space in the manuscript. The missing date was before 23 January 1683.

³⁴⁴ Bonan (see App. A).

employed by the Alcaid Ali into England when the Embassadour was there as a spye <363> upon his actions that he gave advice to him from time to time of all passages, that he dived into the Embassadour's secrets and furnished that Alcaid with arguments to ruine him, assuring that the Embassadour's disgrace and misfortune since his return was occasioned by his being undermined and betrayed by this Jew. I thought it necessary to give you this notice because the same Jew is now in England and it is not unlikely he is employed there to have an eye upon our Counsellis at home and to pick up such remarks as may be of most service to the Alcaid. He went from this place some months ago on pretence of following one M.^r Radman,³⁴⁵ a Merchant who had resided long in Tetuan, in order to some affairs with him and indeed when I reflect that the said Radman had lived a great while obnoxious to the Alcaid who detained his estate and all his effects in the country on pretence of I know not what dependances between them, and that without any apparent reason they came to a sudden reconciliation, I am apt to suspect that even Radman himself may have made some advances and offers of particular services to the Alcaid and that he is none of the soundest Englishmen. <364> I hint these things by way of caution and beleive it of consequence to his Ma.^{ties} interests that those persons be observed, but particularly that the Jew be not suffered to remain in England.

I see the care which hath been taken at home for our supply in the present juncture of affairs, and tho it will not fully answer all our necessities yet because it as much as could be afforded I have reason to acquiesce therein which I do with the greater cheerfulness since you are pleased to answer me that I shall not be neglected. In the mean time I shall use the more diligence in his Ma.^{ties} service and endeavour to supply the defects of means by my industry and application.

Immediately on Lieu.^t Nicholson's arrivall I sent advice of it to the Alcaid Ali acquainting him he had brought the King my Master's answer to the Emperour's last letter and desiring he would send persons to accompany him to his Imperiall Ma.^{tie} in order to his presenting the same. The Alcaid hereupon sent in his Secretary with severall Moors of his greatest confidence as well to provide for M.^r Nicholson's journey as to inform them<365>selves of affairs, and indeed since they have heard something of the measures that have been taken in England, and that provision is made for our support even on the worst events, it is not credible how much they have abated of their former pride and how much they discover an unusuall

³⁴⁵ Henry Radman (see App. A).

complacency in their humours; whether this be to lay us asleep and make us the more remisse in providing for our preservation I will not pretend to determine, tho I am bold to affirm (as I have ever been persuaded and have represented home) that when the Moors shall see a good Garrison established and particularly a considerable body of horse nothing will be able to induce them to break with us.

I dispatched Lieu.^t Nicholson into the country two days since, and M.^r Onby being desirous to make use of this opportunity to see the King in order to his private affairs I was willing he should accompany him considering that his knowledge of the language may be of great help to M.^r Nicholson. I have taken the best measures that my experience and the notices I have of the dispositions of King Muley Ismael's Court have suggested to me to make his Ma.^{tie's} answer <366> well received and that it may produce good effects. You will see in the enclosed papers copies of my Letters to King Muley Ismael and to the Embassadour with some instructions wherewith I thought necessary to accompany Lieu.^t Nicholson for his better conduct, assuring you nothing hath been omitted on my part not only on this occasion but in the whole course of my employment in this station to infuse into these people the thoughts of Peace and of living within the bounds of good neighbourhood. And I can affirm to you upon my honour that the suggestions of those persons who would persuade that I look upon a war here as my interest are very maliciously grounded or that at least the Authors of those surmises are not truly acquainted with my character. For as it would be the highest folly in me to affect a war where considering our unprepared condition I could propose nothing to my self but streights, hardships & finally ill successe which (notwithstanding the best conduct) hath always the fate of being accompanied with disgrace, so I am too good a Subject and too honest a man to think any thing my interest which is not my <367> Princes. My abilities to manage these caprichious people will be seen by my conduct, and what I have acted hitherto is known to none better then yourself to whom I have given an accompt from time to time of the most minute passages. I shall say no more on this matter but that (whatever ideas have been given of me by spitefull men) I have the satisfaction of having served my Master as I ought to have done and that I have taken care in my deportment with these people to know when to yeild & when to refuse, to be no rigid exactor of their compliance and yet to accompany all my own condescensions with honour which I am sure is the only method to maintain a good correspondence with them.

In obedience to directions from the Lords of the Committee I have converted the two Companies of Cap.^t Mathews & Cap.^t Trelawny

into Granadeers filling them to the number of sixty men by draughts out of other companies of the Regiment whereby there is no manner of increase of charge to his Ma.^{tie}. Some Souldiers of the Batalion of Guards offering themselves for that service to be Sergeants and Corporalls I have preferred them and I think I may truly <368> say there are not two better companies in any place whatsoever. I am

Honoured Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Instructions to Lieu.^t Nicholson going with his Ma.^{tie}'s Letter to the Emperour of Morocco, January 23rd 1682³⁴⁶.

You are to proceed with all convenient speed and diligence to the place where the Emperour of Morocco shall happen to be and on your arrivall there after you shall have acquainted his Imperiall Ma.^{tie} with the care I had taken to forward his Letter by your hands to the King my Master and the great esteem wherewith it was received you are to present the answer thereunto as also my Letter to his Imperiall Ma.^{tie} making use of M.^r Onby who will accompany you as your Interpreter on this and all occasions of speaking to the Em^r.

If his Imperiall Ma.^{tie} shall happen in discourse (as 'tis probable he may) to expresse any resentment that <369> an Embassadour hath not been sent as he desired from England you are then to tell his Ma.^{tie} that the King my Master had that regard to Mahamed Benhadu his late Embassadour in my Masters Court and gave such credit to him as one that represented his Imperiall Ma.^{tie}'s person and that spoke from his Mouth that he had already transacted with him all that concerned the mutuall interests of both crowns and therefore was of opinion that there was no necessity at present of another Embassy since nothing could be done more then what was already perfected by his Imperiall Ma.^{tie}'s own Embassadour.

If his Ma.^{tie} tell you he hath been kept in the dark as to affairs with us by the disputes between the Alcaids and Mahamed Benhadu and that therefore he would have had an Embassadour sent immediately from England to have cleared matters you are to reply hereunto that the King my Master cannot but consider Mahamed Benhadu as the only proper person to inform his Ma.^{tie} best of the state of affairs between both Kings who was employed by his Ma.^{tie} only on that Subject and who brought with him from England a conclusion of all matters that an <370> Embassadour from my Master could

³⁴⁶ Kirke's instructions to Nicholson are printed in, *Tangier Texts*, 227–228.

have brought only the same thing again and therefore it is not doubted but that his Imperiall Ma.^{tic} will look upon those Treaties that had been so concluded by his Embassadour as the Rule for our good correspondence for the future without deferring any longer the ratification of them.

You are to deliver the Letter you have for Alcaid Mahamed Benhadu letting him know the good impressions the King my Master and his Ministers do still retain of his worth and his affections to the publick interests and that much is expected from his endeavours on this nice conjuncture that his honour is highly interested in it and the good opinion of men concerning him in England would be much weakned should King Muley Ismael still persist in his resolutions not to ratify the Treaties he had concluded.³⁴⁷

You are to observe what persons may be most instrumentall in pre-vailing with his Imperiall Ma.^{tic} to ratifie what has been transacted by his Embassadour and (taking M.^r Onby's advice herein) you are to deale with them according to your best dexterity and endeavour to induce them to employ their credit for that end and you <371> are empowered to offer as far as the value of two hundred pounds to any person or to be distributed amongst [*sic*] more as you shall see most expedient on condition the Treaties shall be ratified by their means which gratuities shall be remitted them from hence either in mony or otherwise as they shall please to the performance whereof you may engage your word or give your Bills there which shall be answered and accepted by me.

If King Muley Ismael should scruple the ratification of the Marine Treaty but that you shall happen to find him in a disposition to confirm that by Land, you shall content your self therewith and be willing to accept the same, without insisting on the other Treaty or so much as touching on the point of restitution of the English Ships, goods, and Slaves unlesse you shall happen to see a good opportunity of doing it without prejudicing the main design, which is procuring the ratification of the Land Treaty.

You are to tell the King if you find a fit occasion for such a discourse that besides the two Treaties signed by his Embassadour there is a project of separate Articles which the Embassadour could not agree to as not having suffici<372>ent power, yet that he gave some good hopes his Ma.^{tic} would make no difficulty to

³⁴⁷ Kirke naively assumed that Alcaid Ahmed Mohammed Attar Ben Haddu valued so highly the reputation he had acquired in England that it ranked above his political relationship with Moulay Ismail (see Letters 27, 110; App. A, BEN HADDU, Ahmed Mohammed Attar; LUCAS, al-Hajj Mohammed; ROWLAND, Jonas).

admit them: those are about the digging of stone for the use of Tanger (as was formerly practised) and providing that no Slaves should be made on the one people or the other except such as were deserters or fugitives; but the King of England the better to invite his Imperiall Ma.^{tie} to accept of these conditions of mutuall good had given freedom to all the Slaves of the Mahumetan persuasion as well his Ma.^{tie} King Muley Ismael's subjects as others; that the King my Master hath been pleased to give me full power to conclude these separate or additionall Articles on his behalf which I am ready to do whenever his Ma.^{tie} King Muley Ismael shall think fit to appoint any person to that end.

You are to put his Ma.^{tie} in mind of a Contract for the redemption of 130 English Slaves which hath been long since agreed to by his Ma.^{tie} as likewise proposalls for the redemption of 20 Portuguese Captives, that the mony hath been now a twelve month deposited and ready in Tanger and that it is hoped that this matter will now meet with a finall Conclusion.

Letter 111 [p. 373]

<373> Tang.^{r348}

[To the Earl of Rochester]

My Lord,

Lieu.^t Nicholson hath told me how much this poor Garrison is obliged to your Lord.^{ps} favours and indeed we have been on all occasions so very sensible of your particular regard for our welfare that I cannot but make use of this opportunity to give your Lord.^p my most humble thanks with this assurance that as I depend here on the continuance of your protection to us, so it shall be my best study not to abuse those advantages wee desire from it but to improve them to the utmost of his Ma.^{ties} service.

The redemption of the Portuguese Slaves designed by her Ma.^{tie's} charity hath by the caprichiousnesse of these people been suspended now a great while, and because I thought Lieu.^t Nicholson's going to the Emperour with his Ma.^{ties} Letter a good opportunity to renew that negotiation I have given him instructions about it and will use

³⁴⁸ Although this letter is undated, it was probably written between 25 January and 8 February 1683.

my utmost diligence that the Queen's pious intentions may not be frustrated. I am with all true respect.

My Lord,
Yo.^r Lord.^{sp's} &c.

Letter 112 [pp. 374–375]

<374> Tang.^r February 8.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I humbly thank you for the honour of yours of y^c 1.st past. Since the departure of Lieu.^t Nicholson nothing hath occurred worth your notice and I have only to acquaint you that having observed some of the Moors horse to come within our bounds and advance even as far as Pole = Fort which they did severall days I went out to know from the Alcomaden the reason of that contravention of the Articles, who at length told me plainly he had orders from the Alcaid to observe our actions and what had been done was in obedience to those commands. I told him I should expect that the capitulations should be observed by them, and that as they were severe enough in exacting the utmost punctuality from us and in seizing our men if they hapned to stray but one foot out of our ground, so I should make use of the same liberty allowed by the Articles if any on their part should for the future adventure out of their own limits. I at the same time writ to the Alcaid on this businesse <375> who in answer to my complaint promises to reprehend the Alcomaden as having acted against his orders and that he shall not dare to make any farther attempts of that kind. Immediately on the receipt of your Letter and the knowledge you give me in it of his Ma.^{ties} goodnesse to the Meca Pilgrims driven by stresse of weather into the Downs, I gave an account of it to the Alcaid that they might see how fairly and generously my Master makes use of all occasions of shewing his affection to them and of entertaining the good correspondence.

The intelligence M.^r Onby gave me of a Peace between King Muley Ismael and his Nephew proves not true, matters between those princes being at present more enflamed then ever and we hear that the Emperour finding himself dangerously posted on the

Frontiers of Sus is retreated two days march into Morocco which is all the news we have here of the motions of those armies. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 113 [p. 376]

<376> Tang.^r February 8.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To the Tangier Committee]³⁴⁹

My Lords,

The Commiss.^{rs} your Lord.^{ps} have been pleased to direct for the inspecting of the fortifications and the consulting the best and easiest ways of doing all works relating to this Garrison,³⁵⁰ have in pursuance to your Lord.^{ps} orders been diligent in that duty and I must humbly acquaint you we have found it of indispensable and absolute necessity that the outside of York Castle and the walls of Devill Tower³⁵¹ which are falling be ordered to be repaired with the greatest expedition. Your Lord.^{ps} will see the draught of those ruinous parts with an Estimate of the charges of their repair in the enclosed papers which I lay before your Lord.^{ps} consideration humbly expecting your directions thereupon. I am with all submission

My Lords
Yo.^r Lord.^{sp's} &c.

³⁴⁹ A letter to the same effect was sent to Lord Dartmouth on 8 February 1683 (*HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I. 79).

³⁵⁰ This was a small panel appointed by the Tangier Committee to investigate Kirke's immediate concerns about the state of the fabric. A separate commission, comprising Henry Sheres, surveyor general of the mole and fortifications; Colonel Charles Trelawny; Lieutenant Colonel Marmaduke Boynton; Major Martin Beckman; Captain John Giles; Chief Eng. Johannes Ewald Tessin; and Thomas Phillips, was already undertaking the much larger task of assessing the works and expenditure required to make Tangier both viable and defensible. It reported on 2 October 1683 (CO 279/32, fos 157–164; Davis, *Queen's*, I. 306–318; Routh, *Tangier*, 254–255; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, 150). See App. A.

³⁵¹ Devil's Drop.

Letter 114 [pp. 377–379]<377> Tang.^r Feb. 22nd 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I am now humbly to acknowledge the honour of yours of the 15.th past, and am yet in expectation of what you are pleased to tell me the Lords of the Committee had given in charge in answer to some of mine, which I suppose I may receive by the first Ships.

I have heard nothing from M.^r Nicholson or M.^r Onby since their departure hence, and am not yet able to give you any account of the King of Morocco's resolutions on the terms of our future correspondence. Wee have had various reports here of late, some intimating that the King had given a kind reception to Lieu.^t Nicholson and had ordered all the English Captives to be set at liberty, but this has been since contradicted, and I look upon it as one of the usuall devices of the Alcaid, who by his Jewish Instruments does frequently disperse reports which as he judges shall either please or affright us according as it sutes best with his designs. And I must here observe to you, that at the same time as we live in the dark as to all passages among the <378> Moors, and can rely upon no notices we receive from them, they have not only a clear view of the posture of our affairs here, but likewise certain intelligence of all matters at home: and I have been often surprised that the resolutions even of our Councils should come to the knowledge of the Moors sometimes before I have notice of them my self. This can happen by no other meanes then that of some Merchants here who use not a Court correspondence with that discretion they should and in exchange of their English informations receive from the Jews all the fables and vain reports which the Alcaid shall authorise them to suggest.

The remarks you are pleased to make that this Garrison stands the King in more then all the Garrisons in England is questionlesse very true and tho I am confident you do not mention it by way of reflection on me, yet it affords me an occasion to assure you that in all works which have been undertaken here out of indispensable and absolute necessity I have used those methods which, as I can easily demonstrate, have saved the King's money and can boast <379> to have done more with lesse charge then was ever done before in this Garrison.

Your Letter enclosed an order of Council forbidding the receiving of half a p.^s of 8/8 p Kintall on wax: to which I have nothing to reply

more then to let you know that as it was no imposition but a voluntary & free concession of the generality of the Commerce here I thought I might receive it without exposing myself to censure and I do not easily comprehend that the Merchants themselves who are sufficiently jealous of their advantages would have given it by any means if as the order implies it were of such prejudice to their trade. But the truth is it may appear a lesse inconvenience to mortifie a Gentleman who notwithstanding any discouragem.^{ts} will be sure to serve faithfully then not to gratifie a Merch.^t even when his complaints are groundlesse and the effects of meer wantonnesse.

The Dartmouth Fregate³⁵² arrived here Saturday last the 17.th ins.^t in the evening with a Packet for Admirall Herbert who hapned to be here at that time and on the Munday morning following he sailed for Argiers with the Turks Tyger³⁵³ and the Saphire³⁵⁴ in his company. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 115 [pp. 380–381]³⁵⁵

<380> Tanger February 22.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Lord Dartmouth]

My Lord,

I humbly take this opportunity to acquaint you of the works that have been lately completed here. The two lesser Powder = houses in the Castle which I mentioned in my last are now finished the one of them will contain 100 the other 300 barrells of powder and the whole charge of both amounts not to above 20.[℥] I am now proceeding to the building of a third and much larger Powder house, whereof I likewise gave you an account, which as it is computed will not exceed 60.[℥] charges in workmanship and materialls. All the Platforms³⁵⁶ of Peterborough = Tower will be finished this week

³⁵² HMS *Dartmouth* (5th rate, 36 guns), commanded, from 11 April 1682, by Captain George St Lo, RN (see App. A).

³⁵³ HMS *Turkish Tyger* or *Tyger Prize* (see Letter 37).

³⁵⁴ HMS *Sapphire* (5th rate, 32 guns), commanded by Captain Anthony Hastings, RN (see App. A).

³⁵⁵ Calendared at *HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I. 80.

³⁵⁶ i.e. the timber platforms on which the gun carriages were mounted.

I have removed all the necessary and most usefull Ammunition Stores to severall places in the Castle proper and convenient for them leaving nothing in the old Magazine but things of lesse consequence and use so that at present there is nothing wanting in the Castle but a Storehouse for provisions. I have formerly given an account to the Lords of the Committee that I had observed a place in the Castle (now applied to the quartering of Souldiers) which would be extreemly proper for that use and being now decayed and in a condition that of necessity the Souldiers must be removed to some other place I could wish their Lord.^{ps} would think fit to take into their consideration the Estimate I sent home of the charge of fitting it for a Magazine and that mony might be ordered accordingly. This being an account of things at present I shall only remind you of the decays of our Town = wall and add no more then the profession of my being with all esteem

My Lord,
Yo.^r Lord.^{sp's} &c.

Letter 116 [pp. 381–384]

Tang.^r March 8.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I humbly acknowledge the favour of yours of the 29.th of January and tho I am sorry that the demand of stores which had been sent home is looked upon as impossible to be complied withall yet I comfort my self with what you are pleased to tell me that something will be still done by degrees and that wee are not <382> in danger to be quite forgot. Since the receipt of yours S.^r John Berry arrived here on Friday the 2.^d ins.^t in the evening and some few days after S.^r John Wyburne³⁵⁷ with such Ammunition Stores as for the present has been judged necessary to supply us withall, as also the greatest part of our absent officers whom his Ma.^{tie} had thought fit to remand. Cap.^t Annesly³⁵⁸ who notwithstanding the King's orders still continues in England hath at the instance and desire of Coll: Trelawny who at present commands my late Regiment been displaced and M.^r

³⁵⁷ Sir John Berry and Sir John Wyborne (see App. A).

³⁵⁸ See Letter 93; App. A.

Roche³⁵⁹ late Cap.^t Lieu.^t a good Souldier and of long service has been made Captain of that company which promotion as that Gentleman deserves it very well I hope his Ma.^{tie} will be pleased to confirm as likewise that of M.^r Davis³⁶⁰ late Town = Major in that of Cap.^t Lieu.^t M.^r Lucy³⁶¹ in that of Lieu.^t to Cap.^t Hastings,³⁶² and M.^r Gordon³⁶³ in that of Ensigne to Cap.^t Tiffin.³⁶⁴ I must humbly desire at the same time you would be pleased to join with me to beg of his Ma.^{tie} leave for M.^r Hope,³⁶⁵ Lieu.^t to Cap.^t Tollmashe³⁶⁶ in the Batalion of Guards here, to sell his Partisan³⁶⁷ and that he may be confirmed in the place <383> of Town = Major in this Garrison. M.^r Elliot³⁶⁸ in obedience to the Letter he has brought me from you of December the 23rd was immediately restored to his former colours.

The stores which have been brought us in these ships are already landed and laid up and I must acquaint you that Cap.^t Priestman³⁶⁹ in the Reserve³⁷⁰ being arrived here who I heard was transporting for England five pieces of brasse Canon I thought it a good opportunity for our farther supply amidst the wants we were in of great Guns to desire the said five pieces of Canon might be delivered here for the service of this place till his Ma.^{ties} farther orders therein which that Cap.^t for those good considerations has consented to and indeed they will be of such use to us that I hope his Ma.^{tie} will not disapprove of it.

On board of S.^r John Wyburne came Bonan³⁷¹ the Jew a person whose character I sent you in mine of the 25.th of January; I have ordered his papers to be seized and perused, and tho I can yet make no discovery by them I shall not suffer him to come ashore

³⁵⁹ Maurice Roche (see Letter 46; App. A).

³⁶⁰ William Davis (see App. A).

³⁶¹ Thomas Lucy (see App. A).

³⁶² Edward Hastings (see App. A).

³⁶³ Ensing Gordon (see App. A).

³⁶⁴ Zachariah Tiffin (see App. A).

³⁶⁵ John Hope (see App. A).

³⁶⁶ Thomas Tollemache (see App. A).

³⁶⁷ i.e. to sell his commission. Commissioned officers were principally distinguished from other ranks by their uniforms' superior quality material and more elaborate decoration. In addition, captains carried a half-pike and wore a gilt gorget; lieutenants a partizan and a gorget of sanguined steel studded with gilt; while ensigns bore the company colours and/or a half pike and displayed a gorget of silver plate. John Hope was appointed town major and retained his place in the 2nd Foot Guards (Walton, 381; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, 59–60). See App. A, HOPE, John.

³⁶⁸ Roger Elliott (see App. A).

³⁶⁹ Captain Henry Priestman, RN (see App. A).

³⁷⁰ HMS *Reserve* (4th rate, 48 guns).

³⁷¹ Bonan (see App. A).

or passe into the <384> country but will take care he may be transported whither he may be capable of doing nothing to the disadvantage of his Ma.^{ties} interests here.

M.^r Hordesnell the Recorder of this Corporation³⁷² has been made beleive by some of his friends in England that I had complained of him to the Lords of the Committee and particularly that I had written something to my Lord Dartmouth on the subject of his Ma.^{ties} late Commission of Oyer and Terminer with severe reflections on him, this has so much alarmed that Gentleman that notwithstanding I have assured him to the contrary and that neither to the Lords of the Committee, to the Lord Dartmouth or any else I had so much as mentioned his name, he is neverthelesse preparing great Packets for his justification and I fear his apprehensions will so prevaile upon him that he may possibly give you the unnecessary trouble of hearing a defence where there has been no such thing as an accusation. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 117 [pp. 385–386]³⁷³

<385> Tang.^r March the 8.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Lord Dartmouth]

My Lord,

Since my last your Lord.^p of the 22.nd past I have received the honour of yours by Major Pope³⁷⁴ and as well by your Lord.^{ps} kind expressions as by what he hath told me I have the happinesse to see the continuance of your Lord.^{ps} favours to me which you may be sure I will ever study to deserve with a perfect and humble devotion to your Lord.^{ps} person and interests.

By the arrivall of S.^r John Berry and S.^r John Wyburne we have received the stores you have been pleased to send us and I must humbly thank you for the extraordinary trouble you have given your self in furnishing us with those supplies being certain that had his Ma.^{ties} other affairs permitted we had been better provided for. Cap.^t Priestman in the Reserve arrived here from the Levant at the same

³⁷² Henry Hordesnell (see App. A).

³⁷³ Calendared at *HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I. 80.

³⁷⁴ Roger Pope (see App. A).

time with S.^r John Berry and hearing that he was transporting five brasse Canon for England I could not but make use of so seasonable an opportunity to require <386> him to leave the said Guns for the defence and service of this place till you shall think fit to order otherwise which he hath done accordingly and I am sure you will approve of it out of the knowledge I have that you compassionate [*sic*] our wants and that you would be glad we were in the best condition for our preservation. I am

My Lord,
Yo.^r Lord.^{sp's} &c.

Letter 118 [pp. 386–393]

Tang.^r March 19.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

On Monday the 12.th ins.^t Lieu.^t Nicholson arrived here bringing with him a Letter to me from the Emperour and others from Alcaid Hamet the Gouvernor of Alcazar³⁷⁵ and brother to the late Alcaid Omar³⁷⁶ he was likewise encharged with a Letter from [for] the King my Master from his Ma.^{tie} of Morocco³⁷⁷ which was delivered to the Alcaid Ali to be sent to Mequinez to be sealed and inscribed with golden characters that it might come to my Master's hands with all imaginable <387> decency, but this Letter being not yet arrived with us and hearing by the Yacht just now returned from Cadiz that Cap.^t Priestman who is now there would certainly saile for England within three days I thought I ought not to loose that opportunity of transmitting to you by the bearer M.^r Atkins³⁷⁸ the original Letters I have already received with such hasty translations of them as have been taken from the mouth of the Alcaid Ali's Secretary who hapned to be here and which I suppose are of no different sense from what is written to his Ma.^{tie} intending to forward that by Lieu.^t Nicholson overland immediately on it's arrivall.

³⁷⁵ Mohammed al-Hafiz (see App. A).

³⁷⁶ Omar Ben Haddu Hamami (see App. A).

³⁷⁷ Printed in, *Tangier Texts*, 237–241.

³⁷⁸ Ensign Samuel Atkins (see App. A).

You will see how little the Emperour of Morocco desires to understand what hath been urged to him in honour and Justice for the ratification of the Whitehall Treaties, and how cautiously he avoids so much as entring upon the reason of the thing in question. Yet tho he is not willing to approve of his Embassadour's negotiation in England he seems to ease us of the apprehensions we were in that his refusall would be accompanied with a rupture by the repeating his promise of being firme to the Mequinez Treaty. I am glad since it has not been in our power <388> to prevaile for more, that he hath at least given us those assurances which I think his Ma.^{tie} may depend upon with as much confidence as can be reposed in any engagements he can receive from them. The truth is upon comparing the Whitehall and the Mequinez Land Treaty I can see no very substantiall advantage to us in the one more then in the other, and in effect we are now but on the same foot we should have been were the Whitehall Treaty ratified unlesse we had obtained at the same time the concession of the two additionall Articles which I ever looked upon as a thing impossible and consequently judged the proposall of it might be an obstruction to more easy matters.

The non confirmation of the Whitehall Land Treaty must of necessity be accompanied with the rejecting that of the Marine Peace and you will see in the Emperours Letter to me with what pains and with how many repetitions he endeavours to clear himself of the imputation he was sensible enough might be justly fixed upon him of permitting his Corsairs to act those depredations on our side by inculcating that he never understood any thing of such <389> a Peace. He is willing however (and this he thinks too we must consider as a great favour) to grant a cessation of arms by sea till such time as he shall receive my Masters reply to his Letter. And here I must note to you that the former cessation hath been but very ill observed if it be true what Admirall Herbert received from an English Captain on board one of the Sale Corsairs that severall of our small Merchant men had been plundered and robbed by that Corsair under the colour of an Argerine and it is not many days ago that four men belonging to this place were taken in a Fisher = boat at a small distance hence by a Feluca³⁷⁹ of Tetuan, whereupon having made a high complaint to the Alcaid, he answered me that he knew nothing of a Peace by sea, but he has thought fit neverthesse to return the men being

³⁷⁹ A felucca was a small, coastal trading vessel, common throughout the Mediterranean, Nile Valley, and Red Sea. Smaller versions were propelled by six or eight pairs of oars but the larger carried two or three masts, lateen rigged (*OCSS*, 203).

willing it might passe as an act of civility and good neighbourhood. It is not to be reasonably imagined that these people have that opinion of their force at sea as to stand in defiance of his Ma.^{ties} Ships, but it is more then probable that they do not fear us by sea to that degree as they are persuaded we redoubt them at land and when they see how tender his Ma.^{tic} hath been of making them <390> feel his power where he is evidently the stronger, they discern at the same time the reason of it which doubtlesse makes them presume to leave the sea affairs in an uncertain posture and not easily to forgo the interests and advantages of their Robberies. The Emperour who possibly hath not himself so nice a view upon these matters, is neverthelesse averse to a sea Peace believing wee shall insist on a restitution which he dreads extreemly the greatest part of the late spoils having entred into his coffers. The Alcaid Ali and the Admirall of Sale use all means to confirme the King in that opinion and to dispose him not to hearken to a Marine Peace the first out of the prospect he has that in such cases all the trade passing this way he shall derive extraordinary advantages which otherwise he would want, and the latter because of his own share in the late English prizes and because his dependence and livelyhood is purely by Pyracy. True it is that since the Moors have observed the frequent appearance of his Ma.^{ties} Ships in these parts and that wee seem to be in some measure awakened by their late injuries they are visibly more respectfull and live not without much awe of us. <391> And indeed since a Peace by sea with these people is certainly much to be desired as it will be a means to strengthen our good correspondence by land, if his Ma.^{tic} thought fit in this juncture to send instructions and power to Admirall Herbert or to my self for the treating and concluding of such a Peace it is not improbable that something may be done in it of consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service, provided we insist not on the restitution of what hath been already taken but that we begin from the present time. It will appear no wonder to you that King Muley Ismael on the matters of his Embassadour's negotiation is not an exact observer of the rules of publick faith and equity since I am sure you are by this time too well acquainted with him to expect those virtues from him in any eminent degree; and I think I may venture at length to make some certain Judgment of his inducements to the conduct he now uses for first the credit of the Alcaid Ali Benabdala and the Alcaid Hamet his Kinsman who being both of them of the blood and family of the deceased Omar do conspire with all their power to continue the honour and interest of the English affairs in their management hath had a prevail<392>ing influence over his mind and then cheifly the hopes he had entertained of another Embassadour from England and of the presents

he expected would have accompanied him which having failed him he thinks he has a prospect of enjoying those benefits so much the sooner by standing on his Mequinez Treaty the term whereof is about half expired then he would have had by ratifying those of Whitehall which had four full years to continue. Certain it is he was extremely desirous of another Embassy and more presents from England and doth indeed still long for them, for besides that those ceremonies do gratify his vanity they seem to expresse a deference and an acknowledgment of his greatnesse they are yet more acceptable to his avarice which is his prevailing passion. I know not why those expences may not be saved for the future, and am certainly persuaded that when the Mequinez Treaty shall expire whoever shall have the honour of being Governour for his Ma.^{tie} in this place will be capable of renewing the Peace with more advantageous conditions and with incomparably a lesse charge.

The extraordinary dry weather in Spain threatening a <393> great scarcity and consequently an extream dearneesse of corne hath obliged me to propose to the Lords of the Committee that a years supply of barley may be sent us from England for our horses here which I likewise humbly recommend to your favour with all the earnestnesse the nature and consequence of the thing requires.

The bearer M.^r Atkins being a person we have chosen to sollicite the affairs of the Garrison at home, will I hope deserve your particular protection and I question not but that you will be pleased to hear him favourably whenever he shall remind you of our necessities or represent any thing in relation to this place but particularly when he assures you that I am with all true respect

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 119 [pp. 394–395]

<394> Tang.^r March 19.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I now make use of the opportunity of the Reserve fregats return to England to transmit home the Letters which I lately received from the King of Morocco on the subject of our correspondence and at the same time to lay before his Ma.^{tie} my best Judgment on the

present state of affairs here, having nothing by this opportunity to trouble your Lord.^{ps} withall more then what I have represented to M.^r Secretary Jenkins unless it be to acquaint you that the excessive drought in Spain giving no hopes of a prosperous harvest, and the price of corn being already raised to extraordinary rates I am humbly of opinion that the best and cheapest way of furnishing us with provisions for our horses will be from England, and must therefore propose to your Lord.^{ps} that a years supply of barley may be ordered us which will amount to about ten thousand bushells³⁸⁰ for 128 horses. It will be necessary that the provision be sent in Barly our horses having been long accustomed to that sort and now not likely to thrive <395> with any other, and I humbly presse that those supplies may be expedited without delay our stores being at present near the bottom.

I humbly beg that the bearer M.^r Atkins (whom we have chosen to remain in England for the solicitation of our affairs) may have the honour of being heard whenever he shall have occasion to represent any thing relating to us, and that your Lord.^{ps} will be pleased to give him the liberty of making his humble applications to you as often as our businesse shall require it. I am with the greatest submission

My Lords,
Yo.^r Lord.^{ps} &c.

Letter 120 [pp. 395–398]

Tanger March 19.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To the Earl of Sunderland]³⁸¹

My Lord,

It is not long since I gave my self the liberty of writing to your Lord.^p and tho it would become me not to give you too frequent troubles of this nature I cannot but make use of this opportunity to acquaint your Lord.^p by the bearer (whom I have sent expresse) with the present pos<396>ture of our affairs here. Lieu.^t Nicholson is at length arrived with us and notwithstanding all the means we used to render the Letter of the King my Master to the Emperour of Morocco as effectually as might be expected we have not

³⁸⁰ A bushel was a volumetric measure, chiefly used for grain, equivalent to 8 imperial gallons.

³⁸¹ See App. A.

been able to obtain of him the ratification of the Whitehall Treaties, the credit of the Alcaid Ali who always opposed it that he might continue the honour and advantage of the management of our affairs in his own hand being too powerful for that of the Embassadour. The Emperour neverthelesse assures us of his intention to observe punctually the Mequinez Treaty & I am of opinion that while his Nephew continues to divert him he will not easily be induced to a rupture with us. There is so little difference between the Mequinez and the Whitehall Treaty that I suppose his Ma.^{tie} will easily acquiesce in what the Emperour proposes and that I shall have orders to accept of it and gouvern my self accordingly. He will not hearken to a Peace by sea not as I beleive out of any certain aversion of it but because he thinks that such a Treaty would oblige him to a restitution of the late English Spoils wherein he hath had the greatest share and because he is influenced by those who <397> have credit with him and who imagine their interest is a war by sea, where they are apt to persuade themselves the King my Master will never presse them severely out of his tendernesse to the quiet and Peace of Tanger. Upon the whole I am humbly of opinion that his Ma.^{tie} may repose himself as securely on the Emperour's word for the observance of the Mequinez Treaty as he could do on his ratification of the Whitehall Peace had we obtained it, and we may beleive our selves in as safe a condition as ever we may expect to be with a people that will keep their promise as long as it will not appear convenient for them to break it and that they shall see us in a capacity of making a stout defence. If his Ma.^{tie} shall think fit not to insist on a restitution of what they have taken from us by sea, but suffering those matters to remain as they are at present shall be pleased to furnish me or Admirall Herbert with powers to treat of a Marine Peace wee may possibly in this conjuncture settle those things on some good foundation and if such an attempt shall fail I see no other means to attain that end then by making them feel in good earnest the force of our Ships. <398> The bearer M.^r Atkins being employed hence to remain in England in order to the sollicitation of the concerns of this Garrison, I humbly take the liberty to recommend him to your Lord.^{ps} favour, and of begging you will be pleased to countenance with your particular protection whatever matters he shall happen to represent relating to us here. I am with all dutifull submission

My Lord,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 121 [pp. 398–400]Tang.^r March 19.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Lord Dartmouth]

My Lord,

I seldome faile paying your Lord.^P my respects by every opportunity, and I must now give you some short account of the present condition of his Ma.^{ties} affairs here upon the return of Lieu.^t Nicholson who I shall dispatch over land as soon as the Emperours Letter designed for the King my Master shall arrive which we expect every moment. In the mean time I thought it might be necessary having an occasion of sending by the <399> Reserve Fregate who will saile within three days for England from Cadiz, to transmit home the Emperour's Letter to me with one from the Alcaid Hamet³⁸² that accompanied it, which do in effect I suppose contain the substance of what we are to depend on with these people and may probably arrive before Lieu.^t Nicholson.

His Ma.^{ties} late Letter to this Emperour hath not produced the effect we promised to our selves he still persisting on his resolution of not ratifying the Whitehall Treaties, but at the same time assuring us he will not recede from the promise he had before given us of a Peace by Land which he will observe according to the tenour of the Mequinez Treaty. And indeed I am persuaded that so long as his Nephew shall continue to divert him he will not rashly break with us, and I think his Ma.^{tie} may depend on those assurances wee now receive from him with as much confidence as can be reposed in a people who have no sense of honour and that make their present profit the measure of all their actions. The Emperour expressed much dissatisfaction at some terms in the King my Masters Letter, but in truth there was nothing that sound<400>ed harshly but the intimating that was given him that his Ma.^{tie} might in equity expect he should restore whatsoever had been taken from his subjects at sea during the cessation of hostilities on his part, and the greatest division of those spoils having been the Emperours share there is no consideration makes him so averse from a Marine Peace as the beleife that we would insist upon a restitution of them. Yet though he hearkens not for those reasons to a Peace by Sea, he hath (as a great favour) granted a cessation of arms till my Masters answer shall arrive with him. This is the present posture of

³⁸² Mohammed al-Hafiz (see App. A). Both letters are printed in, *Tangier Texts*, 233–241.

matters here wherein I hope such resolutions will be taken as shall best provide for his Ma.^{ties} interests, and I am sure your Lord.^{ps} counsellors will always be directed for the preservation and prosperity of this important peice of the King's dominions.

The bearer M.^r Atkins will continue in England to sollicite from time to time the businesse of our Garrison, I humbly recommend him to your Lord.^{ps} protection and because we are all here persuaded of your kindnesse to us and that our happinesse does depend on it we doubt not but that your Lord.^p will hearken favourably to those things he shall propose from us and countenance his endeav.^{rs} in all our affairs. I am

My Lord,
Yo.^r &c

Letter 122 [pp. 401–403]

<401> Tang.^r March 19.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To the Earl of Conway]

My Lord,

Lieu.^t Nicholson is arrived with us from the Emperour of Morocco, and tho the King my Master's Letter hath not produced that effect we promised our selves yet we have the assurance of that Emperour's being resolved to stand to the Treaty of Mequinez, and his refusall of ratifying what was transacted by his Embassadour hath not been followed as we had some reason to beleive it might with the breach of our good correspondence. The truth is the diversion which is at present given him by his Nephew against whom he is forced to employ his whole power, obliges him not to meditate at present any alteration of his deportment towards us and I think wee may consider our selves to be secure while he is not in a condition to hurt us. He hath been persuaded by some that have an influence on him and whose interest it is to prolong the war by sea that if he consented to the ratification of the Marine Treaty he would be obliged to the restitution of what had already been taken from us which <402> (being himself the greatest sharer in it) he was unwilling to refund. He has neverthelesse granted a suspension of hostilities by sea till he shall receive the King my Master's reply to his Letter, and this truce may in the present juncture prove the foundation of a peace by sea, if his Ma.^{ties} shall think fit

to send powers hither for the treating any thing of that nature without insisting on a restitution or satisfaction for what is past. I think it might not be amisse to make some tryall of their dispositions, tho when all is done we shall never be truly secure from them and it will be of necessity that his Ma.^{tie} should always keep some Fregats in these parts to keep them from the temptation of preying on us which they will certainly do when the absence of our ships shall afford them an opportunity. Your Lord.^p is not unacquainted with the nature of the people we have to deale withall, and I question not but such measures will be taken as will in some degree lessen that burthen of care his Ma.^{tie} lies under for this place and at the same time provide for the security of it.

This Gentleman M.^r Atkins whom we shall employ <403> in England about the sollicitation of the businesses of this Garrison will make it his endeavour to deserve the honour of your Lord.^{ps} favour and I humbly beg that whenever he shall have any thing to offer to your Lord.^{ps} protection relating to our interests here that you will be pleased to hear him and afford him the great advantage of an accesse to your Lord.^p I am with all submission

My Lord
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 123 [pp. 403–405]

Tang.^r March 19.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To the Earl of Rochester]

My Lord,

M.^r Nicholson arrived with us this day sennight from the Emperour's camp and would have been dispatched home by this opportunity were we not still waiting for his Imperiall Ma.^{ties} Letter to the King my Master which is not yet come, being sent to Mequinez to be adorned with golden Inscriptions a decent formality wherein these people are not willing to be wanting. In the mean time hearing that the Reserve <404> will saile within three days from Cadiz for England I judged it fit to send by that opportunity the best account of King Muley Ismael's dispositions as I have been able to collect out of his Letter to my self which not to loose time I have transmitted by sea to M.^r Secretary Jenkins to be laid before his Ma.^{tie} designing to dispatch M.^r Nicholson with the Emperour's Letter over land as soon as I shall receive it. The Emperour tho he

persists in his resolution of not ratifying what his Embassadour had treated in England, hath not thought fit to passe to an immediate rupture but professes his willingnesse to persevere in his good correspondence with us on the foot of the Mequinez Treaty and I beleive we may depend on the observance of his word so long as his Nephew shall continue to presse upon him or that he shall find some means to disentangle himself from that troublesome diversion either by a composition of matters between them [or] by some successfull military operation. Our Peace therefore is at present usefull to him from the assistances we afford him of powder and arms, but whenever this consideration shall happen <405> to cease as he is an ambitious Prince and affects conquests it is to be presumed he will begin with the Christian Garrisons on this continent which he doth not stick to publish and is extreemly applauded by his people. I question not but that such resolutions will be taken for my future deparment on the view of the present state of things here as will be most sutable to his Ma.^{tics} interest, and I hope your Lord.^p who hath so great a share in the direction of his Ma.^{tics} Treasures will have the honour of being the person whom all good Englishmen will consider to have contributed powerfully with all succours as are necessary for our safety.

M.^r Atkins the Gentleman who will have the honour of putting this Letter into your Lord.^{ps} hands is employed hence to remain in England for the sollicitation of the affairs of the Garrison, I humbly beg your Lord.^{ps} goodnesse and favour to him, and that you would be pleased to countenance whatever shall be moved by him from us with your protection. I am with all imaginable respect,

My Lord,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 124 [p. 406]³⁸³

<406> Tang.^r March 22.th 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

The affairs of his Ma.^{tics} particular service requiring my dispatching M.^r Nicholson over land to England I have ordered him to take

³⁸³ Letter 124, dated 22 March, should follow Letters 125 and 126, both dated 21 March.

up my money in Cadiz for the proceeding on his journey and have passed my Bills on your Lord.^{ps} payable to the order of M.^r Emely³⁸⁴ and company which I question not but that in regard of the necessity of this credit your Lord.^{ps} will take care may be punctually paid. I am,

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 125 [pp. 406–412]

Tang.^r March 21.st 168 $\frac{2}{3}$

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

The Emperour of Morocco's Letter for the King my Master is at length arrived, which I thought my duty to dispatch immediately over land by the hands of M.^r Nicholson, being sensible it is not without some impatience that you expect the knowledge of what you are to rely upon with these people. I have little to add to what I writ two days ago on the <407> subject of the present state of things (duplicates whereof I herewith send) having seen nothing in the Emperour's Letter to my Master that should make me change my opinion. For tho his Imperiall Ma.^{tie} expresses much resentment and seems indifferent as to a Land Peace but absolutely averse to a correspondence by sea, I am persuaded while he is entangled in the troublesome differences with his Nephew he will not rashly break the first or refuse the latter if handsomely proposed to him. The stile of the Emperour's Letter is indeed but what might be expected from such a Prince, who is too proud to retract what he hath done in the disowning his Embassadour's negotiation, and wanting reasons to justify his proceedings makes it out in noise and high language. I am of opinion by what I now discover that we ought not to be much alarmed at it and when I consider the great moderation and gentleness of his stile to me, and the care the Alcaid Ali hath taken to soften the sharpness of his Ma.^{ties} expressions I do really beleive that his Imperiall Ma.^{ties} Letter is no true Interpreter of his meaning. At the time that the Letter was brought in Hadgi Lucas and another principall Moor came to me from the Alcaid who made me many complements assuring me the

³⁸⁴ Francis Emms (see App. A).

Emperour's intentions were to <408> a good correspondence and that nothing could change his resolutions of observing the Mequinez Treaty the Alcaid acknowledged he had often dealt me hard measure and desired I would forget many injuries that had been done me engaging that for the future matters should be amended and that he would never give me just reason of complaint. I told these Gentlemen that they might assure the Alcaid I never received any thing with greater Joy then I did the knowledge of his good dispositions of coming to a better understanding with me then formerly he had seemed to desire that I met him with all imaginable sincerity on my part and was ready to give him any reasonable proofs he could ask of me that I had laid aside all remembrance of his unkindnesses and resolved to live with him in all the confidence and mutuall endearments of a strict neighbourhood and then I took an opportunity to insinuate that it would be very conducing to a good understanding of matters if the Alcaid would write to the King my Master and mitigate those expressions of the Emperours Letter which otherwise he might resent to the endangering of some violent resolutions. Lucas promised me that he should do it and if his Letter comes timely enough it shall go with this.

<409>I see that in the Emperour's Letter to my Master there is no mention of a cessation by sea as there is in that he hath writ to me³⁸⁵ and indeed I know not how to interpret the omission of it, whether he hath really no intention to observe such a cessation but writes it only to amuse me and keep our ships without action till his own shall be gone to sea, or whether he is willing that hostilities should be suspended in expectation perhaps of another Embassy and presents from England in order to a Marine Peace. In this undetermined and doubtfull state of affairs by sea, as likewise to consult on other matters of his Ma.^{ties} service I thought it most safe to ask the advice of all the field officers and Commandants of this place who met me in a Councill of warre and having considered the substance of what M.^r Nicholson had brought from the Emperour of Morocco we thought that the assurances he had given me of a cessation of hostilities for a time tho he took no notice of it to the King my Master ought not to be slighted nor yet wholly to be depended on. I therefore signified my opinion and that of the Councill of warre to S.^r John Berry that tho we had no sufficient grounds to decide positively whether <410> his Ma.^{ties} affairs by sea with the Emperour of Morocco were in a State

³⁸⁵ Moulay Ismail's letter to Charles II; Moulay Ismail's letter to Kirke; Ahmed Ben Haddu Hamami, alcaid of Tetuan's, letter to Kirke to the same effect; and Ben Haddu Hamami's letter to Charles II apologizing for the tone of Moulay Ismail's communication, are printed in, *Tangier Texts*, 231–244.

of Truce or war yet we judged it would import his R.¹ Service that he should continue with y^c Ships under his command in these parts till the arrivall of Admirall Herbert in order to observe the motions of the Moors and for the protection of his Ma.^{ties} trading subjects. It was at the same time the unanimous opinion of the Councill of warre where in M.^r Mayor³⁸⁶ likewise did concur that the Jewish inhabitants were a people of no use and service but on the contrary of great prejudice to the Town, and it was therefore resolved that such only should be permitted to live here of whose fidelity and inclinations I was fully satisfied and that the trading Jews of Barbary should not be suffered to stay in the Town by night but retire to their Tents without the bounds.³⁸⁷ All Souldiers were forbid the selling of liquours and other matters of inferiour Gouernment were likewise regulated.

I have formerly given you an account of a paper which had been deposited in my hands of some hidden treasures of the Emperour of Morocco. M.^r Nicholson will be able to give you the whole history of things and I judged it <411> necessary for the knowledge of the truth of what we are made to beleive is contained in that paper to remit the same home by the Reserve Fregate which will then be delivered to M.^r Nicholson and you may please to recommend the translation of it to D.^r Hide³⁸⁸ and that it be returned hither by the first safe opportunity.

They complain here I know not with what Justice that the Arabick Letter sent by the King my Master to the Emperour was not well writ; accusing D.^r Hide of want of skill in that language and the true knowledge of the force and significance of expressions; but I am apt to beleive that the only exception they have against his Ma.^{ties} employing him for the future is because when such Letters are received in Arabick the Emperour takes the pains to hear them read immediately upon the place and consequently hath the knowledge of the true state of affairs, whereas when they are sent in English or Spanish the person entrusted with the Interpretation of them shall make them represent what sense he shall think fit. I impatiently expect directions for my conduct in the present state of things and beg that Lieu.^t Nicholson may be dispatched speedily with all ne<412>cessary instructions and a full knowledge of his Ma.^{ties} R.¹ pleasure. I am with all respect

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

³⁸⁶ William Smith (see App. A).

³⁸⁷ This regulation was not enforced. Kirke often used extravagant language and was well known for uttering draconian, but entirely empty, threats (Childs, *Kirke*, 50–62).

³⁸⁸ Thomas Hyde (see App. A).

Letter 126 [pp. 412–413]Tang.^r March 21.st 168 $\frac{2}{3}$ [To Captain Sir John Berry RN]³⁸⁹

Sir,

In order to the giving you the best information of the state of his Ma.^{ties} affairs by sea with the Emperour of Morocco I have called the assistance of a Councill of warre where having attentively read and considered that Emperour's Letter to the King my Master we find no assurance of a Peace by sea neither yet that he threatens us with hostilities, so that since I am not able to affirm positively to you that he designs either a Peace or war with us I must let you know it is mine and the unanimous opinion of the Council of warre that it will very much import his Ma.^{ties} service as a means to prevent hostilities which the absence of our Fregats might tempt them to and for the security and protection of his Ma.^{ties} trading subjects that you continue with the ships under your command in these parts till the arrival of Admirall Herbert. I am

Sir,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 127 [pp. 413–414]Tang.^r April 5.th 1683.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I was in good hope to have received by this time your Lord.^{ps} decision of the debate and competition in the case which I represented to your Lord.^{ps} between our Court Merchant³⁹⁰ and the

³⁸⁹ See App. A.

³⁹⁰ The Court Merchant, established in 1668, sat every day except Sundays and holy days. The bench, comprising 'one person learned in the civil laws', four merchants, and a registrar, was elected annually by the mayor, aldermen, and common council. It heard cases relating to commerce, trade, currency, contracts, payments, the chartering of shipping, freightage, sailors' wages, and 'all other mercantile or maritime cases' (Routh, *Tangier*, 119).

Court of Appeal as likewise his Ma.^{ties} pleasure about the continuance of the Court of Oyer and Terminer which being both matters of great consequence to our good Gouvernement I humbly presume once more to remind your Lord.^{ps} and to beg your speedy determination of them.

By the absence of M.^r Shere³⁹¹ and the late departure of Cap.^t Giles³⁹² the Mole being left now to the care and management of M.^r Cuthbert³⁹³ the next officer, I thought it my <414> duty to cause a survey to be made as well of the present condition of it as for the stores belonging thereunto which survey will be transmitted to your Lord.^{ps} by the Comptroller.³⁹⁴ I find but slender provision made for the preservation of that worke being acquainted that there are only 100 p.^s of 8/8 assigned for repairs which I think my self obliged to note to your Lord.^{ps} to the end that if you judge it convenient some person may be appointed to oversee the same as may be enabled to defray upon occasion the necessary expence it being certain that many dammages may happen which for the want of a small summe at present cannot be repaired afterwards but with considerable charges. I am with all submission

My Lords
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 128 [pp. 414–416]

Tang.^r April 5.th 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I have this Post received the honour of yours of the 26.th of February for which I return you my <415> very humble thanks. I live at present in great quietnesse with our Neighbours and do find the Alcaid of late so extremely civill and complying that I cannot but derive very strong assurances of their peaceable intentions for the present and that they are not willing to alter the terms of the good correspondence. It shall be my businesse to improve these inclinations and to make our friendship valuable to them by all the

³⁹¹ Henry Sheres (see App. A).

³⁹² John Giles (see App. A).

³⁹³ Robert Cuthbert (see App. A).

³⁹⁴ John Erlisman (see App. A).

reasonable means I can make use of. Admirall Herbert since his arrivall here has in obedience to orders from the Admiralty sent a Fregat to cruise on the coast of Sale which I hope may prevent any insults those Corsairs might designe against his Ma.^{ties} Subjects and the better dispose them to hearken to a Peace by sea if it shall be thought convenient to be once more proposed.

Immediately on Lieu.^t Nicholson's departure we had a report here that King Muley Ismael had ratified the Whitehall Treaties with M.^r Onby which was occasioned by a Letter a person belonging to him had writ to M.^r Lodington to that effect and it is not unlikely that such news will have reached you in England before this come to hand, our Merchants but too frequent<416>ly publishing their conjectures or the result of their own wishes as matter of intelligence to their Correspondents. M.^r Onby is now bound home having finished his businesse here as well as he has been able and assures me that during the time of his continuance in the Emperour of Morocco's camp after the departure of Lieu.^t Nicholson from thence that Emperour made no mention to him of any publick matters.

A quarrel has lately hapned here between Cap.^t Strode³⁹⁵ & Cap.^t Johnson³⁹⁶ officers in Coll: Trelawny's Regiment – who being both in drink drew their swords and the latter is wounded tho not dangerously by the other. I have hereupon ordered them to be suspended from their employments, till such time as you shall think fit to signify to me his Ma.^{ties} [...].³⁹⁷ I am with all submission,

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 129 [pp. 417–420]

<417> Tang.^r April 19.th 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I am to give you my most humble thanks for yours of the 12.th past which I now receive as likewise at the same time two Letters from the Lords of the Committee, but those both of them of more ancient date

³⁹⁵ John Strode (see App. A).

³⁹⁶ Charles Johnson (see App. A).

³⁹⁷ A word, probably 'pleasure', has been omitted by the copyist.

one particularly hath moved with so slow a pace as to make it three months, I know not by what hindrance before it came to hand, and because I am certain the stop hath not been upon the way hither it is visible the neglect hath been at home and possibly M.^t Creed will be able to give some reason of it. These at length are the Letters wherein you were pleased in a former of yours to acquaint me I was to expect severall directions from their Lord.^{ps} and which you supposed went by the same opportunity: in the mean time I have reason to wonder after so long and impatient an attendance that no notice at all is taken of what I had so earnestly represented about the competition between the Court Merchant and Court of Appeal and the great usefulness which I and most people have apprehended of the continuance of the <418> Court of Oyer and Terminer in this place. You will see in the enclosed what I write their Lord.^{ps} of the Committee and I must humbly beg for the extraordinary reasonableness and indeed necessity of the thing that in order to the defraying the emergent charges of publick services here either some certain fond may be established or that I may be enabled to make use of his Ma.^{ties} credit as occasion shall require by the punctuall acceptance of my Bills.

I am sorry having applied my self with so much earnestnesse to establish a good discipline here to acquaint you with an unlucky quarrell hapned between two officers of the Garrison. Mons.^t La Rue,³⁹⁸ Lieut.^t to Cap.^t Mackenny,³⁹⁹ having received some injurious words from Cap.^t Preston,⁴⁰⁰ an officer of the Earle of Dunbarton's Regiment, and meeting him the next morning in the street, where a farther provocation hapned, La Rue gave the Cap.^t a box on the ear, and they both of them drawing their swords the Cap.^t received a mortall wound whereof he dyed some moments after. I have hereupon suspended La Rue from his employment and have delivered him over to the civill power to be prosecuted according to Law which is what I thought it my duty to do in the present case.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁸ Francis de la Rue (see App. A).

³⁹⁹ Alexander MacKenny (see App. A).

⁴⁰⁰ John Preston (see App. A).

⁴⁰¹ In England, if one commissioned officer killed another, the undetermined relationship between the various codes of military discipline, by which the peacetime standing army was regulated, and the common law resulted in a lack of clarity about how, and under what jurisdiction, a prosecution might be conducted. Process was less contentious in Tangier where the garrison was subject to martial law according to the 'Laws and Ordinances of War Established for the Better Governing of His Majesty's Forces in the Kingdoms of Suz, Fez, and Morocco', drawn up for the earl of Peterborough in 1661. Under this authority, such offences were tried before a specially convened court martial. Notwithstanding, Kirke was evidently cautious about the precise legal status of the 'Laws and Ordinances' and had no wish to act *ultra vires*. He probably reasoned that if the case was referred for trial at the Quarter Sessions, or the newly constituted Court of

<419> It is reported here that Muley Ismael had routed his Nephew, entered the Kingdom of Sus, and besieged him in a Castle whither he is retired and where he cannot long defend himself and that hereupon much rejoicing has been made in this country. Others whisper that there has been an encounter between the Battel of both Princes and give the advantage to Muley Hamet⁴⁰² but it is a hard matter to procure true intelligence of things of this nature, and rumours here are so rashly dispersed that we must be obliged to time only to inform us.

I have formerly given an account of his Ma.^{ties} provision Stores being broke open, and the losse of severall quantities of provision, whereupon certain Souldiers that were suspected had been severely examined by my order but nothing could be proved against them. Since the true Author of that disorder hath been discovered and happens to be a person belonging as Cooper to the said stores being now condemned at the late sessions here and the military men cleared of the imputation they lay under upon that score. The man since his sentence recriminates upon the Commissaries of those stores for some faults <420> in the management of their trust and particularly for charging to his Ma.^{ties} account greater quantities then were really lost much of which may possibly be very true. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 130 [pp. 420–424]

Tang.^r Aprill 19.th 1683.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Your Lord.^{ps} of the 13.th January and February the 17.th came not to my hands till this last post the first having made a delay of three months and both of them having lodged I know not where a considerable time.

Oyer and Terminer, he would be erring on the side of prudence and his decision would thereby be less liable to subsequent criticism and/or appeal. Kirke often acted timorously and, like all governors of Tangier, was acutely conscious of how his actions and decisions would be interpreted and regarded in Whitehall (CO 279/1, fos 99–110; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, 75–89, 254).

⁴⁰² Ahmed ibn Muhriz. See App. A.

I am sorry my proposall of repairing with bricks from England is found impracticable, which was never superseded by me as is supposed in any later Letter the small quantity of stone which I had given an account I had found proper for the flagging some of our batteries being by mistake inferred to be equally fit and sufficient for repairs.

Your Lord.^{ps} are pleased to order me that I passe my accounts in the Exchequer and to put me in a method of <421> sending them home annually for the future which rule I will be sure to observe. And whereas I am commanded to send home my accounts from the beginning of my Gouvernement made up till Michaelmas last within three months after the receipt of your Lord.^{ps} Letter, I doe now take this opportunity to remit them to our Agent, as likewise a subsequent account annexed of expences on severall publick services here the amount whereof I shall be obliged to take up of Merchants on his Ma.^{ties} credit and consequently shall suddenly draw Bills on the Treasury for the same. I shall take care that my annuall accounts be finished at Midsummer according to your Lord.^{ps} directions and that all of them be passed in the Exchequer, in the mean time I humbly beg your Lord.^{ps} that such regard may be had to the Bills I shall be constrained to draw on all unavoidable occasions of our publick necessities as may encourage the merchants to supply us with mony, for unlesse such Bills be punctually complied with or that your Lord.^{ps} shall be pleased (which I once more humbly propose) to furnish me with a sufficient established fond, I shall be left under a perfect disability of making any provision on such publick emergencies a circumstance which as your Lord.^{ps} must be very sensible would <422> render our condition here miserable and would prove of the greatest ill consequence to the place.⁴⁰³

I had foreseen such an absolute necessity of making distinct powder houses in the Upper = Castle, that I was sure I could not do his Ma.^{tie} a more acceptable service amongst other cases and reparations wherein I was employed then to undertake that work having anticipated your Lord.^{ps} commands in that particular and compleated the fitting of three Powder = houses in the most convenient and proper situations capable within a very small abatement of that quantity of powder expressed in your Lord.^{ps} directions. The disbursements in this and other works I send your Lord.^{ps} in a particular account

⁴⁰³ A tightening of the financial latitude which the Tangier Committee had allowed previous governors was badly needed. In 1663, Pepys noted that Teviot simply presented his unaudited accounts and claims for moneys supposedly expended in the public service. Lacking means of corroboration, the committee unquestioningly nodded them through (Pepys, *Diary*, IV. 269–70, 326–7; V. 153; Routh, *Tangier*, 33–5).

attested by the Commission.^{rs} for inspecting the buildings and fortifications.⁴⁰⁴

I have received an order of Council directing that the stores houses upon the Mole be applied for the use of his Ma.^{ties} Navall stores which I will take care shall be done accordingly reserving only a straw = house there which is of that necessity, now especially that we shall take in our provision for the ensuing year for the whole Garrison that without the charge of building another we shall want a place for the laying up of those stores, which reason will oblige me un<423>der your Lord.^{ps} approbation to keep that small Magazine for the use of the Garrison.

Your Lord.^{ps} have been pleased upon occasion of my dismissing certain Gunsmiths incapable of doing his Ma.^{tie} service here, to forbid me for the future to break and to suspend only such as have a dependance on the Master of the ordnance and this likewise to be understood in relation to any officer of the Garrison that may happen to misbehave themselves wherein I am sorry to see your Lord.^{ps} are not willing that I should enjoy that latitude of power which his Ma.^{tie} hath thought fit to grant me in his Letters patent which is equall to what hath been allowed to any of my predecessors and yet I have a strong confidence when your Lord.^{ps} shall please to consider that I have given no occasion to be so limited that as well for my own credit as the maintenance of a stricter discipline, you will easily approve of my continuance in the exercise of that authority wherewith his Ma.^{tie} hath invested me, which I beg your Lord.^{ps} to beleive I shall use with the discretion & Justice that I ought and that I shall ever give an exact and due account home for my proceedings.⁴⁰⁵

By the arrival of some Victuallers we now receive a <424> small supply of coals and I must humbly beg your Lord.^{ps} to consider the great inconveniences we have lain under through the frequent wants of those stores, the trouble and charge of procuring wood from the Moors being such as I hope will induce your Lord.^{ps} to give reasonable orders for the supplying us from time to time so as new provision may arrive with us before the former be quite expended whereby the Garrison will be out of danger of such wants and his Ma.^{tie} will avoid

⁴⁰⁴ See Letter 109.

⁴⁰⁵ Had the Tangier Committee enforced this point – the issue remained unresolved when the colony was evacuated in 1684 – then it would have substantially constrained the governor's authority. The principal motivation behind this implied restriction was the fact that army and Ordnance Office commissions were freehold properties: office holders could only be deprived by the king, usually on receipt of acceptable compensation. Kirke was no more partisan and partial than any other major public figure in favouring protégés while looking to disadvantage rival clientage networks and interests (Childs, *Kirke*, 12–14, 84–85, 113–137).

the encrease of charge as we are forced to take our firing from the Moors not to mention the uncertainty whether our neighbours will allow it us. I am with all submission,

My lords
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 131 [pp. 424–426]

Tang.^r April 19.th 1683.

[To Lord Dartmouth]

My Lord,

I cannot but take notice to your Lord.^p that two Letters which I now receive from the Lords of the Committee being come to hands after extraordinary delays, one of <425> them particularly of the 13.th of January, I have some ground to suspect that those to whom it belongs at home have been the lesse diligent in forwarding them, and I think it would be but just that M.^r Creed should give some account of the matter, since I am certain the stop hath not been upon the way hither. I am the more concerned at this delay finding severall materiall points in their Lord.^{ps} Letter of January which would have been necessary I had known in the due time it was intended in order to have made a speedy reply.

I now receive the Lords commands for the fitting of two Powder = houses in the Upper Castle, which having foreseen to have been a matter of greatest expedience imaginable, I had already without waiting particular directions entered upon that work as I have formerly given your Lord.^{ps} an accompt being the more encouraged to it by having discovered three very proper places for Powder = houses which I have compleated with moderate charges and do now transmit to the Lords of the Committee a particular acc.^t of what has been expended on them.

I have by this opportunity together with the other Commissioners of the works here given the Lords of the <426> Committee an account of the Store = house in the Upper = Castle which in S.^r Palmes Fairborne's time was converted to the quartering of four companies of souldiers and it still applied to that use is now falling to the ground, proposing that quarters might be made for them in some other place here being room enough in the Castle and that the said Magazine may be returned to the use it was first designed

since it's station is so extreamly convenient, and that it will be made to contain the whole provision of the Garrison, for one third more then what is necessary for the repairing of it as quarters according to the computation we have made.

I thought it fit to give your Lord.^{ps} a view in the enclosed paper how our great Guns are at present disposed and mounted on the severall platforms and Batteries here to the end you may the better conceive the posture of this part of our defence, remaining with all respect

My Lord
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 132 [pp. 427–431]

<427> Tang.^r May 4.th 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I humbly thank you for yours of the 26.th of March which acquainted me that there are some lights⁴⁰⁶ wanting in the late Estimate sent home necessary for the ordinance and particularly a scale of feet. I have taken care to supply this defect which proceeded from the forgetfullnesse of our Engineer in the enclosed paper containing such a scale in the mean time that I receive those farther directions you are pleased to tell me I am to expect from the Lords of the Committee upon the businesse.

On the 23.th [*sic*] past our whole Garrison being drawn out into our feilds in honour of the day⁴⁰⁷ and having ordered the three companies of Granadeers⁴⁰⁸ belonging to the severall Regiments to be joined for their better appearance to make one body apart commanded by reason of the absence of the Captain of the Earle of Dunbarton's Granadeers⁴⁰⁹ by the Cap.^t of the Granadeers of the old Regiment⁴¹⁰ the next in rank there has hapned on this occasion some difference in opinion between me <428> and the officers of

⁴⁰⁶ i.e. some omissions.

⁴⁰⁷ Charles II had been crowned in Westminster Abbey on 23 April 1661.

⁴⁰⁸ See Letter 109.

⁴⁰⁹ According to the established rules, Dumbarton's officers took precedence because their regiment was the oldest, and thus most senior, within the garrison. The absent grenadier captain was Robert Hodges (see App. A).

⁴¹⁰ William Mathews of the 1st Tangier Regiment (see App. A).

the Scotch Regiment they alleaging that when the Cap.^t of their Granadeers is wanting they are to furnish a Cap.^t from the Regiment to put at the head of the Granadeers which reason may be good while the Granadeers act in conjunction with the Regiment (tho even that in my judgment would be a hardship upon the oldest Lieu.^t of Granadeers) but certainly it does not hold when they are joined and make a separate body with the other companies of Granadeers,⁴¹¹ and the service here being of a nature as will often require such a separation I humbly conceive it improper and dangerous to remove a Cap.^t at any time from his own company where he must be wanting (much more at present while there is so great a scarcity of Captains in that Regiment) to place him at the head of a company in another body of a different exercise and service peculiar to that body.⁴¹² And I cannot but think it as reasonable in the absence of the eldest Cap.^t of Granadeers that the Cap.^t of Granadeers next in rank upon the place should command all the companies of Granadeers when joined together in one body as for the eldest Cap.^t to command <429> the same body with preference to others were he present.⁴¹³ This being the true state of the case and the reasons of my varying in opinion from the officers of the Scotch Regiment I humbly submit the whole to his Ma.^{ties} decision and beg you to ask his R.^l pleasure on this particular for my future deparment.

I gave you an account in my last how some military men having lain under the imputation of robbing the King's provision Stores had recovered their credit by a discovery made that those pretended robberies were indeed the embezzlements of a Cooper belonging to

⁴¹¹ Reference to the increasingly frequent practice of temporarily detaching all available grenadier companies from their parent regiments to form an ad hoc grenadier battalion.

⁴¹² The colonel was, and remains, responsible for training his own regiment or battalion, although this duty was usually delegated to the major, the pivotal officer in a 17th-century unit. In 1679, the Scottish Army had adopted as its official drill manual, *An Abridgement of English Military Discipline* (London, 1675). However, this publication was not so widely espoused within the English Army until the publication of the 1685 edition, which incorporated updates derived from the Sedgemoor campaign. Nevertheless, it was not incumbent upon field officers to follow the *Abridgement*, although most complied (Childs, *Army of William III*, 78).

⁴¹³ The rules of regimental seniority dealt with this point only by implication. Kirke's sensible solution was based upon the regulations of 20 July 1678, which stated that when soldiers from different regiments found themselves in a 'commanded party' – and such was the definition of Kirke's demi-battalion of grenadiers – led by officers from more than one regiment, then officers ranked according to the dates of their commissions, not the rungs occupied by their parent units on the ladder of regimental precedence. The proposal from the Royal Scots that a lieutenant from a senior regiment might command a captain from a junior would have undermined the basis of military discipline (WO 26/4, p. 396; SP 29/260, fo. 21; SP 29/335, fo. 229; Walton, 441–445).

the said stores some whereof had been proved against him and he consequently condemned to die for it. In the mean time the man offering much in mitigation of his crime and affirming he is able to detect severall abuses and mismanagements of the Commissaries or chief officers of the Provision Stores having already preferred the enclosed Article against them I look upon it as a matter of so great consequence as to deserve a very diligent search and shall for that reason respite the man till such time as you shall please to signify to me his Ma.^{ties} pleasure whether the judgment of death may not be changed into banishment or whether the sentence already passed on him shall be put in execution.

I told you in my last of the great shews of rejoicing amongst the Moors for the pretended defeat of the forces of Muley Hamet⁴¹⁴ the truth of which I then much suspected and am now more confirmed in my suspicion since the Alcaid takes no notice of it to me, as certainly he would do on so extraordinary prosperity of his Master's affairs and that the report remains in grosse⁴¹⁵ still without the mention of any particularities which remarks added to the notice I just now receive by one of my servants come out of the country of the Alcaid's raising all the men he can make to recruit the King's army renders it very improbable that he should have reduced his Nephew to the poor defence of one Castle only and rather persuades me to believe he has received some very sensible blow from him the knowledge of which it imports him to keep from his people by those amusements which are usuall and frequent here.

The late Morocco Embassadour brought with him severall great quantities of powder some part of which was <431> furnished by his Ma.^{ties} order but having never had any notice how it was given whether as a present or on the account of capitulations I must humbly beg you would be pleased to afford me some light in this businesse that I may be the better able to guide my self in my answers to the Alcaid's demands of powder he pretends due by the Articles of Peace besides that having lately furnished his Ma.^{ties} Navy with 250 barrells of powder out of our Magazines here we cannot well spare more, and I must deferre complying with the Alcaid till I hear from England. I am,

Hon.^d Sir
Yo.^r &c.

⁴¹⁴ Ahmed ibn Muhriz. See App. A.

⁴¹⁵ i.e. not yet convincingly challenged.

Letter 133 [pp. 431–432]Tang.^r May 4.th 1683.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

S.^r Leoline Jenkins having been pleased to let me know there were some deficiencies in the draught and Estimate lately transmitted to your Lord.^{ps} of the backside of York Castle and the Town = wall and mentioning particul^{rly} the want of a Scale of Feet I thought it my duty to supply that omission without any farther delay and do by this opportunity send to M.^r Secretary's hands such a Scale in the mean time that I receive your Lord.^{ps} farther directions on this businesse which I am made to expect.

By the last Post I gave your Lord.^{ps} an account of the necessity of my drawing Bills on the Treasury which I now do for the summe of 3872 p.^s of 8/8 which I have taken up of M.^r Francis Herne⁴¹⁶ Merchant in Cadiz and do humbly remind your Lord.^{ps} how necessary it is for his Ma.^{ties} service that such Bills be punctually complied with. I am with all submission,

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 134 [pp. 432–433]Tang.^r May the 4.th 1683.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I take this opportunity to send your Lord.^{ps} the enclosed accompts which are made up from the beginning of <433> my Government to September last and which by order of Councill I am to passe in the Exchequer. In the mean time having since made severall considerable disbursements in the necessary publick services of this place as will appear by the last accompt annexed wherein I have been forced to make use of his Ma.^{ties} credit I have consequently drawn Bills on

⁴¹⁶ Francis Herne (see App. A).

your Lord.^{ps} for the amount of them being 3872 p.^s of 8/8 payable to the order of M.^r Francis Herne Merchant in Cadiz which I beg your Lord.^{ps} will be pleased to take order may be punctually complied with. I am with all respect

My Lords
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 135 [pp. 433–438]

Tang.^r May y^c 17.th 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I returne you my humble thanks for yours of the 9.th past and must assure you that when I gave an account in mine of of [*sic*] the 22.^d of February of the quick intelligence the Moors receive even of the resolutions of <434> our Councils at home I did not so much as imagine that those notices were derived to them from your office since I sufficiently know you entertain no persons that are not of experienced trust and that it is impossible to arrive at any secret that is deposited in your hands: I observed it only with reflection on the indiscreet use which I am certain some of our Merchants here do make of their correspondence in England who are frequently attaining the knowledge of severall important passages by I know not what overcurious hands, do not scruple in their connect with the Jews, or make it publick.

I have been acquainted that some care should be taken of superannuated men in this Garrison, and that orders would be dispatched for their sending home; in the mean time having yet received no directions about it I humbly beg you would be pleased once more to lay this matter before his Ma.^{tye} the necessity of removing them growing greater every day they being almost the only men that are sick and infirm and not being able to live upon the Garrison provisions do crowd our Hospitalls to a great in<435>crease of charge to his Ma.^{tye}. I do by this opportunity represent to the Lords of the Committee the necessity likewise of our Hospitalls, and do take the liberty to send to your hands the enclosed copy of my Letter to them not doubting but that you will be pleased to promote that some speedy resolution may be taken in making better provision for the sick then our present allowance will afford.

Most of our horse officers have mounted themselves extremely well from Spain whence they have lately procured excellent horses and it is very much to be desired for the good of his Ma.^{ties} service that some care might be taken of making additions of horses for the Troopers which I humbly represent as a matter of great moment and beg his Ma.^{ties} R.^l consideration of it.

I am infinitely obliged to you for your goodnesse in procuring his Ma.^{ties} command for the stopping of all Commission on the selling of any companies belonging to this Garrison without my approbation and particularly the kind regard you were pleased to expresse towards me in refusing the passing of a Commission to a Gentleman that had bought the company of Cap.^t Annesly.⁴¹⁷ <436> I have already given you an account that at the request of Coll: Trelawny in whose Regiment Annesly was I had given that company to M.^r Roche the Cap.^t Lieu.^t which being done in pursuance of his Ma.^{ties} orders that such as returned not to their Posts here should be dismissed their employments, I hope it will be confirmed, and that the Commission which has been procured out of the other office against the King's intentions in his said orders will be revoked since having proceeded herein according to his R.^l commands I humbly hope he will support me in it.⁴¹⁸ I shall study to deserve the continuance of your favours to me and should think my self extremely happy could I meet with any opportunities of giving of my devotion.

I should have taken notice to you of the great troubles I undergo at the too frequent deserting of our Souldiers who when they have committed any faults here to escape punishment do immediately run to the Moors where they change their Religion or according to the Articles remain Captives. I have endeavoured by all imaginable means to prevent this inconvenience but find it so impossible a thing that it extremely perplexes me. I <437> have been thinking that if Lieut.^t Nicholson return with his Ma.^{ties} approbation of the terms proposed by this King and that we are to continue on the foot of the Mequinez Treaty, I might possibly be able to induce the Alcaid to mitigate the rigour of the Articles relating to strayers or fugitives and to be more punctuall in the observance of those others which are in our favour by granting him contraband to be ready

⁴¹⁷ See Letters 93 and 116; App. A.

⁴¹⁸ Kirke, who had prospered through merit, opportunity, and good luck, rather than purchase, favoured only experienced and diligent officers. He was equally keen that new appointees should be, or become, clients thus contributing to his base of interest, influence, and patronage. However, despite the assurances that Kirke had received about his right to dismiss officers who had overstayed their furloughs in England, Maurice Roche's field commission was not confirmed in Whitehall while Annesley's sale to Robert Purcell was approved. See App. A, ANNESLEY, Maurice; PURCELL, Robert; ROCHE, Maurice.

here on his demand the Article in that behalf being defective to the prejudice of the Moors which permits them to buy the same in Tanger but doth not oblige us to have it in a readynesse for them. The truth is the concession and liberty of the Moors buying contraband is in vain while we take care they shall find none to buy and because this which I have often hinted is the main cement of our good correspondence with these people I am persuaded that as it is not equitable to take the advantage of an Article not well worded so the Alcaid would give very much to have it rectified; and I may be able to make (if his Ma.^{ty} so think fit) some considerable benefit in lieu of such an alteration.

M.^r Rede⁴¹⁹ our Judge Advocate being lately dead <438> I have put M.^r Bacher,⁴²⁰ a person of deserts and who hath served long here into that employment whereof I thought it my duty to give you an account. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 136 [pp. 438–440]

Tanger May the 17.th 1683-

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have severall times taken the liberty to lay before your Lord.^{ps} the necessitous state of our Hospitalls here and to beg your care that some better provision might for the future be made for our sick people then what the present established allowance will afford wherein having not yet had the honour to receive any knowledge of your Lord.^{ps} resolutions I cannot but once more humbly urge it as a matter very deserving your consideration. The Commission.^{rs} appointed for the management of the Hospitall do by this opportunity transmit you an ample account of the present state of it which leaves me little more to say then to <439> assure your Lord.^{ps} that the greatest care and the best husbandry imaginable has been used in this businesse. The weaknesse of our fond to support the necessary charges had utterly impaired our credit and we have been forced to take up

⁴¹⁹ Morgan Read (see App. A).

⁴²⁰ Frederick Bacher (see App. A).

mony upon interest for the maintenance of the sick wherein however we have found this advantage that by buying with ready mony the provisions of all sorts are much better and cheaper then when taken up upon trust and as your Lord.^{ps} will see by the account sent you has very considerably lessened the charges. The Commission.^{rs} do by this opportunity draw Bills on your Lord.^{ps} for 500^l which we question not you will order may be accepted and complied with and that at the same time you will be pleased to take into your consideration some effectuall means for the better supply of the Hospitalls and to direct what method shall be observed for the management thereof for the future.⁴²¹

The backside of York = Castle being as I have formerly advised in a very ruinous condition I have found it necessary to order one company of Foot with its officers to be quartered there making a partition between the Stores and the wall for the greater safety of the said <440> stores and the preventing any harm that may happen on that part. I am with all submission,

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 137 [pp. 440–442]

Tang.^r May 17.th 1683.

[To Lord Dartmouth]

My Lord,

I have lately received from the Office of ordnance your Lord.^{ps} directions for selling of Powder out of his Ma.^{ties} Ammunition Stores which in the present posture of our affairs with the Moors and while we expect the resolutions from home on what I lately represented, your Lord.^p will be sensible cannot be practised with safety to his Ma.^{ties} service neither indeed can the slender condition these stores are in at present permit us to divert any part of them. As soon as our correspondence with our neighbours shall be better established and that our Magazines are furnished with sufficient supplies I will be sure to take M.^r Povey to my assistance and punctually observe the orders and method which has been prescribed me in this

⁴²¹ For an overall account of the garrison hospital in Tangier, see Arni, *Hospital Care*, 9–31.

particular it having <441> been always my opinion which I long since represented to the Lords of the Committee that the reserving of contraband in his Ma.^{ties} hands will be of the greatest consequence to his R.^l service. And here I must take notice to your Lord.^p that it would be convenient not only to have supplies of powder ready to be disposed of to the Moors but likewise good quantities of Gunlocks and barrells of such modells as are proper for this country which (if our correspondence with these people doth continue) will be often demanded of me, and my unpreparednesse in those cases may give occasion of great disputes whereof I have already had very troublesome experience.

A Clause of an order of Councill hath been sent me likewise from the office of Ordnance for the sending home severall brasse Guns, on the supposall as I presume of their being unserviceable as indeed they had been by reason of the widenesse of their touch holes which were worn out by time but having now by the help of a good Gunner⁴²² I have lately entertained amended that defect by serving peices into the Touch = holes which proves so secure a work as renders those Guns the best in the Gar<442>rison. I hope your Lord.^p will be pleased in regard of our want of them and for the good of his Ma.^{ties} service to approve of their continuance here. I am with all respect,

My Lord,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 138 [pp. 442–444]

Tang.^r May 17.th 1683.

[To the Officers of the Board of Ordnance, Tower of London]

Gentlemen,

I have received two from you of the 31.st of March and the 3.^d of Aprill the first signifying to me an order of that board for the disposing and selling of powder out of his Ma.^{ties} Ammunition Stores wherein you desire my care with the assistance of M.^r Povey in answer whereunto what I must say at present is that we are at this time on such uncertain terms of correspondence with the Moors our Neighbours that I cannot yet think it safe or for his Ma.^{ties} service to furnish them with those supplies and because we are now

⁴²²James Hunter (see App. A).

expecting what resolutions will be taken in England on the late notice I have sent thither of the posture <443> of our affairs here it will be necessary that this businesse which you have recommended to me be deferred till the return of my expresse and that matters here be better settled besides that having lately furnished his Ma.^{ties} Navy in these parts with 250 barrells of powder our stores are not at present in a Condition to spare more. Your other Letter brought me a particular of the severall stores and provisions of warre which had been sent hither and I am glad to hear that larger supplies were providing and that we might expect them very suddenly. I likewise received the Copy of an Estimate of repairs which were ordered to be gone in hand with assoon as the mony designed for that use shall arrive with us wherein I will use my best diligence and care that that mony be duly applyed and disposed of with the best husbandry. I have already made severall repairs at the great Battery of Peterborough = Tower and at Johnson's Battery which are now in such a condition as will require little farther expence. I thank you for the care you have taken to provide the hand mortar peices of the modell of M.^r Tinker⁴²³ which I had recommended and which will prove of great service here and <444> I cannot but very earnestly desire you will be so kind to me and to this place as not to suffer us to labour under the wants of Ammunition Stores but to afford us such timely and just supplies as are necessary for his Ma.^{ties} service. Your desire of having the brasse Guns mentioned in the Certificate sent home being as I presume grounded on the notice I had given of their being unserviceable here by reason their touch = holes were worn out to an excessive widenesse; I must let you know that I have now remedied that defect in some of them (as I shall do likewise in the rest) by the help of a skilfull Gunner who I have lately received into the Train, and because they are necessary to our defence in this place I conceive it will be fit for his Ma.^{ties} service, that they continue here till further order. I am with much esteem,

Gentlemen,
Yo.^r &c.

⁴²³John Tinker (see Letter 92).

Letter 139 [pp. 445–453]<445> Tang.^r May 31.st 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I have the honour of yours of the 23th [*sic*] past and am glad that Leiu.^t Nicholson and M.^r Atkins arrived in so good time with my dispatches. I do not admire you are at length weary of writing to the Morocco Embassadour and Hadgi Lucas or that they have not made you any answer to your Letters, the first being silent through shame and the latter frightened from all thoughts of Politicks pursues his old profession of merchandising without regard of any other correspondence.

Since my last Mahamed Daudar⁴²⁴ the Alcaid Ali's Secretary came in hither with a credentiall Letter from his master wherein in generall terms he desired me to hearken to him and beleive him in any thing he might say. In the mean time severall days having passed without any overture of businesse from him more then generall assurances of his Master's friendship to me and his resolutions of a strict observance of the Articles of Peace, I guessed he was employed hither to observe matters or to manage some secret affair, wherein I have not been altoget^{er}<446>ther deceived, for about two days ago M.^r Cuthbert,⁴²⁵ a Merchant here, one of the persons employed about the Mole and once made use of by Coll: Sackville for his knowledge in the Spanish Tongue in his correspondence with the Moors, gave me private information that the said Moor had made him severall visits wherein he had let fall expressions tending to shew his Masters dissatisfaction & prejudice against my person, that he guessing his designe used much discourse with him and encouraged him to speak more plainly and that at length he told him his main businesse in Tanger was to confer with him, that the Alcaid had a great esteem for him, and thought it an injury to him he was not employed in publick businesse as formerly he had been, that he reposed a perfect confidence in him, and that beleiving me a person not inclined to either of their interests he would make use of his counsell to endeavour to remove me from this Gouvernement. M.^r Cuthbert assured the Secretary of his best service but told him he did not at present perceive what methods they could use, the Moor hereupon told him his

⁴²⁴ Untraced.⁴²⁵ Robert Cuthbert (see App. A).

Master intended to write a Letter of complaint against me to the King and to the Secretary of State <447> being of opinion that such Letters might make great impression in England, desiring him to pen the Letters who was best able to invent the most convincing and persuasive arguments. M.^r Cuthbert made all the excuses he could to be freed from that part in the affair, telling him his stile would be known and that it was absolutely necessary the Alcaid should employ some person about himself but that he would undertake to convey those Letters Letters [*sic*] that they should come to hand without my knowledge, which was the best service at present he could render the Alcaid. The Secretary seemed extreemly satisfied herewith and promised him the Letters should be ready for the first opportunity recommending to him great care and secrecy and giving hopes of mighty advantages from the Alcaid's favour. M.^r Cuthbert hath told me the Letters should come to my hands, and if I receive them timely enough I will be sure to forward them since I think fortune could not give me a better occasion of confirming my self in my Master's good opinion then the groundlesse accusation of an Enemy. Tho I cannot imagine what manner of complaint he will have framed against me having besides my punctuall observance of Articles <448> and all offices of good correspondence been kind to him even to an excesse, yet I beleive I am able to take the just measures of his proceeding in this manner and to give you a true account of his discontents. It is certain there is no greater disquietment to the Alcaid's mind than the apprehension he still lives in that by the ordinary fate of things in this Country and changeableness of the King's mind the late Morocco Ambassador in England may at length gain credit which cannot happen without the Alcaid's ruine, he considers me as one that have moved every stone and made use of all manner of means to promote the Embassadour's interests and as he cannot find in his heart to pardon me for what I have done already, so he lives in fear of what I may do hereafter, the late enticements and flatteries he sent me by Hamud el Garable⁴²⁶ & Hadgi Lucas on the dispatch of Leiu.¹ Nicholson not having produced effects in me sutable to his fond expectance confirming him in the opinion that I still retain great reserves in favour of the Embassadour. Adde to this his knowledge of the good credit I have with King Muley Ismael which he foresees some time or other will be able to hinder <449> him from representing matters of our correspondence under the usuall disguises, and that at length his Master may discover the truth of things, which the Alcaid hath always endeavoured to keep from him. These apprehensions encreasing daily and growing

⁴²⁶ Hamud el Garable, or Grable. Untraced.

greater with the opinion that some severe resolutions will be taken in England on the sea = affair (which the continuance of Admirall Herbert in these parts seems to suggest) to the disgrace of his late Counsell, it is not to be admired he should desire to be rid of me, and that he should wish a new man unacquainted with his artifices and who having no credit with his Master must consequently depend on what he should represent to him. I am sensible he is endeavouring to do me what mischeif he can with King Muley Ismael at the same time that he conspires my disgrace with my own Master and he is now preparing a most extraordinary present which he will send by his son a youth about sixteen years of Age, and will contrive it shall be ready about the time that Nicholson may be expected with the notice of the disposition of things in England in order to the preventing <450> any advances his Enemies may happen to make in his Master's good opinion to his prejudice. On the occasion of this confidence where into the Alcaid's Secretary seemes to be entred with M.^r Cuthbert I cannot but take the liberty to acquaint you that in my humble opinion much use may be made of it for his Ma.^{ties} service. I have often made various attempts to procure some intelligence and light into the affairs of the Country and the dispositions of the Morocco Court but with little effect not being furnished with sufficient incitements to move a people so naturally fearfull and cautious. This opportunity seems to present it self, to remove those difficulties for I conceive that in the course of M.^r Cuthbert's intelligence with them he will meet with means of learning many of their secret designs and consequently it would be necessary that he be enabled to appear usefull to them as one that hath an affection for them and on whom they may safely repose themselves. This may be effected by sending immediate answer to the Alcaid's Letter in such terms as to his Ma.^{tie} shall seem most expedient with great regard to the <451> Alcaid's complaint, and if it shall appear necessary for the quieting his mind and the appeasing his Jealousies that I be called home for two or three months intimating to him it is in order to the examination of my conduct I shall be willing immediately to leave my wife and family and sacrifice all considerations to that of my Masters service and shall take the first opportunity of repairing home by sea or over land on the least intimation of his Ma.^{ties} pleasure. But submitting this whole matter with that respect I ought to your better Judgment I shall presume only to adde this hint, that if you think fit a correspondence shall be managed with these people in the manner I have insinuated it will be absolutely necessary that this businesse be imparted only to his Ma.^{tie} since if it happen to take vent and arrive to the Alcaid's knowledge (as it cannot be avoided if any other method be used by reason

the officiousnesse of Merchants and spies about our Councils) it will be impossible for us to meet with such an opportunity hereafter.

The mention I have made of spies about our Councils puts me in mind of hinting to you a report lately <452> spread in this Garrison that in England they began to have no regard for us and that shortly we should be utterly abandoned. Upon strict enquiry I found that Cap.^t Rowe⁴²⁷ an officer of the old Regiment was the Author of the report and he endeavoured to Justify himself by producing a Letter from his Brother to that purpose which originall Letter I have thought fit to send you here enclosed. I have been the more disturbed at this idle report it having been unluckily spread amongst us at a season that the Alcaid's Secretary and severall Jews were in Town, who failed not to give an account of it to their Master, & he about the same time came into these feilds where I am informed he privately continues. I leave it to you to Judge what ill consequence these indiscreet notices prove to his Ma.^{ties} service.⁴²⁸

In mine of the 8.th of March I begged your favour in procuring his Ma.^{ties} leave to M.^r Hope,⁴²⁹ Lieu.^t to Cap.^t Tollmache⁴³⁰ in the Batalion of Guards here (a person of deserts and lately made Town = Major) to sell his Partisan when the said Batalion shall be recalled and having now received my Lord Craven's⁴³¹ consent in <453> the thing, I cannot but repeat my former request in the behalf of that Gentleman that he may find his Ma.^{ties} favour.

The Yacht which I employed to Oran and the Eastern coast of Spain to procure barley is now returned laden with upward of 600 bushells which will prove a good supply for our horse in the mean time that sufficient provision be made for us at home as I begged in mine to the Lords of the Committee by M.^r Atkins when I represented the great dearth and scarcity of corn in these parts and which I hope will long before this be effectually considered by their Lord.^{ps} and those supplies be already ordered us. I am with all respect,

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

⁴²⁷ Henry Rowe (see App. A).

⁴²⁸ Lord Dartmouth's orders for the evacuation and destruction of Tangier were dated 2 July 1683 (*HMC, Dartmouth MSS*, I. 83–85).

⁴²⁹ John Hope (see App. A).

⁴³⁰ Thomas Tollemache (see App. A).

⁴³¹ William, 1st earl of Craven (1608–1697), colonel of the 2nd Foot Guards.

Letter 140 [pp. 453–459]Tang.^r June 15.th 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Since my last wherein I gave you an account of some private overtures made by the Alcaid's Secretary <454> now in Town to M.^r Cuthbert of preferring complaints against me, those persons have had severall conferences wherein M.^r Cuthbert hath had opportunities of making a great progresse in his good opinion and the other in insinuating himself into an extraordinary confidence with him. The Secretary hath told him that having acquainted the Alcaid with his good dispositions to serve him he had received orders to deal with him notwithstanding with much caution, and that tho he looked upon him as a person not at all satisfied with me yet that he was not to be lightly trusted since possibly he might make use of such an opportunity of sacrificing the Alcaid's interests to ingratiate himself with me and that for this reason the Alcaid intended to address the Letters that were written to be delivered by a certain Jew in England, but that he told him he would so satisfy the Alcaid of his sincerity that he was certain he would oblige him to change those measures and to convey the Letters by his hands. Much other discourse followed hereupon, and among the rest upon M.^r Cuthbert's enquiry how matters stood in the country, he <455> told him that not well, that the King's affairs did not at all prosper, and that the people of those parts who were never contented with the Morocco yoke were so inclineable to a change, that they were now meditating a revolt, that the Alcaid was abhorred by all and would be the first that should feel their resentments, but that the great difficulty was about the choice of a head which in the present divisions [among] their nobility could not be easily made. You will beleive this discourse little sutable to the trust you have reason to persuade your self the Alcaid reposes in this person, but you will the lesse admire it when I acquaint you that he is one of this country and that speaking and writing the Spanish language the Alcaid hath forced him into his affairs which he follows (being naturally now a lover of his ease then ambitious) with the greatest private indignation imaginable. The truth is that comparing this discourse with the Alcaid's present deportment who hath now a considerable time hindred all intercourse with us but by the hands of his own people permitting none of ours to passe into the country, or to come into us from thence

having stopped all Letters and strangers Vessells at present <456> in their Ports and all other means of intelligence I have great grounds to beleive that the King's affairs are but in an ill posture, and that his Nephew hath had some very considerable successes against him: in the mean time I shall endeavour to improve all the intelligence and knowledge I shall attain to of these matters the best I can for his Ma.^{ties} service.

Severall insults have been lately committed by the Corsairs of Sale upon English Vessells and Admirall Herbert having received certain intelligence from M.^r Nevill⁴³² at Argiers that hostilities at sea had been but too evidently recommenced by their Moors and that particularly an English Merchant man had been carried in thither by Tash the same person that had been formerly taken by our Fregats and freed by his Ma.^{ties} extream bounty at the request of Hadgi Lucas. He thereupon hath writ me a Letter (the enclosed whereof his Copie) to consult what measures were to be taken on this emergency. I thought I ought not at all to balance the putting in execution his Ma.^{ties} commands which I had received by your hands for the delivery of the Letters <457> of the Lords Commission.^{ts} of the Admiralty addressed to him, which I have therefore done accordingly. The reasons which induced his Ma.^{tie} to those resolutions of suppressing these Corsairs were certainly very powerfull and if I may judge they are more so now then ever they were, for not to mention the Justice of protecting the Commerce of his Subjects and the due regard of his reputation it is visible there is no other means then that of force to bring these people to the thoughts of Peace and to undeceive them in the vain conceits they have entertained (and that our late seeming insensibility confirmed them in) that we regard the repose of Tanager with that tendernes as would oblige us to suffer patiently the losse of private men at sea rather then expose that to be disturbed. Certain it is that as his Ma.^{tie} doing himself and his subjects Justice by sea will never provoke these people to break our Land Peace unlesse it be their interest, or that it is within their power to do us harm, so the longer continuance of our moderation by sea will never engage them to observe reasonable measures with us by Land whenever either of those motions shall prompt them to <458> quarrell with us. And indeed I cannot but consider our long forbearance to have been an occasion of great disservice to his Ma.^{tie} as it hath inspired the Moors with notions so much to the prejudice of his reputation and made them conceive so meanly of us and I firmly persuade my self that the execution of those orders I have delivered to Admirall Herbert will recover us into such esteem with them as will strengthen our freindship at Land by inducing them

⁴³² Captain John Neville (see App. A).

to meet us with overtures of a Peace by sea, the present conjuncture of the disorders in the country (if my intelligence be true) seeming to conspire to those advantages whereof I hope a small time will give us some good instance.

A late disorder and breach of good discipline having hapned between M.^r Robinson⁴³³ a Lieut.^t in his Ma.^{tics} Batalion of Guards and one Avery⁴³⁴ an Ensigne in Coll: Trelawny's Regiment on the Guard at Pole = Fort which passed to blows and afterwards to a formall duell in the feilds, I have thereupon called a Councill of War of all the feild officers and Commandants here in order to the proceeding against these persons with the severity that their cases should require, and upon due examination of the matter, Avery who was found to be the Aggressour hath been cashiered. Robinson being an officer of his Ma.^{tics} Guards we have thought fit to suspend him only and send him home, and a third person one Gordon⁴³⁵ (an Ensigne in Coll: Trelawny's Regiment) who appeared to be a great fomenter of the quarrell, and who upon the Cap.^t of the Guard committing Avery to his custody, disputed his power to do so in very injurious terms hath been broke likewise and turned out of his employment of which proceedings I thought I ought not to faile to give you this account.⁴³⁶ I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 141 [pp. 459–476]

Tang.^r June 28.th 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

In my last I gave you an account of the discourse had passed between M.^r Cuthbert and the Alcaid's Secretary. The day following the departure of the Post <460> Hamad el Garable a Moor of great

⁴³³ Charles Robinson (see App. A).

⁴³⁴ John Avory (see App. A).

⁴³⁵ Ensign Gordon (see App. A).

⁴³⁶ Underlying Kirke's actions was the unwritten assumption that, although the governor held absolute, local authority over officers in the two garrison regiments, he had to defer to London all decisions concerning commissioned malefactors in the Royal Scots, a unit of the English standing army, and the King's Battalion, officers of which belonged to the permanent English establishment (see App. C).

trust with the Alcaid came in hither bringing me a Letter from him wherein he tells me in answer to one I had writ about Straw that when I should have sent him certain glasses and lances he had desired of me he would then answer my demands. It was in vain for me to argue that those matters had no manner of dependance one on the other, and that he ought not in Justice refuse what I demanded on the Articles of Peace for the delay of what was not in my power and which I had no obligation to afford him but that of meer courtesie, the Alcaid persisting obstinately in his refusall of the straw in obstructing all communication between the Town and country. This manner of proceeding and particularly the long hindrance of any entercourse with us made me at length very much suspect the Alcaid's good intentions and tho I had deferred a great while to expresse my resentments thereon in hopes that the Alcaid would of himself do me reason yet perceiving his resolutions of continuing those methods and being awaked by the apprehensions of the evill consequences that might accrew to <461> his Ma.^{ties} service, by the frequent resorting to town of the Alcaid's creatures, their living with us their private practises with our Merchants and Inhabitants amongst the greatest part of whom they were framing unusuall intelligences at a time that we were kept in the dark as to all passages in the country, I thought I ought to make use of all necessary precautions so as to prevent the mischeifs to which wee were in danger to be exposed; and to that end I sent for Daudan the Alcaid's Secretary and for Hamud el Garable complaining to them in the presence of Admirall Herbert and M.^r Mayor⁴³⁷ very largely of the breach of Articles in the Alcaids obstructing the freedome of commerce, of his hindring of our people's coming out of and going into the country and of that so generall and injurious a disturbance of the Peace and good correspondence telling them that tho I had long endured this usage out of a desire to live well with the Alcaid and that notwithstanding his forbidding our people to go into the country I had permitted those from him to resort freely hither yet that now I should no longer exercise a patience which served only to <462> give an occasion of new injuries and that if the Alcaid still persisted in those methods I should be obliged to use the same desiring them to be the messengers of what I had said to them to the Alcaid. They hereupon the next day departed and about a week after I received a Letter from the Alcaid pretending to be then at Alcazar (the enclosed whereof is a Translation) wherein he endeavours to justify his proceedings I sent my answer the same moment I received his Letter (which you will see likewise in the

⁴³⁷ William Smith (see App. A).

enclosed translation) and about two hours after the delivery of my answer I received another Letter from the Alcaid wherein he told me he was himself come into these feilds and that his designe was only the continuance of the good correspondence. I answered him the same moment that I was glad he was arrived in this neighbourhood since I hoped his presence would be a means to restore our good understanding to which I was desirous to contribute all that lay in my power. This produced a proposall from him the next day of sending persons to confer with those that he <463> should appoint about our mutuall dependances. I hereupon ordered M.^r Beacher⁴³⁸ and my Secretary to meet his people where they discoursed much on both sides. The Moors finding their arguments of my pretended unkindnesse in the delay of furnishing the Alcaid with glasse and lances, of my forbidding the Jews to stay in Town by night to be too weak to fix any reasonable complaint against me, much lesse to justify the Alcaids procedure in the stop of Commerce the cutting of our entercourse in the country did now chiefly insist on the businesse of powder due by the Articles as the most plausible pretence, whereunto my deputies replied that it was true the Alcaid had some months ago made a generall demand for the powder but that it likewise was true it was never denied him and that had he insisted on the immediate delivery of it (as he did not, but rather seemed to referre it to some other occasion) he should certainly have received it: that the powder was always ready, and that assoon as the Alcaid should have restored the Commerce and that the straw was delivered we would immediately supply him with what should appear due upon the Articles. <464> The Moors urged that the powder should be delivered first as the ancients debt and that then the Alcaid promised the Commerce should be opened, our people have the same freedome of entercourse as before, and the straw be given in its due time to this we replied, that the Alcaid having been the Infractor of the Peace and put things as far as in him lay into a state of war by a totall subversion of the good correspondence he ought first to make reparation for the same and restore things to their due state that they could not reasonably expect after having given us so much cause to doubt of their good intentions that we should furnish them with powder which wee might well persuade our selves they would immediately turn upon our own walls, that therefore it behoved the Alcaid to satisfie us of the sincerity of his mind by renewing the Commerce and allowing us the straw before it could be in our power to grant him the powder he demanded and that since the expedients we proposed were so

⁴³⁸ Frederick Bacher (see App. A).

reasonable and easie it would give a new occasion of suspicion should he make the least scruple to admit them. These debates took up severall days, and at length <465> the Alcaid was come to this temperament that he would make the first advances towards the restoring the good correspondence on condition that having complied on his side I would give hostages for the performance of my part and this being accepted by me on the first proposall of it, I thought these controversies might have ended when I know not by what new Counsell the Alcaid seems to take no notice of my admittance of his expedient and matters remain at present in the same suspence. The demand of powder I must confesse would have been hard upon me, had not the Alcaid himself by his cutting of our Commerce furnished me with an unanswerable argument to deny it him till he shall have first restored the same to which I adde the condition likewise of delivering us straw whereby I shall have gained time enough by Nicholson's arrivall to receive full instructions from home how I am to demean my self in all matters and possibly to see better into the affairs of the country. In the course of these debates having had some mention of the Moorish hostilities by sea, whence Hamud el Grable and Daudar seemed to be strangers to the cessation offered in King Muley Ismael's Letter to <466> me, I am apt to beleive that Letter hath not been faithfully interpreted to us here, and that the Alcaid's people who pretended to translate it inserted that word cessation to amuse us and keep our fregats idle which they feared might be otherwise employed against them. I am glad therefore that I sent home the Originall where before this time you will have discovered the cheat if there be any and Pariente's⁴³⁹ fidelitie which of late is very doubtfull will be the more suspected and will oblige me to have a stricter eye upon him. Admirall Herbert who went on board yesterday in order to his return to England having been witness of this whole transaction will be able to give you an exact account of it and he has promised me to make you a relation of the state of all his Ma.^{ties} affairs here which I am confident will do with a great deale of truth as well as knowledge no one I think being a better Judge of our interests then he is or more zealous to promote them.

Your last Letter of the 21.th [*sic*] of May for which I humbly thank you brought enclosed certain Articles of complaint that has been delivered by the Portuguese Envoye on behalf of the Canons of that Church here. I <467> am so little concerned in the greatest part of those Articles, and am indeed so great a stranger to the meaning of them that I was forced to appoint persons to look into the truth of the matter alleaged which hath been done and you will see in one

⁴³⁹ Solomon Pariente (see App. A).

enclosed paper how far the testimony of those persons (who I think are of irreproachable truth) agrees with the Articles and in another paper, what the good Fathers themselves remark and own of the Subject of their complaint. I must professe to you that I did not a little wonder to see a complaint against me from those persons, for whose interests and comfortable living amongst us I had all the tenderness imaginable and from whom I had received on all occasions the greatest marks and professions of an entire satisfaction in my deportment towards them. In the mean time I am apt to beleive that my having reprehended them for having tampered with and converted to their religion a Sergeants wife that held wanton Commerce with a young Irish man declaring I would not suffer that they should exercise an Ecclesiasticall power out of their own congregation may <468> have been some provocation to them. But what hath chiefly occasioned their ill humour was certainly my turning out the Irish Priest from among them of whose coming hither I gave you an account and received by your hands his Ma.^{ties} commands not to permit his continuance here: and I have been lately told that those complaints were conveyed to Portugall by the return thither of that person. If it be true what I have been informed that in the Treaty between England and Portugal the liberty and enjoyment of the Church here is allowed only during the lives of those Canons that were then in possession of it at the time of the Treaty and no longer that Church must suddenly devolve into our hands there being but two of those Fathers now alive and they very ancient men. In the mean time it is remarkable that when one of the Canons dye a successour is immediately sent over and he always very young with designe I suppose of continuing the Church in their hands so that what was intended by the Articles for one age the Portuguese would willingly impose upon us to perpetuity. I know not whether the capitulations that regard the Portuguese Church here de<469>clares what I am informed it doth, not having that Treaty by me, but I am certain if there be any such meaning in the Articles it is worth our care to look into it and I would be glad because the number of those Fathers seem daily to multiply upon us that you would give me some directions from his Ma.^{tie} either to receive or not admit them as shall be most agreeable to his service and the Treaties between the two Crowns.

I have received likewise in yours of the 21.th [*sic*] his Ma.^{ties} pleasure concerning the businesse of Cap.^t Strode & Cap.^t Johnson⁴⁴⁰ whom I had suspended leaving me to act therein as I should see most expedient. I must confesse I am sufficiently enclined to proceed

⁴⁴⁰ See Letter 128.

severely against all offenders, yet because those two persons have never before given any occasion of reproach to their conduct being both of them of very quiet and peaceable dispositions I have thought fit to let them feel the advantage of his Ma.^{ties} pardon by restoring them to their employments wherein I make no question they will behave themselves well and usefully for the future.

Cap.^t Shovell⁴⁴¹ in the James Gally having been com<470>pelled in the bay of Cadiz by open force (used by the Spanish Armada there) to salute that Flagg I shall forbear sending his Ma.^{ties} Yacht or the Ketch belonging to this place to that Bay, while that Armada continues there or till such time that the businesse of salutes be accommodated and in the mean while shall make use of my Barco = Longo or some other way for the conveyance of my Packets.

On the 28.th we held our Sessions of Oyer & Terminer according to adjournment wherein enquiry was made concerning a murder committed some years since upon a woman, but no sufficient evidence was found to prove the fact upon the persons suspected. Some irregularities of former Juries have been looked into and one has been fined and reprehended for not having found a Bill upon clear evidence against a person who killed his servant and the same person being now arraigned was found guilty of Man = Slaughter and suffered punishment accordingly. These being the principall matters of our last sessions we have adjourned till y^e 24th of Septemb.^r next. I am with all respect,

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

<471> In pursuance of an order to us directed by his Ex.^{cll} Coll: Peirce Kirke bearing date this present day desiring us to examine certain Articles of complaint exhibited against him by the Fathers of the Portuguese Church of this City, and that upon the whole matter we would signify our opinion relating to the same which accordingly after diligent and strict enquiry made into each particular as also having viewed the places pretended to be prejudiced we do in the following manner. Viz.^t

Touching the first Article wee find upon the Fathers giving Bills of Health (which they were often forbidden to do) as conceiving it a matter of ill consequence and very prejudiciall to the good Government of the place severall souldiers having by this means made their escape and quitted his Ma.^{ties} service contrary to their

⁴⁴¹ Cloudesley Shovell (see App. A).

duty that y^c Governour did send them a message to keep their houses (which continued not above half an hour) but denies that part relating to shoot them and this being not ways proved (but by the Fathers themselves they not knowing the officer as they say) who brought the said pretended order we have good reason to beleive that there was no such order given and that it must necessarily be a mistake either in y^c Fathers or the officer.

Touching the second Article wee find that the not allowing the Fathers to marry any of the Souldiers without leave is no more then what was ever practised by the former Governours as <472> also that the Protestant Ministers do observe the same rules and this wee conceive to consist with his Ma.^{ties} service for it would prove of very ill consequence if otherwise experience teaching us that severall persons who have been denied marriage in the Protestant Church for lawful impediments have and would go to the Portuguese Church to be married as also that the said Fathers without any regard to enquiry have married severall both men and women who at the same time have had wives and husbands living in other places.

Touching the third Article we find that this does no way relate to the present Governour the well by which they pretend to be damnified being made in S.^r Palmes Fairborne's time when there was great want of water so undoubtedly was a very necessary and good worke but besides we find that the opening the said well could never occasion the damage they have since received in the wall of the Church = yard the same being of many years standing and very strongly arched underneath so that without all dispute the ruine of their wall proceeded from y^c antiquity of the worke.

Touching the fourth Article we find that the Fathers are so far from having cause of complaint that on the contrary they are obliged in Justice and according to the rules of common civility to give thanks to the present Governour for removing at their first request what fire-works and burning stuff the former Governours had put into that Magazine near their Church by which the same might be in danger of being burnt.

<473> Touching the 5th Article wee find the chimney they complain offends them was made in S.^r Palmes Fairborne's time for the use of severall souldiers quartered near the Church as also that they never did so much as speak one word of this to the present Governour so consequently could have cause of no complaint against him for what he never did nor never desired him to remedy.

Touching the 6th and last Article wee find that from a beefe Storehouse adjoining to the Portuguese Church which hath been made use of for that service these many years some pickle did as they tell us soake through the wall into one part of their Church which damnified some ornaments which they pretend they have since burnt for proof of which they produce no other evidence then themselves which if may be beleived in this particular wherein they are interested the most that can be made of it is that it was an accident which never hapned (as they say themselves) but once for which the Governour can be no ways answerable especially considering he was never so much as acquainted with it by which will appear that their complaint on this particular was both void and frivolous.

Wee further declare the whole complaint proceeds more from malice then any reall cause given them for the so doing as both manifestly appear by their answers to each severall Article of their complaint most <474> of what they do there alleage having been acted long before the Governours time so can no ways relate to himself from whom wee of our own knowledge are sensible that the Portuguese Fathers have upon all occasions received as civill and kind usage as in reason or justice they could desire. In wittnesse whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Tanger the 29.th of June 1683.

John Erlisman
Zach: Tiffin⁴⁴²
Ja. Gorman⁴⁴³
Robert Cuthbert
J. Hope⁴⁴⁶

W.^m Smith May.^r
Cha: Trelawny
M.^r Boynton⁴⁴⁴
H. Hordesnell⁴⁴⁵
James Leslie⁴⁴⁷

The answer of the Fathers of y^c Portuguese Church of y^c City of Tanger to the severall Articles of a Complaint made by them against Coll: Kirke the present Governour. Viz.^t

To the first Article. They say it is very true that an officer who they know not and was then upon the Guard brought the order mentioned in their complaint from the Governour.

⁴⁴² Major Zachariah Tiffin (see App. A).

⁴⁴³ James Gorman (see App. A).

⁴⁴⁴ Lieutenant Colonel Marmaduke Boynton (see App. A).

⁴⁴⁵ Henry Hordesnell (see App. A).

⁴⁴⁶ Lieutenant John Hope (see App. A).

⁴⁴⁷ Major Sir James Lesley (see App. A).

To the second Article they answer that they beleive it a breach of the Privileges of their Church not to be permitted to marry all people without leave from y^c Governour as they did in their own time.

<475> To the third Article they say that upon making a well which stands neer y^c Wall of their churchyard some part of the same Wall fell down, which hapned in S.^r Palmes Fairbornes government, as also that some other part of y^c said Wall fell down afterwards upon the making of a passage to the Slaughter-house which work was done by y^c Corporation, as also y^c former.

To the fourth Article they say that the warehouse mentioned in their complaint, was made use of by my Lord Insiquin⁴⁴⁸ to putt fire-works and burning stuff in, and that upon complaint made to y^c present Governour, he was pleased to order the same to be removed.

To the 5th Article they say that the chimney was made by S.^r Palmes Fairborne for y^c use of the souldiers quartered in the same house and that they do not remember to have complained of this in particular to y^c present Governour.

To the 6th Article they say it hapned once that a great quantity of brine came into their church thro^o y^c Wall of the beef-Store adjoining to y^c same and that they received considerable damages in their ornaments thereby: but they do not remember to have complained of y^c same to y^c present Governour.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed do certifie to all whom it may concerne, that we were present when <476> y^c fathers of y^c Portugese church in this Citie of Tanger gave y^c abovesaid answers to a complaint exhibited by them against y^c present Governor, by whom we were appointed to examine this matter. Witnesse our hands in Tanger the 29th of June 1683.

H. Hordesnell
James Leslie
Zach: Tiffin
James Gorman
Rob: Cuthbert

W.^m Smith May.^r
Cha: Trelawny
Ma: Boynton
Jo: Erlisman
J. Hope

||⁶ ||³⁻⁵ cancelled⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁸ Governor William O'Brien, 2nd earl of Inchiquin (see App. A).

⁴⁴⁹ i.e. articles 3, 4, 5, and 6 of the above 'answer' were cancelled.

Letter 142 [pp. 476–478]

Tanger June 28. 1683

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

By y^c Dover Fregate w^{ch} arrived yesterday in the evening I rec.^d y^c honour of two of yo.^r Lord.^{ps} of April 4.th the one commanding me to returne you my best information & judgement concerning y^c renewing of Leases and sundry By Laws with diverse other particulars; which I shall do, with that truth and impartialitie that becomes mee, when I shall have taken due time to examine y^c same. In the other yo.^r Lord.^{ps} are pleased to expresse your good hopes that the Court Merch.^t would containe themselves within their Just bounds, and that you did forbear to give yo.^r opinion in y^c late disputes arrisen <477> between that court and the Court of Appeals while there is no particular case pending. I must neverthesse take y^c libertie to tell yo.^r Lord.^{ps} I was humbly persuaded you would have given us some rule on the case I had represented whereby to guide our selves for the future, and I think you would have shewed great providence by y^c decision of those disputes in preventing y^c delay of Justice which must necessarily arise when the parties aggrieved shall be obliged to have recourse to his Ma.^{tie} by way of petition, and create new troubles to yo.^r Lords:^{ps} Many addresses have been made to mee by M.^r Willson,⁴⁵⁰ the partie in that case, for relief, and I cannot deny him what he hath pressingly desired me to transmit to yo.^r Lord:^{ps} view the Justice whereon he grounded his complaint, w^{ch} hee delivered me in the enclosed papers, and whereupon yo.^r Lords:^{ps} may be pleased to take what farther resolutions shall seem most proper to you.

I have notice from England that yo.^r Lord.^{ps} designe us a supply of three months provision of barley and I cannot but humbly remind you that the dearness of that grain in these parts makes it expedient that farther supplies should be prepared and sent us by y^c first opportunitie according to the calculation I gave in mine by M.^r Atkins. The present disputes I have with the Alcaid will oblige mee not to depend on the Moors for Straw, so that I shall be forced to make my provision from Spain w^{ch} I am persuaded will not prove much more expensive.

⁴⁵⁰ Thomas Wilson (see App. A).

<478> The late Land-waiters having been removed for misdemeanours whereof they have been detected to the great abuse of his Ma.^{ties} customs, we have appointed M.^r Fowler⁴⁵¹ to execute that office whom we have reason to beleive is a person that will acquit himself well therein. I have formerly represented to yo.^r Lord.^{ps} that y^e salary belonging to that employment is not sufficient for y^e encouragement of y^e officer to act in it wth that care and dutie as is requisite, and therefore I once more offer it to yo.^r consideration that the same be encreased to y^e measure of a competent livelyhood as y^e best means to prevent the temptation those persons may otherwise have of doing injury to his Ma.^{tie}.

We have received his Ma.^{ties} Commission of Oyer and terminer, which we will execute as often as we shall see occasion: and as I am sure nothing could be better calculated for y^e nature of this Government, so I question not but that we shall be soon sensible of the good effects of it. I am,

My Lords,
&c.

Letter 143 [pp. 478–479]

Tanger June 28. 1683.

[To Lord Dartmouth]

My Lord,

I have rec.^d the honour of yo.^r Lord.^{ps} of the 21 of May & his Ma.^{ties} pleasure in it concerning Cap.^t Strode & Cap.^t Johnson <479> whereupon I must acquaint yo.^r Lord.^p that having much reason to persuade my self that those persons, who, indeed, are not naturally of quarrelsome dispositions, will take care not to misbehave themselves, and to observe good discipline for the future, I have thought fit to apply to them his Ma.^{ties} clemency, and have consequently restored them to their commands, wherein they have promised to acquit themselves with that duty as becomes them.

I give by this opportunitie a large account to M.^r Secretary Jenkins of y^e disputes I have at present with the Alcaid Ali, about his having stopped the commerce and severall other dependences. Adm.^{ll} Herbert who is now on his departure home, and

⁴⁵¹ Thomas Fowler (see App. A).

who has been a witness of these and almost all my transactions here, will give yo.^r Lord.^p a true account of the state of his Ma.^{ties} affairs, whose long experience in these parts may give him the reputation of no improper Judge of those matters. I am with all respect,

My Lord, &c.

Letter 144 [pp. 479–482]

Tanger July 13. 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

Some few days since my last, wherein I gave you a large account of the debates between my self and the <480> Alcaid Ali, a person came in hither with a Lett.^r to mee as hee pretended from the late Morocco Embassad.^r wherein he tells me that at his great importunitie King Muley Ismâel was willing at length to agree to a Peace by Sea, and desires that I would send a person to his Ma.^{ties} for that purpose, as you will see in y^c enclosed translation of y^c said Letter. I had a great deal of reason, considering the artificial manner of the messengers deportment, and his relation of matters to beleive this a feigned thing, and was the more convinced of it when comparing y^c hand of Mahamed Benhadu with that in other Letters I had received from him I found a visible difference in the characters. I easily perceived that our ships had alarmed them, and that they were desirous to compose matters as early as was possible to prevent the mischeifs they are threatened with from our resentment of their late insolencies. I conjectured that the Alcaid used y^c Embassadour's name as a colour only as well to make a triall of what remains of kindness I still reserved for that person, as to induce me y^c the more easily to send in to the country where it would be in his power to govern y^c Treaty proposed as he should see most expedient. I therefore immediately returned the messenger with my answer to the Embassadour in the y^c termes you will see enclosed. I hope <481> Lieu.^t Nicholson will bring me his Ma.^{ties} instructions and powers for a Sea-Treaty, which I long since represented ought to be sent to Adm.^{ll} Herbert or my self, on y^c early prospect I had that these people would easily admit it and even make the y^c first advances upon the least motion of our fregates.

My disputes with y^c Alcaid are not yet ended, & tho he hath now much abated of his first heat, seeming to bee silent in the matter of

powder and insisting only on the opening of y^c Commerce, which he assures me he will do on his part, acquainting me that a Cafila of goods is now ready to come into the Town: yet because I forsee, that if I admit this proposal by yeilding what I have hitherto demanded, I shall then put my self into a condition of not being able to refuse him the powder whenever he shall think fitt to ask it, w^{ch} may prove of very ill consequence; I have thought it most advisable to protract y^c time, til by Nicholson's arrival I shall better see how I am to governe my self, and do therefore urge the libertie w^{ch} is given us by y^c Articles of Peace of buying cattle and all manner of refreshments in the country marketts, and at the prizes⁴⁵² used among y^c Moors them selves, the only benefit we derive by y^c Treatie and which we have not yet been ever able to obtain: and indeed considering the Alcaids private profit, which is very great by his monopolising the cattle and selling them to us himself at y^c prizes <482> he pleases, I judge he will hardly condescend to redresse the abuse, so that I make this demand (which hath in it all y^c Justice imaginable) not so much out of hope of procuring remedy, as to silence y^c Alcaid for y^c present, and to evade y^c inconvenience of delivering at such a conjuncture so considerable a quantitie of powder.

You will hear from Cap.^t Aylmer⁴⁵³ (Commander of y^c Argier-Tyger fregate)⁴⁵⁴ by his own hand, y^c relation of his encountering y^c Spanish Armada at sea, and with what rudenesse that General forced him to salute, upon which I have no manner of remark to make, but remain wth all respect,

Hon.^d Sir, &c.

Letter 145 [pp. 482–483]

Tanger July 13. 1683.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Having taken to me the assistance of such persons as I thought might be most usefull for the examinacion of several points which had been represented to yo.^r Lord.^{ps} from the Corporation here, I

⁴⁵² prices.

⁴⁵³ Matthew Aylmer (see App. A).

⁴⁵⁴ HMS *English Tyger* (5th rate, 46 guns).

do now in obedience to your commands humbly offer my Judgement thereupon in the enclosed paper submitting the whole to yo.^r Lord.^{ps} to do in it what you shall conceive most proper for his Ma.^{ties} service, and yo.^c good of this place.

The Recorder⁴⁵⁵ will give yo.^r Lord.^{ps} a particular account of yo.^c proceedings of our Court of Oyer and terminer, which we held here by virtue of his. Ma.^{ties} late Commission on Thursday yo.^c 9th inst: and which on occasion of a certain presentment of the Grand Jurie is again to be held on yo.^c 23.^d when connisance will be taken of a horrid murther committed here some years <483> ago, never as yet, I know not by what omission enquired into. I must here take notice to yo.^r Lord.^{ps} how much we want an Attorney for his Ma.^{tie} and do humbly offer my opinion it would be extreemly necessary one were appointed for that employment with a reasonable Salary for his subsistence. In the mean time I shall make use of one M.^r Fary⁴⁵⁶ a person now upon the place as yo.^c King's Attorney, allowing him 20^l a year, who tho he has not been remarkable for his good behaviour on some occasions yet having none here more proper, he will be able to serve till yo.^r Lord.^{ps} shall think fit to make some better provision. Care is taken so to temper yo.^c Juries with persons of honour and abilities as that yo.^c great miscarriages which for want of such an alloy hath been observed in our Courts may be avoided for the future, to the credit of his Ma.^{ties} Laws and yo.^c generall good of his subjects here.

I received an order of Councill dated yo.^c 15th of Decemb.^r last wherein his Ma.^{ties} gracious condescension was signified to me of having all clothes for yo.^c Garrison sent by our own agent.⁴⁵⁷ In yo.^c mean time I am informed that this is opposed and that our agent meets with severall impediments, which obliges me to take the libertie humbly to beg yo.^r Lord.^{ps} that directions may be given at home to whom it may belong that there be no obstruction in a matter that so much regard yo.^c King's service, and that his Ma.^{ties} pleasure already declared in this particular be punctually obeyed. I am,

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

⁴⁵⁵ Henry Hordesnell (see App. A).

⁴⁵⁶ Possibly William Farrer (c.1656–1737) of Biddenham, Bedfordshire.

⁴⁵⁷ Richard Thurloe (see App. A).

Letter 146 [pp. 484–486]

<484> Tanger July 26. 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Hon.^d S.^r

I make you my humble acknowledgement of y^c honour of yours of the 18 past. Matters between my self and y^c Alcaid Ali are in the same State as I acquainted you they were in my last dispatches. I have only now to adde that this last week he sent two persons in hither to let me know that by his brother lately come from his Ma.^{ties} camp, whither hee pretended to have sent him with a present, he had rec.^d full powers to treat with me on y^c affairs relating to y^c Sea, and that his Master has been pleased to adde to his other titles that of the government of Saly, whither hee was going in order to settle matters in those parts, desiring me that if any of my Master's fregates should happen to be before the Ports of King Muley Ismäel, I would order them to withdraw themselves as a means w.^{ch} would the better conduce to an accommodacen. To this I answered I was extreemly glad he had rec.^d those powers for the treating a Peace by Sea, and that his Master had given him fresh marks of his trust in him by adding y^c government of Saly to his former Jurisdiction, that what he desired of me about ordering my Master's fregates to retire from y^c Coasts of King Muley Ismäel's was not in my power, since they acted not under my command but by virtue of such orders as they had received from y^c Admirall; and that assoon as M.^r Nicholson should arrive with y^c Powers I expected I would be sure to acquaint him, in order to the entring upon those measures as should appear necessary to a generall Peace. While y^c Alcaid was thus entertaining me with the great dispositions they were in to hearken to a marine treaty, I received y^c news <485> of the taking an English Pinck⁴⁵⁸ (that had left this place some months before) by a fregate belonging to the Alcaid himself and thus have discovered some part of the mistery of his having lately stopt all Letters, and hindred y^c going of our people into y^c Country and their coming from thence. For y^c Master of the Pink with the rest of his ships company having been carried to Alcazar and there kept in chains, the Alcaid apprehended least y^c injury coming to our knowledge, our fregates (which he then knew not had orders to act against them) would bee appointed to revenge it.

⁴⁵⁸ A small, square-rigged ship with an overhanging stern (OCSS, 428).

Certain it is that since y^c Alcaid is convinced our ships are to be employed in earnest in the pursuit of them, he lyes under great fears that the consequences may redound to y^c shaking his credit with his M.^{r459} whenever any successe of ours against his subjects shall carry their clamours to his Ma.^{ties} ears, and it is for this reason that he uses all imaginable artifice to induce me to enter into a Treatie with him, the hindring our ships from action being to be a preliminary to it, in which time he hopes that their own Corsairs may make a considerable profit and return safe into their ports, & himself gain y^c advantage of possessing y^c King's mind as shall best suit his designs. Tho I have reason to beleive he mentions his Master's name in these matters without any expresse command from him, and in order to prevaile with me to send persons into the country to him, whereof for ought I know he may make a quite contrary use to what he professes; yet because these <486> are probably conjectures only, and that I am persuaded the speedy conclusion of a Sea-Peace would be very acceptable to my Master, I thought it advisable to feel his pulse and make some tryall of his dispositions, by my no longer insisting to remove the treaty so far off as might be the arrivall of M.^r Nicholson; and therefore acquainted him that if he was of opinion we should render any good service to King Muley Ismael by cutting off delays and accommodating matters wth y^c greatest expedition, I had that esteem for him as would prevaile with mee not to neglect any opportunity of encreasing his reputacon with his Master, and that tho I had not yet any particular instructions for such a Treatie, if however he should think fit to propose to me reasonable termes of a Sea Peace, I would use my utmost endeavors and even strain my obedience to receive them, & to compose matters (if possibly it might be) before the arrivall of my expresse. To this overture now he hath been silent about eight days being I suppose prepared with no good answer for me. In y^c mean time Cap.^t Shovell with y^c fregates under his command are gone to Gibraltar to careen intending when they are clea to shew themselves before Saly & presse those Corsairs: S.^r Jo: Wyburne in the *Happy Returne*⁴⁶⁰ & Cap.^t Saint Lo⁴⁶¹ in y^c Dartmouth will act in the same service and I hope will have good successe.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁹ Master, i.e. Moulay Ismail.

⁴⁶⁰ HMS *Happy Return* (4th rate, 54 guns).

⁴⁶¹ Captain George St. Lo, RN (see App. A).

⁴⁶² There is no closing to this letter.

Letter 147 [pp. 487–490]

<487> Tanger August 9. 1683

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

The Alcaid Ali hath a long time entertained me with his Master's disposition to a Peace by Sea, and his having received full powers from him for y^c concluding such a Treaty but notwithstanding y^c readinesse I intimated to hearken to the conditions he should think fit to propose in order to it, he hath yet made no manner of advances, and I am now convinced of what I told you I conjectured only in my last, that he hath ready no such powers and that he uses his Master's name, who in all probability is not so much as acquainted with y^c present state of things by sea, to keep off y^c blows and mischief which he apprehends from our fregates and y^c inevitable ruine of his credit from the consequences of our vigorous prosecution of this warre which his counsels have drawn upon y^c Moors, and wherein he himself has been a chief agressor. He hath used many artifices to moderate our resentment of y^c breach and to prevent those dangers which threaten him but perceiving his base professions of friendship were not sufficient, and that notwithstanding his contrivance of a message from y^c Ambassador Mahamed Benhadu (whereof I formerly gave you an account) our fregates still appeared upon their coasts with a countenance that increased their fears, he hath at length with the help of Lucas (as I have reason to judge) produced the last effort of his invention in another pretended message from Mahamed Benhadu, a person coming in last night with a Lett.^r from him (whereof y^c enclosed is copie) and in it the long Arabick addresse to his Ma.^{ty} which I likewise send. The messenger pressed my <488> immediate answer to the Embassdor's Lett.^r which I gave him in the termes you will see in one of the enclosed. Upon his departure I made use of y^c best interpreters we have here to translate the Arabick Lett.^r and tho they are not skilfull enough to give y^c exact meaning of every phrase, yet they have been able to collate y^c substance of y^c whole, which I likewise here enclose. I expected I must confesse to have seen some small and harmlesse artifice, but was amazed to find y^c highest peice of impudence that could have been imagined: so that I thought it my duty to take such notice of it as you will see I have done in the enclosed Copie of my second Letter to the Ambassador, as well to deliver my Master from the difficultie of answering such a Stile, as to discourage them from y^c vain

hopes they would entertain that it might produce some good effect in their favour, and consequently make them y^c more backward in their overtures for a Sea-Peace. I have strong reasons to beleive this Letter from the Ambassador to be counterfeit, as well for that the character wherein it is written is visibly none of his as that in his Lett.^r to me he takes no notice of what he formerly wrote concerning his Masters willingnesse to entertain a Sea-Treatie and that of my answer there-upon. But from what hand soever it comes, it is evidently a peice contrived to work my M.^r into apprehensions that may make him accommodate himself to their fancies, or at least, out of dread of their power, to hinder y^c executions at Sea that are now threatned, & likely to fall upon them.

<489> I gave you an account in my last that the Alcaid's taking an English Vessell, which was brought into Tagadarte,⁴⁶³ was the true reason of his having stopped all communication with us least that hostilities should come to our knowledge I must now tell you that sometime before this suspension of our intercourse and our breach at sea, one Gifford,⁴⁶⁴ who had been employed by persons belonging to this place to buy a Vessell at Sali to be freighted there for y^c Levant, had been detained from proceeding on his voyage, first, on occasion of the Alcaid's stopping our commerce by land, and afterwards on the incident of our fregates appearing on their coasts upon their breach with us by Sea. I had granted this man a passeport for his Vessell, and for some moors that were to go with him on his designed Voyage for the Levant, and the Alcaid being obliged to send corn to Safi,⁴⁶⁵ to be conducted to his Master's army in Suz, w.^{ch} labours under great wants, thought he could not more securely do it then by making use of this Vessell and taking y^c advantage of my Passeport he therefore unloaded her of her first freight and easily prevailed with Gifford to undertake the Voyage for Safi, and this very moment I receive a Lett.^r from y^c Alcaid wherein he gives me an account that Gifford's Vessell had been taken at sea by one of our fregates and was detained by him desiring me that in regard to my own Passeport, I would <490> immediately send orders to the Captain of the man of war for the releasing her and permitting her to proceed on her Voyage. I have answered the Alcaid that I was sorry for the accident, but that he ought not by any means to use my Passeport, which was limited to a Voyage to the Levant, as an argument to secure the ship which was going a quite contrarie way: that

⁴⁶³ Tagadirt, now a district of Agadir.

⁴⁶⁴ Captain Gifford, master of the merchantman, *Percy*. This was not Captain Sir William Gifford, RN (Pepys, *Tangier Papers*, 101–102). See App. A.

⁴⁶⁵ Safi on the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

the said Passe would have been inviolable had it been made use of for the end to which it was intended, and that I had great reason to resent that the Alcaid had forced y^c Master of an English ship against the designe of the owners & without acquainting me with it to undertake a Voyage which it was manifest must necessarily occasion great inconveniences & which might have been prevented, had hee thought fitt (instead of making use of sinister means) to declare himself to me with freedom and ingenuitie.⁴⁶⁶ The Vessell is not yet brought in hither tho I expect her dayly. Cap.^t Shovell with the fregates under his command having cleaned at Gibraltar sailed hence this day to cruise before Saly and on their coasts. I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 148 [pp. 490–492]

Tangier August 9. 1683.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

Having received an order of Council dated at Hampton Court May 31th [*sic*] commanding me to prepare an estimate of materials necessary for y^c repairing Pole-fort and to transmit y^c same to his Ma.^{tie} I think it my dutie humbly to acquaint yo.^r Lord.^{ps} that the whole fort is now so ruinous in all y^c parts of it, that the repairing with timber would prove of excessive charge and be indeed no effectuell defence to that advantagious peice of ground whereon it standeth, so that I must remind yo.^r Lord.^{ps} of a cheap, strong and tenable fortification, which I formerly proposed to be made of stone to be sent out of England ready cut into coins, and wth which I would raise in a short time, undiscernibly to the Moors under y^c covert of the present masse of Wood, a small square fort capable of holding sixty or a hundred men. I referre my self to Cap.^t Giles, who is

⁴⁶⁶ Pepys gives a slightly different version of this story, although the thrust is similar. Captain Gifford estimated that the *Percy*, of which he owned a half share – the other 50% belonged to two merchants in Sallee – was worth 1,200 Spanish dollars. After consulting Admiral Herbert, Kirke decided that Gifford might be given a passport for one year at a fee of 300 dollars. Rather than pay in cash, Gifford offered Kirke a quarter share in the vessel without any reference to the co-owners in Sallee. This was accepted, Kirke handling the business through a third party (Pepys, *Tangier Papers*, 101–102).

now in England, to explain to yo.^r Lord.^{ps} this project and to give you his judgement of the expence of it, begging you would please to take it into yo.^r consideration as a matter I am confident you will find to be of consequence to his Ma.^{ties} service.

We have been in earnest expectation of a supply of barley for our horse from England, which not yet arriving I have been forced to make some small provision for our present subsistence, having taken in here from y^c Master of a Vessel laden for Cadiz 698 hancys⁴⁶⁷ which will serve us for about two months: so that I must earnestly beg yo.^r Lordsp. that speedy care may be taken the supplies already ordered may be presently followed with such others as may be sufficient to compleat the whole years provision. I have been necessitated to furnish my straw stores from Spain, not thinking it safe to depend on y^c Moors for those supplies, who have of late used many cavils with me on frivolous pretences; if I come to a better understanding with them (as it is probable I may suddenly) I will take another years supply from them likewise, since I conceive I may be able to procure it at cheap rates, that from Spain having proved this year something expensive. I have now drawn my Bills on y^c Lords of y^c Treasury for y^c import of y^c enclosed account of my disbursements in these and some other <492> services of the Garrison, which I humbly beg yo.^r Lordsp. will be pleased to take order may be punctually complied with. I am with all submission,

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 149 [pp. 492–498]

Tanger August 24.th 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

I have told you several artifices of the Alcaid Ali hath used to induce me to agree to a Sea-peace without coming to a formal Treatie, which at once shews his impatience to have matters composed, and his want of power to make the necessary advances as

⁴⁶⁷ Probably, the fanega, or Spanish bushel, a measure of dry capacity used in the Iberian grain trade. Its volume varied according to region but, in Castile, it was equivalent to about 55 litres.

might procure it. I received a Lett.^r from him the last week wherein he tells me he consented to a years Peace by Sea, that all English Vessells should navigate without molestation from those of Saly, or his master's other ports, which Lett.^r with his seal to it should serve as his solemn engagement for the observance of y^c Peace on his side, and that he would be satisfied with a like Lett.^r from me, wherein I should admit of the peace for that terme, and promise likewise that the ships of King Muley Ismäel should not be molested by those of my Master, which he seemed to believe was all necessary to be done for the accommodation of our differences. But perceiving by my answer that I was of a contrary opinion, & that the reducing our agreement to certain conditions and articles of mutual convenience was essential to y^c settling a firmer peace, he then contrived I should <493> receive a Letter from the King as reply to what I had answered to the Embassador Mahamed Benhadu's Lett.^r on ye subject of y^c Sea affairs, (translation of which I here enclose and of my answer to it) whereby the Alcaid being at length convinced that a peace could be concluded no other way then by that of soleme Treatie, he at last on y^c 12 inst. returned in person into these feilds where, at his desire I visited him at our Lines, and after many professions on each side of our sinceritie and good intentiones, we passed to the nominating of persons that should treat and confer on the terms of an accommodacion of all matters, and so we parted. I appointed S.^r James Lesly, Cap.^t Thomas St. John,⁴⁶⁸ M.^r Frederick Bacher our Judge Advocate, & M.^r Martin⁴⁶⁹ to be my Commiss.^{rs} who the same day (in a Tent set up for that purpose within our own bounds) met those who were nominated by y^c Alcaid, being twelve persons amongst whom was a Sherif as they called him and Mahamed Lucas. They began with the examination of mine and the Alcaids powers, the Commiss.^{rs} on my part producing his Ma.^{ties} Lett.^r Patents to me for Governour of Tanger, wherein I am empowered to treat any League or Alliances with our neighbours and those from the Alcaid shewing a Lett.^r to him from the Emperour, wherein there was a clause that gives him full power and authoritie of treating and concluding all matters as well by Sea as Land, that might regard his Ma.^{ties} service. Hereupon they proceeded to an overture of y^c treatie, my Commiss.^{rs} telling them according to the instructions they had received from me, That [*sic*] it was necessary for the establishment of a firme correspondence <494> between the two Nations, to raise it on better and surer foundations then hitherto had been layd, and that nothing so absolutely

⁴⁶⁸ Thomas St John (see App. A).

⁴⁶⁹ Probably Lieutenant John Martin of the 2nd Tangier Regiment (see App. A).

conducted to that end as the concluding of a Peace by land & Sea jointly, to continue to perpetuities, that y^c disputes and controversies w^{ch} did continually arise about the observance of y^c Land Peace (since they ought not to be imputed either to me or to the Alcaid) was a certain argument that the very frame of the present Treatie it self was defective, and that consequently it ought to be molded into a sounder and better method; that some things that were too hard upon y^c Moors might be corrected in their favour, and others wherein y^c English had unequall measure might be amended; that this occasion seemed happily to present it self to remove all present inconveniences and provide against them for the future, which it was hoped y^c Alcaid was as ready to embrace as I was, and that for y^c same reasons he would be desirous that the Sea and land-Treatie should be proceeded on and concluded at the same time. To this the Moorish Commiss.^{rs} answered that the land-peace being already concluded, and his Ma.^{ty} King Muley Ismaël having himself confirmed it for the terme of years therein mentioned, the Alcaid could not admit of innovations or alter any of the Articles: that he was willing to make a peace by Sea for one year, and to remove y^c present obstructions of our correspondence by land, by amending whatever had been done amisse or contrary to the interest of the Treatie now in force. My Commiss.^{rs} told them that since y^c Alcaids power <495> which had been read to them gave him sufficient latitude to transact any thing by land and sea that regarded y^c Emperour's service they wondred he did not think fit to make use of it, and that he should limit himself when his Master had not restrained him; that the proposal of so short a terme for the Sea-peace seemed to argue that they had no true desires of a lasting good correspondence, neither would that limitation at all answer the King of England's interest, who had been already at so great expence of entertaining & sending his men of war to these parts. The Alcaid's Commiss.^{rs} would not hearken to any alteration of y^c Land-peace, but then proposed that the Peace by sea should last as long as our land-treaty which had yet one year and seaven months to continue. But it was told them that encrease of time was so inconsiderable that it ought not reasonably be admitted, that an adjustment of that nature would not deserve the name of a peace but of a cessation of armes only and y^c King of England still lay under the charge and trouble of being prepared for a new war; that if the Alcaid had those good dispositions he professed for a general Union he should shew it in enlarging y^c terme of y^c Land-peace for some greater number of Years, and, in that case I was willing y^c Sea-Treaty should run equal wth it; that in order to a prolongation of our peace by land I was ready to recede from the y^c libertie I had by y^c present

Treatie of buying cattle in the marketts which was so much opposed by the Alcaid, he afford^{<496>}ing me something also in lieu of it, that should be Judged equivalent and that I would frame the Article of Contraband more in their favour by obliging my self to have it allways in readinesse when they should desire to buy it. These proposalls made no impression, and it being impossible to make any advances in a Land and Sea-peace Jointly, which alone would be my Masters interest, then they passed to rectifie the abuses of the present Mequinez Treatie and to remove the obstructions which had been occasioned by the Alcaids not compliance with y^c Articles. In this debate the main difficulty was the observance I exacted of y^c right & privilege that was due to me by y^c Capitulations of sending my people into the country to buy cattle fruit and refreshments in the marketts at y^c current prizes among y^c Moors, which had allways been denied me, the Alcaid furnishing us with no cattle but such as passe thro y^c hands of his own agents, & because it was impossible to overcome this difficulty with any argument, the Alcaids private profitt overbalancing in him y^c sense of Justice, my Commiss.^{rs} at length proposed that I would recede from that privilege on condition that instead of it, the Alcaid would let me have the libertie of cutting stone for our Mole and houses, and that he would returne mee such souldiers as should either desert or stray out of the bounds that should continue Christians, but neither of these proposals were admitted, nor yet any thing on their part offered to remove this great impediment. So that three days having passed in these conferences without effect, I plainly perceived the ^{<497>}Alcaid designed a sea-peace only to serve a present turne, and to remove our fregates from their coast at a time when severall ships laden with corne for the relief of y^c King's army were ready to saile, and must necessarily fall into our hands, as one hath already, whereof I gave you an account in my last. To have made a peace by sea with them barely for the sake of peace there (as the Moors would have had it) and for the time they proposed, would I am sure have appeared to you an unseasonable thing; and I hoped on this conjuncture to have been able to have improved our land-treaty to great advantages, w^{ch} ought to be our cheifest ayme as what does most concern his Ma.^{ties} service and interest in these parts; neither do I wholly despair of it on the prospect I have that y^c Alcaid's necessities will finally constrain him to stretch his powers (if he have any) to comply with us, and if he have not, will oblige him to use his best interest with his master to procure them. The day after that the conferences about the Treatie broke off the Alcaid sent into mee a Letter from the Emperour which I perceive had layn some time in his hands being ten days older date then

the former, and which he had reserved as the last effort to work upon me, translations whereof with the Copies of my answer you have enclosed. The modell of these Letters are sent hence from the Alcaid Ali Benaudala according as he imagines his occasions require, and are procured from y^c King by the Alcaid Hamet his kinsman, these two persons supporting each other withall the interest and artifices imaginable. I hear the Emperour is now at Massa⁴⁷⁰ (a place to the southward of S.^{ta} Cruz), where his army lyes near a small river in unconceivable streights and necessities. I have thought it might be of consequence <498> to my Master's service, not knowing how y^c Alcaid Ali may use present matters to the Emperour, to endeavour to convey to him an account of them by Sea, and for that reason have desired Cap.^t Shovell to send some fregat to cruise that way and to appear on the coast of Messa,⁴⁷¹ from whence my Lett.^r, whereof one of y^c enclosed is Copie, may easily be sent to the Emperour's hands.

Our frigates have lately done some considerable execution on the Moors, Cap.^t Hastings⁴⁷² in the Saphire having lately run a shoar the Alcaid's own frigate, and taken out of her 13 Christian captives, after which she broke in peeces. He likewise run a shore a Saetia⁴⁷³ with her prize; and Cap.^t Shovell hath taken from them a dutch Fly boat laden with timber with about 25 Saly Moors a board. You will be pleased to let me know his Ma.^{ties} pleasure concerning y^c disposall of such Prizes as shall from time to time be brought in here: those two particularly of corn and timber would be of great good in this place. I have formerly pressed a supply of barley for our horses out of England on y^c extream dearness of it in these parts, our stores here are but slenderly provided, and this Vessel is a seasonable relief which however I shall not touch (unlesse constrained by necessitie) till I hear from you, and know what resolutions will be taken at home concerning her. In the mean time that his Ma.^{tie} shall think fitt to name any persons as Commissioners for Prizes here, I will take that care upon me, and see that he be not injured in his Rights. I am,

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c.

⁴⁷⁰ Massa lies to the south of Santa Cruz, modern Agadir. This stretch of coast is named after the River Massa, which rises in the Atlas Mountains.

⁴⁷¹ Massa.

⁴⁷² Captain Anthony Hastings, RN (see App. A).

⁴⁷³ A decked, trading vessel with a long, sharp prow and rigged with lateen sails on two or three masts. It was often used to convey relief crews to oared galleys (*OED*; *OCSS*, 510).

Letter 150 [pp. 499–504]<499> Tanger Septem: 7. 1683

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured S.^r

Since the breaking off the Treatie between the Alcaid Ali and my self for the reasons I told you in my last, that Alcaid hath shewed some forces of horse & foot in our neighbourhood, persuading himself that the apprehensions of a War would work more powerfully upon me then his arguments had done in order to my consent for the opening of the Commerce by land wth out insisting on the observance of that principal Article for y^c permission of buying our cattle in the markets. At the same time he made use of one Maymaran⁴⁷⁴ a Jew and a great trader with us to insinuate what he imagined most proper to prevaile with me, but those offices having produced nothing answerable to his expectation, another conference was then proposed by him to be held between some of my people and his Mocadens,⁴⁷⁵ he declaring that he would confirme whatsoever they should transact and agree to on his side. In this meeting y^c same matter was again proposed, that for my departing from the privilege of buying cattle at y^c market prizes it was but Just something equivalent should be allowed mee. This y^c Mocadens owned as very reasonable leaving it to us to propose what we should Judge an equall compensation <500> and hereupon my people demanded that in recompense of my concession the Alcaid should be obliged to detain none of the King of England's subjects that should go out of the bounds as captives, but to returne them to me on my demand unlesse they should happen to declare themselves Mahumetans: but the Mocadens having a pretended Mufti in readinesse, who affirmed it to be ag.st their Law, this expedient was not admitted: & then it was proposed, that I should have y^c freedom of digging stone for our Mole and houses; but this neither being allowed, it was lastly offered, that our bounds should be enlarged to the same extent as formerly, and the Moorish Guards who from their present Lines do overlook the Town, should be withdrawn to those ancient limits. This I proposed as a means the better to hinder our souldiers running away to the Moors, which they too frequently attempt, and which the extraordinary nearnesse of y^c Moorish guards serves to

⁴⁷⁴ Joseph Maimarān (see App. A).⁴⁷⁵ Almocadens.

facilitate: and this the Mocadens seemed to accept and departed with much satisfaction. But the next day when all was to be finally concluded and y^c agreement drawn into writing, we found they had changed their resolutions, that they would not agree to the withdrawing their Guards and would only yeild us a greater extent of ground for the feeding our cattle: but this not answering my cheif end, which was the preserving of our people, and having besides many inconveniencies in it, I thought fit to conclude nothing hereupon, but rather to suffer matters to re<501>main in the former suspenſe. I am obliged to use this conduct and to insist peremptorily on my privilege of buying cattle at the market rates as the only means I have to evade the delivery of an arrear of almost two years debt of powder, which would be the consequence of my condescension to the opening of Land-Commerce, and which in the present state of affairs might prove ruinous to my Master's interest. Besides that being still in y^c dark as to his Maj.^{ties} resolution at home upon the Emperour's last message by Lieu.^t Nicholson concerning our present Land-treatie, having received no manner of instruction thereupon, I am persuaded the measures I have observed with the Alcaid will appear to be such as could not have been prudently dispensed with. In the mean time he seemes to threaten us with a war by land having drawn down to our feilds all y^c forces he can make, which according to our best conjectures may amount to about 300 horse and 1000 foot: he hath as yet acted nothing as an enemy, neither do I beleive will he attempt any thing of that nature, the State of his Master's affairs and consequently his own being such as do not permitt him to bee very formidable. We hath notwithstanding contrived by the means of the Jew mentioned to disperse the news here of Muly Hamet's⁴⁷⁶ submission to the Emperour <502> that he had sent his children to him as hostages and made him a present of fiftie christian slaves and four fine horses: which while the Alcaid endeavours to make us beleive here, we have Lett.^{rs} from Safi that confirme y^c necessitous condition of Muley Ismael's army and y^c prosperitie of the nephews affairs, and convinces us that this report so industriously spread, is but another artifice of the Alcaid to work his designs upon us. While matters are in this state between my self and the Alcaid, I have sent Cap.^t Gifford⁴⁷⁷ in the Lark to Messa with my Lett.^r to the Emperour as well to satisfie his Ma.^{ties} concerning my deportment as to observe the posture of affairs in those parts.

I formerly acquainted you how the Alcaid had made use of a Passeport which I had given to a small Vessell bought in Italy for a Voyage to Argiers to conduct a ship of his own laden with corn

⁴⁷⁶ Ahmed ibn Muhriz. See App. A.

⁴⁷⁷ Captain Sir William Gifford, RN (see App. A).

to Messa this ship being taken by his Ma.^{ties} fregate y^c Dartmouth, hee thought he had good ground to demand restitution of her by Virtue of my said Passe, w^{ch} he beleived was the more strengthened by the obligation he had procured of the Master of the English Vessell (Copie of which obligation I here enclose) for the delivery of y^c corn and safetie of y^c Ship: But while these matters were in dispute between my self and y^c Alcaid, and that I expected every day the ship in debate should have been brought <503> hither in order to passe the formes of our Court of Admiralty, I was amazed to hear the Lieu.^t of the Dartmouth who had carried her directly to Cadiz was by his Cap.^t his order selling her lading in that port, which obliged me to desire S.^r John Wyburn who was then here and under whose command is the Dartmouth fregate, to saile to Cadiz & prevent the same: but before his arrivall the lading was already disposed of, 300 Hanegs of barley only remaining, which hath been since with the ship brought hither in S.^r John Wyburn's company and hath been condemned as true prize in our Court of Admiralty. The irregularitie of y^c Cap.^t^{ts478} disposall of the ship's lading is so much the more blameable as he knew our pressing wants of barley in the Garrison, it being an unconceivable rashnesse that he should sell it (as he did) for four R.^s the haney⁴⁷⁹ when he was sufficiently sensible it cost his Ma.^{ties} no lesse then eleven R.^s besides that by this unhappy proceeding he hath taken from me the means I had of making good use of this Prize for his Ma.^{ties} service, it being evident that in the present necessitie of the Alcaid, and his impatience to supply his Master's wants with corne, he would scarce have refused me any advantage I should have demanded of him, in lieu of a restitution. There is so much difference between y^c accompts of y^c Moors <504> & of the English officers who took y^c Prize concerning her lading, the former mentioning many clothes for the Army with Tents and horse furniture, besides corne, & the latter Corne only, that I am not able to send any distinct notice thereof, and shall touch nothing of what remains in her till I hear from home & receive his Ma.^{ties} commands thereupon.

I have sent with Cap.^t Gifford to Messa the Moor which you have been acquainted I received from Admirall Herbert, who belongs to that country, with orders to put him a shore at S.^{ta} Cruz to learn the state of things there, & receive any commands or message from Muley Hamet.⁴⁸⁰ I am

Hon.^d S.^r
Yo.^r &c

⁴⁷⁸ Captain George St Lo, RN (see App. A).

⁴⁷⁹ The fanega, or Spanish bushel.

⁴⁸⁰ Ahmed ibn Muhriz. See App. A.

Letter 151 [pp. 504–505]Tanger Septemb.^r 7th 1683.

[To the Tangier Committee]

My Lords,

I have received yo.^r Lord.^{ps} commands of y^e 28th of July and immediately appointed the persons you therein direct to state the matter of quarters, which they will do according to the Scheme prescribed by yo.^r Lord.^{ps}, and it will be transmitted by y^e first opportunity.

The particular Vouchers for the Justifying my own accompts of contingencies shall be sent with <505> all possible expedition.

I could wish for the well-fare of his Ma.^{ties} service here your Lordships had been able to allow us such pay as might be proportionable to our necessities, the seven months which you have ordered falling so short to answer both the Souldiers and inhabitants expectations that it is not to be imagined what generall discouragement it occasions, the first seeing their credit ruined, and latter no longer willing or able to trust, so I hope your Lordships will suddenly make some further considerable provision for us, & prevent that our condition prove not desperate. I have formerly complained of a great abuse by permitting officers who are at home upon passe to take up their pay there without regard to their debts in this place, which is a matter of so very ill consequence that it is absolutely necessary order should be given to M.^r Hewer not to issue any pay to officers in England unless they produce my certificates that their debts here are satisfied. I am

My Lords,
Yo.^r &c.

Letter 152 [p. 506]<506> Tanger Septemb.^r 21. 1683.

[To Sir Leoline Jenkins]

Honoured Sir,

The Lord Dartmouth being arrived here & having imparted to me his Ma.^{ties} commands, I have now nothing to trouble you with, but only to beg you would please to lay mee at my Master's feet with all submissive thankfulness for his Royall favours: assuring him that as I have never had any thing more in view then his service, so I submit withall imaginable satisfaction to whatsoever he shall think fit to ordain concerning me, my ambition being abundantly gratified when my smal endeavours shall meet with the good fortune of his R.^{ll} approbation of them. I must at the same time humbly acknowledge y^c great advantage of yo.^r protection in the whole course of my employment here, and I shall consider it as my particular happinesse to deserve the continuance of your favourable opinion, as

Hon.^d Sir,
Yo.^r &c